

A.B.N. CORRESPONDENCE

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President Chiang Kai-shek:

"The Democracies must Strengthen their Mutual Defense in Asia"

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, President of the Republic of China, had the kindness to grant us the following interview for our magazine.

Q: Do you share the opinion which the majority of responsible politicians in the West seem to hold, namely, that the Soviets have abandoned their plans to rule the whole world?

A: No matter how the Russian imperialists change their diplomatic tactics, their basic objective of world conquest will never change. The so-called "Geneva spirit" created by the four power summit conference last July completely vanished after the conference of the four powers' foreign ministers in November. The recent visit of Bulganin and Khrushchev to India and Burma brought the Soviet "smiling diplomacy" to an end, and since then Russia has put on her ferocious look once again.

Q: Do you think that the coexistence policy is a practicable means of preventing an atomic war?

A: By "peaceful coexistence" the Russian imperialists mean a kind of coexistence of master and slave. For anyone to seek "coexistence" with them is to surrender to them without a fight. "Coexistence" of the Russian type will not prevent any atomic war, unless we take it to mean collective surrender on the part of all non-Communist countries.

Q: Do you not think it would be possible to put an end to Bolshevik tyranny and thus to avert an atomic war by means of national revolutions, supported by the West, in the Soviet sphere of influence?

A: This is the only course which the anti-Communist world should follow. But of course, success will have to depend on the extent of the Western support.

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Q: Which policy would you suggest to the statesmen of the Western world in order to check the advance of Russian imperialism and to liberate all the nations that have been subjugated by Russia?

A: All that has to be done is to put President Eisenhower's liberation policy into practice.

Q: What is your opinion of the military and political situation in the U.S.S.R.?

A: Russia's military power far exceeds her political power. The maintenance of the latter entirely depends upon the existence of the former. Russia's ultimate aim is to conquer the whole world. She has been building up her own military strength and that of her satellites. This military strength constitutes a grave menace to the free world. The free world must, therefore, be on the alert and must not underestimate the military strength of the Communist world. Russia is a totalitarian state, with a reign of terror. There exists strong resentment among the people against the Kremlin rulers. As internal conflicts also exist, Russia is politically weak. The free world, therefore, must not overestimate her political strength.

Q: Do you think the assumption correct, that the Soviets have resorted to their coexistence policy under pressure of the national urge for freedom of the subjugated nations and under pressure of the economic crisis and the unsettled conditions in the Kremlin?

A: Your assumption is correct, but there are still other factors. Russia has a lot of troubles, both internal and external, to tackle at present. She has to change her tactics in order to get a breathing space. The moment she overcomes her troubles she will change her tactics again. Her present tactics aim at splitting the free world and encouraging appeasement.

Q: What is your opinion of the present situation in Asia in view of the Russo-Red Chinese coexistence policy?

A: Russia, according to her present global strategy, is putting herself on the defensive in the West but, through her Chinese stooges, takes up the offensive in the East. For this reason, the Russians might slow down their advances in Europe for the time being. In Asia, however, in spite of their vapid talks of "coexistence", the Chinese Communists will not hesitate to start further aggression whenever they have a chance. The democracies must, therefore, strengthen their mutual defense in Asia.

Q: What is your opinion of the significance of the national liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain, in the world-wide fight against Bolshevism?

A: The national liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain are extremely im-

The International Political Situation since Geneva - The Opinion of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations

A lecture given by Dr. D. Walscheff at the public conference of the A.B.N. held in the German Museum in Munich.

The introduction of our lecture series coincided with the opening of the Geneva Four-Power Conference, and at the time we stressed the fact that it would be dangerous to place any confidence in Stalin's successors, and, in particular, opposed current catchwords of a coexistence on the basis of the status quo. We likewise expressed the conviction that the German question cannot be detached from the complex whole of present international political problems and cannot be solved as a thing apart from the fate of the rest of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

Once again, however, all our warnings went unheeded. As usual, the opinion of the emigrants was again rejected with disdain, just as if it were the flotsam of a predetermined historical development and merely an obstacle to the alleged plan to "ease" the present international political tension and to set up a peaceful "world of coexistence".

Events, however, have proved that we were right and have, moreover, shown the absurdity of the irresponsible naiveté of certain Western circles and politicians. There is no need to repeat opinions on the failure of the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Geneva which are well-known enough to the public and which, so it seems, have already been put on the shelf. Nevertheless, we should like to be permitted to stress the following points.

1) The real reason for the failure of the Foreign Ministers' Conference lay not in the German problem, but in the error which was committed when the Big Four met, namely in approving of Bulganin's objection to dealing with the question of the subjugated nations and in conceding that this vital problem should be omitted from the agenda during further negotiations. The fact that the West was willing to make concessions, namely to agree to plans to "ease" the political tension and, by recognizing the present sphere of influence of the Soviet Union, to give the latter security guarantees at the cost of the Eastern zone of Germany, was in itself sufficient to create the evil spirit of Geneva and at the

portant to the world-wide anti-Communist struggle. To destroy Communism, two forces must closely cooperate: the democratic forces on this side of the Iron Curtain and the anti-Communist forces on the other. The anti-Communist forces on the other side of the Iron Curtain must, on their part, pivot on the national liberation movements of their respective countries. It is most important that such national liberation movements be given outside support.

same time, as will soon be obvious, to arouse the rapacity of the Kremlin aggressors once more, ten years after Yalta and Potsdam.

2) The bold assertions made by Bulganin, to the effect that the nations of the Soviet sphere of influence had chosen their present governments by "free elections" and that to deal with their fate at this conference would thus be equal to "intervening in the internal affairs of sovereign states", met with no challenge on the part of the leading statesmen of the West, who thereby not only gave the Soviets an opportunity to apply the same arguments with regard to the Eastern zone of Germany, but also waived their request for free elections throughout the whole of Germany. Thus the Soviets were encouraged not only to continue to rule Central Germany, but also to demand quite openly that the Federal Republic of Germany should be bolshevized and incorporated into the Soviet sphere of influence. It has now become perfectly obvious that, as far as Moscow is concerned, the hackneyed formula of a "German reunification" can only exist and be discussed in this connection.

The following facts in particular must be borne in mind. As all the world knows, Soviet Russian domination is not merely confined to the so-called satellite countries which were only deprived of their freedom and independence after World War II, but includes no less than 100 million persons of all those nations who became the victims of Russian imperialism much earlier and who managed to regain their independence for a short time during the revolutionary era after the first World War, only to be overrun by the Red Army soon afterwards. Ever since then they have all been part of the new Soviet Russian imperium as nominal members of the so-called "U.S.S.R.". And one of the reasons why this imperium in the course of World War II succeeded in moving its frontiers further westwards and southwards, into the very heart of Europe, was that the rest of the world allowed Russian aggression a free hand in Ukraine, Caucasia, and all the other countries concerned, and resigned itself to the existence of this Soviet prison of nations. Even in our modern times, when some of the Western major powers have been obliged to disband their colonial empires and grant independence to various nations of Asia and Africa who were formerly dependent, the integrity of this Soviet Russian imperium is still respected, strange to say almost reverently, in fact, and hardly any official circles in the West, for instance, venture to raise the question of the claims of the Ukrainian or Turkestanian nation to freedom and independence. What is the reason for this complaisance on the part of Western politicians, — a complaisance which once before on a previous occasion in history led to disastrous results! This complaisant attitude is obviously prompted by the consideration that the present international political problems should not be rendered more complicated than they already are, and that Moscow is more likely to adopt a conciliatory attitude as regards the more pressing problems, if the West is complaisant. And that is precisely the method which has now been adopted at Geneva, for the Western statesmen were prepared to try and find a solution to the German problem by surrendering the so-called "satellites", which step, in its ultimate effect, was actually the same as recognizing the Soviet Russian imperium in its latest form of expansion. Indeed, deceived by the menace of the atomic bomb and dazzled by the prospect of a

"peaceful coexistence", the West was about to make the same fatal mistake which it had made once before in history!

But what was the result! It soon became obvious that the complaisance and willingness on the part of the West to make concessions had failed to induce the Soviets to adopt an attitude of moderation and conciliation in connection with their world-conquest aims; on the contrary, in fact. The willingness of the West to make concessions merely encouraged the Soviets to assert fresh aggressive claims, which were clearly in evidence in Molotov's recipe for bolshevizing the whole of Germany.

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What have been the results of the Geneva Conferences, and what is the world situation like at present?

There can be no doubt about the fact that, from the very outset, the East — West talks at Geneva were, as far as Moscow was concerned, a put-up job, the course and results of which had been thought out and worked out in detail beforehand, namely as follows:

1) The so-called "Spirit of Geneva", which was created so easily at the meeting of the Big Four, gave the spokesmen of Soviet policy an opportunity to pose as the creators of the same and as benevolent peacemakers. And this same spirit now serves the purposes of Bolshevik propaganda as a bogey, to which the Soviets resort in launching their campaigns in the Western countries, too, against those so-called "militarists" and "warmongers" who threatened to drive the dove of peace away from Moscow.

2) The willingness of the Western powers to give Moscow security guarantees as regards its conquests so far (with the exception of the Eastern zone of Germany) assists Moscow in its aims to reduce the peoples behind the Iron Curtain to despair and resignation and to crush their spirit of resistance, so as to eliminate the greatest menace to Bolshevik despotism.

3) The intentional frustration of the plan to reach a solution in the German question at Geneva and the apparent willingness of the Kremlin to engage in direct negotiations with Bonn, for which the way was to be paved by the forcibly created diplomatic relations, as well as the urgent request to conduct negotiations between the governments in Bonn and Pankow, — all have the same purpose, namely to confuse public opinion in the Federal Republic of Germany, to widen the breach between government and opposition, to cause social and political conflicts, and to confuse the coalition of the Bonn government. The initial successes of this cunning strategy are already apparent.

4) The validity of the Paris Treaties is to be questioned, Germany is to be severed from the Western defence system, and the solidarity of the Western world is to be undermined. And all these measures are to be effected under the motto of "Back to Yalta and Potsdam"! This campaign on the part of the Soviets has, indeed, met with a certain response, as can be seen from various articles in the British, French, and even American press, which maintain that the policy pursued so far with regard to Germany should be revised, since a partitioned Germany might perhaps be preferable to a united and rearmed Germany. Such was the opinion expressed by the London "Daily Express", for instance, whilst the conference was still in progress. And there can be little doubt about the fact that Khrushchev and Bulganin, during their proposed

visit to London, will do their utmost to see that this idea becomes universally accepted in the West.

5) Public opinion in the Western world, incidentally, is to be lured by the proposed idea of peaceful coexistence, and is to be undermined and influenced by agitatory propaganda against the alleged "reactionaries, militarists, and war-profiteers" in the Western countries.

In short, an all-round victory for Moscow!

After having sown the seed of subversion in the Western world from its vantage-ground at Geneva, the Kremlin is now cheerfully devoting itself to its aggressive plans in the Middle East and in Asia. And whilst the German Bundestag is preparing for another heated debate, which has been kindled by the unhappy "Spirit of Geneva", Bulganin and Khrushchev, with unique offers of generous contracts and construction loans in their pockets, are basking in the homage paid to them by India's masses, who seem to regard them as a kind of Messiah. A similar tour is also to be made of Burma and Afghanistan, whilst at the same time huge troop concentrations are in progress on the Chinese mainland, opposite Quemoy and Formosa. Bolshevik aggression in the Far East, the Near East, and also in Africa is once again engaging in an open advance, and if the bulwarks of freedom which still exist there, such as Formosa, South Korea, and the Philippines, and the desire for freedom of the Arabian and African countries are not rightly assessed and actively supported by the West, then there is every danger of Europe and the entire world being conquered via Asia and Africa. In view of the great importance of a partnership between these countries and peoples in the present world-conflict, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations recently established contact with the Anti-Communist League of Asian Peoples in Formosa, a step which was intended as a preparatory measure in the setting up of a joint, world-wide anti-Bolshevik front. It is to be hoped that this step will serve as an example and as an incentive to all those circles in the West which have more ways and means at their disposal than we emigrants have.

The present démarche of the Soviets, namely their generous offers of contracts and loans to needy and undeveloped countries, also explains why and for what purpose the economic systems and human labour in the Soviet-ruled countries are so ruthlessly exploited, whilst the peoples of these countries live in poverty like slaves; solely to provide the world-conquerors in the Kremlin with the necessary financial and economic reserves and surplus, so that, in addition to their preparations for war, they may be able to outbid the free Western world in the course of the cold war and pursue their Communist world-aggression plans more successfully.

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Such in brief is the situation which confronts the free world, now that the curtain has dropped in Geneva. In our opinion the Bolshevik menace to the world has not grown less, but, in fact, much greater than it was before. And not merely because there are such things as atomic and hydrogen bombs, or because the West possesses less modern weapons and troops than the Communist bloc. Such institutions as the Atlantic Pact, the European Iron and Steel Pool, and even a West European integration offer no guarantee of protection against the deadly Bolshevik menace. For the primary question at issue is no longer war or peace, but some-

William F. Knowland

U.S. Senator

The Mephistophelian Smile of the Kremlin

Senator William F. Knowland, the well-known U.S.A. politician made a highly important speech in San Francisco on the 19th of August, 1955, a copy of which he has specially placed at the disposal of the "A.B.N. Correspondence", together with a letter which we publish herewith:

Dear Mr. Stetcko:

Your letter of August 11 has been received, and I wish to thank you for writing me.

I have made it a matter of policy not to respond to questionnaires since I receive a great many of them in the course of a year's time. However I believe you will find most of the information you desire in the enclosed copy of a speech I made in San Francisco on August 17.

With best regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,
William F. Knowland.

It is a pleasure for me to come 3,000 miles across the Continent from the Nation's Capital to join you at this 29th National Convention of the Order of AHEPA.

American citizens of Greek Ancestry have played an important part in the life of our nation and have served this country loyally and faithfully during war and peace. They have also maintained an interest in the country from which they and their ancestors came.

To anyone holding high the ideals of democratic self-government, there must be an appreciation of the contribution made by Greece and its people.

Today, Greece is a stout ally helping to guard the ramparts against the dangers of future Communist aggression.

We and our associates in Europe and Asia must recognize the fact that the age of colonialism is dead.

Total populations cannot be held in subjugation by military forces alone if the heart and will of the people want other arrangements to be made.

This is true in Asia, in North Africa, and on the Island of Cyprus.

Many years ago, the United States of America recognized its obligations to the Philippines and agreed to establish them as a free and independent nation. Despite the intervention of World War II we carried out our commitment as promised.

It is important that we constantly keep in mind the Communists' technique to divide and conquer. It is not in the best interests of the free world including the United States, Greece or Great Britain to have bitter animosity flare and violence break out on the Island of Cyprus.

But it would appear that between Allies facing a common danger an arrangement could be worked out through the United Nations or outside of it whereby the people of Cyprus in a free election and by secret ballot where each eligible voter was free to vote his honest convictions that there might be a determination as to their desires and the country with which they wish to be affiliated.

Until this and comparable problems are resolved the waters of the Mediterranean will be troubled and international Communists like to fish in troubled waters.

thing which is of far greater importance; namely, the mental attitude of the people and nations of the free world, their ability to realize fully the danger which threatens their freedom and their cultural values and traditions, and, above all, their powers of resistance.

It is precisely in this respect, however, that Communist propaganda has, directly and indirectly, wrought destruction among public opinion in the free world, — destruction which continues undiminished and which is proving extremely advantageous to Moscow in the present world-conflict. Whilst the Communist bloc, hermetically sealed against all Western influence, is united politically, economically, and militarily, and is pursuing its world-conquest aims undisturbed, the free West is actually undermining its own strength by internal differences and divergences of an ideological, political, and international character. Communist propaganda has succeeded in influencing the mind of the Western world by catchwords which, in fundamental matters, arouse scepticism, whereas steadfast faith and determined action on the part of the West would be more advisable, since it can only hope to resist Bolshevist aggression and infiltration in the intellectual and political sphere in this way. As a result of this attitude of doubt and scepticism there are at present in the West countless persons, political groups, press organs, broadcasting stations, and even leading politicians who, without being Communists or consciously serving the Fifth Column, suspect every national tendency as being evidence of "Nazism" and "Fascism", who oppose all determined action on the part of their democratic government in the interests of defence strength and elementary political hygiene as "dictatorship" and "militar-

ism", and even decry the efforts of the millions of emigrants to restore the freedom of their countries as "vengefulness" and "warmongering". In this case subversive Communist propaganda takes advantage, to the full, of the aftermath of the recent unhappy past, and prompts many a one to cast away the good with the bad! As long as the national idea and its supporters, and active governments, determined to defend their countries, are libelled and paralysed in this manner, however, Bolshevism will encounter no obstacle to its world-conquest aims, and it is immaterial whether it achieves these aims with or without a war.

A war, incidentally, could well be avoided, but only by one of the following alternatives: the disintegration of the Bolshevist sphere of influence from within, by giving active support to the subjugated nations and their national revolutions, or the conquest of the entire world by Bolshevism without a war. Should the latter plan prove unsuccessful, Moscow will not hesitate to attempt to achieve its ultimate aim by war, if necessary, and will refuse to allow itself to be deterred in this respect by pacifists in the West. In view of the present mental and political attitude prevalent in the Western world, Moscow's chances of achieving its ultimate aims by means of subversive propaganda are definitely auspicious. All the more so, in fact, if the nations of the free world should fail to overcome their political confusion and internal differences, and, above all, if the politicians of the West, in spite of the lesson which Geneva has taught them, should continue to hesitate to adopt a firm and determined attitude, both internally and externally, towards Moscow.

November, 1955

There may be some in Great Britain and the Commonwealth who will claim that this is a Commonwealth problem alone, and that neither the United Nations nor any outside country or individual should make suggestions.

Yet from within the British Commonwealth have come numerous suggestions as to what the Government and the Republic of China should do in relation to Formosa, the Pescadores, Quemoy and Matsu. None of these islands have ever belonged to Communist China nor do the people residing there desire to be placed behind the Iron Curtain.

Let us examine the Soviet "New Look". Indeed is it a new look? Is it not a mere change in tactics?

The Geneva meeting at the Summit was exploratory in nature. It was not meant to solve and it did not solve the great basic issues dividing the free world and the totalitarian world of international Communism.

It did establish personal contact between the Four Heads of Government and their foreign ministers in an atmosphere freed from the prolonged futility of some past meetings or the yielding to Soviet blandishments at others.

I recently received a letter from an individual in the diplomatic service of Lithuania who has an excellent knowledge of the events that led up to the destruction of his own country. Here is what he had to say:

"The mephistophelian smile of the Kremlin oligarchy is ominous — it might fool and enchant many innocent westerners. Similar tactics were used by the Kremlin in 1939 with the representatives of the Baltic States in connection with the mutual assistance pacts and military bases. Even Stalin smiled and patted the deputy prime minister of Lithuania on the back, stating that Lithuanian independence, territorial inviolability and non-intervention was assured by the friendly Soviet government; he even promised to bridle local Communists should they attempt to make any trouble in Lithuania. This man came back from Moscow elated and convinced of the Kremlin's sincerity, being unaware of the fact that Moscow and Berlin had already decided to partition Lithuania. The very same man was murdered by the Soviets in 1941."

The apparent better atmosphere at the Summit, the party-giving by Bulganin or the visits of delegations to the United States or to the Soviet Union did not solve, lessen or remove a single basic issue. These are:

(1) The continued captivity of the satellite states of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia.

(2) An unparalleled record of treaty violations by the Soviet Union with the United States, with the former free nations of Eastern Europe and with all other non-Communist nations with which the Kremlin has carried on such negotiations.

(3) International Communism's basic doctrine of subversion of all free non-Communist Governments in pursuance of the Marxian concept of world revolution.

(4) A lack of any real progress towards an adequate system of inspection of either conventional or atomic weapons.

(5) The problem of a free sovereign Germany allied in a mutual defense pact with the free world.

These problems all remain for the foreign ministers meeting in October and beyond. Time is not necessarily on the side of the free world.

Having been run by a ruthless dictator, Stalin, the syndicate which succeeded him needs time to consolidate its power. By making believe that the Communist tiger has now become a milk-fed pussy cat, the Kremlin rulers hope to keep the fountain-head of world Communism "off limits" to possible retaliation. Their policy will be to pretend that they cannot control, hence have no responsibility for, the "junior partner", Red China, if and when additional acts of aggression are committed by the Chinese Communists.

In the meantime the Soviet Union would be free to secretly supply arms and ammunition (as well as volunteers) to the Chinese Communists in their further adventures.

The speech of Khrushchev at Peiping last September when he and Bulganin visited the Chinese capital, gives strong support to the viewpoint.

History teaches us that Communist actions do not follow their promises to free nations nor can reliance be placed upon their pledged word.

The peace of the world, the maintenance of human freedom abroad and the survival of our own republic may depend upon a thorough understanding of these facts.

We will, of course, all continue to hope, work and pray for peace with honor. This is far different from "peace at any price".

We can keep the doors of legitimate negotiations open by making it clear that we are not willing to trade off the freedom of other people nor their territory in any Munich or Yalta type deals.

Diplomatic doors can be kept open without the type of fraternization which, if exploited by the Kremlin, will tend to give the moral approval of the free world to Communist tyranny and will destroy the hope for eventual freedom of those satellite nations which are now forcefully behind the Communist Iron Curtain. They may interpret such fraternization as our condonement of their loss of liberty.

Many casual visitors to Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy saw the new construction, railroads running on time, a disciplined population — as indication of "improved conditions". They did not see behind this facade the Gestapo at work, the slave camps, the extermination chambers and the loss of moral and spiritual values. So it is with the casual visitors to the Soviet Union under the dictatorship of the Kremlin.

Earlier this year, I received a letter from an American Air Force pilot stationed in Formosa. In his letter to me this pilot wrote:

"As an Air Force jet pilot assigned to this island for the next two years, I am sure my interest in lasting world peace is as acute as is any American's.

"The presence here of my wife and children tends to intensify my natural desire that no one toss any atom or hydrogen bombs this way.

"I am quite convinced that my best chances, as well as those of my country and the entire free world, rest with the firm "stop the Communist march" movement which you so forcibly represent. I have flown four hundred combat missions and would rather fly four hundred more than to see my kind of a world go down the drain — one island or one small country at a time.

"America must wake up to the real intentions of Communism and take real and purposeful steps to frustrate those intentions."

Any weakness in our position now will set off a chain reaction of catastrophic proportions.

In my judgment Quemoy and Matsu are as important to free China as is West Berlin to a free Germany.

We are confronted by the fact that the Communists and some of our European associates are jointly feeding the doubts of our stout Korean, Chinese Nationalist and Vietnamese allies regarding the firmness of our Asiatic position.

Morale can be more important than additional weapons. When confidence is lost, it doesn't take long for a run to start on a bank. When a nation's morale is damaged, its will to resist is impaired if not destroyed.

Just recently eleven American airmen were released by the Communists after having been illegally held for two years in violation of the terms of the Korean Armistice. Some of these men have reported treatment which no civilized nation would inflict upon helpless prisoners of war.

Yielding more free people or territory now might perhaps give a temporary mirage of peace, but the waterless moral, spiritual and governmental waste of the international communist desert would remain with all its stark realism of slave labor camps, captive satellite nations and tyrannical police state methods.

The isolationists of today are among some of our European associates who believe that Europe can be saved by the sacrifice of Asia.

This is a dangerous doctrine and there is ample historic precedent to show that appeasement is not the road to peace but is only surrender on the installment plan.

The primary communist objectives in Asia are seven in number:

(1) Chinese Communist membership in the United Nations.

(2) Communist Chinese possession of the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu.

(3) Neutralization of Formosa with its 500 thousand non-Communist defense force, as a major step to ultimate Chinese Communist sovereignty over the nine and one-half million Free Chinese who live there.

(4) Withdrawal of U.S. Seventh Fleet and American bases in the Far Pacific.

(5) A Communist Korea.

(6) A Communist Southeast Asia.

(7) A Communist Japan.

There are some of our associates abroad who are urging the admission of Communist China into the United Nations. They do this despite the fact that Communist China has not lived up to the terms of the Korean armistice, was the aggressor in Korea, inflicted 140 thousand casualties upon us, including 35 thousand dead, admits she is still holding 40 American civilians and there is strong reason to believe the Chinese Communists may be holding several hundred other American prisoners in violation of the terms of the Korean armistice.

Neither we nor they should forget the Biblical injunctions in Second Corinthians: "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers; for what fellowship has righteousness with unrighteousness? And what communion has light with darkness?"

It would be a violation of all moral principles upon which the United Nations is supposed to rest, to welcome Communist China into that organization. I am opposed to such admission or to recognition of the Communist regime by the government of the United States.

We are rapidly approaching one of the great turning points of history. The policies we follow will determine, to a large extent whether freedom of Communism moves forward or backward during this current decade.

Ten years ago, at the time of the Yalta Conference, there were less than 200 million people behind the Communist Iron Curtain. Today over 800 million people have lost their freedom. During this same period, millions have been liquidated by the most godless tyranny the world has ever known.

Now while totalitarian tyranny holds control over so many, we should join together in supporting the pledge of Thomas Jefferson when he said:

"I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility to every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak visits Canada

During the summer, General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak took part in the big presentation of the colours held by the MSZM, the Magyar Szabadsag Mozgalom to give it its full name (the Hungarian Liberation Movement), and from August 18 to 28 he attended the Eighth

as for instance on Archbishop P. E. Leger in Montreal and on various other prominent persons in emigrant circles.

In Toronto General Farkas conferred at some length with representatives of the A.B.N. During his visit the members of the Soviet



General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak arriving in Canada

International World Congress of the Boy Scout Movement at Niagara on the Lake.

In Montreal and Toronto General Farkas was given an official reception by representatives of all the Hungarian national organizations, of the church and of the Boy Scout groups, headed by Professor Saad Ferenc, the president of the MSZM in Canada.

In the course of his visit to Canada General Farkas gave a number of lectures. He spoke at the "Salon des anciens" in Mont St. Louis, to a Canadian and Hungarian audience at the KVAC, and also at a press conference. In addition, he held lectures which were broadcast by the "La Presse" station in Toronto, London, and Windsor, and also by the broadcasting station at Woodstock. He also called on several leading personalities,

farming delegation who took part in the American-Soviet farmers exchange were also in Canada. On various occasions they, too, were given an official reception by the Canadian authorities. By means of sharply worded leaflets the headquarters of the A.B.N. in Canada, however, drew the attention of the Canadian people to Bolshevik methods.

Not only the Hungarian but also the Canadian press constantly published detailed accounts of General Farkas' visit. On countless occasions the General mentioned the aims of the A.B.N., the sincerity of this organization, and its unrelenting fight in the interests of the liberation of the subjugated peoples. In particular he stressed the efforts made by A.B.N. in the interests of a unified Europe and in the interests of freedom and peace.

Free China – Vanguard in the Anti-Communist Struggle

Press Statement by Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko in Taipei

I am very grateful to the Anti-Communist League of Asian Peoples (Republic of China), especially to Mr. Ku Cheng-kang, the President of the Board of Directors of this League, for the invitation to participate in the Great National Day of the Chinese Republic on the 10th of October ("Double Tenth").

The Chinese Republic is entering upon the forty-fourth year of its history, for in 1911, the National Revolution under the leadership of the great Dr. Sun Yat-sen, overthrew the absolute monarchy of Manchu and established the Republic.

Until the Communist traitors of Mao Tse-tung came into power on the continent with the aid of the Russians, the Chinese Nation had for many a century been independent, and only because of the treachery of the Communist leaders became dependent on Russia.

Being one of the oldest sovereign nations of the world, with very old monuments of a most profound spiritual culture, the same nation has been subjugated by barbarian Russia, only because of the treason of the Communist hirelings.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen's San Min Chu I (Three People's Principles), introduced after overthrowing the Manchu dynasty, would have safeguarded the nation from absolutism, guaranteed social justice and full sovereignty. In March 1925, and equally in October 1928, under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek the Chinese Nation was approaching a bright future of a free and united nation, driving out the aggressors.

And had not the external enemies, Russia in particular, for fear of the consolidated Chinese Nation, continued its policy of division, supporting and financing the treachery in the ranks of Chinese society — the Communist Party led by Muscovite agents — Mao Tse-tung, Chu Teh, Chou En-lai, the people would have had an opportunity to take over the power.

It is Communist Russia that supports the Communist treachery of Red Peking. It is a pity that even some Western circles are responsible for the present tragedy of the Chinese Nation because of their policy towards China and previous support of Mao Tse-tung, and their efforts to introduce co-existence even at that time and something more than co-existence — co-operation of National and Communist circles in some kind of "People's Front". It is very opportune, today on the National Day of China, to remember the "Three People's Principles" of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, for the realization of them may guarantee the immunity of the Chinese Nation from the Communist pestilence.

President Chiang Kai-shek, in his inauguration address on May 20, 1954, was very right to say: "We must destroy totalitarianism, cruelty, slavery, and oppression which are the characteristics of Communist tyranny, with the spiritual force of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, with the spirit of the "Three People's Principles" bequeathed to the Chinese by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the Republic. We have only one enemy — Soviet Russia. The greatest woe of the present-day world is Communism.

Communism, ladies and gentlemen, is the most modern form of Russian Imperialism. Without the deceitful and treacherous Communist idea, without the realization of collectivism and totalitarianism, that is to say, without the complete subjugation of the individuals, no imperialists would be able to oppress nations any more today. It is through the subjugation of individuals, and by the Communist totalitarian system within a nation that Russian Imperialism strives to conquer the world. Treachery and Muscovite technical and military aid made it possible to oppress the Chinese people like other nations subjugated by Bolshevism. Communism is a product imported from Russia, it is completely alien to the Chinese individualistic nation. It contradicts its nature in the same way as it contradicts Ukrainian, Turkestanian, Bulgarian, Georgian, Byelorussian, Slovak, Lithuanian, Rumanian, Hungarian, Czech and other subjugated nations. The Russian Christian philosopher Berdyaev in his work "New Middle Ages" writes as follows: "Bolshevism is a distorted and subversive

realisation of the Russian idea and for this reason it has triumphed".

"Bolshevism is in keeping with the mentality of the Russian nation, it is merely an expression of the spiritual disunion of this nation, of its apostasy of faith, its religious crisis, and its extreme demoralization. Bolshevik ideas are completely in keeping with Russian nihilism.

"Dostojevski was the prophet of the Russian revolution and he realized that socialism in Russia is a religious problem, a question of atheism, and

from Russia, the destruction of Communism in the Satellite states of Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Slovakia, Czechia, Poland, Albania, Eastern Germany and the Chinese mainland, North Korea and Vietnam will follow as the natural consequences of the fact. Our fight has to be directed simultaneously against Communism and against Russia. At the same time it is also necessary to remove the source of this disease by giving the nations new just ideas and settling the social problems in accordance with the will of the people by liquidating



A woman-representative of the "Chinese Women's League against Aggression" welcomes Mr. J. Stetzko on his arrival at Taipei airport. A little Chinese girl presents a bouquet to the European guest. (on left: Prof. Lin Tsui-sen; on right: Ku Cheng-kang, President of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, Republic of China)

that the Russian revolutionary intelligentsia are not concerned with politics, but solely with the question of saving mankind without God.

"The Russian emigrants are not sufficiently aware of the fact that in the case of the Russian problem it is by no means a question of small groups of Bolsheviks who happen to be in power and who can be overthrown, but of a new and infinitely large class of persons who have now become the rulers of the country and cannot be easily overthrown. The Communist revolution has above all materialized out of Russia's life."

Bolshevism is a synthesis of Communism and Russian Imperialism. Therefore, President Chiang Kai-shek is very right to emphasize in nearly all his speeches and messages that the struggle is directed against Communists and Russians, against Communism and Russian Imperialism. "From my experiences I know that the Far Eastern policies of Czarist and Soviet Russia are one and the same. The Chinese Communist Party is not an ordinary political party but the Fifth Column of Moscow's Communist International. The Soviet seizures of Outer Mongolia and her designs on China's North-East are but a continuation of the Czarist aggressive policy." (Message on October 10th, 1949.)

In the present complicated political situation in the world it is more important than ever to establish who and where is the main enemy? Whither comes the greatest danger? Otherwise it is impossible to organize the defence and attack in order to regain freedom and liberation of countries. The main enemy is not the anonymous, undefined, abstract Communism without the specified basis. The main enemy is Russia, the homeland of Communism, its protector, disseminator, propagator and supporter in the whole world. When Russia is defeated, when the Soviet Empire is disintegrated into the national democratic states on their ethnographic territories — Ukraine, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Georgia, Azerbajdzan, Armenia, North Caucasia, Idel-Ural, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Cossakia, — when Siberia is separated

famine, misery, injustice, in order that the people may become immune to the Russian pestilence.

It is a great pleasure for me to be given the opportunity to come to you from the remote part of Europe and spend some time in this militant atmosphere among the consistent and fearless fighters against Communism for the national cause and peoples' rights. Our aims are similar, and our roads of Liberation are identical. We are fighting in order to liquidate Communism in the whole world, to disintegrate the Russian Empire, red or white, and to build on its ruins democratic and freedom-loving States. The era of empires has passed. Now comes the time for freedom-loving nations. The freedom of a nation signifies to us an independent and democratic state.

By the freedom of man we mean: development of all constructive forces of an individual and protection of all his rights. Freedom of an individual is only to be restricted when it opposes social justice.

The idea of freedom and justice is an unalterable value which was and is the stimulating element of all great and constructive revolutionary changes. For these ideas and not for any materialistic values people died and will die on the barricades and in trenches.

Our road to liberation is the national revolution within the Bolshevik and Russian sphere of influence. Communism and Russian Imperialism is the universal threat, therefore it is essential to have a common fight and co-ordination of action of the Free world and Subjugated Nations. This is the highest time to co-ordinate the action of uncompromising anti-Communist and anti-Russian forces of the nations of Europe and Asia which are at present subjugated or directly endangered by Soviet Russia.

The Communist plotters have one centre in Moscow; they act according to the same plan and with one aim: to conquer the world. The anti-Communist and anti-Russian forces are scattered and disunited, whereas only the common and co-ordinat-

ed fight for these ideals against the criminal aims of Bolshevism can be successful.

Against the faith of Communist false-prophets, fanatical destroyers and deceivers, we have to set our own faith of noble ideals which we must practise because faith without deeds is dead.

It is impossible to tolerate any longer evil, slavery and tyranny. He who defends co-existence with Communism and Russia, becomes responsible for crimes and aids tyranny.

Moscow and Communism desire co-existence under the pressure of National Liberation Movements, because of the economical crisis and un-stabilized relations among the tyrants themselves. Moscow and Communist Imperialism need a temporary ease of tension to free themselves from the twofold pressure — the free world, above all the U.S.A., and to prevent the aid for National Revolutions by U.S.A.

Co-ordinated and synchronized action of the Free and subjugated world cause the downfall of tyranny without atomic war. At this time the policy of co-existence is the surest way to unleash atomic war, and such a war would make it possible for Communism and Russia to surpass the free world not only by classical but also by nuclear weapons. The policy of co-existence which tolerates evil, is evil in itself, and evil never creates good, on the contrary — it makes it worse.

I think that, now more than ever, our liberation war is a religious war. The more so since religious values now play a bigger role than ever. Russia and Communism are weak now. They may become stronger if the Western world will give them time to recuperate. Temporarily they have changed their offensive tactics into penetration and infiltration, not only within societies, as it was before, but also within international relations.

It is no mere coincidence that Taiwan, the Island of Liberty and Hope for the persecuted and oppressed, is an object of attack of world Communism and Moscow and an object of recent penetration efforts.

The Republic of China, the Republic of Korea and Vietnam are the thorns in the flesh of Communist tyrants. Lenin said once that the road to Paris goes through Peking. The statement of Tsar

Nicholas II about Korea was carried out by Stalin. It is the unchanged Russian Imperialism of all times whose aim towards China was rightly characterized by President Chiang Kai-shek in his October 10th message.

I regard my participation in this Chinese National Day, in the capacity of a representative from the Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia subjugated by Moscow as an important event in the domain of co-operation of the uncompromising anti-Communist and anti-Russian forces of Europe and Asia. I also consider it a promising step to friendly relations between the nations of East Europe and Asia.

On the occasion of the 44th Anniversary of the Chinese Republic I most cordially greet the Chinese People and its vanguard Taiwan on behalf of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) — the co-ordinating centre of National Liberation Revolutionary Organisations.

No less cordially do I greet the Chinese fighters and revolutionaries on behalf of my subjugated but undefeated country Ukraine and its revolutionary liberation formations — Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, Ukrainian Insurgent Army, and Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council — Underground Government of Ukraine. I greet our Chinese friends from myself as a Ukrainian Nationalist revolutionary, as a former Premier of the last independent Ukrainian Government in 1941, and wish, from the depth of my heart, that in the united efforts of the freedom-loving nations of Europe and Asia we, by fighting, may gain a free China and that the countries of the A.B.N. and all nations of Europe and Asia may be free and independent.

We must remind all co-existentialists that the Chinese mainland and not Taiwan is to be liberated! We may repeat with your President: "Unite and fight the Communists and the Russians, and struggle for the restoration of our Chinese Republic!"

Freedom-loving Nations and individuals all over the world, unite in fighting against Bolshevism and the Russian Empire for the freedom of the nations and individuals!

means of concealing national tendencies from the censor.

The Problem of Resettlement

4) During the past six months, the abduction of young people from Ukraine, for the purpose of resettling them as land workers in hitherto uncultivated regions, has ceased. There are two reasons for this fact; firstly, the catastrophic failure and the unremunerativeness of this undertaking so far, and, secondly, the obstacles encountered as regards providing the settlers with accommodation and also their noticeable lack of discipline.

During the past six months, the mass resettlement of land workers to Kazakstan and Altai has been superseded in Ukraine by a campaign to recruit young persons, in small numbers, for work in the industries and mines in those countries.

5) The systematic resettlement of members of various nationalities has been carried out according to new methods during the past few months. Instead of sending the soldiers home when they have completed their military service, they are now persuaded to go to the places to which they are assigned and take on permanent jobs there. Non-Ukrainians are sent to work in the mines in the Donbas and Amur districts, where the population is predominantly Ukrainian, whilst the Ukrainians are sent to Central Asia.

The Problem of Reprisals

6) As usual, official Soviet reports during the past months made no mention of reprisals. It is, however, hinted that in the Ssumy district, as a result of the inadequate fulfilment of quotas, a purge of the district Party group was carried out in July this year, because the latter had failed to deal with local incidents effectively. No criticism, however, is voiced as regards the nature, the motives, and the extent of these incidents. It can thus be assumed that "incidents", an unusual word in Bolshevik terminology, can be taken to mean local insurrections, which the Bolsheviks are anxious to conceal. The motives for these insurrections were apparently not suitable for general publication, and one can, therefore, assume that these insurrections reflected either national and political dissatisfaction or resistance against the actual decrees of the administration.

7) The amnesty granted to persons convicted on account of alleged collaboration with Germans is no indication whatsoever of any relaxation in the Bolsheviks' methods of making reprisals on persons who are opposed to the regime, for the Bolsheviks do not feel so secure that they can afford to reduce the sentences passed on persons who really are political prisoners. They merely released prisoners who had allegedly been arrested for collaboration, for foreign political reasons, and not because they are anxious to bring about a propagandist conversion in the U.S.S.R. The amnesty did not, however, evoke gratitude to the regime on the part of the families of the men released, as had been hoped, since only a small percentage of the prisoners were allowed to return home. Most of them are still under the supervision of the concentration camps, where they are employed as "free workers".

The Problem of Lax Discipline

8) In the entire U.S.S.R. and, in particular, in Ukraine, Turkestan, and Azerbaidzhan two phenomena are now noticeable:

a) growing disinclination on the part of the middle and lower class Party circles and, to some extent, on the part of the members of the Komsomol, to occupy themselves with political training in the district groups and to disseminate propaganda amongst the population;

b) indifference on the part of the population in the kolchoses as regards terrorist reprisals and awards and premiums. This fact can be seen from the large number of idlers and the numerous cases of absenteeism which occur in spring and during the harvesting season. In view of the frequent occurrence of cases of

Stephan Lenkowskyj

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

1) The aim of the national policy of the Bolsheviks during the past six months has continued to be the territorial fusion of all nations in the U.S.S.R., in order to assimilate them completely with the Soviet people, under the leadership of the Russians. This fusion is to be effected on the basis of a common culture in the case of all peoples and one single political ideology, the ideology of Russian Bolshevik imperialism.

2) In addition to the obvious obstacles to the realization of this national policy, which occur again and again owing to the fact that the non-Russian peoples refuse to yield to the Bolsheviks' attempts to assimilate and russify them, a new difficulty has now arisen; incidentally, it has probably existed for some time, but it has only recently become apparent; certain members of the Party fell a victim to the Bolshevik propagandist swindle when considering the Bolshevik phraseology used for certain important resolutions of the Party, and in this way spoilt the intricate game played by the political leaders as regards the exciting national problem, and, furthermore, also aroused the suspicions of the non-Russian peoples. These members accepted the propagandist lies of the Communist leaders as the truth, namely that the national problem in the U.S.S.R. had definitely been solved and all "bourgeois" nations had already been liquidated. Accordingly, they raised the question as to whether it would not be more appropriate, in view of the liquidation of the old nations in the U.S.S.R., to cease discussing them and to issue a decree to the effect that the U.S.S.R. now only consists of one nation, namely the Soviet nation. The Party leaders were horrified at the damage done by these eager liquidators and at

the suspicion and resistance which their action had aroused among the non-Russian peoples. Accordingly, they started a new "enlightenment" campaign on the subject of the national problem and the friendship of nations, in order to allay the suspicions of the non-Russians and satisfy the impatience of some of the Communists.

3) In the sphere of culture a certain courageous trend in literary criticism is becoming more and more apparent in Ukraine. This criticism is directed against the tendency to extol only the positive side of socialist reality, a tendency which in the opinion of one group of critics is bound to lead to a stagnation in creative work, to artificiality and marasmus (Kryslaniwskyj), and in the opinion of another group of critics to primitiveness (Ssysonenko). Another critic (Kundzitsch) objects to clichés and standardization, but fails to mention the fact that the authors and publishers are obliged to comply, in this respect, with the Party decrees of the authors' union. The courageous attitude of Kosiatschenko deserves special mention, for he directly reproached the Russian Ministry of Education with interfering in these matters and limiting the number of editions of books published in Ukraine, whereas the decision rests with the Ukrainian government as to how many editions are to be printed.

As far as the contents of the literary work produced are concerned, suffice it to say that, in addition to the convinced Communists in Ukraine, there are also a number of prose-writers and poets in whose case it is hard to decide whether their dutiful observance of Party principles (extolling the Russians and the socialist "achievements") is not perhaps a

Sovietism — a State of Primitiveness

The older generation who lived in tsarist Russia still remembers the typically Russian epithets used to designate other nations. Thus the Russians called the Germans "Tupoj nemeec" ("stupid Germans"), whilst the English were described as "Kowarnyj anglitschanin" (the "cunning English"), and the French as "wyrodiwschjesja francusy" (the "degenerate French"). The Russians gave every nation a designation which was degrading and spoke of them all in terms that were both disparaging and contemptuous. The theory of the "lazy West" is not a Bolshevik invention but the traditional Russian opinion of the entire West European civilization and way of living. The Bolsheviks have merely added a few supplementary terms to those already used in tsarist Russia, as for example "homeless cosmopolitanism", "rotting bourgeois culture", etc.

Someone once said of the Russians that they are gifted imitators. They not only copy the technical achievements of Western Europe, but they also adapt West European theories to their aims and requirements. When they adopted Marxism from the West they remodelled it, with their characteristic dogmatism, to meet their requirements, and made it the vital force of Soviet life. This is only one example of their genius in the field of imitation, but at the same time it is also proof of the fact that they are incapable of independent creative searching for the truth, — one of the fundamental elements of every form of culture and civilization. It is also characteristic of the Russians that they tend to criticize themselves in the form of self-reproach, and delight in confessing their sins, only to continue committing the same sins, once they have appeased their conscience, until their next spell of "self-criticism". An anarchist mania for criticism is their favourite form of social life. And they have substituted this type of criticism for the sound and healthy criticism which touches on every sphere of life and is the sign of a character which is equable, worthy of esteem, and objective. Their conceited self-praise as regards their own cultural achievements is considerable and, with but a few exceptions, they fail to realize that they owe all these achievements to the influence of West European civilization, that is to the very people of whom, in keeping with their traditional methods, they speak contemptuously.

The "window to Europe", which Peter I opened, and the breath of fresh air, which, despite the efforts of numerous "true" Russians to close this window, managed to penetrate into Russia, as well as the close contact which existed between the Russian intelligentsia and the "lazy West", gave Russian culture a strong impetus. Surely it is significant that Russian culture flourished most during the 19th century, when contact with the West was closest, and that Russia's cultural decline is greatest at the present time, that is to say during an era in which the Russians have been forced to accept a new dogmatism in place of their dogmatic orthodoxy, and have isolated themselves from the whole world. All their present pseudo-scientific explanations and interpretations of the dogmas of Marxism and Leninism remind one of the old days of the Moscow tsarist regime, when the Muscovites, in their unproductive scholastic obstinacy,

this kind, the Bolsheviks are unable to resort to the former methods of reprisals and are obliged to try and make good the deficiency in work, caused by idlers, by mobilizing municipal brigades and school children for work on the land.

occupied themselves with the formalistic problems of their religion and completely overlooked its very essence and its tasks. And innocent people were and still are the victims of this formalism. The Russians have turned their back on the world and, above all, on the beneficial influence of Western civilization and have become obsessed by their scholasticism, and in this respect they resemble Narcissus, who worshipped his own personal perfections and was completely obsessed by one idea. The Russians want to force their dogmas and their mode of living on the whole world. Their traditional lack of an objective critical faculty and some of their "successes" make them long for more. They are fully convinced that it is their "mission" to create a new social order, which is to be based on Marxist and Leninist doctrines, but they overlook the fact that all the things which they intend to give the world are neither new, original, nor creative.

The Soviet technical achievements, about which the Russians boast so much, are a quarter of a century behind those of the Western world. Soviet technical science is merely an imitation of Western science, and it is not the West which should learn from the Russians, but vice versa.

Modern scientific and, in particular, technical achievements are so complicated that their further development can only be ensured if there is close co-operation and understanding on the part of all the nations. The Russians, however, like their forefathers in the days of the Moscow tsarist regime, have isolated themselves from the whole world, and for this reason all their attempts to keep pace with the general progress of mankind are doomed to failure. This likewise applies to their social institutions. The Russians are of the opinion that they are about to give the world a new and more harmonious social system. But if they had kept in contact with the rest of the world, they would have realized by now that the West in its attempts to remedy

social abuses has not resorted to dogmas, but has nevertheless achieved much more in this respect than the Russians, since its methods are more humane and thus more effective.

If one considers conditions in the Soviet Union from the aspect of social justice and humanity, one is bound to come to the conclusion that Sovietism is a completely antiquated and anti-humane movement, an obstacle and not a stimulus to progress. The methods adopted by the West in its efforts to solve social problems are not only more effective and more successful than Russian methods in this respect, but they are definitely positive methods, inasmuch as they are based on the fundamental principles of our civilized age, namely the freedom to which man is entitled in his creative searching for the truth.

As a result of their isolation, their dogmatism and their conceited self-adulation, the Russians have lost all sense of proportion as far as their surroundings and reality are concerned. Their propaganda methods of self-adulation, to which they have resorted again and again, are, above all, harmful to themselves, since their exaggerated self-adulation makes them blind to the actual state of affairs in the world. To Khrushchev and his comrades the world appears to be the Utopia described in Marxist and Leninist doctrines. They are still living in the world of philosophical and sociological ideas created by Marx and his disciples in the nineteenth century. They firmly believe that the present social conditions in the West are based, on the one hand, on the large-scale oppression and exploitation of the working class and, on the other hand, on the unlimited power of the capitalists, and that dreadful poverty and a fierce class-conflict prevail there. Their ideas on this subject have thus no connection at all with the true state of affairs in the West.

It is thus obvious that the entire Soviet system is based on the mentality of primitiveness, on the mentality of a person who has not progressed beyond a certain stage in the process of civilization and who endeavours to persuade himself and everyone else that the state of standstill at which he has arrived is "the greatest achievement of our times".

M. Andriyenko

The Decline of Agriculture in the U.S.S.R.

The grave agricultural crisis in the U.S.S.R. is one of the main problems with which the Kremlin leaders are at present concerned. In the decree, signed by Khrushchev and Bulganin and issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Government, it is stated that "the existing systems of centralized agricultural planning were superfluous for the state". The activity of the Gosplan (centralized planning) and of the Ministry of Agriculture so far is then criticized most sharply. Those responsible are reproached with having restricted the initiative of the kolchozes and the machine tractor stations and with having weakened their responsibility and their interest in the development of agricultural production, thus diminishing the output of the kolchozes.

On February 17, 1955, the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council of Commissars of the U.S.S.R. passed a new model statute for certain communal agricultural organizations of the kolchozes. In all the kolchozes in the Soviet Union a ceremonial presentation of title-deeds took place and, according to these deeds, land was to be allotted to the members of the kolchozes for their unlimited use. "The communal form of kolchozes is the only proper form of collective farming", says the Soviet "Encyclopedia" on page 103. "Collectivism means that agriculture is carried on on the land which is the economic and communal possession of the

people and which has been handed over to the village kolchozes for their free unlimited use for all time." On page 25 of his book, "The Law of Socialist State Property", published by the Academy of Learning and Science of the Soviet Union, Karass, the Soviet legal expert, writes: "This model statute is a unique example of legislation, the contents of which are actually contained in the text of the Soviet Constitution. Thus the clauses of this statute are practically equal in significance to a constitution."

In vain, however, did this same Soviet scholar in 1954 try to make out that the statutes of the kolchozes were equal in significance to the constitution. These statutes, like the formal title-deeds, which the kolchos workers received when the land was handed over to them for their "permanent" use, have long since become meaningless scraps of paper. The legislative act, which was supposed to be almost as significant as the constitution, was, in practice, annulled long ago. From the formal point of view it ceased to exist two years before the above-mentioned book was published, namely when the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., at Khrushchev's suggestion, "extended" the kolchozes in the year 1952. At that time the existing small collective farms, most of which comprised a village, were liquidated and in their stead big "agricultural factory-kolchozes" were found-

ed. Of course, no one asked the farm workers whether they approved of this measure, just as no one had asked them earlier on whether they wanted kolchoses or not.

As a result of the "extension" of the kolchoses, the latter were deprived of the last remnant of internal self-administration, which had been guaranteed them in the model statute. They became the usual type of bureaucratic institution where the ever-increasing numbers of Party officials could find employment.

The "Sowjetskoje Gosudarstwo i Prawo", No. 1, 1955, writes as follows: "In the interests of a consolidated operation and management of the kolchoses it is important that, at general meetings of members, the kolchoses alone should have the right to decide the main fundamental problems concerning collective farming. In all other questions the decision must be left to the heads and supervisors of the kolchoses. The competence of the heads and supervisors must be increased very considerably so as to enable these persons to resort to speedy and effective measures."

In practice this means that the Soviet regime even regards the formalism of Soviet voting as superfluous and is abolishing it. The Soviet bureaucrats are given unlimited power over the enslaved farmers and, to an ever-increasing degree, are being appointed supervisors of the large kolchoses. Under pressure of the government, the kolchos workers are being forced to elect these persons as supervisors of the kolchoses.

According to the "Radjanska Ukraina" of January 5, 1955, "Hundreds of leading Party men — secretaries of the district committees of the Party, heads of the district committees, heads of various departments of the Party district committees — are being sent to the villages in order to take over the post of supervisor of the collective farms and increase the output of the kolchoses".

Despite all these measures, however, the agricultural situation has by no means improved. On the contrary, there is even more confusion than before, owing to the enforcement of this bureaucratic system. The new landowners are less interested in the kolchoses than they are in acquiring pleasant apartments and one or two motor-cars, etc., for their own private use. Many of the new supervisors only hold this office purely as a matter of form. They continue to live in the towns and only on rare occasions do they put in an appearance in the kolchoses.

In order to save the agriculture of the U.S.S.R. from complete disaster, the Soviet regime has decided, in connection with the afore-mentioned decree, to free agriculture from centralized control and to introduce a number of other measures which should increase the productive capacity of the kolchoses. The measures, incidentally, include the further assignment of Party men to the leading posts in the kolchoses and the transfer of the authority to check up on the workers and the work done to the machine tractor stations.

At a meeting of agricultural experts in Voronezh, Khrushchev said that the Party had decided to dismiss about 50,000 kolchos supervisors (i. e. about one-third of the total number) from their posts on account of incompetence, and to replace them by less important Party functionaries. According to the Soviet press, this campaign is in full swing. By the end of July this year the kolchos farmers of the "remaining kolchoses" are to have "chosen" new supervisors, whose duty it will be to restore order in the agricultural system.

Since the successful operation of the kolchoses depends to a very considerable extent on the activity of the machine tractor stations, the government is endeavouring to bring about a smooth co-operation between these two sectors, and has decided to make the machine tractor stations responsible for the fulfilment of the targets set in the agricultural plans.

The "Selskoje Chosiajstwo" of March 5, 1955, writes as follows: "In connection with the programme drawn up for the further

development of agriculture, the January plenum (of the Party) stressed the growing importance of the machine tractor stations. They are the decisive factor which will ensure an increase in the production of the kolchoses. The plenum likewise stressed the fact that the machine tractor stations bear the entire responsibility for the fulfilment of the kolchos plans."

What will be the actual results of these new measures? The fact that one-third of the total number of kolchos supervisors in the Soviet Union are to be replaced by others, speaks for itself. Even if the 50,000 new supervisors were agricultural experts, this large-scale change in the management of the kolchoses would be bound to lead to chaos. And how much greater will this chaos be, seeing that all these persons are typical products of Soviet party-bureaucracy and have not the least idea of agriculture. Their arrival in the kolchoses means that the bureaucratic process will be intensified even more. And the land

will therefore no longer yield grain. A kolchos is not a factory and its deficiencies cannot be remedied by resorting to bureaucratic methods. Nor will the rulers of the Kremlin be able to solve this problem by trying to thrust the responsibility for the fulfilment of agricultural plans on to the machine tractor stations, for the latter are being subjected to exactly the same bureaucratic process as the kolchoses.

It can thus be assumed that the recent measures adopted by the Kremlin and its attempts to bring about an improvement in the agricultural situation will not lead to any positive results. The main problem in the villages of the Soviet Union is the hostile attitude of the farmers towards the collective system, and only the abolition of this system could remedy the "deficiencies" which clearly reflect the decline of agriculture in the U.S.S.R. But the collective system can only be abolished if the entire Soviet regime is liquidated.

Oleh Zelenetzky

National Government the Hope of the Subjugated Chinese Mainland

Mr. Stetzko's Address to the Chinese nation

The following speech, of which we are herewith publishing an extract, was relayed by the Voice of Free China Broadcasting Company in Taipei, Taiwan, to the Chinese mainland on October 26, 1955, and was also circulated there by means of illicit leaflets.

"Nation of heroic martyrs!
Freedom-loving Chinese on the mainland!
Comrades in the fight for freedom against tyranny!

In response to an invitation I travelled from distant Europe to the island of freedom and hope, to Taiwan, in order to take part in the celebrations held on October 10th, to mark the anniversary of the "Day of the Chinese Republic". The national liberation organizations of the freedom-loving peoples of East Europe and Soviet Asia, who are at present subjugated by Moscow, in this way wished to give you proof of their solidarity with your anti-Communist fight for freedom, which is being conducted in accordance with the watchwords of the Republic, the San Min Chu I, under the able leadership of your President, Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, and also wished to pay homage to you as champions of freedom in your native country. The national revolutionary liberation organizations of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Slovakia, Bohemia, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Albania, Ukraine, Cossackia, North Caucasia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbeidzhan, Idel-Ural, and of the other countries which are subjugated by Moscow, send you their greetings, Comrades in arms, and express their admiration of your fight against the Red tyrants of Peking and against the Mao Tse-tung clique, who are not Chinese patriots, but merely vile agents of Moscow. This gang of tyrants carries out Moscow's orders and serves Moscow's interests, but not the interests of the Chinese nation.

We peoples of East Europe and Soviet Asia can look back on thirty years' experience in the anti-Communist fight. We have experienced the same hardships and sufferings as you, my Friends, are now enduring. And so far nothing has changed in this respect. The Bolsheviks have constantly promised a better future for the masses, for the workers and the farmers, and, in fact, for whole nations, but they have never kept their promises. Slavery, tyranny, slave labour, concentration camps, torture, murder, the persecution of nations, and even genocide continue unabated.

The despots are of the opinion that a nation that has to worry as to how to obtain its daily bread is likely to forget its longing for freedom and its aims in this respect. But, my Comrades, this is not the case! A convict in prison, though he may be starving, longs for freedom more than for a better life without freedom. Freedom is the most precious possession on this earth! And freedom is only subjected to restrictions when it is abused in the sense of justice. Justice and freedom are the highest moral values in this world. All big

and positive revolutions have been conducted in accordance with these principles. The Communist tyrants have inscribed these ideas on their treacherous banners and have thus deceived the nations. The Communists of Moscow have made a hollow pretence of promising us heaven on earth, namely the partition of the Russian tsarist imperium into national independent states for all our peoples.

In reality, however, they have set up an even more terrible imperium than was the case during the tsarist era. What is more! — they have even included the Chinese mainland in their imperialist plans to rule the world, thanks to the help given them in this respect by the Mao Tse-tung clique! The Moscow Communists have likewise promised our farmers land, according to the slogan "Land for the Farmers", as their own private property. But what have they done in reality! They have introduced an even worse system of collective farming, according to which the big Party officials have become big landowners. The Russian Communists have forcibly deprived our farmers, even the poorest of them, of their land and have compelled them to join the collective farming system. When the farmers in Ukraine, Caucasia, Byelorussia, and Cossackia refused to hand over their land and join the collective system, and when insurrections occurred in this connection in Ukraine and other countries, Moscow sent GPU troops to our countries. The entire grain crop in our countries was taken to Russia. It was only after five million Ukrainians had died of starvation that the active resistance could be crushed. Three million farmers died of starvation during the famine which was intentionally created by Moscow in other countries under Russian Communist rule, as for instance Caucasia, Cossackia, Turkestan, etc.

The Russian Communists have promised our workers factories, according to the motto of "Factories for the Workers!" But what have they done in reality! Nowhere in the world is slave labour and exploitation of the workers worse than in the mines and factories in the "Workers' Paradise" of the Soviet Union. Why is it so? Why is Communism so cruel and ruthless? It cannot be otherwise, for only in this way can the Communist tyrants and their hirelings subjugate the 450 million Chinese and other peoples; it is easiest for the Communist tyrants to control the country and assert their power if all the farmers and workers are forced to become part of the totalitarian collective system. It is much more difficult to deprive 300 million farmers, each of whom owns a farm and free private property, forcibly of rice, grain, and other agricultural products than to check up and control collective farms by means of a few armed overseers. It is true that the collective system has not yet been introduced in every district on the Chinese mainland, but there can be no doubt about the fact that it will most certainly be introduced there in the very near

Pictorial Supplement

on the Formosa Visit
of ABN's President, Jaroslaw
Stetzko

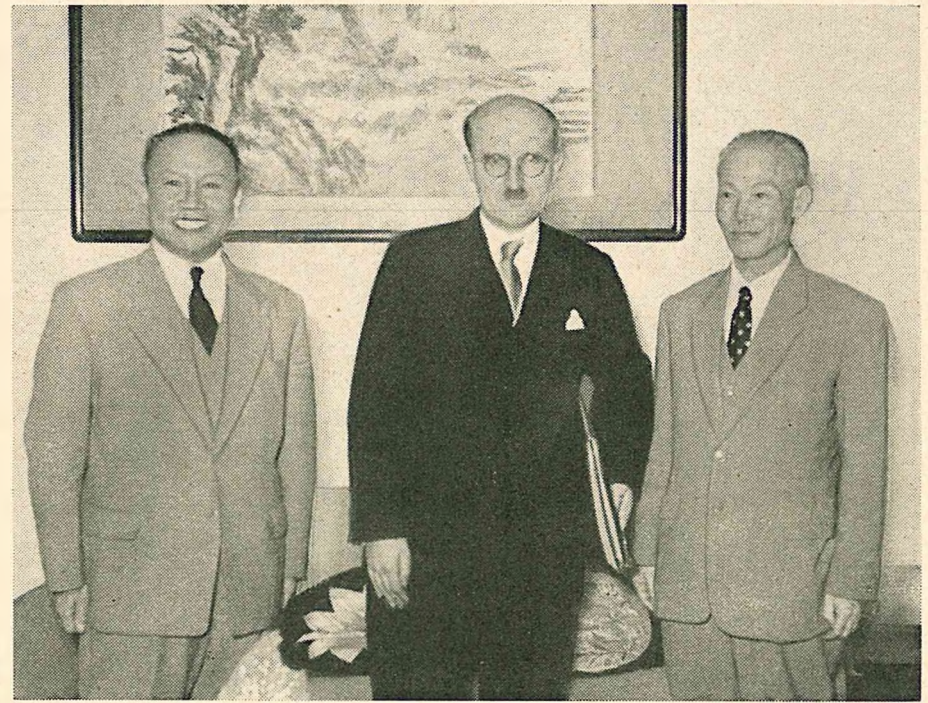


蔣中正

Generalissimo President Chiang Kai-shek and Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko



Jaroslaw Stetzko on the platform of honour in Taiwan, during the military parade; on the right: US General of the US Advisor Groups in Taiwan and Representative of the Republic of Korea



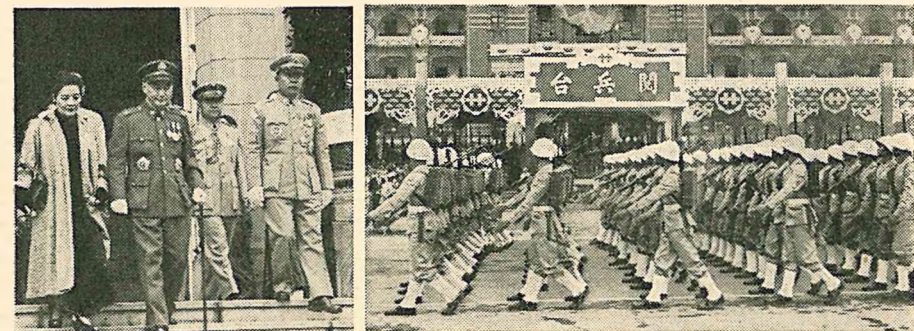
Vice-President of the Chinese Republic Chen Cheng and President Ku Cheng-kang



At Taipei airport on Oct. 9, 1955
Jaroslaw Stetzko, Ku Cheng-kang and Prof. Lin Tsiu-sen



Jaroslaw Stetzko inspecting a farm on Formosa



Left: President and Madame Chiang Kai-shek leaving the President's Palace
Right: The military parade in Taipei on Oct. 10th.



Jaroslaw Stetzko and Mr. Hwang You during the parade on "Taiwan Day" (Oct. 25, 1955)



Mr. Stetzko addressing the Anti-Communist ex-P.o. Ws from Korea 1954

*Freedom
for Nations!*

*

*Freedom
for Individuals!*



■ Ambassador Dr. Yü Tsune-chi in Rome with members of the Embassy during the reception held on President Chiang Kai-shek's birthday



President Chiang Kai-shek reviewing
[the military parade



Jaroslaw Stetzko in conversation with Ambassador Dr. Yü Tsune-chi



People in the streets of the town
during the celebration of the "Day
of the Republic" in Taipei (Formosa)



Visiting the Institute for Agrarian Reform Planning

future, since an omission in this respect on the part of the Mao Tse-tung clique would mean the latter's downfall. Events are taking exactly the same course in your case as they did in ours. The famous tyrant and international criminal, the master of all Communists all over the world, Lenin, on one occasion expressed a true Communist principle, when he said, "The peasantry must be destroyed, for it is the greatest enemy of Communism". And the Chinese are a nation of peasants. As far as the extirpation of the peasants on the Chinese mainland is concerned, Mao Tse-tung is the executor of Lenin's will. And, incidentally, Lenin also affirmed, "Two-thirds of mankind can be destroyed, as long as one-third supports Communism!"

Consider the question as to *why* Moscow, the source of the Communist plague, *should have any desire to help you* to live under better conditions! Consider the history of your country! Has Russia

sen! Your national pride, your sense of honour and dignity, must surely rebel against the govern-ness-methods of Moscow. What business have Russian missions in your country? Surely the Chinese people know best how to manage affairs in their own country! The Russian Communist missions have come to China in order to set up a compulsory collective system, to organize a secret police system directed against the population, and to introduce the well-ried terrorist methods tested in our countries during the thirty-five years of Communist tyranny, but they have not the least intention of helping you.

If there is any truth in the statement that the Chinese people support the Mao Tse-tung clique, why does this clique need help from Moscow? A nation numbering 450 millions does not need help and support from 80 million Russians, who, in any case, as regards their cultural level, are far inferior to you, my Chinese friends!

Although, in my opinion, this propaganda does not sufficiently stress the social achievements accomplished by Chiang Kai-shek's government. It is perhaps a serious fault on the part of the National government that it does not emphasize its social achievements more. We people of Europe for the most part know very little about the social reforms which have been effected in Free China. During my stay here I have heard some perfectly free criticism, and I discovered that no one, with the exception of Communist criminals, is persecuted for expressing an opinion which differs from that of the government. There is not merely a Kuomintang Party, but also other parties which are allowed to pursue their activity unhindered. I also inspected and visited important military bases, barracks, military parades, the excellent training centre for psychological warfare, broadcasting stations, and other institutions, and was genuinely amazed at all these outstanding achievements. The excellent preparations which are being made for the liberation of the mainland, the industriousness of the population throughout the country, and the solicitude of the government as regards all vital national problems, deserve the deepest admiration, and, incidentally, encourage a European champion of the cause of freedom in his fight against Communism and Russian imperialism.

The morale of the army is excellent and all the soldiers are inspired by their faith in an ultimate victory. I never heard anyone express the least doubt in this respect. The army is truly an army of the national revolution against the Communist regime, an army of freedom, which on the strength of its just principles and its firm conviction, will in the near future increase from its present number of 600,000 to 6 millions. I myself have seen the solemn oaths, written in blood, which thousands of Chinese soldiers, who went over to the side of freedom in the Korean War, have made, to the effect that they will fight under Chiang Kai-shek's government against Red tyranny and for the liberation of the mainland, until they achieve a final victory. And they are, indeed, justified in hoping that the mainland will soon be liberated.

You, my Chinese friends, are not alone in your fight for freedom; your comrades in this fight are the 120 million non-Russians in the U.S.S.R., the 88 million peoples in the satellite countries of Europe. In Siberia there are 15 million champions of the cause of freedom imprisoned in concentration camps. The non-Russians are in the majority in the Far East Soviet Army. There are one and a half million Ukrainians living north of Vladivostok. All these people are on your side.

The Western world is gradually realizing the mistakes it has made in the past as regards Free China. It, too, will support us in this fight, for Communism and Russian imperialism are a world-menace. A vast world-front against Communist and Russian imperialist tyranny is about to be formed.

And you, too, must do your share in this fight, for the free world is only willing to help those who are strong and those who fight.

Let our motto, then, be: To fight until the final victory is achieved! Long live Free China! Long live the great, heroic Chinese nation! Long live the independent states of all the nations of Europe and Asia, who are at present subjugated by Communism and Russian imperialism!"



Jaroslaw Stetzko addresses the leading members of the Anti-Bolshevist Movement of Free China

ever helped China! Why, I ask you, should Russia be the one power to make all the workers and farmers all over the world content and happy!

Russian Missions

Russia has always sought to subjugate foreign nations, not only in our time, but even in pre-Bolshevist days. The Russian imperium, as one Russian writer actually pointed out, was always a peoples' prison. My native country, Ukraine, has been fighting incessantly for three hundred years against Russian imperialism. And the same applies to other nations in East Europe. You, too, my Chinese listeners, have been fighting for practically thirty years, under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, against the Russian Communist destroyers of nations. Surely, it is hardly likely that Russia is more solicitous for your welfare and the welfare of the Chinese workers and farmers — as the Mao Tse-tung clique affirms — than Chiang Kai-shek, the man who has devoted his entire life to the fight for your freedom! When he led your armies against the Japanese invader and had no time to devote himself to certain social problems, Moscow, with the aid of the Mao Tse-tung clique, carried on sabotage and subversive activities and drove the people over to Moscow's side. Even during the war against Japan, Mao was a traitor. A *double* traitor, in fact. Why then should he now be the man to bring your country benefits! Surely, the Chinese nation, one of the oldest nations on earth, with its noble works of culture and philosophy, does not need Marxist and Leninist doctrines! Are not your Confucius and your Christian and Buddhist teachings far greater and nobler than all the destructive and negative doctrines of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin! What need have you, my Chinese friends, of a foreigner, an enemy, a Russian Lenin as your teacher in life, seeing that you have your own master Sun Yat-

The Mao Tse-tung clique has promised you land, and also freedom and social justice. Chiang Kai-shek, however, has already fulfilled this promise and has given you land, freedom and justice in Free China!

I must frankly admit that when I left Europe for China I had no idea that social reforms had already been realized to such a considerable extent in Free China. There are no longer any big landowners in Free China. No one is allowed to own more private land than he can cultivate himself without employing slaves. And there are no longer any slaves in this country!

Outstanding Achievements of the National Government

Those who were formerly big landowners are now only allowed to own as much land as a small farmer. The land really belongs to the farmers as their permanent property. The farmers I saw and talked to personally all over the country gave the impression of being happy and contented. This land reform might well serve as an example to be followed by some European countries.

The statement circulated by the Communists all over the world, to the effect that Chiang Kai-shek's government is reactionary, is an infamous lie. During my stay in Formosa I have inspected the social institutions introduced for the welfare of the workers, their dwelling-houses, schools near to the factories, recreation clubs, hospitals, and canteens, and I can honestly say that the workers are really content and that they earn more than civil servants and officers. Nowhere did I see any beggars. During my visit I was allowed to see everything that interested me and to speak to anyone whom I wished to speak to. All the questions I put were answered perfectly frankly.

All the statements made by National Chinese propaganda are in every respect perfectly true.

The President of the A.B.N. Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko Visits Rome

On his return from Formosa, the President of the A.B.N., Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, visited Rome, where he attended a lecture given by Mr. Harold Stassen. He also had talks with Prince Alliata de Montereale and various other prominent Italian anti-Communists.

Whilst in Rome, Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko sent a telegram to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek congratulating him on the occasion of his sixty-ninth birthday.

Mr. Stetzko was given a most cordial reception by the National Chinese Ambassador, His Excellency Dr. Yü Tsune-chi, and had several friendly talks with him.

A. Mykulyn

The National Question in the Soviet Army

The changes which took place in the Soviet Army during World War II (confirmed by an official order issued by Stalin on January 7, 1943) were not only of an external nature, but also of considerable internal significance. The introduction of officers' insignia, new uniforms (on the pattern of those of the former tsarist army), the founding of the officers' caste, the excellent material provision made for the army, and a number of privileges, etc., were not only the visible signs of the return of the Soviet Army to the traditions of the former tsarist army, but also represented a complete readjustment of the principles of the Soviet Army to the principles of tsarist Russian imperialism, principles which formed the basis for Soviet patriotism and the Leninist doctrine of "the fairness of a proletarian war".

After World War II the Soviet Army was completely reorganized. And in the Soviet Army, too, just as in the entire U.S.S.R., the national problem and its solution became the most urgent question of the day. The Soviet Army is not composed of members of one single nationality, but is a very mixed conglomeration of various nationalities, and as such engrosses the attention of the Communist Party and the chief political administration under the leadership of the military department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, very considerably. Although Stalin, from 1918 onwards until World War II, advocated the idea of reorganizing the Soviet Army on the lines of the German Army and with Prussian discipline, World War II showed that the best pattern for the Russians to take in reorganizing their army was the tsarist army with its Russian chauvinist imperialism. In 1928, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Army, Stalin said that the latter was characterized by three special features.

In the first place, he described it as a **tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat**, an instrument to liberate the working class and the peasantry from the yoke imposed on them by the big landowners and the capitalists.

Secondly, it consisted, he said, of many nationalities and could thus serve as an example of the unity and friendship of all the nations.

And thirdly, so he stressed, the spirit of internationalism was fostered and promoted in the Soviet Army.

Stalin's characterization of the Soviet Army not only describes it as an instrument with which to subjugate the whole world, but also corroborates the fact that there are national problems in the Soviet Army which to all outward appearance are practically unnoticeable. The concentration and centralization of the administration and organization of the Soviet Army and the fact that it is permeated with the Party element enable the Party organizations and also the political administrative authorities to keep a careful check on national conditions in the Soviet Army, about which information is otherwise subject to strict secrecy. In the Soviet Army political instructions pertaining to the nationalities question are the personal secret of the leaders of the political training and Party organizations of the Soviet Army. The early stages in the development of the Russification of the nations subjugated by Moscow and of Russian Communist imperialism were reflected in the Soviet Army, although perhaps not quite so markedly as was the case among the civilian population of the nations enslaved by Moscow.

Until the outbreak of World War II a ruthless Russification campaign was carried on in the Soviet Army, and the idea of proletarian internationalism, which is prompted by Russian imperialism, was propagated. The best outward and visible signs of proletarian internationalism are, for instance, such soldiers'

songs as, "Give us Warsaw and Berlin, Madrid and London will be ours, too!", "From the Taiga to the seas of Britain the Red Army is the strongest", or "Put your arms to the test, proletarians, and advance to accomplish your task!".

At the beginning of World War II, however, the national question was somewhat less in evidence in the Soviet Army. The unwillingness of the subjugated nations to fight for their own oppressor, the national liberation movements, and the indecision and irresoluteness of the Soviet government showed that both internationalism and Russification were proving a failure.

Misuse of National Feelings

From the end of 1941 to the end of 1945 the Central Committee of the Communist Party once more resumed its game with the national and patriotic feelings of the soldiers of the subjugated nations. False rumours were circulated intentionally, to the effect that after the war various concessions were to be granted to the national republics and the kolchos system was to be abolished. At the same time, however, Russian patriotic sentiments were allowed full freedom. Imperialist ideas receded into the background, and the ideas of the Comintern passed into oblivion. The third special feature of the Soviet Army mentioned by Stalin in his characterization of the latter was now locked up in the "iron safe". The main watchword of the Soviet Army was now "the defence of the country". On the banners with which the guards units were decorated for bravery, the words "for Stalin" were now left out of the inscription, "For the country, for Stalin".

After the toast offered in honour of the Russian people by Stalin on April 9, 1945, met with a negative response in the Soviet Army, it was accepted with indifference, by the soldiers of the subjugated nations, since, at that time, the Soviet Army was busy celebrating its own victory and the entire population was weary of the war. This was quite natural, since 87 per cent of the Soviet Army, from the end of 1941 until the end of 1944, consisted of soldiers and officers of Russian nationality. The non-Russian nations lived in constant fear and dread of being severely punished for the fact that they were obliged to live and work in the territories occupied by the German army, during the war. The liquidation of the Germans of the Volga territory, of the Crimean Tatars, and of some of the Caucasian peoples (in the year 1944) resulted in serious repressive measures being enforced on all the nations subjugated by Moscow, who were once more compelled to endure the Bolshevik Russian yoke. But despite this fact, however, national feeling continued to prevail among the ranks of the Soviet Army. As an active element of the underground movement in Ukraine, the Ukrainian Insurgents' Army (the U.P.A.) with its national units asserted itself, and members of other nations that had been subjugated by Moscow joined its ranks. When the Soviet Army was engaged in advancing westwards and once more occupied the non-Russian territories which had already been occupied in 1939, the soldiers of the Soviet Army who were of non-Russian nationality went over to the side of the insurgents and supplied the latter with a considerable amount of arms, provisions, ammunition, and military information.

The military victory over Germany caused so much enthusiasm among all the cadres of the Soviet Army that they were even willing to fight against their former allies. After Stalin's toast was publicly proclaimed the Russians in the Soviet Army received preferential treatment, and the Russian nation was put up as a model for all the non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R. Pankratova, an Academy member, in his book, "The Great Russian Nation", writes as follows on p. 177:

"The courage and bravery which the Russian nation showed in the past, when confronted by their assailants, were once more in evidence to a very considerable degree during the great war which took place on Russian soil. The main cadres of the fighting forces of the U.S.S.R. consisted of Russian soldiers and officers. By its example during the war the Russian nation gave all the other nations of the U.S.S.R. proof of its heroism, its courage, and bravery, since it had implicit faith in its Soviet government and its Bolshevik party..."

The Principle of Aggression Ranks Foremost!

From the beginning of 1946 until about 1949 there was a marked tendency both in the Soviet Army and in the Soviet Union to bring Russian state chauvinism into line with Marxist and Leninist doctrines. Political training manifested a different tendency. Increased international tension, the reorganization of the army, the reinforcement of the latter by recruiting soldiers from the non-Russian nations, and the experience gained during World War II as regards dealing with national problems forced the chief political administration to issue secret instructions concerning propaganda about the pre-eminence of the Russian nation. Orders were issued that the officers of other nationalities should be won over for the Party, and in this way a "bridge of friendship" was to be set up between the Russians and the members of other nations in the Soviet Army. Political training now changed its trend, inasmuch as soldiers were trained more intensively in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and international friendship. Soldiers and officers — Party men of other nations — and in particular the generals were completely russified. Together with Russian officers they now formed the cadre of the army, which in turn found a support in Russian imperialist chauvinism. The Soviet soldier was now trained in the spirit of a Greater Russia and the conception of Russian Communist aggression was impressed upon him. And this conception, which was resurrected, as it were, as world conquest aims, still continues to exist today. This fact is for instance corroborated by Colonel Hontcharov in his article, "W. I. Lenin on the Defence of our Socialist Country", which appeared in the paper "Krasnaja Swesda" ("The Red Star"), No. 92/1955, and in which he writes as follows: "Our wars will always be just and lawful, since we are not only defending our native country, but are also liberating other nations from imperialism. In times of war all the nations of the U.S.S.R. seek to strengthen the ties which exist between them and the Party. Amongst these nations it occupies the leading position. It acts as the leader of all the other nations. This was the case during World War II, when the Russian nation led all the other nations and vanquished the enemy..."

Regardless of these trends of an international nature which have recently been in evidence in the Soviet Army, Russification has in practice by no means abated, despite the fact that a Ministry of Defence was formed in Ukraine after the war. But none of the "independent" Soviet republics possesses an independent national army. Soviet mobilization plans are drawn up in such a manner that the soldiers of the non-Russian nations are not allowed to do their military service in their own country, but are sent elsewhere. In addition, they are forced to mix with Russian soldiers. The weapons which are supplied to non-Russian soldiers in foreign territory, as for example in the heart of Russia, cannot, therefore, be directed against the Russian regime. The era of international relations, which was propagated by Moscow from 1949 until 1954 and which began with the forming of socialist nations in the U.S.S.R., found its expression in Ukraine when the

Russians over-exaggerated the celebrations to mark the 300th anniversary of the "Union" of Ukraine and Russia. More pressure was also exerted in order to intensify the fight against Ukrainian "bourgeois nationalism".

"Proletarian Internationalism" and Imperialist Propaganda

The above facts prove that both Russification and national Russian chauvinism suffered a defeat in the national republics. In view of the danger of another war, the Central Committee of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union is now beginning to appoint generals and officers of other nationalities, especially Ukrainians, to the higher posts in the Soviet Army. And this likewise indicates that the national problems in the Soviet Army not only continue to exist, but have recently become even more acute. **The fight of nationalism against Russian chauvinism still goes on in the Soviet Army, even though it is camouflaged to a very considerable extent.**

Russian emigrant chauvinists are thus deceiving the Western world when they affirm that there are no national differences in the Soviet Army and that the national problem was solved long ago. This is a flagrant lie! There can be no doubt about the fact that in the year 1928 there was a nationalist underground movement at the "Kalinin" military training school in Kiev, and that this movement was composed of a group of pupils there, all of whom were Ukrainians. This underground movement had its origin in the unanimous desire of the Ukrainians to resist national Russian chauvinism, and its guiding principle was to fight for Ukraine. In 1936 a nationalist group of Ukrainian officers and soldiers in the 71st regiment was liquidated by the GPU in Vynnytsa. Incidents such as this do not happen by chance. They are proof of the fact that the national problem in the Soviet Army is a very grave one.

The idea of forming socialist republics in the U.S.S.R., and the international situation at that time, forced the Central Committee of the Communist Party to check its national positions in the Soviet Army as speedily as possible. In 1955 the third Stalinist characteristic of the Soviet Army, namely its proletarian internationalism, comes to the fore once more. The leading article, "The Moral Character of the Soldier of the Soviet Army", in the paper, "Krasnaja Swesda" ("The Red Star"), No. 8, 1955, writes as follows: "The morale of the Soviet Army is a morale which exhorts to the liberation of all workers from the capitalistic yoke, to the fight for the victory of socialism, a morale of social solidarity, of brotherly friendship..." The above-mentioned Colonel Hontcharov also writes as follows: "The Soviet Army, which has been built up and organized on the Leninist principles of the proletarian war theory, and has been trained in the spirit of friendship amongst the nations and proletarian internationalism, has all the necessary means at its disposal with which to defeat the enemy..." In the speech he made at the graves of Soviet soldiers on May 8th this year, the Minister of War of the U.S.S.R., Zhukov, likewise stressed the proletarian internationalism of the Soviet Army. On the occasion of the "Celebration of Victory" in Moscow, on May 9, 1955, Marshal Konjev did not, it is true, mention the leading part played by the Russian nation, but he did propose a toast in honour of the whole Soviet nation. It is thus obvious that the Central Committee of the Communist Party, as far as its world-conquest plans are concerned, is reorganizing the entire Soviet Army as fast as it can for a large-scale aggression, in order to conquer foreign territory, and it is likewise evident that a Greater Russia imperialism still continues to be the driving force behind proletarian internationalism.

Once Again the A.B.N. is Right in the End

The above-mentioned facts once again most definitely corroborate the opinion held by A.B.N. and the conclusions that it has drawn,

namely that the Kremlin, in the event of a war, would once again reckon on the national feeling of the non-Russian soldiers and of the nations that have been subjugated by Moscow both within the Soviet Union and in other countries, merely in order to achieve a victory. The Russian nation, its soldiers and its officers, will have to fight and die for the U.S.S.R. peoples' prison, for Moscow and its Communist Party, for Russia's imperialist government and her world dominion. It will no longer not only be a mistake but also a serious crime against the free world and the nations subjugated by Moscow, to hope that Russians will disintegrate the Soviet Army from within (if one bears in mind the former Vlassov movement) and that the Western major powers will support the policy of "Non-intervention" and the "Preservation of

the Russian Imperium" in the event of a war. If the Western world, with its powerful fighting forces, supports the idea of the freedom of these subjugated nations, and the latter are assured that the Soviet Union will be partitioned, with free sovereign states for the non-Russian nations, then it is fairly certain that the Soviet Army will already be disintegrated during the war and will thus be deprived of its fighting strength. In that case Russian imperialism — the greatest menace to the whole world — will inevitably be destroyed. The Soviet Army can only be disintegrated from within if there is no repetition of the fatal mistakes made by Hitler as regards the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union, and if the national fight for freedom which is being carried on by these nations is given active and effective support.

In the Light of Facts

Ninety per cent of the Internees in Soviet Concentration Camps are Non-Russians

The eyewitness accounts which countless German ex-prisoners-of-war, who have returned home from Soviet concentration camps, have given representatives of the press, enable us to have a clear idea of conditions, not only in these concentration camps, but also, to some extent, in the entire Soviet Union and, in particular, in the non-Russian territories of the Soviet Union. It may sound strange, but it is no doubt in keeping with the truth, to say that it is precisely in the concentration camps that the fog of Soviet mendacity and deceit descends completely, and the fundamental problems and the glaring contrasts of life in the Soviet Union stand out most clearly. The eyewitness accounts given by German ex-prisoners-of-war corroborate the following facts. In the first place, ninety per cent of the internees in the concentration camps are non-Russians; of these, fifty per cent are Ukrainians, whilst the remainder are members of other non-Russian nations. Only ten per cent of the internees are Russians and the majority of this number are criminals. Secondly, Stalin's death undermined the position of the regime to such an extent that strikes and insurrections occurred in practically all the big concentration camps. Thirdly, all these strikes were organized by internees, and in this respect Ukrainians played a leading part. Despite the inhuman reaction on the part of the administrative authorities of the camps, some of the demands raised by the prisoners during the strikes were actually considered. Fourthly, the organized groups which were formed by the internees have continued to exist even after the strikes, and now represent a certain defensive and, above all, political force.

What does the corroboration of all these facts imply! If we consider these facts in the light of internal affairs in the Soviet Union, we are bound to admit that they corroborate the theory of the internal weakness of the regime. The millions of prisoners, who, in former times, would normally have perished under the Soviet terrorist regime, nowadays set up an organized resistance and manage to achieve a certain amount of success in doing so. If such conditions prevail in the concentration camps, then one can well imagine the extent to which the position of the regime has been weakened among the so-called "free" subjects.

The fact that ninety per cent of the internees in the concentration camps at present are non-Russians, whilst only ten per cent are Russians, refutes the statements made by certain Russian emigrants and pro-Russian circles, to the effect that national problems play no part whatsoever in the Soviet Union and that a purely Communist imperialism prevails there. It is, however, perfectly ob-

vious that the national problem is one of the most vital problems in the Soviet Union, and that Russian imperialism and Bolshevism are so closely allied that it is impossible to separate one from the other. Together they form a complete unit, and the fight against Communism must therefore also be a fight against Russian imperialism.

All the theories regarding the process of Russification and the fusion of all the nations of the Soviet Union into one Soviet, that is to say Russian, nation, can likewise be refuted. All the German ex-prisoners-of-war stressed the fact that the internees in the concentration camps have not only organized their own national groups, but also manifest a great national consciousness and patriotism. If we assume that the minimum number of internees in the concentration camps is 10 million, of which 9 million are non-Russians, and if we assume that each of the internees has on an average two or three close relatives in his native country, then the total number of convinced opponents of the regime, including the internees, amounts to approximately 40 million persons, that is to say practically half the entire non-Russian population. In view of this fact, it seems somewhat ludicrous to talk about the process of fusion! Actually, the national problem is making itself felt much more seriously in the Soviet Union than one would imagine, and proof of this fact can be seen in the situation in the concentration camps and in the concessions which the regime has recently been obliged to make in Ukraine and in other non-Russian republics.

We can only hope that the information passed on by the German ex-prisoners-of-war will result in a change of attitude on the part of certain American circles, who base their political action and the fight against Bolshevism on completely erroneous assumptions and are striving to preserve the Russian peoples' prison in another form. In the light of facts and figures supplied by German ex-prisoners-of-war, the speculations of the above-mentioned American circles appear to be quite unfounded. Only the non-Russian nations and, above all, the Ukrainian nation can constitute the most vital factor and the most important force in the fight against Bolshevism. Only a negligible percentage of Russians is actually opposed to the regime; the majority either actively support the regime or adopt a tolerant attitude towards it. The Russians represent the pillar and the support of Russian imperialism and of Bolshevism, which is so closely allied to this imperialism. It is time the anti-Soviet circles in the West realized these facts and regarded the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union as their most important allies.

Land Reform in Free China and Communist-China compared

Purpose

In Free China

1. To establish family-size farms by abolishing the farm tenure system; farmers need to pay tax to the Government only and not to pay rent to the landlords.
2. To raise farm production, improve farmer's life and revitalize rural economy.
3. To transfer landlords' capital in land to industrial investment as a means to develop industries.
4. To promote social stability and progress by protecting the economic interest of the majority of the people.

Method

In Free China

1. To reform the land system gradually and peacefully by firstly reducing farm rental rate, secondly selling public land to tenant farmers, and finally transferring the excessive private land holdings to tenant farmers.
2. To transfer the portion of private lands exceeding three hectares of paddy field or 6 hectares of dryland from landlords to tenant farmers through government purchase and resale and to permit landlords to retain lands within the above retention limit.
3. To pay the land purchase price by the Government at 250% of the value of the total annual main crop by 70% in land bond in kind and 30% in public industrial stocks to the landlords who are exempt from paying tax on the principal and interest of the bond received.
4. To let the farmer purchasers pay the land purchase price in 10 years with annual instalment not exceeding the rental burden originally borne by them as tenant farmers.
5. To establish and extend production loans to the farmer as a means to increase farm production and to encourage modernized cooperative farming.
6. To extend purchase loans by the Government to tenant farmers for the purchase of lands retained by the landlords under the program.

Effects

In Free China

1. Farmer's income is increased; their living conditions are improved; and social stability and progress are secured.
2. Farmer's incentive and interest in cultivation are intensified; food production is increased; and economic stability and prosperity are secured.
2. Farmer's social status is elevated and his political consciousness is awakened, thereby helping the development of self-rule and the establishment of genuine democracy.
4. The number of children in rural districts attending school is on the increase yearly and rural cultural standard is elevated.
5. Farmers shall possess 90% of the farm crop as their own income after full payment of the land purchase price to the government, with only 10% of the total annual yield to be paid to the Government as tax.
6. Land investment will be transferred to industrial investment, thereby enlarging the field of free enterprise and promoting industrial development.
7. The traditional conception of unearned increment is removed and the new spirit of industry, initiative and adventure is growing.

Purpose

In Communist China

1. To collectivize the land and agriculture by abolishing private landownership system and to enslave the farmers.
2. To create class hostility, destroy social structure, and rule by terror.
3. To exploit the farmers by controlling food supply through dividing the landlord's land among them.
4. To control land distribution by dividing the landlord's land among the farmers first and then to force the farmers to join the army.

Method

In Communist China

1. To introduce class struggle between farmers and landlords, to create a reign of terror, and to divide landlord's land and to destroy their families.
2. To reinvestigate and re-classify the class status of farmers continuously by promoting poor farmers to medium farmers, medium farmers to rich farmers, and rich farmers to landlords with the result that all farmers will be eventually subject to liquidation and exposed to the danger of death and destruction.
3. To collectivize the land system by forcing farmers to participate in collective farms with the result that farmers lose not only their right of ownership and income on their land but also their freedom; and finally become slaves throughout their life.

Effects

In Communist China

1. Hostility, violence and terror prevail with the disappearance of freedom, sympathy and friendship in the society after class struggle and liquidation.
2. Good lands were established as collective farms or divided among Communist members while poor lands were divided among the farmers. Farmers are forced to cultivate the land of the Communist members and to produce a fixed volume of crops on their own land. Failure in both will be subject to penalty.
3. Farmers acquired nominal ownership of the land while losing the right of disposing their own land and crops and even their poultry. All foods are surrendered to the Communists.
4. Farmers are required to pay over 55% of their total income to the Communist Government as land tax and to pay over 80% of their total income for all tax and surtaxes.
5. Full grown farmers are conscripted into the army; rural areas are devoid of farm labor; many farms are cultivated by the aged, women or children or lie waste.
6. Farm implements and draft animals are scarce in the rural areas; numerous farms have to be cultivated entirely by human labor.
7. Farm production is decreased; food is in great shortage; many farmers live on wild grass and plants; starvation prevails; and rural economy has been destroyed.
8. Over 40% of the farm families were forced to participate in the collective farms; they lost their land and freedom and became slaves of the Communists.

A Sad Anniversary

On September 4, the Bulgarian National Front in New York organized a PROTEST MEETING against the present communist regime in Bulgaria.

The Bulgarians abroad and at home remember with deep sorrow those dark days when their country came under the yoke of Moscow. The Red Army, having reached the Bulgarian frontiers, by orders from Moscow, invaded the territory of Bulgaria. The communist conspiracy, assisted by a handful of fellow-travelers-splinter groups from the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, a totalitarian civil and military clique called "Zveno" and some leftist elements from the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party — took advantage of the presence of Soviet troops on Bulgarian territory and overthrew the Government and installed a puppet regime entirely obedient to Moscow. The immediate action of this regime was to liquidate its opponents, the democratic leaders of the Bulgarian people, and to deprive the people of their human rights and liberties. A wild terror spread over the country and thousands of innocent people were massacred, imprisoned or sent to concentration camps. Simple peasants and academy professors, leading politicians and factory workers, military officers and Church dignitaries, prominent intellectuals and village priests, perished within a few weeks. The land of roses became a valley of death.

The memory of the victims and the cry of the people of Bulgaria still suffering under this cruel regime of assassination make us restless, and on the occasion of this sad anniversary we cannot abstain from calling all those, who share the common heritage of our western civilization built upon inviolable human rights and civil liberties, for whom these inviolable human rights and civil liberties are a sacred Testament, to join us in our protest against the Moscow puppet regime in Bulgaria, against its inhuman treatment of the Bulgarian people. This people eagerly await the day of liberation and believe that it will come.

From the letters we have received:

"A.B.N. Collaboration with Nazis" Ridiculous

Mr. Hugh M. Falconer, a major in the British Army, who was interned in the concentration camp in Sachsenhausen from 1942 to 1944, during the time that President Jaroslav Stetzko was also a prisoner there, and was sentenced to death, has written to us as follows, on the subject of a letter from the "Scottish League for European Freedom" to Mr. Ralf L. Thurston, Director of Eastern European Affairs, State Department, Washington, U.S.A.:

"I was much interested in your letter in the A.B.N. Correspondence for May/June 1955, to Mr. Thurston. That Mr. Stetzko, or any organization with which he is associated, could have collaborated with the Nazis, is quite ridiculous. When the Russians were driven out of the Ukraine by the Germans Mr. Stetzko, taking advantage of the usual German pretended role of "Liberators", formed his government of the free Ukraine. That this was hardly in line with the true Nazi intentions is shown by the fact that he was behind bars within, I believe, one week. This was told me by Stetzko himself in Sachsenhausen at a time when none of us expected to come out alive. Under such circumstances, people are apt to speak the truth. His horror of Nazism and dislike for the Germans have been apparent in every conversation we have had since. I think it significant of Stetzko's attitude that he has never been able to describe to me the political set-up he wants to see in a free Ukraine. Democratic, in the sense of political freedom, he is determined it shall be, but the form — Hetman, Republic etc. — he is determined to leave to be decided by referendum."

A New Stimulus to the Fight:

The Union of the Anti-Communist Front in the East and the West

In its edition of October 17, 1955, the "Chung Yang Jih Pao" ("Central Daily News"), the organ of the Kuomintang and the National Chinese government, published an article which was based on an interview given by Mr. Stetzko.

"Since the arrival of Mr. Stetzko, the President of the A.B.N. — the paper writes — anti-Communist sympathies in Formosa have increased and there is now a new stimulus to the fight for freedom. Mr. Stetzko is in constant contact with various leading men of the government and is discussing all the possibilities of cooperating in the fight against Communism. Mr. Stetzko has now an opportunity of becoming acquainted with our various military institutions, as well as with our industrial, social, and political authorities. On the strength of his observations in Formosa, this anti-Communist statesman from East Europe told Chinese journalists that he is convinced that Free China really is a strong fortress in the anti-Bolshevist and anti-Russian fight in East Asia. In his opinion Free China has already done a great deal towards making the free world realize the truth about the Chinese nation. The President of the A.B.N. has also convinced himself that the Island of Taipei represents an important military power, which is based on a just social order, on excellent provision for the working class, and on a modern system of national education. He regards the agrarian reform as an outstanding achievement of Free China's policy. All these achievements, Mr. Stetzko said, are effective means of fighting Bolshevism."

"In his interview Mr. Stetzko went on to say that the peoples of Asia were the victims of colonialism. And for this reason the Communists were obliged to build up their activity on this continent on a somewhat different basis to the one used in the case of other continents. The majority of the Asian peoples are endeavouring to attain independence and sovereignty, and the Bolsheviks exploited these justified aims for their own ends, namely to sovietize the peoples concerned. Even now, some of the Asian peoples still believe that the Russians really are liberators. In this respect the peoples of East Europe have already learnt a sad lesson, for there has been no fundamental change, since the Bolshevik revolution, in the Russian policy which was pursued by the tsars. The situation of the nations who accepted Russian "support" in their fight for freedom became even more disastrous. The U.S.S.R. is the personification of imperialism and all its attendant horrors, an even more perfect personification than tsarist Russia was. Of the various nations of the present Soviet Union, the non-Russian peoples are in the majority, namely the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Esthonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Georgians, Turkestanians, and various others. In East and Central Europe 80 million people of the so-called satellite countries are forced to endure the Communist yoke. And since the conquest of the Chinese mainland by the Soviets, 450 million Chinese have been deprived of their freedom and have become Russian slaves. We can but ask, where does the U.S.S.R. get the strength from to liberate other "not yet liberated" nations! It is perfectly obvious, however, that the aim of the Russians is not to liberate, but to subjugate other nations. Whole nations in East Europe have experienced the Russian game of liberation in their own countries. Life in East Europe is at present controlled by the Russian Bolsheviks. So far, the peoples of East Europe have achieved nothing under Russian tyranny, but have only experienced starvation and subjugation."

"We clearly recall that the Russian Bolsheviks promised the peoples of East Europe that, once their position had been established,

the unpropertied farmers would be given land. In reality, however, the farms were collectivized and the kolchoses became the country residences of the party functionaries, who are even worse than the former big landowners. Actually, the Bolsheviks have deprived the peoples of East Europe of the very right to live. We also recall that the Bolsheviks promised the workers that as soon as they, the Bolsheviks, had ended the revolution, the factories would become the property of the workers. In reality, however, they have turned the workers into the tool of the state."

"And precisely the same development is apparent in the occupied part of China. Here, too, the Communists affirmed that the land and the factories belonged to the people, and, with their usual fine phrases, they promised the population heaven on earth. We East Europeans, said Mr. Stetzko, were witness of the fact that ninety per cent of the Red Chinese prisoners-of-war in the Korean war refused to return to this "paradise" and begged to be allowed to resettle in Formosa. This fact alone proves that occupied China has been transformed not into a paradise, but into a Red hell."

"In order to conquer the world, the Bolsheviks use two types of weapons; firstly, famine, by means of which they can exercise control over the population, and, secondly, brutal violence, by means of which they rule the subjugated peoples. The Bolsheviks base their world-conquest plans on the following hypothesis: a population which is starving has no strength to fight to regain its lost freedom; a nation subjugated by means of violence and kept in check in every respect loses the power and even the desire to put up any resistance."

"Now, however, said Mr. Stetzko, there is every indication of a crisis in the Communist Party, and this crisis is becoming more acute from day to day as the subjugated peoples are gaining more and more experience in organizing their resistance and in the fight for freedom. The underground forces which exist unknown to the casual observer, and the ever-increasing desire on the part of the people to rid themselves of subjugation are already stronger than the iron vice applied by the regime. The Soviet rulers are well aware of the existence of these forces, but they have not the means to destroy them. As far as the economic sector is concerned, the Soviet resources are practically exhausted. In this connection Mr. Stetzko corroborated the fact that throughout the entire U.S.S.R. and in all the satellite countries there is a serious shortage of food and other staple commodities. The U.S.S.R. is extremely backward as regards scientific progress and has long been outdistanced by the West in this respect."

"The fight for power within the Party in the Soviet Union is merely limited to petty differences of opinion and personal ambitions; it does not in the least affect the general course of Soviet policy, and is not, therefore, of decisive importance. Mr. Stetzko is convinced that the most important factor at the moment is the union of all the anti-Bolshevist nations of the West and the East, so that their common enemy can be dealt a fatal blow. It is, above all, essential that a joint centre should be formed and that a joint and uniform plan for coordinated anti-Bolshevist action should be worked out, to enable the fight to be carried on according to joint tactics and strategy. World-Communism likewise coordinates its efforts; it disseminates the same ideas in every country of the world and conducts its fight for the achievement of its aims from one centre. The anti-Bolshevist peoples should, for instance, reach an agreement as to the methods which are to be adopted in order to combat the infiltration of the enemy. In collaborating with these peoples

the free nations would still retain their freedom. The anti-Bolshevist peoples must preserve their fighting spirit and their steadfast faith in their own forces, in order to thwart the enemy's invasion plans and to ward off enemy pressure. Mr. Stetzko stressed that the President of Free China, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, had manifested these qualities."

"The Chinese and the Ukrainian peoples — so Mr. Stetzko added — are by nature, culture, and history, anti-Bolshevist peoples. To try to implant Communism in the countries of these peoples is to violate the spirit of history."

"When I heard that the Asian peoples had united to form an anti-Communist league — Mr. Stetzko added — I was extremely pleased. And I trust that these peoples will forget the slight internal misunderstandings which they have inherited from former generations. We, the anti-Bolshevist peoples, are all close friends. In order to enjoy freedom, we must destroy the Communist regime. We can all unite according to this principle, in which case the final victory will be ours."

The above article, which was published together with the Ukrainian national coat-of-arms and a picture of a group of U.P.A. soldiers, is one of the many articles which appeared every day in the Chinese national press during Mr. Stetzko's stay in Formosa.

Roumanian Reply

The Roumanians of Toronto, assembled to celebrate the anniversary of the 24th of January - symbol of Roumanian national unity and freedom-taking cognizance of the unfair propaganda offensive of the Soviet Union and of the puppet government of Bucharest, which is now being waged by the Repatriation Roumanian Commission from East Berlin, through its news bulletin "The voice of the native Country", with the purpose of tempting us to return home, do raise our voice clearly and decisively, to give to the U.S.S.R. and her servants the following answer:

1) Although planned to produce panic and confusion among the exiled Roumanians — because our addresses were directly stolen and used against our will — the news bulletin "Glasul Patriei" will find its proper place in the garbage can. It could be addressed only to Communist agents who really have no business in the Western world and who would be doing it a service by returning to Russia immediately. But "Glasul Patriei" does not speak to us, nor are the commissars and the politruks of East Berlin called upon to send us any advice. Indeed, because we are free to think and to act, we, for our part, feel entitled to send them the message that the day of Roumanian liberation is at hand.

2) So long as our native country is occupied by the Bolshevik army, our people enslaved, jailed, deported and exterminated physically and spiritually, and our brothers are still starving in the barbarian prisoner-of-war camps of the U.S.S.R., we Roumanian exiles who left the country in order to bear in our hand the banner of Roumanian freedom, have no place and no reason to return. We cannot accept the idea of a peace without personal freedom and national independence. With the menacing Iron Curtain hanging over the head of our nation like a guillotine, staining with blood our homesickness and our love for our country, we believe that to respond to the appeal coming from East Berlin would mean mere treason. We should like to make our position clear to the authorities of the countries who give us asylum, as well as to our enemies and tempters: We live no more for our sakes. In our hearts and minds lives only our nation with her free destiny, with her future of independence and prosperity. We should like, therefore, to stress this as our answer and make clear our attitude concerning the problem of repatriation: WE WILL RETURN TO ROUMANIA ONLY AS VICTORS UNDER THE FLAGS OF FREEDOM AND OF THE CROSS, OR, SHOULD DESTINY REQUIRE IT, DEAD!

Toronto, 30. 1. 1956

From Behind the Iron Curtain



BOHEMIA

CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THE ARSENAL OF THE SOVIET BLOC

Supervised by Soviet staff, Czech factories are now turning out the latest types of Soviet-Russian jet-fighters, tanks, rocket-projectiles, and other weapons for the armament of the countries belonging to the Communist bloc.

Whenever the Communists have taken up arms during the past years — in China, Northern Korea, Indo-China, or Latin-America —, they have always used weapons of Czech origin, manufactured in the former Skoda Works in Pilsen, which are now called the Lenin Works.

At the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Czechoslovakian Minister of Defence, Cepicka, said that there were only a few countries in the world which were in a position to produce these complicated and modern weapons, and he added that, of the modern weapons which were being turned out in Czechoslovakia, tanks, modern jet-fighters, motor vehicles, engineering apparatus, transport equipment, and similar apparatus were being manufactured for the fighting forces.

Incidentally, Czechoslovakia exports Skoda motor lorries, 18-pounder anti-aircraft guns, and MIG-15 fighter planes to the countries of the Far East.

In addition to various other types of weapons, tank production per month amounts to 300 T-34 tanks. The number of MIG-15 and MIG-17 jet-fighters and of non-recoiling 13-pounder and 25-pounder artillery guns which are produced is not known.

Furthermore, Communist-ruled Czechoslovakia is in a position to contribute to every fighting force which the Soviets may possibly set up in Eastern Europe. Next to Poland Czechoslovakia possesses the strongest and the largest army in Central Europe. Twenty motorized infantry divisions with a manpower of 240,000 are stationed near to the Austrian frontier. In addition, the army also includes three air force divisions, eleven artillery brigades, six paratroop battalions, nine regiments of the security service (SNB), and six frontier police brigades, numbering 150,000 men. The reserve army has a manpower of 500,000, and, in addition, hundreds of thousands of young men who have already had a pre-conscription training are also prepared for military service.

CZECHOSLOVAKIAN "TITOISM" AS A BAIT

On September 24, 25, and 26th this year, the representatives of the non-Communist parties held a meeting which was presided over by A. Novotny and which has so far been kept a secret. A resolution was passed to the effect that the meeting would resort to more active measures. According to well-informed circles in Czechoslovakia, it is now the task of the members of the meeting to try to persuade prominent Czech and Slovak politicians, by some other means, to return to Czechoslovakia, seeing that a previous effort in this direction has failed. To this end the semblance of a so-called Czechoslovakian "Titoism" is to be created, which to a certain extent will manifest neutral tendencies. In this way the leftist politicians who have emigrated are, above all, to be lured back to Czechoslovakia, namely by attempting to create the impression that an estrangement between the government of that country and Moscow is already apparent.

FRONTIER IN THE SHADOW OF DEATH

According to "Radio Free Europe", Communists recently blew up a glass factory near to the Czech-German frontier. The reason for this measure was the fact that the factory had been used as a hiding-place by Czech refugees fleeing from Czechoslovakia to the West.

This act of destruction is, however, by no means the only case of its kind. During the past months, Czech Communists have blown up practically all the buildings near to the frontier which have served as a hiding-place for refugees. In addition, a security zone has been set up all along the frontier

in which no one is allowed to live or cultivate the land.

The Hungarian Communists have also resorted to the same measures, now that the Russian troops have withdrawn from Austria.

Soviet barbarism is advancing further and further towards the West, — a sure sign of the practical results of "peaceful coexistence"!

NUNS FORCED TO WORK IN FACTORY

Sixty nuns of various orders have been forced by the labour exchange to work as female hands in a textile factory in Reichenberg. They are nuns who have been interned in slave labour camps and have recently been released for good behaviour. The sixty newcomers were assigned to two wooden barracks that had previously served as storage depots. There are 200 nuns already employed in the same factory. Although they are no longer considered prisoners, they may leave the factory premises only with permission of the management. Only if they fulfil their work quota may they attend religious services once a week.



LITHUANIA

LITHUANIAN UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT AN ACTIVE FORCE

In the middle of January this year, Moscow officially corroborated the fact that in Lithuania some groups of the underground movement which is fighting Moscow's Bolshevik imperialism are still an active force. This fact was corroborated in an MVD appeal published in the Lithuanian Soviet central paper, in which Lithuanian underground fighters were asked to surrender. It was further stated in the appeal that five underground fighters had recently reported to MVD and that others should now follow their example. As was pointed out by Western observers in Moscow, this is the first official corroboration by Moscow of the fight of "nationalist gangs" in the Baltic states, that is to say, of the anti-Moscow and anti-Bolshevik fight for freedom.

LITHUANIA'S WAR-DAMAGE AS REVIEWED BY THE SOVIETS

According to the Soviet Encyclopedia (Vol. 25 of 1954), the Republic of Lithuania suffered a total material loss of 17 Mrd. roubles (approximately 17 Mrd. D-Marks) during the German Occupation.

According to the same source, 80,000 buildings were destroyed in Lithuania during the war; this figure includes about 2,000 factories, 56 electric power-stations, 26,000 dwelling-houses, 72 hospitals, theatres, and club premises, 712 schools, and 15 academic institutes. In addition, various railroads and the harbour of Klaipėda (Memel) were also destroyed. All railway rolling-stock was seized and taken out of the country. According to the Soviet Encyclopedia, the towns which suffered most damage were Wilno, Kaunas, Klaipėda, and Siauliai.

Naturally, the Soviet Encyclopedia takes good care not to mention how much of this damage was caused by the Red Army.

PETITION SIGNED BY MILLIONS FOR FREEDOM OF ENSLAVED NATIONS

At a mass meeting of the Lithuanians living in Canada, which was held in Montreal in September, a resolution, which is to set a large-scale campaign all over the world going, was unanimously passed. The resolution stressed the following facts:

- 1) Wilson's Fourteen Points on the right of self-determination of the nations still constitute a vital claim even today;
- 2) the principles of the Atlantic Charter have fallen into oblivion, despite the fact that precisely these principles would guarantee the world a lasting peace;
- 3) the principles for the realization of a universal peace, which were proclaimed by President Eisenhower at the Geneva Conference, are means of avoiding new wars and safeguarding the welfare of mankind.

By its acts of aggression, however, the Soviet

Union has on numerous occasions violated all these declarations of freedom. The occupation of our Lithuanian country and of the countries of other enslaved nations thus continues, and no serious efforts whatsoever are made to deal with these cases of injustice in the United Nations or in any other international institutions.

The Congress of the Lithuanians living in Canada therefore appeals to all those peoples who respect the principle of human dignity and the freedom of nations to take steps to ensure the realization of these principles all over the world.

To this end the Congress proposes to draw up a worldwide "Petition for the Freedom of the Nations", which is to be signed by millions of persons and then presented to the United Nations and to other democratic institutions.



UKRAINE

AND STILL THEY REFUSE TO SURRENDER MOSCOW PRESS AND RADIO ON UKRAINIAN AND TURKESTANIAN INSURGENTS

For the first time since the end of the war Radio Moscow has been obliged to admit the existence of an insurgent movement in the Soviet Union. A leading article entitled "Our Country Forgives Them", which was published in the district paper, "Red Banner", in Rivno (Ukraine) on February 12, stated that there were still several thousands of insurgents lying in hiding in the district of Rivno ("Volhynia") and in other forest districts, who were refusing to surrender. The article ends with an appeal to these partisans to leave their hiding-places and to admit their guilt, in which case their country would forgive them.

At the same time, the "Pravda" reported that a clash had occurred between Soviet frontier patrols and an armed group, which had entered the country last summer via the Central Asian (i. e. the Turkestan) frontier. The place where the clash occurred was not, however, mentioned in the "Pravda" report.

UKRAINIAN UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT MORE ACTIVE THAN EVER

According to reports by German ex-prisoners-of-war, several thousand young Ukrainians were sent to concentration camps during the year 1954. They were sentenced to several years' imprisonment in camps on account of their revolutionary underground activity in Ukraine.

It was also stated by German ex-prisoners-of-war that most of the Ukrainian internees call themselves "Banderiwici", which means a person who fights actively against Bolshevism. According to various other reports, the Ukrainian underground movement is now stronger than ever and has spread to a number of districts in East Ukraine which so far were not included in this activity.

UKRAINIAN GREETINGS FROM SIBERIA

"When we left the concentration camps in Siberia we promised our Ukrainian friends imprisoned there that we would convey their sincerest greetings to their fellow-countrymen abroad. And we are herewith keeping this promise. All your friends and comrades in Siberia are longing for the day when Ukraine is liberated. All their thoughts and hopes are concentrated on one aim, — the liberation of Ukraine from Russian Soviet subjugation. Their appeal to all Ukrainians abroad is: 'Do not abandon your work and your fight for freedom! Your activity can help us so much!'"

Such is the message from these unfortunate Ukrainians which an ex-prisoner-of-war conveyed on his return to Germany. He and several of his comrades stated that 50 per cent of the prisoners in the concentration camps are Ukrainians. Many of them were arrested and sentenced because they were active members of the underground movement and enemies of Bolshevism. They come from all over Ukraine.

All the Ukrainians in the concentration camps constitute a well-organized group and there is a strong contact with other national groups. The Ukrainians, like the members of other nationalities, adhere steadfastly to their moral principles and definitely manifest a national and patriotic spirit. Assertions to the effect that the nations in the Soviet Union are to be amalgamated and that a Soviet, that is to say a Russian, nation is to be created, are not in the least in keeping with the true state of affairs.

No Compromise in the Anti-Communist Fight

The member-nations of the A.B.N. in Europe and the member-nations of the APACLROC in Asia join forces against their common enemy

At the invitation of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, Republic of China (APACLROC), the President of the Central Committee of the A.B.N., Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, paid a visit to Formosa from October 9 to October 28, 1955.

Upon his arrival in Taipei, the capital of Formosa, on October 9th, Mr. Stetzko was welcomed at the airport by the President of the APACLROC, Mr. Ku Cheng-kang, and various other prominent personalities of Free China. Later in the day, he was invited to a cocktail party at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. At another cocktail party, given by the "Chinese Association for the United Nations", Mr. Stetzko had a talk with the American Ambassador, Mr. Karl Rankin. Next day, the President of the A.B.N. attended the celebrations held to mark the "Day of the Republic" and was present at the big parade of the National Chinese troops as a guest of honour. In the evening the APACLROC gave a big reception in his honour.

On October 11, Mr. Stetzko visited the Kuomintang Department of Psychological Warfare and the "Association of Foreign Relations of the Chinese Nation". The latter also gave a reception in his honour. Later in the day, Mr. Stetzko called on the President of the Parliament, His Excellency Chang Tao-fan, and also visited the "Chinese Association for the United Nations" (CAUN).

On Wednesday, October 12, Mr. Stetzko inspected the Chinese broadcasting station and had a talk with the chief of the American institution, the "Asia Foundation", Mr. David Nelson Rowe. After a lunch given in Mr. Stetzko's honour by the management of the broadcasting station, he visited the youth organization, "China Youth Corps". He also called on Prime Minister H.E.O.K. Yui and on the Lord Mayor of Taipei, Mr. Kao Ju-shu. In the evening, the "Chinese Association for the United Nations" gave a banquet in Mr. Stetzko's honour, at which the following prominent guests were present: the head of the Association and Vice-President of the Parliament, Hon. Huang Kuo-shu, the representative of the Committee for Foreign Relations, Hsu Tao-lin, the representative of the Committee for Foreign Relations and parliamentary member, Lee Ju-hua, the parliamentary members, Cheng Tsang-po and Kiang Yi-ping, the director of the Association, Tang Chung, the secretary-general of the APACLROC, parliamentary member Pao Hua-kuo, the director of the Association, Prof. (Econ.) Chow Teh-wei, Professor (Econ.) Jang Shu-jeu, Mr. Hwang You of the Ministry of the Interior, Mr. Chen-yu Tao, and parliamentary member Kao Ting-tze.

On October 13, Mr. Stetzko paid a visit to the town of Taichung, where the mayor, Mr. Lin Ching-piao gave a banquet in his honour. Whilst in Taichung, Mr. Stetzko visited the museum there, which contains valuable ancient Chinese works of art which were rescued from the mainland, and also made a trip to the famous Sun Moon Lake. Mr. Stetzko's visit to Taichung terminated with a reception given by the managing director of the electric power station there, Mr. Ni Nai-ping. Next day, Mr. Stetzko toured the districts of Tchanghua and Kaohsiung, where, on October 15, accompanied by Admiral Tsoo Chung-chow, the Vice-Chief of Staff of the Chinese Navy, and Naval Captain Paul S. K. Lin, he inspected the naval bases and the naval academy, and, later in the day, the oil refineries and the aluminium works. At a reception in his honour he was welcomed most cordially and presented with bouquets by Chinese children and by a woman-representative of the "Chinese Women's League against Aggression", of which Madame Chiang Kai-shek is the president. In the evening, Mr. Hu Singhan, the director of the oil refinery, gave a reception in Mr. Stetzko's honour.

On Sunday, October 16, Mr. Stetzko returned to Taipei, and in the course of the morning visited the alpine hotel, "Jang Ming Shan", where he had a talk with Major-General Chiang We-kuo, the son of the President. Next day, Mr. Stetzko went to Tao Yuan in order to acquaint himself with the achievements of the agrarian reform.

During his visit to the agricultural exhibition in Tao Yuan, Mr. Stetzko was the guest of the president of the district administration and the mayor of Gsu at a lunch given in his honour.

After lunch he was introduced to representatives of the fourteen thousand soldiers of the Red Chinese Army, who went over to President Syngman Rhee's side during the Korean War. Mr. Stetzko had a lengthy talk with them, lasting two hours. After the banquet held in his honour by the Lord Mayor of Taipei, Mr. Kao, a concert arranged by the municipal authorities of Taipei was given, at which old Chinese songs were rendered and music was played by the orchestra of the Voice of Free China Broadcasting Company.

On October 18, Mr. Stetzko was received in audience by the President of Free China, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and had a lengthy and very cordial talk with him. On the same day, the President of the Central Committee of the A.B.N. met the members of the 6th Section of the Kuomintang, in order to discuss certain questions with them, and also had a lengthy talk with the members of the presidium of the APACLROC. Next day, Mr. Stetzko went to pay his respects to the acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, His Excellency Sheng Chang-huan. They had a talk which lasted two hours. In the evening, the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League held a meeting, which was attended by the political and intellectual elite of Free China and during which Mr. Stetzko had an opportunity to exchange views on various questions with some of the prominent personalities of Free China. After discussions which lasted several hours, the following resolutions were passed:

- „1) *The principle of so-called coexistence is a Soviet manoeuvre which aims to protect the Soviet Union and the entire system of the Soviet regime against the process of disintegration caused by the ever-increasing internal crisis, to stir up dissension among the Western democracies, and to gain time so as to improve the position of the Soviet Union. We must endeavour to the utmost to stir the conscience of the free world and its determination to fight Communism, and we must form a closer union in order to destroy the Russian Bolshevik menace.*
- 2) *We must resort to all the measures and means in our power in order to support the anti-Bolshevist movement behind the Iron Curtain, and in order to guarantee the right to freedom and independence to all the peoples subjugated by Bolshevism.*
- 3) *We must found an anti-Bolshevist world-league of nations and we must set up an anti-Bolshevist world-construction. We must rally and unite all the anti-Bolshevist forces in the world for the purpose of forming a united and common front, which is to liberate the peoples behind the Iron Curtain.*

The meeting which was held in the town-hall of Taipei, was attended by members of the Chinese Legislative Assembly, well-known politicians of all the parties in the national Coalition, as for instance Lin Tong-yue, Pao Hua-kuo, and various other politicians, and also by four former members of the crew of the Soviet ship "Tuapse", who sought asylum in Free China. In the course of the discussions one of the former Soviet seamen said, "The Bolsheviks are so ruthless that they resort to every kind of means in order to deceive the world. Coexistence is one of these means. It is our duty and we must seize this

opportunity to apply all the means available, in a joint effort, in order to fight our common enemy."

On October 19, Mr. Stetzko addressed the students of Free China in a lecture entitled, "The Youth of the Subjugated Peoples in the Fight against Bolshevism", which he held in the City Hall in Taipei. The audience, which numbered 3,000, listened with rapt attention to what Mr. Stetzko had to say. Before he began his lecture he was greeted by cries of "Long live Ukraine! — Long live the A.B.N.!", and at the end of the lecture the audience cheered him again and again.

On Thursday, October 20, Mr. Stetzko had a long talk with the Korean Ambassador in Taipei, General Kim Hong Ji, and also called on the head of the 1st Section of the Kuomintang, Mr. Tang Tsung, and on the Vice-President of Free China, His Excellency Chen Cheng. His talk with the Vice-President was most cordial and lasted one and a half hours. A number of important questions were discussed during this talk. His Excellency Chen Cheng introduced and carried into effect the agrarian reform in Formosa, which may well serve as an example to other countries.

On October 21, the President of the Central Committee of the A.B.N. inspected a regiment of the Chinese Army in Linkou and also the military staff of the training centre for psychological warfare, where a company consisting of a hundred men gave him the salute of honour. The majority of soldiers were former members of the Red Chinese Army who went over to Chiang Kai-shek's side in Korea. On this occasion Mr. Stetzko again gave a lecture. A discussion on the subject, "Close Co-operation between the A.B.N. and the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League", was also held on the same day. In the evening, the acting Foreign Minister, Hon. Sheng Chang-huan, gave an official banquet at which the following guests were present: General Chiang Ching-kuo, the eldest son of President Chiang Kai-shek, Chu Sing-min, Deputy Direktor of the Press Administration, Lieutenant-General Cheng Kai-ming, Tang Tsung, the head of the 1st Section of the Kuomintang, Kuo Teh-chuan, member of Parliament, Hsiung Eng-duan, Colonel of the General Staff, His Excellency Ku Cheng-kang, Chu Fu-sung, the head of the information section of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Cheng Tze-hua, the ministerial counsellor of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and various other prominent persons.

On October 22, Mr. Stetzko called on the secretary-general of the Kuomintang, H. E. Chang Li-shun, and on Dr. Chu Chia-hua, the president of the "Chinese Association for the United Nations". At three o'clock in the afternoon, a press conference took place which lasted two hours. The statements made by Mr. Stetzko on this occasion and his answers to the questions put to him by the journalists present — like his address at the congress — were relayed to the Chinese mainland in a broadcast. The subject of Mr. Stetzko's address at the press conference was "The Situation in Formosa and the Role of Free China in the World-Bloc of Freedom". The points he dealt with in his address included the following subjects: The Peoples Subjugated by Moscow in Europe and Asia, Their Fight and Their Aims; How To Conquer Russia and Communism; National Revolutions Are Moscow's Worst Enemy. In addition, Mr. Stetzko also gave a lecture, which was broadcast, to the people of Siberia, to the many millions of persons imprisoned in Soviet concentration camps, and to the soldiers of the Far East Soviet Army.

On Sunday, October 23, Mr. Stetzko spent the day in the neighbourhood of Ulai. On Monday, the Vice-Minister of the Interior, Mr. Ten Wen-ni, called on Mr. Stetzko, and had a lengthy talk with him.

On October 25, Mr. Stetzko attended the celebrations held on the occasion of the "Day of Taiwan" and was the guest of Professor Lin Tsiu-sen. The "Day of Taiwan" is the anniversary of the liberation of the island from Japanese Occupation. In the course of these celebrations members of the youth organization and units of the army paraded before

President Chiang Kai-shek. After the parade President Chiang Kai-shek made a speech. On the same day, Mr. Stetzko spoke for the second time to the Chinese people on the mainland. His speech was broadcast to them by the Voice of Free China Broadcasting Station. Incidentally, all Mr. Stetzko's speeches and translations of the same into Chinese were recorded, for subsequent reproduction, on sound-recording tape.

At seven o'clock in the evening, on October 26, Mr. Stetzko spoke to the people of Formosa over the Taipei broadcasting station. In his speech, which was translated into Chinese, he stressed the important role of Formosa in the world-fight against Bolshevism.

On October 27, Mr. Stetzko inspected the shipyards in Keelung. The mayor of the town gave a lunch in his honour.

The Chinese organization, "Peace and Freedom", gave a reception for Mr. Stetzko on October 27. Mr. Stetzko visited the Industrial Exhibiton which was held to mark the anniversary of Taipei's liberation from foreign occupation.

On October 28, Mr. Stetzko arrived in Hongkong, prior to setting out on his return journey to Europe. He was met at Hongkong airport by representatives of the Chinese Foreign Service in Hongkong and by a number of Chinese journalists. Whilst waiting for his plane connection, Mr. Stetzko gave the Chinese journalists an interview and told them about the impressions he had gained during his visit to Formosa, and also stressed the necessity of setting up a universal front against Russia and against Communism. Mr. Stetzko then flew on to Bangkok in Siam, where he spent a day. He was welcomed at the airport in Bangkok by the Chinese Ambassador to Siam, Patrick Pichi Sun, and by various other members of the Chinese Embassy. At 5 p. m. local time Mr. Stetzko left by plane for Europe, and, travelling via Rangoon (Burma), Calcutta, Karachi, and Beyrouth, arrived in Rome on October 30.

Good Wishes for Ukraine

Chiang Kai-shek: "I wish Ukraine victory in its fight"

According to the Chinese press service, the Taipei daily, "Chung Yang Jih Pao", published the following report on October 19, 1955:

"On the morning of October 18th, the President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Mr. J. Stetzko, called on His Excellency the President of China, Gen. Chiang Kai-shek. Mr. Stetzko told Gen. Chiang Kai-shek that he considered it a great honour to visit Free China and that he greatly admired the Chinese national institutions in the political, social, cultural, and economic field, and in particular the fighting strength of the National Chinese forces, which he had observed during the parade held on the occasion of the Day of the Republic. Mr. Stetzko said that he believed that the efforts and achievements of Free China would serve as an example and as a moral impetus to the peoples of East Europe who were engaged in fighting for their national liberation behind the Iron Curtain. Above all, Mr. Stetzko stressed the successful results of the agrarian reform introduced in Free China, and added that, once the Iron Curtain in Europe had been destroyed this Chinese success would serve as an example of how the agrarian reform was to be accomplished in the liberated countries.

Mr. Stetzko expressed the opinion and conviction that the Chinese people, under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, will hold out against the enemy and will gain a glorious victory in the anti-Communist and anti-Russian fight. And when Free China sets out to complete its main task, that is to say when it concentrates its forces for the purpose of liberating the Chinese mainland, Mr. Stetzko added, the subjugated nations and the A.B.N. will be its moral allies and will cooperate to the utmost with Free China in this question.

President Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek officially welcomed Mr. Stetzko to Free China and expressed the hope that in the near future the cooperation between the nations in the fight against

BOOK-REVIEWS

W. E. R. Piddington:

Russian Frenzy

London Elek Books Ltd., London & Toronto (Canada), 1955, 264 pp.

The story of William Ernest Reginald Piddington, the former British paratrooper who spent four years (1950—1954) in Soviet captivity, including about a year in the notorious concentration camp in northwest Siberia, Vorkuta, is by no means typical of its kind. Prompted by more or less romantic motives, this adventurous young man entered the Soviet Zone unlawfully in 1950, had nothing whatsoever to do with politics, and affirms quite definitely that he does not want to have anything to do with politics in the future, — a statement which we can well believe, in view of the almost unbelievable naivety which he exhibits in his book and his meagre knowledge of Soviet Russian and East European affairs as a whole. After having spent a year in Soviet captivity he has, for instance, no misgivings at all in inviting his former girl-friend in West Berlin to visit him in East Berlin, since, in his opinion, "surely my captors would not harm a young and guiltless girl — her testimony was all they wanted. Why, she need not stay in the Soviet Sector for more than an hour. Besides, she would certainly tell her relatives where she was going and, if the Russians *did* keep her longer than was necessary, they would quickly take steps to have her returned" (p. 117).

In view of such unsuspectingness in the face of Bolshevik abductions in Berlin, we are bound to come to the conclusion that the author is hardly interested in politics at all. If we likewise take into consideration the fact that this Englishman, who, incidentally, knows practically no Russian (as is apparent in the numerous errors made in transcribing proper names and in certain sentences), spent about half of his captivity in prisons in the Soviet Zone of Germany and not more than one and a half years in Vorkuta and neighbouring camps, then we are bound to expect his personal impressions and descriptions of conditions to be fairly sketchy, disconnected, and confused.

As indeed they are in various respects. On the other hand, however, it is surprising how quickly this casual and entirely unprejudiced eyewitness gains a correct insight into national conditions in the Bolshevik labour and concentration camps, as for instance during his compulsory journey from East Berlin to Vorkuta (via Moscow), when he realizes that there are Russians and "Russians", — that is to say, that there are Soviet Russian subjects and that the peoples of the U.S.S.R. subjugated by Moscow are as entirely different from their oppressors, not only in national but also in intellectual and ethical respects, as the peoples of the so-called satellite states are from the Russians.

In this way, although he is not aware of doing so, he actually refutes the well-known tendentious myth which affirms that the Ukrainian political prisoners in the Soviet concentration camps are for the most part or, in fact, almost exclusively West Ukrainians (or "Galicians"), who, prior to World War II, were under Polish rule, whereas the population of Soviet Ukraine (according to the frontiers of 1921 to 1939) has not taken much part in the anti-Bolshevik fight for freedom. What strikes the reader most, however, in this book is that among the many names of his Ukrainian fellow-prisoners and their native towns which the author mentions, there are only a few which are West Ukrainian. This fact is all the more important, as the persons whom the author mentions and about whom he writes are for the most part former members or supporters of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

Bolshevism would be fostered and strengthened still more. The Generalissimo said that he wished Ukraine victory in its fight as soon as possible and the attainment of its freedom.

During his audience with President Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Mr. Stetzko was accompanied by Mr. Ku Cheng-kang, the President of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, Republic of China.

The author likewise stresses the fact that all attempts at mass escape and insurrection in Vorkuta, which came to his notice, were for the most part organized and undertaken by Ukrainians, whereas the Russian and German internees of the concentration camps usually maintained a passive attitude. As regards his own constant acts of sabotage directed against the "technical system" of the concentration camps and his courageous resistance against the Russian criminals in the camps, whom the Bolshevik camp and transport administration systematically incited to agitate against all political prisoners, and above all, against non-Russian "foreigners", the author always received help and support from the "patriotic Ukrainians", and, as he himself says, he repaid them by unmasking a most skilfully disguised Russian agitator (an incident which he describes in detail in Chapter XX).

As far as the literary style of the book is concerned, readers will undoubtedly agree with the statement made by the publishers, namely, "The book is beautifully written with a sensitivity and passionate sincerity which lifts it to the level of an outstandingly great book." This quality, of course, from a purely political point of view, also has certain disadvantages. Numerous conversations and arguments with Soviet police officials, which took place in the course of his four years' captivity, are related by the author as if he remembered them word for word. This, of course, is hardly likely and seems all the more questionable as the author is not very interested in keeping to a strict chronological order of events, as becomes apparent when one checks up on his facts. On page 236, for example, after mentioning the official proclamation of Stalin's death (on March 6, 1953), he writes as follows: "Still more significant news was to follow in those exciting early months of 1953. First, there was Radio Moscow's dramatic announcement of the arrest of the Chief of the Secret Police, Beria, who had been Stalin's right-hand man and who had been responsible for all the concentration camps in Soviet Russia. Then, in June came the mass revolt in Halle in the Eastern Zone of Germany, which in the end had to be quelled with Russian tanks and infantry".

Of course, it is quite possible that the prisoners in Vorkuta received news of these events in this chronological order and tinged with this tendentious character; but it strikes one as strange that the author, after his release, did not even take the trouble to verify these facts, namely that Beria was not arrested until after the big revolt of June 17, 1953, which took place not in Halle, but in East Berlin.

This example shows only too plainly that the author takes little or no interest at all in actual politics. His genuine loathing of Bolshevism as a whole and, above all, of the Soviet Russian system is based exclusively on moral principles. And it is precisely this fact which is of decisive significance when assessing the value of the book as a whole. It is true that much of his data is confused and of little historical value, but the book as a whole nevertheless makes a deep impression on the reader, for it expresses the opinion of an eyewitness who is completely unbiased politically and who has himself personally experienced the nationalities problem in the U.S.S.R., namely in its most glaring form, in the concentration camps, and candidly and outspokenly tells the whole truth and nothing but the truth about this problem. W.

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Against a Policy of Coexistence

A.B.N.'s Memorandum to The Right Hon. Sir Anthony Eden,
Prime Minister of Her Majesty's Government

Sir,

We trust that Her Majesty's Government will accept our well-meant warning as regards a possible attempt to reach an understanding with Russia, in a friendly spirit. We regret that Her Majesty's Government has invited murderers and criminals to visit the country which, for centuries, has been a bulwark of freedom against despotism. We are of the opinion, not merely from the point of view of the interests of our peoples, who have been subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism, that any form of understanding with Russia will prove impossible in the long run and disastrous for the entire freedom-loving world.

When the Russian empire collapsed, Lenin, in view of the hopeless internal situation, gave orders to cede at the conference of Brest-Litovsk, so that Russia, by retreating one step backwards, might be able to advance two steps forward shortly afterwards. We all know how far Bolshevism has advanced in the meantime.

It is precisely at the present time, when the internal situation in the U.S.S.R. is becoming more and more involved under pressure of the national liberation movements of the subjugated peoples and the obvious crisis of unnatural Communism, as the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and subsequent events have proved, that it would be most expedient for the Western countries to develop an active liberation policy as regards the nations subjugated by Moscow and Communism. In this way the West would be assisting these nations to destroy the Russian Bolshevik imperium from within, to disintegrate the latter into national states within their own ethnographical boundaries, and to establish the preconditions for permanent peace and security in the world. We are of the opinion that the attempts of the West to reach an understanding with Moscow at the present time will result in Stalin's accomplices in the mass-murders carried out in his day being rehabilitated and the position of the present Mus-

covite tyrants being consolidated in the eyes of the peoples who are still free. In addition, the confidence of the subjugated peoples in the free world will be seriously shaken.

We consider the idea that the active intervention of the West would consolidate the Bolshevik regime and put a stop to the internal differences of opinion among the tyrants themselves, as completely erroneous. The decisive factor which will bring about the collapse of the Bolshevik Russian imperium is not a court-revolution, but the national mass-revolution of the subjugated peoples. And it seems to us that the only successful form of active intervention on the part of the West must be adjusted to meet the needs of the subjugated peoples. Indeed, its policy should be to win them over.

We should like to draw attention to the fact that during the past months information has even been received from Bolshevik sources, reporting the presence of thousands of insurgents in the forests of Ukraine and Lithuania, demonstrations in the streets of towns in Georgia, Azerbaïdzhân, Armenia, and Ukraine, which made the most of the internal quarrels in the Kremlin and the Party. And all this was directed against Russian dominion in the non-Russian countries.

We should also like to draw attention in particular to the fact that millions of internees in the Bolshevik concentration camps in Siberia and Kazakstan are conducting an active fight against Russian tyranny. The following remarkable incident will not only evoke a far-reaching response as regards its symbolical significance, but is also an indication of the intrepid and indomitable fearlessness of the masses in rising up against the regime: the heroic death of five hundred Ukrainian women interned in the concentration camp in Kingiri, who hurled themselves in front of the Muscovite tanks in order to prevent the Russians from attacking the insurgent internees.

The national liberation fight is raging in the U.S.S.R. and in the latter's sphere of influence. We appeal to Her Majesty's Government to make the most of the opportunity afforded by the present internal weakness of the U.S.S.R. and to hasten to give its universal and active support to the national and political liberation and insurgent movements of our peoples, so that, by the co-ordinated efforts of the free world and the subjugated peoples in the latter's national liberation revolutions, Bolshevism and the Russian prison of nations may be liquidated and a third World War avoided.

In our opinion, the present situation calls not for negotiations and a policy of coexistence, but for active help on the part of the Western liberation factors, including intervention by Western liberation divisions, which will kindle the conflagration of insurrections and revolutions and will paralyse Moscow's aggression against the West. Such revolutions would disintegrate the U.S.S.R. from within before the regime had a chance to consolidate its position. On more than one occasion the free West saved Hitler's regime by giving in to him, despite the fact that the freedom-loving elements were determined to overthrow him.

We trust that Her Majesty's Government, in view of all these circumstances, will regard our fears

D. Donzow

The Last Warning

The fundamental principle of the anti-Communist policy of the West appears to have suffered a disastrous blow.

"Friends are acquired by money!" is the unwritten motto of certain Western politicians. Millions have been spent on France and millions have been spent on Italy, and in this way the West hoped to recruit strong allies against Communism. And what fruits has this policy borne after ten years! The collapse of the French colonial empire, political failure, indifference and an anti-Western attitude in France itself, as well as an alarming increase in the number of pro-Communist voters.

Moscow is making preparations to receive high officials of the French Republic and intends supplying as many arms as possible to Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria.

And all this is happening after only ten years' time!

And vice versa, — the "Fascist arch-enemies of democracy", — Spain and Germany which in 1945 were condemned to political powerlessness — have now, in the opinion of the West, become the latter's most trustworthy bulwarks against Russia! And the other nation that was decried as "Fascist", namely the Ukrainian nation, has proved that it is the nation in which the inextinguishable fire of anti-Communist (and anti-Russian) revolution burns brightest.

Why has such a change been possible?

The reason is that the politicians of the West have overlooked two extremely important factors; firstly, that each of the three nations, the Spanish, Ukrainian, and German nation has itself experienced Russian-Communist aggression in its own country, and for this reason — though it may sound contradictory — has become more resistant as far as Russia is concerned. And secondly, the politicians of the West have over-estimated the power of the dollar in politics. On the other hand, however, they have underestimated the power of idealism, fervent

concerning the unfavourable consequences of negotiating with such murderers and attempting to reach an understanding with them, as justified, all the more so since the latter cherish the hope of some day subjugating Great Britain in the same way as they have in recent times subjugated our countries. In view of the vital revolutionary tendencies behind the Iron Curtain, it seems to us that it is imperative that determined action should be taken by the free nations and that the latter should under no circumstances accept a sham peace with the Bolshevik tyrants.

We beg to assure you of our deepest esteem, and remain,

Yours very respectfully,

Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN).

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*Veli Kajum Khan, President of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee
and Vice-President of the Central Committee of ABN*

Is Russia Really Russia?

The Non-Russian Nations of the Soviet Union

It is constantly alleged by Moscow that the Soviet Union is a united and undivided empire and that countries like Ukraine, Caucasia, Turkestan, Byelorussia, and the Volga-Ural territory — to mention but a few — are natural components of the Russian state. Russian propaganda further affirms that these countries owe their economic progress to Russia. The non-Russian countries of the U.S.S.R., however, were not colonized, but seized by the Russians. Turkestan, for instance, was not seized until 1898. And the Russians living there at present are immigrants who were settled there by the Russians after the occupation.

Russia is, in the truest sense of the word, a colonial power, which, during the past seven hundred years, since the time of the principality of Moscow, has by means of warlike annexations built up an imperium for itself which is in no way inferior to the territorial acquisitions of Western colonialism. The only difference between the two is that Russia, unlike the Western powers, did not cross the seas in her annexation campaigns, but pursued a policy of continental conquest and subjugated one neighbour-state after another.

The fact is often overlooked that Moscow began to pursue its policy of conquest at the same time as the Western powers were engaged in establishing their colonial supremacy. The Russians seized Crimea in 1783, and in 1796 Great Britain occupied Ceylon. Hardly had the British seized Hongkong than Russia, in 1858, occupied the province of Amur, and Vladivostok became Russian at the same time as the French occupied Saigon. Whilst Russia was engaged in seizing the territory of Erivan near the Turco-Persian frontier Singapore became British and Algeria became French. At the end of the last century the Russians occupied parts of Western Turkestan and Caucasia at about the same time as the French occupied Indo-China and the British seized Malaya. At the beginning of the 19th century Russia seized Georgia at the same time as India became a British possession. The size of the various territories annexed in this way is likewise proportional. Turkestan, for instance, is as large as India and Pakistan together.

But whereas the Western powers gave more than 570 million people in Asia and Africa, for example in Burma, Ceylon, India, Pakistan, Indonesia, and the Philippines, their freedom after the first and second World War, the Russians have not only retained the territories annexed by them, such as Turkestan, Ukraine, and Caucasia, but have even seized new territories with a total population of about 18 millions, such as the Baltic countries and Tannu Tuva. Tannu Tuva, a territory which is about the size of Great Britain and adjoins Mongolia, was annexed when Egypt regained its independence.

patriotism, hatred of foreign tyranny, and the courageous spirit of sacrifice, and, in fact, the role of all these "imponderables" in politics. And that has been their disastrous mistake!

These imponderable qualities are apparently estimated as being of far greater value by the Spanish, German, and Ukrainian peoples than they are for example by the French. And these same imponderable qualities are held to be of far greater value in Ukraine, for instance, than in some of the other countries which have been subjugated by Communism. The West, however, will only be able to combat Russian aggression if it is equipped with these moral values.

Some of the leading personalities of America are, indeed, already busying them-

The Soviet Union today consists of 16 so-called Socialist Soviet Republics and the same number of Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republics, which belong to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. More than 80 per cent of the total area of 22.2 million square kilometers of the Soviet Union is populated by non-Russian peoples. Of the 200 million inhabitants of the Soviet Union, 120 millions are non-Russians.

It is further maintained by Moscow that the Soviet Union is a united territory from the economic, cultural, and sociological point of view. In reality, however, there are no economic, cultural or historical ties between the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. and Russia, for the former have their own culture, language, and tradition, and represent an economic territory of their own.

One of the most important factors which prompted Russia's expansion to include non-Russian territories was the abundance of raw materials in the countries which have been annexed. Indeed, the non-Russian territories of the Soviet Union are its most valuable territories from the economic aspect, and without them Russian imperialism would be deprived of the fundamental element which constitutes its power. The following figures will serve to prove this fact.

In 1949 the output of coal in the entire Soviet Union amounted to about 215 million tons. Of this amount, 45 per cent was mined in the Donets Basin in Ukraine and 15 per cent in Turkestan. 60 per cent of the total output of coal is thus derived from the non-Russian countries; and, incidentally, in this connection I should like to stress that I am now only referring to countries such as Ukraine, Caucasia, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Crimea, and the Tatar settlement between the Volga and Ural, and have not taken into consideration the territories of the Soviet Union in the Far East and Siberia. These territories, too, possess huge mineral deposits which would further add to the production figures of the non-Russian peoples.

A short survey of the iron ore production elucidates my previous statement even more plainly. In 1949 the total iron ore production of the Soviet Union amounted to about 38.6 million tons, 60 per cent of which amount was supplied by the deposits at Krivij Rih in Ukraine and at Kertch in Crimea. The remainder was supplied almost exclusively by the ore reserves in the Ural district, namely by those located at Magnitogorsk in the Idel-Ural district and at Chalilovo in the Bashkir Soviet Republic. Thus 90 per cent of Russia's iron supply is derived from non-Russian territories. Incidentally, practically 100 per cent of her manganese ore supply comes from Nikopol in Ukraine, which is the largest manganese ore deposit in the world, and from Chiaturi in Georgia.

selves with this problem. No less a person than General Alfred M. Gruenther said, at a recent reunion of the Canadian Club, "Fundamentally the struggle between the Communists and the West is one between religion — the belief in the dignity of the individual — and the atheistic philosophy of Communism. I am concerned with our (the West's) preoccupation with the materialistic way of life. Our concentration on the goods of this world may cause us to take our eyes off the ball and miss the sinister swings of the Soviets."

But will the statesmen of the West understand this warning? What the West urgently needs at present is the moral regeneration of its political leadership, in the spirit of Wellington, Lincoln, or Joan of Arc.

Whilst 60 per cent of the Soviet Union's coal output, 90 per cent of its iron ore, and practically 100 per cent of its manganese ore are supplied by the non-Russian territories, the share of the latter in the production of pig iron and steel, however, does not correspond to this proportion. The countries of the subjugated peoples in the Soviet Union are raw materials suppliers rather than producers. The centres of production are for the most part located on Russian soil, whilst the raw materials, on the other hand, are for the most part supplied by the non-Russian territories. And that is the reason why Russia aims to exploit the non-Russian countries colonially as far as possible, but has no intention of promoting their economic system more than is absolutely necessary.

At this point mention must also be made of the fact that Russia's traffic and transport system is likewise in keeping with her aim to concentrate all activity in this respect on the Russian centre. A glance at the map reveals that the railway network in Ukraine and Turkestan, for instance, converges radially on Moscow, whereas cross-country routes have been sadly neglected. And these conditions have been solely determined by strategic motives and economic considerations.

But, to return to our subject. Practically the entire petroleum production, namely 90 per cent, which is vitally important for economic and military purposes, is derived from the non-Russian territories. The most important fields are located near Baku in Azerbaijan, at Grosnyj and Maikop in North Caucasia, in Turkestan (along the Emba, in Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan), at the so-called second Baku near Ichimbaevo in Bashkiria, and lastly in Ukraine in Galicia. Russia herself only possesses a few comparatively small fields and these are located in an unfavourable district, namely along the Ucha in the far north and on Sachalin.

In order to complete this survey of the importance of the non-Russian countries subjugated by Moscow as an industrial raw materials centre of the Soviet Union, a few more important points must be stressed.

40 per cent of Russia's copper supply comes from Turkestan and Caucasia, Turkestan being the chief supplier. As much as 80 per cent of the Soviet Union's lead output is derived from Turkestan. Caucasia and Ukraine supply practically 80 per cent of the zinc production, 80 per cent of the quicksilver output comes from Turkestan and 20 per cent from Ukraine. 80 per cent of the Soviet Union's sulphur supply is obtained from Turkestan, whilst 80 per cent of salts of various kinds are supplied by Ukraine, North Caucasia, and Turkestan.

These figures, which, incidentally, could be enlarged upon still more as regards precious and base metals, basic materials of the chemical and construction industries, etc., reveal the very considerable importance of the non-Russian territories for the raw materials supply of the Soviet Union.

Similar conditions exist in the agricultural sector. The non-Russian countries of the Soviet Union definitely possess the monopoly in four important branches of agricultural production: in the cultivation of sugar-beet, cotton, silk, tobacco, tea, rice, viticulture, citrus fruits, and grain. Ukraine tops the list in sugar-beet cultivation and supplies about 75 per cent of the total amount of sugar produced in the Soviet Union. Turkestan is the leading country as far as the cultivation of cotton is concerned. Of the 1954 cotton crop amounting to about 4.5 million tons, 91 per cent came from Turkestan, and the remaining 9 per cent from Caucasia, Crimea, and Ukraine. According to the latest plans, Russia is to become the biggest cotton producer of the world, together with the USA and Egypt, by 1958. Thanks to Turkestan's big cotton production, the Soviet Union is not only no longer dependent on cotton imports, but has even become a cotton export country during the past few years.

In addition, Ukraine and North Caucasia supply one-third of the entire Soviet wheat production. And this proportional share on the part of the non-Russian territories is con-

Senator Joe McCarthy

“The Communist Intentions are the Same as Ever”

Extract of a speech which Senator McCarthy has kindly placed at the disposal of “ABN Correspondence”.
(The Editor.)

On June 16, and again on July 11, 1955, I discussed at some length the prospects for the Big Four Conference. I took the position that the decision to attend a summit meeting was ill-advised — that it meant, inevitably, a free world defeat. I argued that no matter what form it took — territorial concessions or propaganda gains — the Communists would have the victory. I must now confess that the views expressed in those addresses were overly optimistic. I predicted a free world set-back, but I did not foresee a rout. I foresaw serious breaches in the anti-Communist front, but I did not and I could not anticipate its total disintegration.

My critical mistake was to assume that after Geneva had failed, our government would recognize and acknowledge that it had failed. I assumed that after Soviet leaders had dashed the world's hopes that Communism had mellowed and had abandoned its goal of world conquest, we would recover our balance, and embark once again on a course of dedicated opposition to our mortal enemy. I thought that it would take some time to pick up the pieces, and to repair the Free World's position; but I did not reckon seriously with the possibility that the myth of Communist reformation would not only be alive and flourishing after Geneva, but that its foremost exponent would be the government of the United States.

True, the West made no specific territorial concessions at Geneva — so far as we know. But the Communists had set their sights on far more ambitious goals than the surrender of this Western outpost, or the neutralization of that one. The Communists set out to crack the West's will to resist, and in this — for the moment, at least — they have been utterly successful.

To grasp the magnitude of the Geneva disaster, we need only to state the argument of those who claim Geneva was a success — namely, that “We have made friends with the

Soviet government.” For this is another way of saying that we have made friends with the apostles of Hell.

We have, indeed, made friends with the Soviet leaders — who denounce God; who despise freedom; who deny individual rights; who exalt treachery; who counsel deceit; who practise terror, intimidation and torture as part of each day's work; who have, where possible, exterminated every human being and every human institution that has opposed them; and who have acknowledged, as their supreme mission, the destruction of this country and the last vestiges of our way of life. Such men are now our very good friends.

Over the past years, in dealing with the subject of Communism, I have found that a great number of things had to be said, or explained, that seemed to be elementary; but I never once felt that it had to be seriously argued that friendship with Communists is wrong. Now, in the wake of Geneva, this not only has to be said, but it can be said only at the price of being considered a reactionary, spoil-fun eccentric. Yet, is it not still self-evident that hostility to the Soviet Union — overt, articulate, unyielding hostility — is both necessary and desirable? We must be hostile to the Soviet Government for the same reason that Truth is hostile to Falsity, that Freedom is hostile to Tyranny, Love to Hate, and Kindness to Brutality — for the same reason that Good is hostile to Evil.

The moral implications of Geneva are shocking enough; but its practical consequences are just as grave. The Geneva friendship pact has already caused complacency and a false sense of security here at home. It is only natural that we relax our vigilance when we are told that our enemies are not such bad folk after all. Today the disintegration of the anti-Communist front is of the spirit. Before long it will affect armament and mobilization. Why foot huge tax bills, the American people may begin to ask, when the Communists have abandoned their plans for world conquest?

When the decision was made to attend the Big Four meeting, the public's general impres-

sion was that the purpose of the meeting was to discover whether there was sufficient evidence that Communism had changed its mind about conquering the world, to justify a new American foreign policy — including the relaxation of our pressures on the Communists, abandonment of a hostile attitude, disarmament, negotiations, concessions, and the like. After the Conference, the general impression conveyed to the public was that a favorable answer had been given to that question — that there was enough evidence that Communism had changed to justify a new policy of reconciliation and friendship.

The only way the public could avoid getting that impression was for the Administration and the Press to tell the truth about Geneva.

The truth about Geneva is that it did not produce one scrap of evidence that the Communists had budged from their objective of world conquest. Every proposal made by the West, the Communists either rejected or ignored. Every proposal made by the Communists had been made, in substance, a hundred times before — and a hundred times had been unacceptable to the West.

Let us go down the list.

On Germany: We insisted on German unification, and on Germany's right to remain in the Western defense alliance if she so chose; the Communists refused to agree to unification, and demanded that Germany withdraw from NATO.

On European Security: We said we would not join the Russians in an over-all European security pact until Germany had been unified; the Communists demanded such a pact immediately and refused to proceed with German unification.

On East-West “contacts”: The West requested, in effect, that the Soviets haul down the Iron Curtain; the Iron Curtain is still there and shows every sign of being permanent.

On Freedom for the Satellite Countries: The President said he would like to discuss the question; the Communists refused, denying even the existence of a problem.

On International Communism: The President brought up the subject; the Communists scoffed at the idea, called it an “internal” matter and, therefore, an inappropriate subject for discussion.

On the Far East: While the American people were led to believe the subject did not come up at Geneva, we now know it was discussed in secret meetings, where — let us hope — the United States argued that Communist aggression should cease; the Communists, we may be sure, renewed their demands for Red China's admission to the United Nations and for the surrender of Quemoy, the Matsus and Formosa to the Communists. And on this subject, it is beginning to look as though the Communists not only stood firm, but that we gave ground.

So where is the evidence that Communist intentions have changed? The Communists said, as they have said, for Western consumption, ever since the Russian revolution, that they wanted peace. On the basis of words, and of words alone, the President led the American people to believe that there is sufficient evidence of Communist sincerity to go ahead with a new policy of reconciliation and friendship.

Let us now examine more closely the question of who won at Geneva. The best way to answer that question is to recall the aims, first of the Communists and then of the United States.

Russia's aim was as simple as it was ambitious; and from the day the Communists

considerably higher if one includes such wheat-growing districts as the Volga-Ural territory, the whole of Caucasia, and Turkestan. The non-Russian territories furnish 75 per cent of the total grain production of the Soviet Union.

On the strength of a decree issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the government of the Soviet Union, huge tracts of land have been made arable for the cultivation of grain in Kazakstan, that is to say in North Turkestan and in Siberia, since 1954.

By the end of 1954 eight million hectares of land had been made arable in Kazakstan for grain cultivation and nine million hectares had been made arable in Siberia for the same purpose. As a result of these measures Kazakstan produced 760,000 tons grain more than in previous years. By 1956 the Russians aim to have sown 28 to 30 million hectares of land with grain in Turkestan and Siberia. Should their plans in this respect materialize, Turkestan would become the Soviet Union's main source of supply for grain.

As regards meat and fats, Russia is likewise dependent on the non-Russian territories. North Turkestan still plays an important part as a meat-supplying country, despite the fact that live stock there has been reduced very considerably as a result of Moscow's policy of restricting the nomadic population to a fixed place of abode and owing to the enforcement of the collective system. According to Soviet statistics, North Turkestan in 1929 possessed 39.4 million heads of cattle. As a result of the collective policy these huge

herds were reduced to 6.4 million heads in the year 1955 and by 1954 to 3.5 million heads. In former times there were more than 50 million heads of cattle in the whole of Turkestan.

It is obvious from the above figures that Russia possesses a sound basis as regards raw materials, industry, and foodstuffs, in the form of the non-Russian territories and that her economic potential is for the most part dependent on the economic potential of the countries which she has subjugated. It is therefore not surprising that the Russians are making every possible effort to retain these territories, for should they lose them, the Russian imperium would be deprived of its fundamental power, and the Russians would be forced to abandon their far-reaching plans of conquest.

The above figures also show that the non-Russian countries such as Ukraine, Byelorussia, Caucasia, the Volga-Ural territory, and Turkestan possess such valuable mineral resources, so important an agricultural production, and so great an industrial potential that their economic self-development as independent states would be ensured in every respect.

Russia is thus not really Russia, for the Soviet Union, as we have seen, consists of numerous subjugated nations, and Russia proper is only a small part of the Soviet Union which manages to assert her rule over the countries she has conquered, solely by her military power.

began agitating for a summit meeting, it was understandable by all who wanted to understand it. The Communists' objective was nothing less than to destroy the West's will to resist. They would of course appreciate any concessions we offered them. But for the moment, in Communist eyes, this was not important. If the West's spirit could be broken, the territories would fall in good time.

The Communists appreciated that while pursuing an aggressive policy during the preceding fifteen years they had won tremendous victories. But Western defenses were now firming up, and thus future progress promised to be slower and perhaps costly. This prospect could be changed if only the West could be persuaded to hate Communism a little less, fear Communism a little less, and be less suspicious of Communist objectives.

So the Kremlin leaders decided to turn back the clock twenty years, and try the approach they had used successfully during the "Popular Front" era of the thirties. That policy had not yielded territories; but it had softened up the West, and paved the way for the conquests of the forties. The Western powers, the Communists reasoned, fell for the ruse once before; they therefore might fall for it again.

The Communists' aim, then, was to establish an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence — an atmosphere in which the "Popular Front" would flourish once again, an atmosphere that would cause the West to drop its guard and to relax its vigilance. In this, the Communists were utterly and completely successful.

The way is now open for the re-emergence of coalition governments in France and Italy, for neutralizing Japan and Germany, for the development of "voluminous" East-West trade (to use President Eisenhower's word) which will bolster Russia's economy and strengthen her military machine. And, finally, the climate is right for persuading the United States to abandon its fighting allies, the Chinese Nationalists, the South Koreans and the South Vietnamese.

So much for Communist aims and achievements.

What was learned at Geneva about Soviet intentions? The world learned — or, better, that part of the world that paid attention to the concrete positions taken by the Soviet delegation — that Communist intentions were the same as ever: destruction of Western civilization and Communist domination of the world.

We heard a great deal of talk before the conference began, to the effect that Russia was weak, that her economy had collapsed, that her empire was falling apart, that she was thus prepared to make concessions to the West in order to "keep going". Secretary Dulles suggested we would be able to drive a hard bargain at Geneva, and could wrench some concessions from the Communists.

The first day of the Big Four meeting demonstrated how pathetically wrong Mr. Dulles had been. The President made a stab at starting up a discussion of issues regarding which the Communists might make concessions — those of the satellite countries and international Communism. In practical effect, the Communists simply laughed in his face; our delegation then dropped the subject like a "hot potato". Neither were the Communists impressed with our "strong positions" when the subject of Germany came up. And so on down the line.

Mr. Dulles' highly touted policy of "negotiating from strength" never got off the ground at Geneva. Today, it is utterly bankrupt.

America won a great victory, we are told, because President Eisenhower emerged from the Geneva conference the most popular man in the world.

Of course, Mr. Eisenhower was popular with the European neutralists. He said precisely what they wanted to hear, and did precisely what they wanted him to do. He

announced that the Communists sincerely wanted peace. He sealed a friendship pact with the Soviet leaders. He changed America's policy from one of militant opposition to Communism to one that comes very close to wanting "peace at any price".

Two years ago Mr. Eisenhower was not so popular with Europeans; for his Administration had adopted a policy of "unleashing" the forces of Free China. By 1955 all that had changed. Mr. Eisenhower had become a hero, even before he arrived in Europe.

It is little wonder that Mr. Eisenhower won the popularity crown — not only from the Europeans but from the Communists themselves. At one point during the conference the President turned to the Communist leaders and said,

"I can assure the people in this conference room that the United States will not be a party to an aggressive war and that under no circumstances would we approve of an aggressive war."

Europe cheered, and the Communists cheered. Since the President had adopted the Communists' definition of an aggressive war — namely, a war designed to recapture territories stolen by the Communists — his statement was, to Communist ears, the sweetest music ever heard.

There are some people, however, for whom Dwight Eisenhower is not a great hero. These people are in such circumstances that their voices cannot be heard. They are people who are now enslaved by the Communists, and could hardly be expected to cheer a pleasant social gathering between their oppressors and those upon whom their hopes for freedom rest. The enslaved peoples saw those pictures, of the smiling President, apparently exchanging pleasantries with the smiling Communist butchers. We may be sure that the Soviet government has had those pictures distributed in every city and hamlet behind the Iron Curtain — along with Mr. Eisenhower's statement that he believes the Soviets have good intentions. I can not imagine a more lethal blow to the morale of the captive peoples than the reports they are sure to get of Mr. Eisenhower's friendly meeting with their oppressors.

While I am on this subject, I think it is finally time to say a word about the relationship between the President and Marshal Zhukov. If Dwight Eisenhower were a private citizen, his friendship with a Communist might be nobody's business but his own. But he is not. Marshal Zhukov may have been Mr. Eisenhower's war-time buddy, a comrade in arms, and all that; but it remains that he is a leading member of a ruthless cabal that holds a third of the world's peoples in chains, and that, to boot, is determined to destroy the United States. It goes without saying that Marshal Zhukov would not be where he is today, did he not support Communism wholeheartedly and did he not possess that measure of deceit, treachery and brutality that qualifies for membership in the Communist high command. The argument that, through Zhukov, we have a pipeline to the Kremlin is sheer nonsense: Zhukov is not going to tell the President anything the Communist leadership does not want him to know. Moreover, the sort of thing that Zhukov is likely to tell the President is the sort of thing the President should hear less of, not more.

And before I am berated for making an issue of the Eisenhower-Zhukov relationship, let me ask those who would berate me what they would have said and written had Franklin Roosevelt concluded a pact of mutual trust and friendship with, say, Hermann Goering or Joseph Goebbels.

I have, so far, spoken of the Geneva conference largely in terms of the Communists' success in demoralizing the West. But it would be very wrong to suppose that the atmosphere of appeasement generated at Geneva damaged only our spirit, our will to resist. There is every reason to believe that concrete measures of appeasement were

agreed upon at Geneva, which have not been revealed to the American people.

Whatever agreement about the Far East was reached in Geneva, it is clear that the campaign to sell out Free China is under a full head of steam. The Administration has already gone back on its solemn promise to Chiang Kai-shek not to negotiate on questions dealing with the rights and territories of the Republic of China without the participation of the Free Chinese. The Administration does not want Chiang's representatives at those talks for the understandable reason that they would oppose the Administration's plans. Once Quemoy and the Matsus are lost, the Republic of China will be effectively neutralized and there will no longer be any realistic hope of Chiang returning to the mainland — a fact the Administration knows only too well. Our policy toward Free China is more than a betrayal of a devoted and fighting ally; it is a blatant repudiation of the Republican Party's solemn pledges to the American people. Let me once again recall to the Senate what we Republicans told the American people in 1952 when we asked them to elect us to office:

"We shall again make liberty into a beacon light of hope that will penetrate the dark places. That program will give the Voice of America a real function. It will mark the end of the negative, futile and immoral policy of 'containment' which abandons countless human beings to a despotism and godless terrorism, which in turn enables the rulers to forge the captives into a weapon for our destruction."

The way we have lived up to that promise does not make me proud of my Party. There are three areas in the world where we might have implemented a policy of liberation, but have refused to do so. We might have implemented it in Eastern Europe, along the lines I suggested, by withdrawing diplomatic recognition from the satellite regimes and establishing governments-in-exile. But the Administration is satisfied with expressing a "humanitarian" concern for the satellite peoples. We might have implemented it in Korea by giving the Armies of South Korea the equipment and support they need to liberate their northern brethren. But the Administration has termed such a liberation attempt "an aggressive war", and, we are now withholding the supplies which the South Koreans need in order to "go it alone".

Finally, we might have kept Chiang Kai-shek's forces "unleashed". But the Truman-Acheson policy has been revived, and we are proceeding with the neutralization of Formosa.

The coming sell-out in Asia is different from most sell-outs in the past, in that this time we can clearly see it coming. There is thus the opportunity to prevent it — if only there were the will. On the level of the national government, that will does not exist. For the once powerful opposition to appeasement, encompassing nearly every Republican legislator, has all but faded away. There is only the Remnant. The Eisenhower Administration has adopted every important plank of the Democrat Party's foreign policy. And since the President does precisely what the Democrats want him to do there is no chance of opposition there. Most Republicans, in their hearts, I think, are opposed to the President's policies. But they have accepted the theory that they cannot return to office in 1956 without Eisenhower at the head of the ticket; and they are, I am afraid, prepared to subordinate considerations of sound policy to those of political survival.

Five years ago I saw a picture that was only slightly less bleak and slightly less hopeful than this one. And it depicted a situation that affected the survival of this nation every bit as seriously as does the situation today. As I saw it then, there was only one recourse: to take the issue to the American people. That is the only solution I see today. I shall go to the people.

The Vital Problem of World Politics

No one will ever be rich enough to buy his enemies with concessions.
Bismarck

The Disarmament Bluff

We are of the opinion that all disarmament conferences are nothing but self-deception. And most probably, each of the partners is aware of the fact that disarmament is impossible as long as the Russian Bolshevik imperium, the destroyer of world peace, continues to exist. And yet conferences are held and huge sums of money are spent on them, whereas even a small amount of this money, if it were used to support the anti-Bolshevik underground movements, would undoubtedly be more effective in causing Moscow to become compliant than all the endless tirades on the part of the Western delegates and all their goodwill assurances. The real aim of all these conferences is to prevent any reproaches, on the part of the free nations, as regards lack of peaceableness or "provocation" of another war. Since Moscow is well aware that the West prefers peace, it suggests one conference after another in order to paralyse the defensive forces of the free nations in this way. Moscow likewise knows that the statesmen of the West, since they are obliged to consider the peaceable attitude of their nations, cannot possibly turn down the idea of disarmament negotiations, and it therefore suggests one new project after another, all of which, however, merely serve propagandist purposes. For instance, it takes up some former suggestion made by one or other of the Western Major Powers, adds various important "amendments" to it, and then disseminates propaganda to the effect that it has accepted the Western suggestion, but that the West has now turned down the same, and that it is therefore obvious that Moscow is not the warmonger! Or else Moscow presents its own disarmament plan, knowing full well that it will never be accepted by the West. Such discussions go on and on in a vicious circle and merely deter the will to act. It is regrettable that the West possesses no resolute elements, no political community, for instance, with a definite programme, which could determine the line of action to be taken in this respect and could venture to bear the responsibility involved. It is no good shirking the truth, namely that there never will nor can be peace as long as the Russian-Bolshevik peoples' prison and the Communist regime continue to exist in the world, as long as millions of people are forced to languish under this yoke. These millions are not interested in a graveyard peace. But Moscow is only interested in creating a temporary sham peace, since its aim continues to be world-conquest.

The way to achieve peace and to avoid a third world war coincides with the policy of support for the national revolutionary liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain and the national revolutions, which the Western Major Powers, by their assistance, should prepare, allow to develop, and bring to a successful issue, even though this might involve a war, which would, however, in any case be localized, once revolts have broken out in the enemy's hinterland. The Western powers should have the courage to admit the truth and to explain it to their own nations, before it is too late. They should prepare for the decisive battle against the destructive forces of Russia, which, sooner or later, will launch an armed attack on the West.

Indeed, this was, for instance, hinted at by Mikojan at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union when he made the assertion that Communism had been victorious in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Poland without a civil war; the fact that Communism asserted itself in these countries by means of armed force, namely by Soviet Russian divisions, is, however, well-known. And Soviet Russian tanks will likewise bring Communism to Paris, should the West refuse to abandon the disastrous policy of coexistence.

So far, two obstacles have prevented Moscow from launching a large-scale attack on the free world, — the superiority of the USA as regards atomic weapons and the imminent outbreak of revolts and revolutions within the U.S.S.R. and its sphere of influence. Russia's superiority as far as traditional (typical) weapons are concerned is, as it were, a double-edged sword, in so far as about half the Soviet Army is made up of non-Russians and these weapons might therefore easily fall into the hands of the insurgents. Why, then, does the West not take advantage of this extremely favourable opportunity offered by the internal situation in the U.S.S.R.?

The Vulnerable Spot of the U.S.S.R.

The U.S.S.R. is a Russian imperium. And, as in every despotic imperium, the national problem is its vulnerable spot. German, Belgian, and English ex-internees, who have returned home from concentration camps in Siberia and Kazakhstan, have brought back reports with them which are of far-reaching significance for the entire free world; the power of the U.S.S.R. is not only being undermined in the countries it has occupied, by the non-Russian peoples, but also in the concentration camps, where about 15 million persons, who are being tormented and forced to do slave labour, have now overcome their fears and are carrying on an active fight against Russian tyranny. The heroic death of five hundred Ukrainian women in Kingiri (near Karaganda in Kazakhstan), who threw themselves in front of the Soviet Russian tanks, in order to protect their fellow-internees, and let themselves be crushed to death, is the most significant event in the U.S.S.R. during the past decades. It is proof of the fact that there is internal ferment in the U.S.S.R., and that the subjugated nations refuse to surrender to Soviet tyranny and even carry on their fight against the occupiers of their countries, in the concentration camps. And this is where the Western world should seize its opportunity, for the events which concern the subjugated nations are of far greater significance than the 20th Congress of the Communist Party. This Congress merely proves the internal weakness of Bolshevism; what is far more important is the cause of this weakness. The sole aim of the 20th Party Congress was to introduce illusory "facilities" and, in order to pacify the public, to give Stalin the blame for having been responsible for Bolshevik crimes. It is most imperative that the West should at this time, when national revolutionary processes are apparent in the U.S.S.R., take the initiative, for such action would be synonymous with the key position from which to destroy the Soviet Russian imperium and regime from within and localize the war of liberation in the Bolshevik sphere of influence.

The disintegration of this imperium, the idea of national state liberation, the idea of

the freedom of man, of religion, and of social justice and equality, the unconditional abnegation of the Communist totalitarian system, recognition of the right to private property provided that it has been acquired by work, recognition of the sovereign rights of all nations and of their equality, — these are the ideological principles by means of which Bolshevism can be conquered, for it will never be conquered by ideas which are akin to its own.

Russia's Offensive in Asia and Africa

The most characteristic feature of the present epoch is the national fight for freedom of the subjugated, colonial and semi-colonial and other dependent nations, — a fight which has now assumed universal significance. The twentieth century can, indeed, be described as the springtime of nations all over the world. The age of imperial realms is past; a new era of national states is dawning. Although Communism as a system means negation of the national idea, Soviet Russia in the name of Communism nevertheless seeks to establish contact with national liberation processes outside its own sphere of dominion and to win over the dependent and colonial peoples of Asia and Africa, by cunningly supporting their claims to sovereignty and fostering centrifugal trends within the rest of the Western empires. What is more, Soviet Russia offers to protect those nations of Asia and Africa which, until recently, were colonial dependencies of the Western empires, but have meanwhile, of their own free will, become independent (whether they are still members of the Commonwealth or Union concerned, or not). It is most certainly paradoxical that precisely Russia, the advocate of the grimmest form of imperialism, should claim to be the protector of the national idea which is exactly the opposite of imperialism; in reality, it is a case of a conflict between two conceptions of the world order: on the one hand, the forcible unification of the nations in one single nationless and anti-national world empire of the U.S.S.R., and, on the other hand, the disintegration of empires into national states for the purpose of bringing about a world union and harmony of the nations, based on the principle that the states of all the peoples of the world, be they great or small, shall be free and shall enjoy equal rights. An open frontal attack on the national idea would inevitably lead to Soviet Russia's immediate defeat. For opportunist reasons Soviet Russia is, therefore, obliged to establish contact with national liberation trends, by its usual methods of cunning, that is to say, outside its own sphere of dominion, the notorious "socialist bloc", where it systematically exterminates such trends and endeavours to create one single "Soviet nation", namely in the Soviet Union.

In the first stage of its offensive, Soviet Russia does not produce a Communist social programme, but a national, anti-feudal programme, on condition that, all reforms, however, are to be effected by the Communist Party, which, in this way, is to win the confidence of the masses and assume the leading part. Feudal landed property is divided up into holdings, which are distributed among the small farmers and peasants as "a present"; later on, once the Communist Party has assumed power and consolidated its position, the farmers are deprived of their "present" and are forced to join the collective

farming system. The nations concerned are thus, first of all, only "neutralized" and withdrawn from the sphere of Western political influence, which in itself represents a considerable success on the part of Soviet Russia, as well as being the first step to the gradual sovietization of such nations, — quite apart from the oil supplies and other natural resources of the Near, Middle, and Far East.

The Vital Problem of World Politics

The nations striving for complete independence include not only the enslaved nations in the Soviet Russian imperium and sphere of influence, but also those colonial, semi-colonial, and other dependent peoples, who are either still part of the remaining Western empires, or who, though they may actually already be independent, as a result of their hardly justifiable fears and ill-feeling towards the West of today, allow themselves to be led and misled. The world policy of the Major Powers is constantly occupied with these national state problems, — immaterial whether it is a question of oil in the Near East, Transcaucasia, or Roumania, of iron ore in Ukraine, or cotton in Turkestan.

Of all the Major Powers, the U.S.S.R., however, is the only one which consistently pursues a definite and inalterable aim, — namely, to win over these Asian and African nations, to subjugate them by ideological and social subversion, and, after increasing its war potential correspondingly, to an enormous extent, to deal the Major Powers of the West a deadly blow, in order to become the absolute ruler of the whole world. The Western Major Powers, on the other hand, waver in their choice of policy between vague and confused ideas about a "federalist world government", passive and inactive conservatism, which does not intend to make any reforms until it is too late to do so, and even consider the idea of establishing contact with the national Communist trends and similar trends related to Bolshevism to be found in intellectual circles of the dependent nations in question. And all this is overshadowed by the fatal illusion of "peaceful coexistence".

In his recent notorious interview, the French Prime Minister, Guy Mollet, expressed an idea which has long been the dream of many prominent political personalities of the West, namely that the "status quo" should be recognized and "disarmament" conducted on this basis. This would, of course, mean that Soviet Russia would be allowed to retain the inexhaustible production and natural resources of the nations whom it has subjugated, as well as a huge human potential. The reunification of Germany "in peace and freedom" would, incidentally, be of little significance, since East Germany is not the vital problem of present world politics, but merely one of many problems. In any case, a reunited Germany would not be in a position to guarantee a world peace to the 280 million people still under Soviet Russian tyranny (not to mention the huge population of Red China). Even the setting up of the Russian imperium within the frontiers of 1939 would be no guarantee that the Russian advance of 1939—1945 might not be repeated; the only safety measure in this respect would be the disintegration of the Russian empire into national states and the limitation of Russia to her ethnical boundaries.

Fear of an atomic war does not justify capitulation in the face of misdeeds. Even so, apart from this ethical point of view, it is obvious that atomic bombs of the modern type can only be produced in empires, and not in national states, whose economic potential is not high enough for this purpose and who,

in any case, are hardly likely to be interested in imperialistic conquests. The disintegration of the Russian empire into national states would thus relieve the world, for good, of the danger of an atomic war.

Liberation Policy as Disarmament Policy

If Russia is thus deprived of the main supports of her imperialistic policy — the economic and human potential of the nations subjugated by her, disarmament will be able to proceed practically automatically. What armed conflicts are likely to occur between Ukraine, Turkestan, Bulgaria or Poland, on the one hand, and the USA and Great Britain! The Bolshevik disarmament plans are intended to divert the attention of the West from the most vital factor, which would render all negotiations on the disarmament question meaningless, — namely, the liberation of the countries occupied by Russia. An integral precondition of disarmament is thus the liberation of all the nations subjugated by Bolshevism, and not merely the liberation of East Germany, as Bonn would fain believe. On the other hand, however, recognition of the status quo with regard to Germany's partition would, from the geopolitical point of view, be synonymous with a final renunciation on the part of the West to even as much as broach the question of the fate of the remaining satellite states, and thus the German problem assumes the significance of a touchstone for Moscow's alleged "goodwill". All references to the withdrawal of the Soviets from Austria after the latter's "neutralization" are quite senseless, since there was no Communist government in Austria.

By misusing the idea of the national and anti-feudal liberation movement in Asia and Africa, Soviet Russia is succeeding in overthrowing the remainder of the British and French colonial empire from within and, incidentally, at the same time is even being acclaimed as a liberator by the peoples concerned, despite the fact that it is inflicting a form of slavery on them, which is very much worse than that which they ever endured under British or French rule. The strange thing is that the Western Major Powers — even if they have no definite liberation programme — do not want to pay Russia back in her own coin. What could be simpler for

one or other of the Western Major Powers but to support the national liberation movements in Ukraine, Georgia, or Turkestan, officially, and get its revenge in this way? At the Bandung Conference, for instance, the Sudan and even the Gold Coast were represented, so why not Turkestan? And should Moscow intervene in the question of the right of self-determination of Malaya or Algeria, one can but ask, — what about the "sovereignty" of such ancient Christian nations as the Ukrainian or Georgian nation! If Soviet Russia aims to bring about the disintegration of the British or French empires, why should not London and Paris aim to bring about the disintegration of the Russian empire, and, in fact, declare this to be the aim of their foreign policy! If the Soviet Union supports the Communist parties in the West, why should not the U.S.A. support the national liberation organizations behind the Iron Curtain, all the more so since these organizations enjoy the confidence of whole nations and, unlike the Western Communist parties, are not the agents of a foreign power! The West holds the dynamite in its hand with which it could blow up the U.S.S.R. from within, but, for some reason or other, it seems powerless to reach a decision.

Meanwhile, since Stalin's death, since Beria's fall, and since the 20th Party Congress, the Bolshevik imperium is undergoing an ever-increasing process of internal dissolution, despite the fact that the "collective" leaders are obviously doing their utmost to check this process by means of various tricks. Once again we exhort the Western world: Give the tyrants no breathing-space! Give them no chance to consolidate their forces! Take the offensive! The subjugated nations have already begun to smash the peoples' prison. It only needs the active intervention of the West, and the tyrants' empire will burst into flame and turn into dust and ashes.

The U.S.S.R. of today — like the Russian imperium on various occasions in the past — is a colossus with feet of clay. Prevent it from becoming a colossus with feet of iron! And this depends entirely on the Major Powers of the West, and, above all, on the U.S.A. and Great Britain.

Jaroslav Stetzko

The Slovak People Cannot be Intimidated

By Dr. Ctibor Pokorný

On March 14th this year, the Slovak patriot and active member of the resistance movement, Michal Ilnat, was sentenced to death in a public mock-trial in Prešov. For this purpose the senate of the Supreme Court of Justice in Prague even came to Prešov. Over a thousand persons were instructed to appear as spectators at the trial and considerable security measures were taken in this connection.

Ilnat was sentenced to death on a charge of having killed a Communist Party functionary for political reasons. Incidentally, he fiercely opposed the Communist dictatorship and the setting up of the artificial state structure of Czechoslovakia.

He made no attempt to conceal his political convictions. He sought to hinder and prevent the sovietization of his native village in East Slovakia, but it was a desperate attempt which was hardly likely to be crowned with any lasting success. Despite considerable pressure, he refused to join the kolchozes. Other farmers followed his example and likewise refused to become kolchos workers, even though they were constantly punished on this account.

Ilnat most courageously always expressed his patriotic and anti-Communist feelings. He very rightly looked upon the Communist party and state functionaries, the exponents and parasites of the Red dictatorship, as dangerous elements and as

enemies of the people. On numerous occasions he affirmed that the Communists ought to be killed like venomous snakes, a fact which was stressed during the mock-trial.

He hated Communist despotism and maintained that violence must be fought with violence. This conviction prompted him to kill a dangerous Communist functionary who was hated by everybody and who not only terrorized Ilnat's native village, but also the entire district.

The Communists and, in fact, the entire Slovak public regarded his action as an act of resistance against the ruling regime. And even the Communist prosecution and the press were forced to admit that purely political motives had prompted his action. On the National Day of Slovakia, Michal Ilnat was sentenced to death as an active member of the anti-Communist resistance movement. The masses in Slovakia, however, regard him as a martyr and hero. He is not the first Slovak patriot to be executed on account of his resistance against Moscow and Prague, and he will, alas, not be the last either.

It is no mere coincidence that the death sentence was pronounced on the 17th anniversary of the founding of the Slovak Republic. The Communist tyrants chose this day not only because the accused supported the cause of national freedom and state

Niko Nakashidze

“Hard Times for the Georgians”

Some time ago, the Berlin paper, “Der Tag”, published a report from Stockholm, with the above title. It was stated in this article that, since the death of Stalin and Beria's execution, the Georgians have been kept under by coercion and slighted and snubbed.

Terrorism at present continues unabated in Georgia. The Georgian people are being destroyed by the Moscow rulers with the ruthless cruelty which is typical of the latter.

There has constantly been political ferment in this “the most unruly of all the nationality groups in the Soviet Union”, as the London journal “The World Today”, on one occasion, described Georgia¹). And recently, at the beginning of March this year, the Georgian people openly rebelled against the dictatorship. In order to understand the significance of events in Georgia, it is necessary to give a survey of the development of the political situation there so far.

“Russophobia” in Georgia

Some time ago we published a report which the Bureau of the Georgian Social Democrats in Paris had received direct from Georgia²). In this report it was stated that the prisons in Georgia are full of young persons who have been arrested for insulting and assaulting Russians.

“The watchword of the Kremlin at present,” it was further stated in this report, “is to reduce the national republics to complete servility and subjection”.

The measures resorted to by Moscow in order to realize this ruthless plan have now evoked a corresponding reaction on the part of these nations.

German prisoners-of-war who were interned in Georgia have given authentic accounts of the anti-Russian attitude which prevails there. The Russians are hated by the Georgian population, and all contact with them is avoided. Such an atmosphere of hatred is always regrettable, for hostility of this kind is very often directed against persons who themselves are obliged to suffer. We know only too well that the Russians do not have a very happy life under the dreadful regime which they themselves have set up in their own country. But be that as it may, they, however, are the ones who have subjugated the other nations and have involved them in this tragic situation.

It is a well known fact that the Georgians and, indeed, all the Caucasian peoples are very tolerant and that hatred of foreigners is alien to their nature. They have always been known for their great hospitality.

Georgian Tolerance

It is well known that Georgia, with the capital, Tiflis, was in former times the centre of the tsarist Russian administration of the whole of Caucasia. When the revolution broke out in 1917, governmental power in Caucasia was in the first place assumed by the revolutionary workers' and soldiers' council, in which the Georgian social democrats played the leading part. These people had constantly been persecuted by the tsarist police and had spent many years of their life in prisons or in Siberian camps. They had, therefore, every reason to harbour ill-feeling, and no one could have blamed them had they resorted to measures of reprisal against the former rulers who had

caused their nation and themselves personally so much suffering and misery.

But what did they do instead! They allowed the uncle of the Tsar, Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaijevitich, who at that time was the tsarist Viceroy of Caucasia, to leave by special train, and placed a saloon-carriage at the disposal of Count Gudovitch, the Governor. The head of the political police in Transcaucasia, General Prince Tchetinin, remained in Georgia and received a pension there, and the other chief of the same police authority, Colonel Treskin, was given a position as head cashier of one of the Georgian banks.

These are but a few examples of many. During the time of Georgia's independence the Russians were allowed to keep their own national schools, which were subsidized by the state; they were represented in parliament, and they had their own Church.

Such were conditions in Georgia at a time when the Bolshevik conflagration had already broken out in Russia, and the members of the ruling dynasty and of the upper classes were being arrested and shot on the spot.

During the people's revolt in Georgia in 1924, not one of the party and state functionaries or members of the Russian army who were arrested by the insurgents was shot.

The Georgians have always been nationalists and patriots, but never “chauvinists” or “enemies of mankind”. Not they themselves, but solely the Russians are to blame for the fact that they have now become “chauvinists” who are hostile to Russia and the Russians.

Georgia under Bolshevik Russian Tyranny

Many Russian emigrants and some foreign journalists affirm that the Georgians enjoyed a privileged position in Stalin's and Beria's day. We should at this point like to examine this statement and, by means of historical facts, prove how utterly untrue it is.

The working-class and also the farming-class in Georgia (the latter mainly for political and social reasons) belonged to the social democratic party, which, being the strongest party, dominated the political life of the country.

The number of Communists in Georgia was so insignificant that they had not a single representative in the government. Most of the Communists were intellectuals who had established contact with the Bolsheviks at universities in Russia, and their adherents were either anti-social elements or criminals. During Georgia's independence, 80 per cent of the elected representatives in the government were social democrats and 20 per cent were members of bourgeois parties.

Immediately after the 1905/06 revolution, Stalin was forced to leave Georgia after having been hooted and jeered at by the Georgian proletariat, the dockers and factory workers in Batum and the workers in the manganese-ore mines in Tchiaturi. With feelings of hatred towards his fellow-countrymen, he went to Russia and did not return to Georgia until he was the almighty and absolute ruler of Russia.

Despite the fact that he was one of the leading men of the Soviet Russian ruling class, he nevertheless was still a *foreigner* there as long as his native country, Georgia, did not belong to Soviet Russia. He was, in fact, obliged to pacify Russian imperialists by his own actions, in order to consolidate his position in Moscow. Together with the Communist Party leaders in Moscow, he decreed the occupation of Caucasia. With the aid of his hirelings, he caused an incursion to be carried out on Azerbaijan, then on Armenia, and later on Georgia, despite the fact that a treaty had been signed by Georgia and Soviet Russia on May 7, 1920, to the effect that Russia recognized Georgia's independence and renounced all claims.

After the occupation of Georgia, all the leading personalities of all the political parties, as well as ecclesiastical dignitaries and important military persons were arrested, and most of them were either shot or deported. Local revolts broke out again and again in all parts of the country, and guerilla wars were waged incessantly in the mountainous districts.

The national will of the Georgians found its highest expression in the people's revolt of 1924, which broke out spontaneously all over the country. Stalin now had a chance to satisfy his feelings of revenge. He sent his emissary, Serge Ordjonikidse, to Georgia, and a dreadful massacre ensued.

Stalin had never forgiven his fellow-countrymen for making a laughing-stock of him. Indeed, Trotsky on one occasion wrote that Stalin had said, during a meeting of the Politburo, “Georgia must be ploughed up”. And this was, in fact, what he achieved.

During the years 1930/31, the farmers in Georgia protested violently against the introduction of collective farming. The Georgian Communist government appealed to Moscow to delay the introduction of the collective system in view of the special characteristics of Georgia's agriculture. But Stalin refused to listen to this argument and gave orders that the collective system was to be enforced at once and that those who put up any resistance were to be punished. Hundreds of farmers were shot and thousands were sent to concentration camps.

The old Communists still had some kindly feelings left for their fellow-countrymen, and many of them began to criticize Moscow's methods. Indeed, a strong opposition, the so-called “national Uklonism” or “national deviation”, was now formed in the Communist Party of Georgia.

But Stalin soon made a clean sweep in this respect. He ordered Beria to exterminate the opposition, and during the years 1935/36 and 1937/38 all the members of the opposition were shot.

These terrorist measures were, however, not merely enforced in the case of the Communist opposition, but, above all, also included the members of the Georgian intelligentsia. Hundreds of scientists, doctors, engineers, technicians, agronomists, veterinary surgeons, writers, poets, and artists, etc., were shot, and thousands, whose fate had been sealed from the start, were sent to concentration camps in Siberia.

The members of the intelligentsia who had survived were intimidated and paralysed, morally and physically. Men of science and literature sought refuge in the past in order to get away from the present.

But the Soviet tyrants were on the alert and demanded that they should devote their attention to present matters and study and describe Soviet reality. A political vacuum ensued in Georgia. The people resigned themselves to their fate, and, for some time, there was no longer any political initiative whatsoever.

Such was the “privileged” position which the Georgians enjoyed in Stalin's and Beria's day!

The Moscow government pursues a truly *Russian* policy and aims to decimate the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union by every possible means and to reduce them to one common social and cultural level. At present, only 42 per cent of the population of Georgia really are Georgians.

Continued Resistance on the Part of the Younger Generation

But a new generation has now grown up. It is true that the members of this generation have been trained in the Communist youth organization (the “Komsomol”) and have grown up under the Soviet regime, but they have also been brought up at home according to the old, national traditions. There can be no doubt about the fact that they are nationally conscious and sincerely Georgian in their innermost heart. They are familiar with the history and culture of their nation and they refuse to acknowledge Russia as the “elder brother”. They refuse to believe that the occupation of the non-Russian countries by Russia has brought these countries “progress” and civilization, and that the latter have only begun to prosper since they came under Russia's protection.

From the outset, they were opposed to the foreign rulers, for there is not a single family in the country which has not suffered as a result of Russian tyranny and terrorism.

Most of the young people of Georgia were forced to join the “Komsomol”; had they not done so, they would not have been allowed to study because

¹) “The Fall of Beria and the Nationalities Question in the U.S.S.R.” — Nov. 1953.

²) “A.B.N. Correspondence”, March/April, 1954, No. 3/4.

independence for Slovakia, but also because they wanted to unnerve the entire nationally-conscious Slovak public by this sentence. The Communist press described the sentence passed on Ilnat as a warning to the enemies of the people's democratic regime in Slovakia. For several days after the trial the papers published long articles, entitled “Warning!”, about the Ilnat case.

The Slovak people, however, refuse to allow themselves to be intimidated by terrorist measures, mock-trials, and executions, and will continue to put up a resistance against Moscow and Prague.

of their social origin. But the most important thing was their innate desire for freedom as a human being and as a personality. They are courageous and aggressive, for they have stood the test and have fought in World War II. And this is one of the reasons why the Georgian Communists, too, have constantly been reprimanded, punished, and "purged".

The compulsory resettlement of thousands of young persons of both sexes from Georgia to Siberia, to the Altai region, and elsewhere, for the purpose of opening up new territory there, has aggravated the bitter feeling of the Georgian people towards the Russians still more. And, to make matters worse, Russians are now being resettled to Georgia to take the place of the Georgians who are being turned out of their native country. All the government and Party positions are occupied by Russian officials and Party functionaries who have been sent to Georgia by the Moscow government.

The National Spirit is Steadfast and Unswerving

The fight which is being waged by the Georgian people is thus definitely national in character. The Communist Russian regime has not succeeded in breeding Soviet creatures — with the exception of a mere handful of traitors — without national consciousness and feelings in our countries. The national spirit of our peoples has proved stronger than Bolshevik Russian terrorism. On a previous occasion we already stressed the fact that the masses, kept under by Russian coercion, would be forced to resort to unlawful measures and would eventually join the resistance movements.

And, indeed, matters came to a head in this respect a short time ago. Recent events in Georgia, at the beginning of March this year, have corroborated our opinion. *The young people of Georgia openly rebelled against Moscow and Russian Bolshevik occupation. They demonstrated against their brutal violators. People who take up a fight like this without possessing weapons and with no hope of success must indeed be desperate, but, at the same time, they must possess an invincible national spirit and courage!* Once again the world has heard the war-cry of freedom of an ancient Christian nation. We know only too well how much sacrifice this will involve and the tragic consequences which will ensue for this small nation.

According to a report in the Soviet press, 15,000 propagandists have been sent to Georgia from Moscow for the purpose of "enlightening" the Georgian people. And it is perfectly obvious that these propagandists are MVD officials who have received instructions to carry out a ruthless extermination, on the usual Soviet lines.

The people of Georgia are experiencing hard times, for hell has now broken loose there.

But all the efforts of our nation's grim enemy are in vain, for he will not succeed in reducing the people of our country to complete subjection, nor will he be able to exterminate their urge to be free. In the course of their three thousand-year old history the people of Georgia have, on numerous occasions, experienced hard times, and a German once wrote of them, "Even the grimest tyranny of foreign conquerors has not been able to destroy the strong individuality of this ancient nation".

"Many millstones have been ground on the heads of our people", one famous Georgian once wrote, "but it has survived and surmounted all troubles and obstacles, and many of its former conquerors are now a memory in name only."

The Georgians have never lost their sense of humour, nor will they lose it now, despite all the hardships and misery which they are at present forced to endure. They will survive these hard times and, together with the other subjugated peoples, will one day attain their freedom. Indeed, the French once described the Georgians as "eternal bearers of the Cross" ("croisés éternels").

And just as He, Who is our hope and our solace and Whose Cross they also bear, was resurrected, so, too, will our nations be resurrected. For, as the Archbishop of Cologne, Cardinal Joseph Frings, said, "In the present conflict the question at issue is who will be the victor, Christianity with its moral and spiritual values, or Bolshevik imposture with its heroes who have attained power by blood and tears and by the inhuman subjugation of man-

Esthonia under the Pressure of Russification

Our editorial department has been fortunate enough to receive an authentic and extremely informative account of the present situation and conditions in Esthonia from a former member of the Communist Party of Esthonia. (The Editor.)

The Esthonian Communist Party is already completely under the control of the Russians, who distrust the Esthonian party members since the latter are aware of their own intellectual superiority and, incidentally, make no secret of this fact. The main cause of the undercurrent of tension and disagreement, however, is, above all, the large-scale Russification policy of the Soviets, which has even aroused the indignation of the Esthonian Communists and is rejected by them as pan-Russianism.

The leading state and municipal positions are now, for the most part, held by Russians, and the Esthonians are obliged to learn Russian in order to be able to express themselves fluently when talking to post office officials, railway staff, the police, or members of the administrative authorities. The towns have assumed a Russian aspect, not merely externally in the streets, but also in the cultural sphere, as for instance the theatre and other kinds of entertainment, all of which are controlled by the Soviets. The Russian soldiers and officers stationed in Esthonia are well aware of the fact that they are not merely unpopular, but are definitely hated by the population.

Even the Communist-minded red Esthonians are aware of the atmosphere of hostility which prevails, and are considerably alarmed at the extent to which the Russification process has already spread and is rapidly and systematically getting beyond their control. Last year, for instance, several hundred Esthonian active party members were dismissed from office and liquidated by the usual Russian methods; the supervision of the kolchozes is now almost entirely in the hands of the Russians, whilst the patriotic youth of the country is constantly subjected to deportation.

The opposition of the younger generation, which openly defies the Russification process, has meanwhile increased to such an extent that girls and boys all over the country are now refusing to learn Russian at school. Even the members of the Party youth movement are trying to set up a national trend of their own and are endeavouring to learn something from the Communist regime's feeble imitation of the national idea.

Incidentally, a typical atmosphere of hypocrisy prevails in the Party. To all outward appearance, the atmosphere is very friendly, but behind the scenes there is an ominous, yawning gulf which is apparent in various ways, — from subtle boycott to secret acts of sabotage. Since they fear for their lives, the Esthonian Communists, however, on the whole prefer to keep in the background and leave all the key positions to their Russian comrades. But this does not prevent them from making fun of the latter, when an occasion presents itself, and of assessing their mistakes as those of primitive bureaucrats.

At the second Party Congress in Moscow the leader of the Esthonian Communists, Iwan Käbin, was over-eager to assure his audience that Esthonia would fulfil the quotas of the next Five Year Plan, two- or even threefold. At the Congress of the Esthonian Communist Party in Tallinn, however, he was far more taciturn, and it was no mere coincidence that all the boasting was left to the Russian "specialists", who, in fact, bear the responsibility as far as the realization of such plans is concerned.

Naturally, some of the Russian "comrades" are intelligent enough to realize that the internal tension in the Party represents a serious menace, but it is typical of Russian methods that such Rus-

kind, who have cast the Lord aside, and, with fiendish arrogance, have set themselves up as God Almighty".

These idols, however, will crash to the ground, and our world will be victorious!

sian Party functionaries are not allowed to remain in Esthonia for long, but are very soon transferred elsewhere.

Strange to say, many of the Esthonian Communists no longer observe Party discipline as strictly as they did at first. Even though they are registered members of the Party, many of them are not afraid of circulating news heard in foreign broadcast programmes among the population, through the medium of confidential agents, and of passing on their "secrets". Thus, whenever some Esthonian Communist or other suddenly and mysteriously disappears, the people are well aware of the reasons for his "long journey" and out of the pity of their hearts even forgive him for his previous sins. But they ask themselves, who will be the next?

In any case, life in Esthonia is gloomy and hopeless enough. The people have, to their great sorrow, been obliged to relinquish their illusions of a speedy liberation, and hopes for the future are overshadowed by bitter disappointments.

The fact that the broadcasting station "The Voice of America", in Munich, publicly announced last summer that the U.S.A. had no intention whatsoever of liberating the subjugated nations by means of warlike actions, but were only prepared to carry on peaceful negotiations, gave rise to a new wave of depression amongst the Esthonian people. When they heard of this statement, people drank huge quantities of vodka and simply got drunk in order to forget the tragic fate of their country. And some of them even cursed the Americans, for hardly anyone behind the Iron Curtain is foolish enough to believe in a liberation by peaceful means. On the other hand, most people there realize only too well that the entire world is being sovietized by peaceful means.

And it is in this sinister atmosphere that the Russian agents in Esthonia successfully play their trump card, by affirming that war would mean the revival of Nazism, which, together with the rebirth of the Third Reich, would mean new servitude for the Esthonians, too. The older generation in Esthonia, which is capable of distinguishing between Nazi and Communist occupation and compares the former to "detention in one's own home", but the latter to "Katorga", is not susceptible to such propaganda. Whilst the youth of the country refuses to allow itself to be convinced by the hackneyed catchwords of Communist propaganda, and is unanimously agreed that there can be no liberation by new subjugation!

Hocus-pocus with Murder?

It is an interesting and highly significant fact that the MVD assassins are seized with compunction whenever they are called upon to murder Russian politicians abroad. This was the case, for instance, when MVD captain, Chochlov, was incited to murder NTS chief, Okolowytsch, and, more recently, as regards the assassin smuggled in from the East Zone of Germany, who allegedly was to kill NTS member, Poremsky.

Incidentally, the assassins felt no such compunction when they murdered the non-Russian, Karas (Byelorussia), Fatalibey (Azerbaijan), and Matus Cernak (Slovakia).

In a press article, Mr. Eugene Derzhavyn, a Russian, stressed the opinion that there are numerous MVD agents among the leaders of the NTS. This possibly explains the compunction of the assassins. It is likewise possible that, by means of a preconcerted plot hatched by like-minded associates, heroes are to be created with a lot of fuss, — a fact which, in their opinion, would help to win the confidence of the West to a considerable extent. If, in addition, considerable sums of money in the form of financial aid were to fall to the poor victims of their political convictions, then the organizers would be able to laugh in their sleeve and distribute the profit accordingly.

V. Derzhavyn

National Problems and National Resistance in Soviet Concentration Camps

Germans — ex-prisoners-of-war and civilians who were abducted — who were released from captivity by the Soviets in September and October, 1955, and have recently returned home, have brought back with them plenty of information about social and national conditions in Soviet concentration camps. And, needless to say, all this information, which gives a fairly complete picture of prevailing conditions, definitely refutes the foolish twaddle of Russian anti-Communist emigrant circles, namely that there is "no such thing as a national fight in Soviet Russia against the Russians as such", since the latter are tyrannized under the Soviet regime just as much as all the non-Russian "peoples" of the red "empire". And this not only holds good for the statements made in this respect by Germans who recently returned home from captivity in the Soviet Union, but also for the testimony given by French, English, and other captives released about the same time or earlier from the Soviet Russian peoples' prison. (We should, for example, like to mention the interesting book by W. E. R. Piddington, "Russian Frenzy", published by Elek Books, London, in 1955.) As regards the testimony given by French, English, and other captives, however, these cases have been and are only isolated ones, whereas in the case of the German captives testimony has been given by more than 150 eyewitnesses, most of whom met for the first time in various transit camps in Western Germany, such as Friedland, Herleshausen, Eschwege, etc., and who, on numerous occasions, approached the German public in this respect of their own free will, as for instance in the Munich "Deutsches Theater", on October 22, 1955. Thus there can be no question of any previous agreements having been reached by these former German captives, nor of their having been influenced by allegedly anti-Russian "separatist" propaganda; on the contrary, the firm conviction with which countless Germans who have returned home from Russian captivity have stated that they consider it their duty to pass on to the entire free world the message of appeal entrusted to them by their Ukrainian, Baltic, and other (but never ethnic Russian) fellow-sufferers, leaves not the slightest shadow of doubt as to the sincerity and authenticity of all the testimony given in this respect. In the few isolated cases in which we find some disagreement in the testimony, the latter comes from persons who have spent their entire captivity in the U.S.S.R. exclusively in purely ethnic Russian (Muscovite) surroundings and who, in any case, — as, for instance, Dr. W. Starlinger in his notorious book, "The Limits of Soviet Power" (Würzburg, 1955), — manifest such a national prejudice that even the West German press, which is not exactly kindly disposed towards the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union who have been subjugated by Moscow, has seen fit to censure this attitude.

The friends and supporters of a "united and indivisible Russia" will thus find it very hard to continue to ignore German eyewitness accounts about national discrimination and the national fight in the U.S.S.R.; and it is to be hoped that these accounts will definitely put a stop to such gross falsifications of the truth as appear in B. Yakovlev's inferior work, "Concentration Camps of the U.S.S.R.", financed, incidentally, by "private" American funds and recently published by the Munich "Institute for the Study of the History and Culture of the U.S.S.R."

The National Element in the Soviet Concentration Camps

German eyewitness accounts fully corroborate the argument advanced by the ABN press some years ago, namely that the ethnic Russian (Muscovite) element in the Soviet concentration camps only constitutes a negligible minority; and whereas we estimated that only 10 per cent of the concentration camp internees were Muscovites, the actual figure appears to be even lower according to German testimony. On the whole, the following list appears to be the most reliable:

Ukrainians	45 per cent
Baltic nationals	15 per cent
(of whom the majority are Lithuanians)	
Caucasians	15 per cent
(of whom the majority are Chetchenes	
and members of other peoples that were	
victimized during the Soviet genocide	
in 1945)	
Turkestanians	17 per cent
Russians	8 per cent.

The fact must be taken into consideration that this 8 per cent also includes Jews, who in the Soviet Union are extremely russified, and most probably members of other peoples that are in the minority, as for example the Greeks, so that the actual percentage of ethnic Russian (Muscovite) internees in the Soviet concentration camps is more likely to be somewhere between 5 and 7 per cent.

Incidentally, the fact must be stressed that practically all the available data in this respect refers to the concentration camps in Northeast Russia and Western Siberia. Very little has been ascertained about conditions in the concentration camps in Eastern Siberia, for the simple reason that hardly any of the German internees who have been released have come from camps in Eastern Siberia. On the other hand, however, it has been ascertained that a large number of supporters of the Ukrainian fight for freedom, namely former members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), and of Chetchenes were sent to Eastern Siberia (to the Krasnoyarsk district), and it can thus be assumed that the percentage of the ethnic Russian element would prove to be even much less were any data pertaining to the concentration camps in Eastern Siberia taken into account.

As regards the Ukrainian internees, it is generally estimated that they constitute 40 per cent of the total number of internees in the Vorkuta camps (between the upper course of the River Pechora and Barents Sea), 50 per cent of the internees in the Karaganda concentration camps (North Turkestan), and 60 per cent of the internees in the Kingir concentration camps (likewise in North Turkestan). Internees from West Ukrainian districts predominate as regards numbers, but this, of course, does not imply that they represent an absolute majority among the Ukrainians. The following districts of Ukraine are listed in order according to the percentage of Ukrainian internees in Soviet concentration camps, beginning with the district from which the highest percentage comes: Lviv, Drohobych, Stanislaviv, Volhynia, Ternopil, Vynnytsya, Kyiv, Zhytomir, Dnepropetrovsk, Kharkov, Odessa. There appear to be more women internees among the Ukrainians than in any other national group, but this is really a matter which is connected with the social conditions in the Soviet concentration camps.

Social Discrimination

There can indeed be no doubt that the extremely high percentage of women amongst the Ukrainian internees (and in this respect age is of no importance, for there are as many fourteen-year olds as sixty-year olds among the women internees) is due to the fact that the Soviets, in particular during the years from 1945 to 1952, carried out mass deportations in Western Ukraine. These measures were in numerous cases applied as punishment for entire villages which were considered "politically untrustworthy", and can be regarded as practically equal to genocide. It is true that the deportees, at least officially and provided that deportation measures had been enforced because those concerned were *suspected* of having cooperated with the partisans, were to enjoy freedom in the place to which they were deported; but at the least indication of active or even only passive resistance they were all sent to concentration camps. Naturally, a large proportion of the internees in the concentration camps are men of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and members of their families,

as well as former prisoners-of-war and civilians who have been "repatriated" from Germany and elsewhere; and there is even quite a comparatively large percentage of internees who are persons who "re-emigrated" voluntarily at the beginning of the 1920's on the strength of the Soviet official amnesty.

This also applies "mutatis mutandis" to all the other non-Russian national groups of internees in the concentration camps, but not in the case of the Russians, among whom, apart from a negligible number of former Trotsky supporters and other "Party oppositionists", there are no representatives whatsoever of political resistance or actual underground movements. On the other hand, the strongly marked contrast between "political suspects" and criminals which is in evidence among the Russian internees, is non-existent in the non-Russian national groups; for, in the first place, it was precisely against non-Russians that the Bolshevik regime adopted its tactics of sentencing politically "untrustworthy" persons, despite lack of evidence, on the strength of fictitious charges, — a measure which was only applied in exceptional cases in ethnic Russian (Muscovite) districts; and, in the second place, most of the real criminals of non-Russian origin quite naturally and regularly join the groups of Russian criminals, who are more numerous and better organized, and in their way of thinking and acting cannot be distinguished from the latter.

The fact must, however, also be taken into consideration that certain of the better elements among the non-Russian criminals retain their feeling of national solidarity, and in such cases they are influenced by the national organization in question and become active supporters of the national and state aims of their own nation. This percentage is reported to be by no means small, since the non-Russian internees in all the larger camps are organized as national groups which are firmly united and endeavour to foster their national traditions and national consciousness as far as possible. German reports on conditions in the Soviet concentration camps express great admiration at the discipline, religiousness, adherence to native customs and traditions, solidarity and unity, which prevail among the non-Russian groups; and since each group has its own head, whom one must obey — regardless of whether he has been recognized as such by the official camp administration and is tolerated by the latter, or whether his function is illegal and remains a secret —, the organization of these groups is, as it were, based on a natural law, observance of which, in view of the terrible conditions in the concentration camps, gives the internees a certain moral and spiritual stability and support. (This no doubt explains why there are so few cases of suicide amongst the non-Russian internees.) The fact that the influence and authority of each national head is based on the patriotism and spirit of national unity which prevail in the national group in question, does not, however, apply in the case of all the non-Russian national groups, but, in particular, in the case of the Ukrainian, Baltic, Caucasian, and Turkestanian groups (and, on the whole, in the case of the German groups). As regards the heads of the Ukrainian groups in particular, they are frequently praised for their energy, pluck, and sense of justice; but it cannot be denied that they are sometimes reproached with being lacking in education and experience, — faults which occasionally lead to a failure to assess the political situation for what it is worth and even to rash actions. The reason for this obviously lies in the general tendency of the camp administrations to separate all the Ukrainians who are highly educated from the rest of their fellow-countrymen and send them to the isolated camps in East Siberia.

A German doctor, Dr. Josef Scholmer, who has studied social conditions in the Vorkuta camps with astounding perception and who explained them in detail in a brilliant lecture which he gave at the International Conference "The Future of

Freedom" in Milan, in October, 1955, stresses the fact that, of all the nations represented in the Soviet concentration camps, only the actual Russians (Muscovites) could be classed in various groups, according to their social mentality, — peasants, workers, intellectuals, and, lastly, some former party functionaries and officers —, who reproach the Bolshevik regime with various faults without, however, definitely rejecting it. It is thus not surprising that the attitude of the Russian (Muscovite) internees towards the concentration camp system is an entirely passive one and that they do not venture to think of putting up any kind of secret or open resistance. Indeed, if they do ever take part in any strike which has been organized and led by someone else, they soon allow themselves to be intimidated by threats or pacified by some slight privilege or other.

It is interesting to note that most of the Russian internees definitely reject the idea of the "leading role" of the Russian people in relation to the non-Russian nations of the U.S.S.R., and, contrary to the Russian anti-Communist emigrants, unconditionally acknowledge the natural rights of these nations to independence and state sovereignty; whether they will uphold this attitude once they have been released from captivity, remains to be seen.

Open Resistance

Anti-Soviet propaganda, camouflaged sabotage, and the occasional liquidation of particularly malicious informers and other hirelings, have apparently been in evidence in all the large concentration camps since the end of the war; but the wave of open mass strikes and physical (and sometimes armed) resistance only began after Stalin's death. Reports in this respect are, of course, few in number, often confused (especially as regards chronology), and details are sometimes unintentionally exaggerated (for this reason we prefer to omit details here). But even so, however, much can be ascertained with certainty.

The first mass strike mentioned is the one which occurred in the camp at Karaganda in April, 1953; it was followed by the strike in the Vorkuta camps in the summer of 1953. In both cases the strikes were organized and led by Ukrainian internees. The first strike ended with certain "facilities" in the camp system, but the second strike ended in a dreadful massacre which was caused by the "special troops" who had been hurriedly summoned to the spot. In the spring of 1954, a mass strike which lasted three days took place in the Revdy camps near Sverdlovsk (Ural). In June and July, 1954, the internees in the Norylsk camps (North-west Siberia) went on strike for practically two months; they were assisted by the "free settlers" there, — a most unusual and significant incident: the camp guards are said to have refused to fire at the strikers. "Special troops" were again summoned to the scene. Practically simultaneously, a second mass strike took place in the camp at Karaganda. It lasted from July 15th to 27th and spread to the neighbouring camps at Balkash and Sherutay-Kura, where the internees struck for seven days and managed to obtain certain "facilities" as a result. In the second half of July strikes occurred in Kazakhstan, namely in the camps of Kingir and Karagash; in the latter camp about 40,000 internees are said to have taken part in the strike.

In October, 1954, a revolt broke out in East Siberia on the Reshety-Trasse (in the Krasnoyarsk district) among the Chetchenes interned there, and this revolt, as far as we know, is the only one which from the outset was organized and conducted as an armed revolt. Five thousand Chetchenes killed the camp guards, seized their weapons, and marched along the Trasse, killing Soviet sentries and officials all along the route and liberating their fellow-countrymen and giving them weapons. The number of insurgents soon amounted to four thousand, and the Soviets were obliged to summon large contingents of troops to deal with them. The fighting continued until February, 1955, and the remainder of the insurgents then dispersed in the Siberian forests (Tayga).

It is reported that there was a repetition of the strike at Kingir in the summer of 1955 and of the strike at Vorkuta in September, 1955. In addition, considerable insurrections are said to have taken place amongst the internees in the notorious East Siberian gold mines at Kolyma (Autonomous Republic of Yakut), but no details are available in this respect.

Surveying the course of these separate actions which is more or less fairly uniform, we are struck by the fact that the strikes organized by the internees easily and regularly lead to actual insurrections, whether weapons are available or not. And these strikes are of a special type; they are not so much a means to obtain material advantages, but rather the starting-point and incentive for a heroic fight on the part of all the internees against the Soviet Russian tyrants and oppressors. Such action, of course, requires firm and determined political leadership; that there really was such leadership in each individual case and that the insurrections were organized according to a definite plan, is corroborated by the astounding fact that, prior to some of the strikes, anti-Bolshevist proclamations (holographed copies) were distributed amongst the internees. Such measures could only be carried out by an extremely well-planned

political organization in the Soviet concentration camps.

One cannot rightly say that there is a *uniform* political leadership in the entire resistance activity; rather would it appear that each individual action automatically starts a strike or an insurrection in various other concentration camps, nearby or far away (which indicates a well-organized communication system between the individual camps). The June revolt of the workers in East Germany, for instance, started most of the insurrections which took place in 1953. Various hopes were, of course, held in this respect, which later, however, proved illusions. The non-Russian internees in the Soviet concentration camps could not comprehend why the Western powers had failed to seize such a unique opportunity to liberate the peoples subjugated by Moscow. And to us, too, this remains completely incomprehensible.

The Heavy Burden of the Stalin Cult

Mikojan describes the 20th Party Congress as the most important congress in the history of the Party since Lenin's day. "The spirit of Lenin and Leninism dominate all our work and all our decisions." This reversion to Lenin is necessary for the Bolsheviks, since, by referring to the authority of Lenin, they are better able to criticize Stalin; and "collective leadership" is badly in need of critics in order to shift the blame for "serious anomalies in Party life" (Malenkov) and for "mistakes which have accumulated during past years" (Mikojan) from the present rulers to Stalin.

Did Stalin really stand in the way of the present Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party? During the long years of his dictatorship Stalin's authority was extolled to such an extent that his personality overshadowed all others and, in the eyes of the Soviet citizens, no one was fitted to become even a partially authoritative successor to him. The heavy burden of the Stalin cult contrasted sharply with the vacuum which prevailed after his death in the dictatorial system without a dictator. The comparatively slight authority which the "collective leaders" of the Party Central Committee enjoyed did not allow them, from the very outset, to destroy the Stalin cult, and they therefore resorted to abolishing some of the most drastic police measures, introduced by Stalin, and, in place of the latter, liquidated Beria. But the empty place in the dictatorial system continued to remain vacant, because there was no adequately powerful and universally authoritative personality to fill it, and also because of the jealousy which existed among the candidates, one of whose victims was Malenkov. In order to abolish the Stalin cult and yet, at the same time, preserve the myth of a legendary person for the masses, the 20th Party Congress decided to replace the Stalin cult by a revived Lenin cult. In Lenin's name and by reverting to "pure Leninist doctrine", it will be easier for the initiators of "collective leadership", "the true followers and disciples of the authoritative Lenin", to dethrone Stalin and cut the ground from under the feet of the still existing Stalinists, who, without a dictator in the dictatorial system, are aware of a certain void and a certain weakness in the Party, in the government and the system as a whole. With the aim of strengthening the authority of the new "collective leadership", a letter from certain old Bolsheviks (such as Petrowsky and Dzerdzynska), which extolled the Central Committee, was drawn up and hastily published on March 10, 1956.

But such a trick is futile, for the masses know only too well that "collective leadership" does not mean new leaders, but all Stalin's associates of long-standing who took part in the very measures and campaigns which they now criticize.

Furthermore, the "collective leaders" are endeavouring to create the impression that he who criticizes the mistakes of others will not commit them himself. Thus, the population is to be made to believe that the present Presidium will not repeat those practices of the Bolshevik dictatorial system which, during the twenty years in which Bolshevik dominion was stabilized, were unbearable, and that the dictatorial regime will now be "moderated" and "democratized". Although all the members of the Central Committee were Stalin's disciples, they nevertheless blame him for all fai-

lures, omissions, and errors. By criticizing Stalin for his suppression of active Party members, but not for his suppression of the masses, the old Stalinists like Khrushchev and the other Communist Party leaders are now endeavouring to rehabilitate themselves for their past. But not all the aspects of Stalin's rule are subjected to criticism, for such criticism would mean the liquidation of the Bolshevik regime as such. Only certain aspects are criticized, namely the following:

1) Stalin abolished collective leadership and introduced the cult of one person, which had serious consequences as far as the activity of the Party was concerned. But the present rulers, incidentally, helped to further this personal cult!

2) Stalin's book, "Economic Problems of the U.S.S.R.", gives a false picture of the economic state of affairs in the Western countries. In this connection, Mikojan was right in saying that Soviet economists did not give an accurate account of events and developments which had taken place in foreign countries, but were completely superficial in their statements.

3) "The Short History of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.", the author of which was Stalin, — it was revealed by Ulbricht that it was written by the Central Committee and approved by Stalin — is "unsatisfactory, as the events are not considered from the point of view of Leninism". According to Mikojan, "some personalities are emphasized too much", whilst "others are completely omitted", as well as the facts themselves. But the Communist generations were brought up on this history and considered it as true, as they still do the falsified "History of the Ukrainian S.S.R." and the "History of Ukrainian Literature".

4) Stalin neglected the constitution and gave the security organs orders which were contradictory to the legislature. But the present rulers helped him to enforce these orders!

5) Stalin is accused of not having made satisfactory defence preparations to meet Hitler's attack on Russia and is held responsible for Soviet failure in the early stages of the war.

The statement that the Socialist revolution in capitalistic countries need not necessarily be carried out by means of civil war, but can also assume a peaceful development, is not so much directed against Stalin as against Lenin, if this statement is to be accepted as the fundamental Bolshevik point of view. It is, therefore, not surprising that Mikojan is afraid of being accused of deviating towards evolutionism and hastily clarifies his statement, by affirming that he means that there has, of course, to be a revolutionary change in the social order. But the history of the Bolshevization of free nations reveals all too plainly that the only means ever used to effect this process have been civil wars and military annexations.

If the 20th Congress still approves the possibility of peaceful means to social revolution, it is only because the Bolsheviks are aware that the Communist Party in no country is able to bring about a Communist revolution without military intervention.

Mikojan discreetly hints that the Marxist-Leninist doctrine is *out of date* and that it is inadequate as far as its application to present social processes is concerned. He writes as follows: "Our Central

Jaroslaw Stetko

Two Opposite Trends in China

The Traditional Chinese and the Imported Bolshevik Trend

It is sometimes affirmed in the West that Mao Tse-tung represents the aims of the masses in China and that he is only an agrarian reformer. Chinese Communism is frequently described as a typically Chinese phenomenon, far removed from Russian Communism. In order to prove how utterly false such assertions are, we should, first of all, like to cite various quotations from documentary sources, namely from the Resolutions passed by the Communist Party of China.

At the 7th Congress of the Communist Party of China, in May, 1945, it was stated that the policy of the Party is based on a doctrine which "combines the theory of Marxism and Leninism with the usual practice of the Chinese Revolution, that is to say, with the ideas of Mao Tse-tung." But Mao Tse-tung's definitions of a "new democracy" are a vulgar bluff of the same kind as the bluff about the "people's democracy". Mao Tse-tung's entire doctrine contains no new ideas whatsoever, in fact, nothing which has not already been propagated by the Russian Bolsheviks. It is merely a compilation of the catchwords disseminated in the U.S.S.R. in the 1920's, of catchwords from Lenin's "Two Tactics" (1905) and "Imperialism" (1916), of the programme of the so-called "new economic policy" (NEP), and of the theories on colonial revolutions mentioned in the resolutions of the first congresses held by the Communist International. Anyone who knows anything at all about the development of the Communist political ideology and the Bolshevik strategy of lies will immediately notice a strange similarity between, say, the catchwords disseminated by Bolshevik propaganda in Ukraine at the beginning of the 1920's and those which it recently resorted to in the so-called satellite states. Who can fail to realize how dialectic materialism assesses the "objective

positive" (at the right time) of the so-called bourgeois-democratic revolution, which each country, in keeping with its "lawful economic development", must pass through, either slowly or rapidly, in order to reach the stage of a "proletarian socialist revolution"!

But let us turn our attention to certain resolutions of the 7th Congress of the Communist Party of China, of June 11, 1945, which immediately call to mind the well-known theoretical wealth of ideas of Communism in its historical development.

"The Chinese revolution is in its present stage a bourgeois-democratic revolution, but in character it is a new type of revolution, namely the new democratic revolution of the masses which, led by the proletariat, is directed against imperialism and feudalism . . . In the future stage, after the complete victory of the national democratic Chinese revolution, it will be the duty of the Communist Party of China to introduce the necessary measures in order to realize the socialist and Communist system in China . . ." — The term "the Chinese people" is used by the Communist Party, incidentally, to mean not the entire population, but only the workers, peasants, humbler classes, and the so-called "national bourgeoisie". Landowners and civil servants are "reactionaries" as long as they oppose the new regime.

The economic system of this "new democracy" is to consist of three sectors: "The state economic system as the leading factor, the peasant economy which is gradually to be transformed from a system of private enterprise to a collective system, and the economic system of small industrialists, independent merchants, private small and medium capitalists . . ." — All this is merely a Chinese version of the former Soviet "new economic policy" of 1921—1925 and of the

Bolshevik economic system in the satellite countries during the early post-war years, and the deviations are mainly of a phraseological nature. Naturally, individual social and economic conditions in China itself have led to certain divergences in Communist political and economic practice (just as Bolshevism did not, for instance, resort to the same measures in the more industrialized Soviet zone of Germany as it did, say, in Poland), but the fundamental conception remains the same, and one cannot draw any conclusions at all in this respect about the "different character of Chinese Communism", still less since the programme carried out by Communism in Asia at the present time was already formulated in theory by Lenin. In one of his chief works, "Imperialism as the Highest Stage of Capitalism", Lenin wrote as follows:

"In its first stages the revolution in the colonies will not be a Communist revolution. But if, from the outset, the leadership is in the hands of the Communist vanguard, the revolutionary masses will not fall into a state of confusion, but will advance further and further by degrees through the various stages of revolutionary experience. In many countries of Asia it would actually be a grave error to attempt to solve the agrarian problem according to Communist principles. In its early stages the revolution in the colonies must draw up a programme which includes numerous small bourgeois reforms, as for instance the division of land. This, however, does not mean that the leadership of the revolution is to be left to the bourgeois democrats. On the contrary, the proletarian parties must continue to propagate the Soviet idea systematically and must organize the workers' and peasants' soviets as quickly as possible. These soviets together with the Soviet Republics will bring about the final destruction of the capitalistic order throughout the world."

And elsewhere Lenin writes as follows: "In dependent countries one must distinguish between two different movements, which diverge in their development. The one is the bourgeois, democratic, nationalist movement which has as its programme political independence in the midst of a bourgeois order; the other is the mass action of poor and uneducated peasants and workers which has as its aim their liberation from every form of exploitation. The former strives to check the latter and to a certain extent is frequently successful in this respect. But the Communist International and the parties incorporated in it must fight against this check and must foster the development of class consciousness among the working masses in the colonies . . . One of the most important and urgent tasks is to form Communist parties, which will organize the peasants and workers and lead them to revolution and the formation of Soviet republics . . ."

Lenin thus regarded the kindling of nationalism in the colonies merely as a means to an end. He explicitly said: "If we take part in this way in the liquidation of foreign dominion in the colonies, it does not mean that we approve of the nationalist aims of the bourgeoisie, but something quite different, namely that we are opening up the way to freedom for the subjugated proletariat of those countries."

And it is only in this connection that Lenin recommends cooperation with "bourgeois" parties in the colonies, provided that "the bourgeoisie does not hold up the development of the revolutionary organization of the workers and peasants . . . Should such a revolutionary situation arise, the Party will set up certain transitional catchwords and partial demands, which are in keeping with the situation at the time; but these demands and

Committee does not merely repeat the theories of Marx and Lenin, but elucidates present social developments and gives proletarian conclusions which explain not only the facts and happenings of the Marxist-Leninist period, but also further events."

Not only is an attempt being made to undermine the Stalin cult, but the dogmatic way of thinking introduced by Stalin is likewise being criticized. The rejection of this way of thinking will create a feeling of ideological uncertainty. Some of the Party cadres will become disillusioned and doubting, thus creating a source of unrest, scepticism, and relativism within the Party itself, whilst the others will adapt themselves according to their career prospects.

The growth of scepticism on the one hand, and the intensification of the dogmatic way of thinking in a new form, on the other,—that is to say, the simultaneous existence of these two processes within the Communist Party may contribute greatly to the undermining of the Soviet regime as a whole.

St. Lenkavsky

Soviet Abductions Continue

Brutal Deportation of Ukrainian and Baltic Countries Youth to Arctic Regions

The following report recently appeared in the press:

"Despite the fact that Stalin's achievements have recently been belittled, the present rulers in Moscow have now again resorted to his rigorous resettlement measures. Two vast resettlement projects have been announced by the Resettlement Department of the Ministerial Council of the U.S.S.R. More than 100,000 young workers of both sexes are to be resettled from the densely populated areas of the three Baltic Republics, Lithuania, Latvia, and Esthonia, to Kazakstan and the Altai district. So far, the young Communists of these

border republics have been spared in this respect. In addition, more than 180,000 persons from twenty different districts of Ukraine are to be resettled to the region of Archangel, to Karelia, and to the autonomous Republic of Komi. The first two regions are situated on the Arctic Ocean, and half the Republic of Komi, from the North Ural northwards, is likewise situated north of the Arctic Circle.

It is expressly stated in connection with this resettlement campaign — the biggest to be carried out since Stalin's death — that the new settlers are to remain in the territories to which they are transferred, for good. For this reason they will not live in special settlements, but will be given accommodation in the towns and villages near to their place of work. Furthermore, it is desirable that they should intermarry with the local population there, as soon as possible. An ideal example in this respect is quoted, namely the case of the 12,000 Komsomol members sent from Moscow to build the Angara water-power station at Brask, who have been given accommodation in farm-houses there and of whom 1,400 have already married local inhabitants."

Such is the "re-orientation" of Soviet policy! However much the present Kremlin leaders may try to create the impression — by moral condemnation of Stalin's "crimes" — that they have changed completely, in order to lure the West into their coexistence trap, their actions in no way differ from those of the instigator of mass atrocities, whose accomplices they were in former times. Terrorism, contempt of humanity and the rights of mankind, and subjugation of the population continue unabated. Enslavement in the form of resettlement and deportation are still the order of the day. Wolves in sheep's clothing never give up their natural rapacity; in fact, once a Bolshevik always a Bolshevik, whatever the camouflage or disguise adopted.

The above report is once again proof of facts of which certain Western statesmen should at last take due cognizance!

catchwords are to centre on the revolutionary aim of the assumption of power and of the destruction of bourgeois-capitalistic society."

And precisely these tactics were applied successfully in China. In 1923 a treaty was signed by Sun Yat-sen and Joffe in which it was explicitly stated that Communism was not a suitable system for China. In the course of time, Communists, that is to say individual persons, actually became members of the Kuomintang. It is true that there were various disruptions and excesses, but on the whole they followed Lenin's tactics and in this way managed to deceive the Chinese nation, the Western world, and practically the whole of dependent Asia. As soon as they had assumed power in China, they began — again according to Lenin's recipe — to "organize" the country in keeping with a Communist formula, beginning with the expropriation of the landowners and including the setting up of party despotism.

The same tactics were applied by Communism in Indo-China and are still being applied in Burma, Indonesia, etc., and of late in India, too, where Communist propaganda, however, mainly confines itself to demands for economic improvements. Communism as a form of Russian imperialism happened to have a carefully thought-out plan for the conquest of Asia and has, for the most part, managed to realize this plan successfully; and the responsible statesmen of the West and the East alike have accepted the transition stage in this respect, a trick which Lenin mentioned so openly and with such emphasis, as the final aim and have allowed themselves to be deceived.

As far as the duration of this transition stage is concerned, it has proved much shorter in China than in the subjugated countries of the U.S.S.R. A large-scale collective system has already been enforced in China, whereas in the Soviet Union this system was not introduced until after the "new economic policy" had been effected. In 1947 the Chinese Communists published their "Programme of the Chinese Agrarian Legislation", in which it was stated that "the aims of the poor peasants and land-workers shall be satisfied, the interests of the peasants who own medium-sized farms shall be protected and contact with them shall be maintained". But already in 1950, however, heavy taxes were imposed on the peasantry and these were increased during the Korean war. In 1952 experiments with the collective system were carried out, to begin with, in the form of "voluntary collective farms" in Manchuria, and, later on, in the more camouflaged form of "mutual aid societies". In 1953 about 80 per cent of the peasants in North China and 20 to 65 per cent of the peasants in other districts belonged to these "societies".

This lawful development in the direction of a universal collective system cannot be checked, for no totalitarian dictatorship can rule the people completely without a collective system. It is much easier to deprive the peasants of all their produce under the "system of collective farming" than to do this in the case of millions of private landowners. In industry, too, the workers are the victims of the same Stachanov methods, of the same "socialist competition", and are exploited in the same way as in the U.S.S.R. The promises made to the so-called "national bourgeoisie", however, have been of very short duration; the Chinese bourgeoisie like that of other countries is systematically ruined by constantly increasing wages and exorbitant taxes, and in this way is finally forced to hand over the firms concerned "voluntarily" to the state industry, or to the state trade. The totalitarian mono-party reigns supreme, and there is practically no difference between its internal conditions and affairs and those of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, including the fictitious existence of a "bloc of party members and non-party persons". The Chinese "progressive" intellectual class (and, above all, the students), who, in their mania for innovations, played a large part in deluding the Chinese people and public opinion in the West, are now compelled to endure public

criticism and "self-criticism" according to Soviet Russian pattern, as well as scores of "ideological" purges, since obedience to the regime no longer suffices and proof of one's enthusiasm is constantly demanded. In all the schools the noble traditions of ancient Chinese culture are being exterminated and the entire history of the country is being falsified just as shamelessly as in the Soviet Union.

In addition, the Communist totalitarian regime in China is endeavouring to mobilize the masses for external aggression in order to divert their attention from the terrorism and misery which prevail in the country itself; and it is precisely this aggressive foreign policy, which is alien to the Chinese people, that proves that the regime there is actually a hireling of Russian imperialism, the advocate and tool of an ideology imported into China, of an alien political and social programme.

The Chinese nation (and, indeed, all other nations) can only overcome this Communism of alien origin by fostering the organic elements of its own intellectual and social culture and by basing its fight for freedom on them. The temporary defeat suffered by Chiang Kai-shek on the Chinese mainland is as little proof of Mao's "progressiveness" as is a temporary illness of the normal state of a patient. And it is likewise immaterial whether the victory of Free China is achieved during the lifetime of seventy-year old Chiang Kai-shek or later; for it is not persons who are the deciding factor in this case, but the ideas advocated and championed by the nation as a whole.

In 1934 Chiang Kai-shek, together with his wife, Madame Soong Mai-ling, founded the "New Life" movement, which advocates the rejection of foreign imported ideas and a return to the ancient Chinese traditions, under the motto: "China, return to what you are and in this way hope to preserve your existence in a new era!" The "New Life" movement definitely rejects the idea of a state based on despotism and stresses the ideal, ethical, cultural, and social values of Confucianism on which the national unity of the nation is based. In so far as the "New Life" movement strives to realize just, social ideas, it links up with the neo-Confucian movement of the 10th to 13th century, which has found its classical expression in the philosophy of Chu Hsi, and even more so with the principle expressed by Sun Yat-sen: "China's existence depends upon her pursuing her own course. She must not adopt either the philosophy of life of the West, nor the latter's conception of power". Chiang Kai-shek comments on this principle as follows: "The eight high virtues — loyalty, filial respect, goodness, love, truthfulness, righteousness, harmony, and justice — constitute the true spirit and the ancient, characteristic traits of the Chinese people. Filial respect and obedience occupy the chief place in Sun Yat-sen's testament, and for this reason we must take them into especial consideration when rebuilding the state." And further, when formulating his two laws for a practical way of living, he says: "The first law consists in performing one's daily task conscientiously and untiringly; but the second law consists in constantly improving or overcoming one's own faults, which is difficult. If, however, all people act according to these laws, then the entire nation will overcome all the obstacles which confront our country."

The "New Life" movement thus strives to restore loyalty, justice, and harmony to the life of the Chinese people, which is just the opposite of the Communist ideas disseminated on the mainland by Mao, the ideological and political agent of Moscow. And it is not merely agrarian reforms or other social and economic and cultural reforms which the "New Life" movement fosters according to Sun Yat-sen's famous classical motto, "We aim to unite useful new values with good ancient values", but, in the first place, the ideological and ethical foundations of these reforms, the eternal moral categories of good and evil, justice and injustice, freedom and slavery.

Two opposite moral trends have clashed —

the traditional Chinese and the alien Bolshevik trend, and the latter, by lies and deceit, has for a time prompted the Chinese masses to serve foreign idols. But Free China on the island of Taiwan resembles a torch, for, by its ideology, it rekindles those ideas which have been suppressed on the mainland, again and again. And this is a greater menace to Mao's despotism than America's atomic bombs, since Taiwan appeals to the soul of the Chinese nation, to the ancient values of native culture, which have been created out of a tradition that is thousands of years old and cannot be suppressed, just as the call to national freedom, which reaches the Chinese masses again and again from Taiwan by means of broadcasts, leaflets, and secret messengers, cannot be suppressed.

"A.B.N.-Correspondence" in U.S. Congressional Record

By John O'Donnell

Daily News, Friday, March 30, 1956

"Nevertheless, whether scratching or purring, a cat remains a cat."

Here, we suggest, are wise words from one of the few authentic military commentators of the English-speaking world on the present uncertainty among our experts on the meaning of the present blasting of the Stalin myth by his big-shot successors in the Kremlin.

The author of the words is British Maj.Gen. J. F. C. Fuller. He comes closer to putting his finger on the ultimate life and death decision than the experts in our all-powerful Security Council and the Central Intelligence Agency. They still haven't been able to make up their minds about what the Kremlin's present kicking around of Stalin's memory really means so far as we are concerned and, more importantly, they don't know how to use the astounding development to our advantage, either in psychological warfare or global politics.

The interpretations are usually obscure, sometimes honestly uncertain and, worse still, violently contradictory. All of which means confusion. Different and highly significant are those columns in the Congressional Record of last Monday printed at the request of Rep. Michael A. Feighan (D-Ohio), a Princeton graduate who had the wisdom to subscribe while in Europe a year ago to the Munich publication ABN — the letters standing for Bureau of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. The publication must swing some weight. In the current issue are articles on the present Kremlin crisis by President Syngman Rhee of Korea, Britain's onetime master diplomatic mind, Lord Vansittart, Gen. Fuller, etc.

Rhee Attacks Geneva Conference

Korea's tough old Rhee starts off with denouncing the Geneva Conference as "successful for the Communists in that they succeeded in selling the free world the idea of a bogus soft peace ... Thus leading captive populations of satellites and their own brain-chained people to believe that the democracies have made peace with Communism and have abandoned intentions of liberating them."

Britain's Lord Vansittart grimly observes that "the Soviets have abandoned nothing, neither their aims nor their doctrines; the Geneva Conference was a success for the Russians." And then cautions, "There could be no greater mistake than to stimulate revolutions (among the captive states) without the means of supporting them."

But it is Gen. Fuller who comes promptly to the inevitable military point of no return in the war decision between the Communist and the Western world. Says the general:

"The complete somersault performed by the Kremlin, which has been acclaimed in the West with such puerile enthusiasm, is nothing more than a repetition of Lenin's famous maxim — one step back to gain two steps forward.

"My opinion is that Moscow is attempting to fortify and not abandon her plan of world revolution, and though her tactics have changed, her strategy remains constant.

"The problem is not atomic war, it is the Russian dominion of the world either by war or by subversion, and the direct way to avert it is to liberate the subjugated and satellite peoples, and thereby annihilate the Muscovite imperium."

Sidelights

Stalinism without Stalin

One can hardly say that the attack on the late dictator, Stalin, which was made by Khrushchev at the recent 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was a mild one. But, strange to say, Khrushchev did *not* reproach his former lord and master with those very things which constitute the *essence* of Stalinism,—imperialistic expansion aims, totalitarian dictatorship of the Party, the one-sided production drive in the heavy industries and armaments at the expense of the population, the enslavement of millions of farmers under the collective system, the subjugation and imprisonment of fifty nations, who were formerly free, in the "Peoples' prison" of the U.S.S.R., religious persecution, and genocide, etc.

All these things are not mentioned in Khrushchev's attack on Stalin, since Khrushchev himself enforces the same aims with equal ruthlessness. *Khrushchev is a Stalinist in deed*, and his "Anti-Stalinism" is merely a lip-deep admission and a political manoeuvre. He endeavours to detach himself from Stalin's *personality* in order to be able to realize Stalin's *policy* more effectively.

Even at this early date it is obvious that Khrushchev is making *another mistake* with his "Anti-Stalinism". During the short time that he has held office as the "First Secretary of the Party" he has already made four serious mistakes. His first mistake was the new-country campaign which ended in failure; his second mistake was to intensify the Russification process and to suppress the national fight for freedom; his third mistake is his "Anti-Stalinism", and his fourth, his recent frontal attack on the farmers.

Khrushchev is aiming to set up *Stalinism without Stalin*. And this will inevitably get him into serious difficulties from the party political, economic, and foreign political point of view, for he is thus undermining the very foundations of his power.

Mikojan's Omission

In no country of Eastern and Central Europe, with the exception of Russia, has the Communist Party assumed power by means of civil war. "Considerable assistance" was given in this respect by the Red Russian divisions who, "with noble-minded helpfulness", saved the subjects in the countries concerned from killing each other, since they had unparalleled experience in matters concerning murder. No wonder Mikojan calmly affirmed that there were no civil wars when the Communists assumed power in the countries of Eastern Europe.

We for our part consider that the nations concerned deserve the highest credit for having resisted the Communist pest to such an extent that it could only be introduced into their countries with the aid of the armed forces of Soviet Russia.

Nationalities Problem is Hushed up

The 20th Party Congress which, as Mikojan said, was the most important one since Lenin's death, was also the most reactionary one from the national point of view. Incidentally, Mikojan is quite right when he stresses the importance of this congress, for it is the beginning of the end of the Russian Communist empire. The fight against Stalin's successors continues and is the expression of the sentiments of the masses. What the masses of the subjugated nations are fighting for is obvious from the mass demonstrations held in Kyiv, Odessa, Tiflis, Erivan, and Baku. On these occasions they were not fighting for Stalin—that would have been more than ridiculous—but against the Russian Bolshevik terrorist regime. And further proof of the internal disintegration of the Russian imperium is the fact that even now, ten years after the war, insurgents are continuing their fight in the forests of Ukraine—as the "Red Banner" in Rivne (Volhynia) and Radio Moscow were obliged to admit—and so, too, are the insurgents in the forests of Lithuania.

It is interesting to note that not a single speech was made on the nationalities problem during the 20th Party Congress. At the 19th Congress, incidentally, Beria dealt with this question at some length, and Stalin and Molotov likewise stressed the same subject. But at the 20th Congress everyone shamefacedly kept quiet about this question. Contrary to the camouflage methods which are at present so very popular, all propaganda at the

recent congress was adjusted to the Russian people and their imperialism. The political tricksters in the Kremlin have apparently realized that the dubious game with the nationalities problem has, in any case, been lost. And they have therefore come to the conclusion that it is wisest not to mention it at all, so as to avoid offending the Russian chauvinists and imperialists. We have thus definite proof of the fact that the Russians are the main support of the Bolshevik imperium. May they continue to preserve and protect the latter!

An Opportunity for the West

In view of the present situation, *active* intervention on the part of the West will bring about the full expansion of the national revolutions and the downfall of the Russian imperium without another world war, provided that the Western statesmen now at last comprehend the signs of the times. Will President Eisenhower have the courage to develop and pursue an active liberation policy and, at the same time, proclaim the Big Charter of Freedom of the nations and the idea of the disintegration of the Russian imperium into national, independent states, and give the national liberation organizations behind the Iron Curtain active technical, material and political support?

The time is, indeed, ripe for such action! And it would be a good thing if President Eisenhower

were to listen to the advice of McArthur, Knowland, McCarthy, Kersten, and Feighan.

Grave Errors Committed by British Newspapers

Does the British newspaper which affirmed that there was no difference between the Russian imperium in tsarist times and the British Empire, really believe this statement? Does this same paper really believe that the Ukrainians are good colonizers as the so-called "co-supporters of the Russian imperium", because they lead a simple and modest life in the territories of Asia which are to be colonized, as for example Kazakhstan or Siberia, and make no demands on the native population there?

It is quite true that the Ukrainians in Kazakhstan, in Siberia, and also in all the prisons and concentration camps of the Soviet Union lead a simple life! How would British deportees, internees, and abducted persons behave under such circumstances! The British newspaper in question has intentionally overlooked the fact that the people concerned are not Ukrainian colonizers, but Ukrainians who have been forcibly deported, forcibly abducted, and interned. In the Russian imperium the Russians are the lords and masters, not the Ukrainians. It is very regrettable that some papers in Great Britain try to hold the Ukrainians, and not merely the Russians, responsible for the existence of the Russian imperium and the atrocities committed there.

But these same papers can rest assured that we do not believe that the Irish or the Boers helped to found the British Empire!
Z. K.

Declaration

in Connection with the Trip of the Delegation of the National Council of Churches to Moscow

With unutterable sadness we have followed the news-reports about the visit of the delegation of the National Council of Churches to the "church leaders" in the Soviet Union, to increase "mutual understanding". Such a step raises the question as to the meaning and relevance of Christendom. Therefore, we, leading clergymen, deans, professors, priests and pastors of the several churches from Croatia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia and the Ukraine, cannot by remaining silent give our consent to this action. Truth based upon our experiences under the Soviet rule, remains truth whether accepted or not.

We know the plight of the churchmen under the control of the Soviet Regime. It compels them to lie, to distort their functions, and to become obedient instruments in the furtherance of Soviet expansion. This is something so horrible that we, when given even the remotest opportunity, have risked all in order to flee this role.

The very fact that these rulers, who so mercilessly destroy everyone who is in their way even in the slightest sense, permit these talks in Moscow, means that they expect gain for the communist cause. They surely will see to its accomplishment.

It is deeply regrettable that such a fraternization is demonstrated before the view of these millions of victims in their despair. Thereby they are thrown into a spirit of resignation. For we know that all Christians behind the Iron Curtain expect that Christians in the free world are interested in those who, in their ordeal, have not abandoned their Christian convictions, honesty and decency. However these men and women are not invested with the role of spokesmen; they are suffering in prisons, are being tortured in slave-labor camps, and lie buried in mass graves.

It is deeply regrettable that such a fraternization contributes to the already existing confusion among the Christians in the West, and further undermines conscience already hardened. We have seen and experienced enough to know that if this attitude continues, we all shall fall into the deadly grip of communism.

Finally, we have to call attention to the fact that this honoring of the Soviet church hierarchy is an alarming sign of a deep spiritual and ethical crisis which is undermining the root of the rest of Christendom. It is ineffably sad to see how the Soviet rulers who, in connection with their strategy in the interest of world-conquest, have recently expressed heightened hope that soon the rest of the world will fall into the Soviet grip, pre-

cisely due to its weakness and confusion,—are given such encouragement in their estimate by the National Council of Churches. This is an astounding feature of an astounding epoch.

J. Aarik, A. Abel, R. Abolinš, J. Aunver, L. Čuvalo, K. Derek, B. Dragičević, A. Ernstsons, M. Ervart, P. Falko, J. Gnadenteich, O. Gnadenteich, O. Gulbis, J. Juhkental, A. Hinno, K. Kiisk, P. Kirsons, O. Kodres, K. Kool, K. Kundzinš, E. Koepp, J. Lazda, E. Lepik, E. Lootsma, E. Mucs, H. Nuudi, M. Ots, J. Ozols, E. Paeht, K. Pandžič, A. Piebalgs, U. Plank, J. Praulins, O. Puhm, C. Raguž, J. Strautnieks, G. Straumanis, J. Teras, J. Turks, A. Vaharo, V. Vancik, K. Veem, W. Viks, S. Vištica, A. Voeoebus, V. Zakarauskas.

Telegram from the Executive Council of the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania, addressed to the Prosecutor-General of Great Britain

"Sir,

We have learnt that Iwan Alexandrowitsch Serow, a Soviet subject, is at present living in London. We herewith request that he should be arrested as a war criminal and tried before a court. Serow was one of the leading Soviet police officials who, in 1941, signed the order for the mass deportation of our fellow-countrymen from Soviet occupied Lithuania to Soviet Siberia and who, at the same time, was also responsible for the mass murders committed in Lithuania. Incriminating evidence in this respect will be forwarded to you."

Serow is a man of notoriously ill-repute. In 1936 he was already carrying out purges for Stalin. From then onwards, his star was in the ascendant. His "most brilliant achievement" was the deportation campaign he carried out in the Baltic countries, where, in a single night, 40,000 innocent men and women were deported from Lithuania. These persons were arrested for no apparent reason whatsoever, were crowded into cattle-trucks, and then sent to the worst districts of the Soviet imperium for hard labour. Those who were obliged to witness this deportation are still filled with horror and indignation when they think of the manner in which it was effected. Serow was a master of the art of deportation. He proved his worth in Poland and exterminated the Krim-Tatar and Chetchen population. General Serow is said to be a great favourite of Malenkov, who calls him by the nickname of "dear, little gallows-bird".

High Explosives in the Soviet Army

Three marshals of the Soviet Army — Voroshilov, Bulganin, and Zhukov — at present hold key positions in the state, a fact which is closely related to the question as to whether the army might possibly, under certain circumstances, become a deciding political factor, and, if so, what form would its power assume. For this reason it appears essential, at this point, to examine present conditions in the Soviet Army, its political stability, internal tensions, and the nature of its possible development in the future.

As a former soldier who has fought in the front lines of the Soviet Army, I should, on the strength of my own experiences and impressions, like to draw the attention of the public to certain divergencies and defects in the Soviet Army and, in particular, to certain unwholesome conditions which, in the event of certain political developments in the Soviet Union, might lead to important upheavals, as for instance was the case in 1917, when the tensions which prevailed in the tsarist army brought disaster to the tsarist regime and resulted in the troops becoming the shock-troops of the revolution.

Soviet propaganda constantly endeavours to create the impression that a spirit of fraternity, sincere friendship, and concord prevails among the soldiers and commanders of the Soviet Army. When I served in the Red Army, however, exactly the opposite was the case. As early as the 1930's a new type of training was introduced which, by means of rigorous drill, aimed to strengthen the position of the commanding staff with regard to the rank and file to an enormous extent and to make the latter the obedient pawns of an iron and extremely grim discipline. The acknowledged maxim was "mol-tshat, ne razsushdat!" (keep your mouth shut and don't think). And this type of training was in no way abolished later on.

The reason for this attempt to establish the absolute power of the commanding staff in the Red Army lay in the fact that the regime did not trust the masses, from which, of course, the rank and file are recruited. To an even greater extent this distrust is most certainly occasioned by the nationalities problem, which, in the first place, compelled the Russian supreme command to keep to an extremely rigid system with regard to the formation of regiments and larger military units and the choice of the commanding staff. The general tendency was to stress the difference between the officers and the rank and file and to enforce such rigorous discipline that there was no risk of commanders adopting a friendly or humane attitude towards the men. The suspicious attitude towards non-Russian soldiers, on the other hand, necessitated their being used as units in the front fighting lines, whilst the vital point was, of course, that the key positions in the military hierarchy should remain in the hands of the Russians. In order to camouflage these unusual methods and, in particular, the rigorous and inhuman discipline enforced, an attempt was made to influence the soldiers' minds by affirming that, whereas in capitalist countries discipline was based on the unconditional subordination and fear of the rank and file in their relations to their superiors, it was based on "conviction" in the Soviet Army. In addition — so this propaganda further alleged —, the officers in the Soviet Army for the most part came from the working and farming classes, a fact which ensured a spirit of fraternity between them and the recruits, whereas in the armies of other countries the officers' corps consisted of members of the "class-hostile" landowning and capitalistic classes.

In reality, it is precisely this last bit of propaganda which is a contradiction of the idea of psychological concord and stability of the relations between soldiers and officers. The fact that the rank and file of the Soviet Army felt that they were being beaten and ill-treated by superiors who came from their own social class, added to their embitterment. In other words, the actual conditions which prevailed in the Soviet garrisons were a gross contradiction of all the socialist doctrines preached about the equality and fraternity of man. Under these circumstances the rank and file in the Soviet Army were bound to regard the praises sung by the socialist state as regards the

abolishing of the differences between superior and inferior beings, as a blow in the face. And this feeling was intensified still more by the fact that, in addition to the absolute power of the commanders, the privileges of the officers, who were allegedly akin in class to the rank and file, were stressed on every occasion, and thus became a source of considerable tension from the psychological point of view.

In order to illustrate what I have already said, I should like to quote some examples from my own experiences.

Towards the end of 1941, a spell of extremely cold weather set in in the front line sector. The political leaders and commanders of the Soviet Army were supplied with warm clothes and footwear. We, the rank and file, however, were not even supplied with warm underwear, and were obliged to go begging among the population for rags to wrap round our legs. The more inventive

The Death of General Moscardo

The Telegram of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) to Generalissimo Franco on the death of General Moscardo, the hero of the Alcazar of Toledo.

Munich, April 14, 1956 — His Excellency Generalissimo Franco. — Your Excellency, we beg you, as the leader of national and Christian Spain, which has been victorious against atheist Communism, to accept our deepest regret, and may we assure you on behalf of the A.B.N. of our most sincere sympathy on the death of the great hero in the Spanish liberation war, General Moscardo. His memory will remain for ever in the hearts of our nations subjugated by Moscow.

Jaroslav Stetzko,
Ferdinand Durcansky.

Generalissimo Franco's reply to the telegram:

Madrid, April 17, 1956

I thank you cordially for the sympathy you expressed on the death of General Moscardo.

Sincere greetings!

Generalissimo Franco.

soldiers cut pieces off woollen blankets, and made underwear out of them or garments which served the same purpose as stockings.

On one occasion, the company commander and the political functionary ordered us to present our legs for inspection. Those who were wearing underpants made out of blankets were obliged to take them off, and the company commander then hit them in the face with them. At least twenty of us had to put up with this treatment, and we could not help thinking of the "rabble bedecked with gold shoulder braid" who in tsarist times had likewise ill-treated the rank and file of the army.

When we were on the march our food-ration consisted of soup made of rotten fish. We had to borrow buckets and basins from the population as we possessed none. The bread we received as our ration was always of a very poor quality and contained a lot of water, and the supplies were never adequate. If the officers had shared these unpleasant conditions with us, we should have found them less difficult to bear. But the officers received much better food. They had meat every day and there was always white bread and brown bread on the table at mealtimes and they could eat as much of it as they liked. There were canteens in which special dishes, wine, and liquor were served for officers from the rank of captain upwards, whilst the canteens at the disposal of the colonels and generals were even better. We were

well aware of this fact as we were obliged to help peel potatoes in the kitchens of these canteens.

It was hardly surprising that the officers were accordingly much better able to endure the cold and the hardships of the campaign and actually looked well-dressed and well-fed, whereas the rank and file who were half-starved and famished looked pale and emaciated. The above examples serve to show the very big distinction made between the officer and the ordinary soldier in the Soviet Army.

I am convinced that the gulf between the two has widened still more since the war, just as the gulf between the Bolshevik dictators and the people has likewise widened even more in the meantime. In addition, there is a wide gulf between the supreme command and the members of the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Army, a gulf which must constantly be regarded as the greatest possible menace to the resistance powers and stability of the army. And for this reason, the "white" Russian emigrants who support the idea of an indivisible Russian imperium are making a serious mistake in believing that the Soviet Army and its generals, merely because the allegedly "equal" sham republics of the non-Russian peoples are retained, might be able to surmount the national differences in the army and thus possibly enable the latter to put an end to party bureaucracy in the Soviet state.

J. Uljanec

The A.B.N. in Canada

Red Agency Called Mask for Espionage

The president of the Anti-Communist Bloc of Nations in Winnipeg, on Friday charged a proposed Russian purchasing mission in Winnipeg with being a "new nest of Communist espionage and political propaganda in Western Canada".

Rev. Semen Izyk said his organization would oppose such a mission here because "it is not necessary. It is possible to carry on trade without agencies".

Fr. Izyk was commenting on a Free Press report that the Russian mission would likely be formed here to handle the buying of wheat and other transactions under the new three-year trade pact between Canada and the U.S.S.R.

He emphasized that because Canada will not permit Soviet consulates in larger cities, the Communists are now trying a new method. They want to create so-called economic agencies which, under that mask, would "spread Communist slogans" and be "Communist bastions" in Canada.

"There are many Communists in Winnipeg", he said. "A Soviet economic agency will serve to spread and strengthen the Fifth Column."

"We are accepting a dangerous tenant in our house. He may perhaps pay good rent, but later he may chase us out of the house."

Espionage Net

Fr. Izyk said the spiritual disadvantages of having a Soviet mission here would far outweigh the material advantages. "It is clear to the whole world that Soviet embassies or consulates or agencies are carrying on a net of espionage".

His organization, which includes Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Slovaks, Hungarians, and Ukrainians, staged a demonstration at Stevenson field when a Russian farm delegation visited here last summer.

"The U.S.S.R. is no longer satisfied with so-called farm delegations", said Fr. Izyk. "They are just short visits. The U.S.S.R. now wants to have permanent agents here."

(Winnipeg Free Press, March 3, 1956)

Direct Rail Connection Lviv—Vorkuta

As long as the capital of West Ukraine, Lviv, was under the occupation of Poland, the Western Ukraine, although politically oppressed, had direct rail connections with all the European capitals. Now the rulers in Moscow have put into operation a new railroad schedule which provides for direct passenger travel between Lviv and Vorkuta. The cultural benefits to be derived from this progressive innovation???

Silent Protest

In an article with the above title, the English newspaper, "Telegraph and Argus" (of April 23, 1956), gives a report of a rally and march held in Bradford by two thousand Ukrainians, to protest against Bulganin's and Khrushchev's visit to Great Britain. The paper writes as follows:

"The most impressive thing about yesterday's mass rally by Bradford Ukrainians, who met in St. George's Hall after marching through the city's streets to protest against the policy of the Soviet Union and the "evil record" of Bulganin and Khrushchev, was the complete solidarity of the community's action.

Nearly every Ukrainian in Bradford attended the rally, the only ones who did not being mothers who had to look after several children.

The procession — one of the most orderly ever seen in Bradford — marched in complete silence through the streets, every person wearing a black armband.

The Ukrainians are maintaining their culture during their exile in this country. Every child is taught the language and Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox religious services are held regularly. Behind this is the hope that every Ukrainian will one day be able to return to the country of his origin."

Qui pro quo in the Kremlin

It is interesting to note that in the satellite countries and the Soviet republics all "those responsible for Stalinism" are being dismissed from office. We can but ask, who of all Stalin's old co-workers and accomplices in the Kremlin is not to be regarded as a Stalinist! So far, we have not heard of Khrushchev, Stalin's governor in Ukraine, or Malenkov, acclaimed as Stalin's successor, or Molotov, prime minister under Stalin for many years, or Kaganovitch, Mikojan, or Voroshilov being dismissed from office.

It is indeed significant that none of these criminals is supposed to be a Stalinist. Only those persons outside the Kremlin who take their orders from this Stalin clique are Stalinists. Once again, this is an example of the well-known saying, "Rogues don't split on each other!"

The whole affair is nothing but a ridiculous comedy, which aims to deceive the Western world and to delude the subjugated nations who are fighting so desperately for their freedom.

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From Behind the Iron Curtain

ALBANIA

The third session of the Supreme Government (Narodni Zbory) of Albania, at which the state budget for 1956 was approved, was held in Tirana, in April. In his speech on this occasion, the Chairman of the Albanian Council of Ministers, Maxume Shexu, emphasized the fact that the population must be exploited to a greater extent than hitherto, in order to carry out the budget in 1956. He stated that many of the quotas fixed in last year's budget had not been fulfilled, especially as regards the national income, which, in his opinion, proved that the Party agitators had failed to rouse the interest of the population in establishing "Socialism". ("Trud", No. 8, 1956.)

ARMENIA

In Arsn, in the Shamyramsk steppes in Armenia, construction of the irrigation system is being continued. A canal, 35 kilometres in length, has been dug in the mountains. The Soviet press, however, reports that construction is being held up owing to a shortage of manpower, and also that a lack of discipline is noticeable, with the result that the work planned is not carried out. The campaign resorted to in order to recruit workers among the local population has not met with any success. The village of Arsn, which is to be the starting-point of the main irrigation network, has so far not provided a single worker, despite the orders issued to this effect by the Communist Party.

BOHEMIA

At its recent meeting, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, after listening to a speech by the First Secretary of this Committee, Novotny, passed a special resolution on "the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R." and reached certain conclusions as regards the "work of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party in future". This resolution emphasizes the necessity of intensifying the economic and political cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. The resolution virtually repeats all the resolutions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. and, in particular, stresses "the necessity of reviving Lenin's norms of party life within the Party" and of strengthening the collective leadership. ("Pravda", No. 94, 1956.)

BYELORUSSIA

Another six thousand young Byelorussians have been deported to the Akmolinsk district (Kazakhstan). Incidentally, they had all completed a training course at schools for agricultural mechanization. They have been assigned to various kolchozes and are now forced to cultivate the land. Another 280 young Byelorussians of both sexes are likely to be deported within the next few days. ("Komsomolska Pravda", Nr. 72, 1956.)

CHINA

THE CHINESE YOUTH ANTI-COMMUNIST MOVEMENT ON THE MAINLAND

The Chinese youth under the oppression of the Communists on the mainland are now following the calling of the national spirit. In the schools, villages, factories, and in every region of the country, a fierce and startling anti-Communist movement is making itself felt.

According to an officer in charge of the Chinese Youth Anti-Communist National Salvation Corps, an anti-Communist movement enough to destroy the Communist regime is now spreading over the whole Chinese mainland and its participants include students, peasants, workers, merchants, revolting soldiers of the "liberating army", disillusioned "Communist party members", and men of all professions, with the students as the leaders.

YEH ON UNLIMITED WAR IF ATTACKED

The Foreign Minister of Nationalist China declared on February 24, 1956, that the government would take counter-actions that may "develop on an unlimited scale", if the offshore islands of Kinmen or Matsu were attacked by the Chinese Communists.

He made this statement in the Legislative Yuan (the lawmaking body) in reply to questions raised by a member, who said that "merely reaffirming our determination to defend the offshore islands" was not enough, and urged the government to announce, that it would bomb the mainland bases in case of Red attack against the islands.

The Foreign Minister said the government shared this sentiment. "If the Communists choose to invade any of the offshore islands," he said, "the government will immediately take such counter-action as the situation may demand, and such action may develop on an unlimited scale."

GEORGIA

According to "United Press", the fierce riots of the subjugated Georgian population, which took place from March 7th to 9th, this year, in Tiflis, still continue. The Party secretary of Tiflis University, which numbers five thousand students, has been dismissed from his post for "neglecting his Party and ideological work" among the students. All the members of the University Party Committee and of the District Communist Party have been charged with similar offences. The special units of the M.V.D. stationed in Tiflis have been reinforced considerably. ("United Press", March 27, 1956.)

HUNGARY

In April the new month of "friendship" between Hungary and the U.S.S.R. began in Hungary. The Soviet delegation for cultural relations with foreign countries has already arrived in Budapest. Upon its arrival, it promptly addressed a series of speeches to the Hungarian population on the subject of international "friendship" between the non-Russian nations and the "great" Russian nation. In these speeches the Soviet delegation exhorts the Hungarian people to take Moscow as a shining example of how to "build up Socialism", and tells them how to preserve eternal friendship with Moscow. ("Molodj Ukrainy" ["The Youth of Ukraine"], No. 61, 1956.)

IDEL-URAL

According to the newspaper, "Soviet Khasiaystwo" ("Soviet Farming"), all the dairy-farms in the Idel-Ural have failed to fulfil their quotas as regards increasing the volume of dairy products. The newspaper complains that the farmers in the Idel-Ural have assumed an attitude of indifference to collective economy, that they no longer carry out their duty to the State, and are more interested in their own plot of land.

("Selskoye Hospodarstvo", No. 93, 1956.)

NORTH CAUCASIA

The newspaper, "Kasastanskaya Pravda", reports that the Dagestan tobacco farms have failed to fulfil their quotas as regards supplying tobacco to the State in 1955. Tobacco plantations have been neglected to such a degree that the yield in 1955 as compared with 1954 decreased by 12 per cent. In addition, the administrative officials have, during the past twelve years, been unlawfully appropriating the earnings of the tobacco co-operatives, namely a total amount of 700,000 karbovanetz (175,000 dollars).



The disproportion between industry and agriculture in Poland is increasing from year to year. The Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party has passed a number of measures which are to be enforced during the years 1956 to 1960. In the resolutions which have been passed, special emphasis is placed on the necessity of conducting an active fight against the "alien ideology" which still "prevails in the mind of the masses". As part of this fight the Muscovite state printing department has published huge editions, in Polish, of a series of articles on the "Fight of the Polish people for Socialism" (Moscow, 1955. The Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.). These editions have been sent from Moscow to Warsaw for sale and distribution among the population. ("Radianska Ukraina", No. 70, 1956.)



The Yugoslav Communists have greeted the condemnation of the Stalin cult by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party with malicious joy. Mikojan's speech was reprinted in all the languages of the peoples living in Yugoslavia, and a huge number of copies were distributed among the Communists, the rest of the population, and the youth. Special commentaries on the speech ridicule Stalin and the political and economic plans which he pursued during his lifetime.



THE COMMUNIST PRESS HAS ONLY A FEW READERS

On January 30, this year, a conference was held in the head office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia, in Bratislava, in order to deal with the question of intensifying the influence of the press among the people. Those present at the conference were, however, obliged to admit that, although the population had been forced to take the Communist papers, all attempts to make the people read these papers had so far failed.

NOVEL DIRECTED AGAINST SLOVAK REPUBLIC

The Communist "author" Hečko, who specializes in writing disparaging literary attacks on the Slovak Republic, has now published a new "work" entitled "Holy Darkness". As is obvious from extracts published in the Bratislava "Pravda", this "novel" too attacks the idea of Slovak independence.

CENTRALIZED PLANNING WITH A LOSS

The East Slovak Engine Works in Košice did not even achieve 60 per cent of their production quota in the year 1955. Incidentally, their production costs have increased by 30 per cent, and their last year's loss amounts to 14 million kronas. Similar "successes" have likewise been achieved by other industrial concerns now subjected to Communist centralized planning. In the agricultural sector conditions are even worse than in industry.

ANOTHER ATTACK ON DR. DURCANSKY

In its edition of January 18, the central organ of the Communist Party of Slovakia, the Bratislava "Pravda", published a violent attack on Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky. This is not the first time that the Communist press has attacked Dr. Durcansky. Indeed, as the spokesman of the anti-Communist resistance of the Slovak people, who have been enslaved by Moscow and Prague, Dr. Durcansky is constantly the butt of insults and defamatory attacks in the Communist press.



According to information received from Stalinabad in Southern Tadzykistan, cotton sowing has already begun. But further reports indicate that no adequate preparations have been made in the kolchozes for sowing, and that quotas in this respect

have not been fulfilled. During the first few days of sowing, 43 per cent of the kolchos farmers failed to put in an appearance, and those who did turn up only fulfilled 79 to 92 per cent of the quotas fixed. ("Isviestia", No. 71, 1956.)

Poets and writers in Kirghiz have recently held discussions on Kirghiz literature. The editor of the newspaper, "Sovietie Kirgisistan", accused certain Kirghiz writers of ideological deviations which border on "bourgeois nationalist ideology". During the discussions which were held, several literary works were put on the black list because of obviously nationalist deviations. The editor stressed that, in future, Marxist-Leninist doctrine was to form the basis of all literary works, and not the out of date, obsolete "bourgeois" ideology.

BOOK - REVIEWS

Jan Ciechanowski:

Defeat in Victory

Doubleday & Co., New York. German Edition: "Vergeblicher Sieg". Thomas Verlag, Zürich.

"Defeat in Victory" is the title which Jan Ciechanowski, the last ambassador of the rightful Polish government to the U.S.A., has given the account of his diplomatic mission to Roosevelt and Truman, up to the day on which the U.S.A. sacrificed all the sacred ideals and freedoms which they had always stressed in their foreign policy, for the sake of pursuing a policy of conciliation towards the Soviets, and abandoned their brave allies to Bolshevik terrorism. Ciechanowski's account of the events which led to Poland losing the war even though she was an ally of the victorious Major Powers, is one of the most startling pieces of evidence of all the memoirs which are at present being published in such profusion. These forty chapters on the diplomatic history of the war reveal a remarkable lucidity of style which attests to the diplomatic skill and experience of the author. In his account of Warsaw's liberation fight under the command of General Bor-Komorowski, Ciechanowski shows that he is a chronicler in whom patriotic fervour and political lucidity are combined.

The warnings which for years Ciechanowski expressed in the course of the discussions which he had with Roosevelt, Cordell Hull, Sumner Welles, Stettinius, and other political personalities, and which are recounted in this book, have proved true. His forecast — given in the early years of the war — of the future course of events, today reads like a sinister prophecy which has in the meantime been fulfilled. Ciechanowski is one of the most objective critics of the reasons and motives behind the policy pursued by the U.S.A.

As one of the closest co-workers and friends of General Sikorski and Mikolajczyk, Ciechanowski is the first competent witness and chronicler of the ignominious bargaining which reached its climax with the accommodating recognition of the Communist government established in Poland by the Soviets, and ended with Mikolajczyk's flight from that country.

The confidential material which Ciechanowski quotes, namely the correspondence between Roosevelt and Mikolajczyk, is startling, to say the least. His account of the political moves of the Soviets, as for instance the cunning introduction of the right of veto as an ever-effective means of preventing all political cooperation in the non-bolshevized world, is, indeed, masterly. With magnificent irony he depicts the all too human element and frailty in the Washington and White House world in Roosevelt's time.

But like all the notable men who have proved an important factor in Poland's political life, Ciechanowski makes one big mistake; like Sikorski and Mikolajczyk, he remains a Polish imperialist and fails to realize that the main reason for Poland's defeat in World War II was the hostility of the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, and Lithuanian population in Poland. Things would have looked quite different if the Polish official delegation had declared during the negotiations with Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin that it was prepared to cede the ethnographical Ukrainian, Byelorussian, and Lithuanian territories not to the Soviet Union, that is to say



During the period of March 10th to March 24th, 1956, eight thousand young Ukrainians were deported from Ukraine to the district of Kustanajski (Kazakstan). They were assigned to newly organized kolchozes and were given accommodation in tents and wooden huts. On the day after their arrival, they were sent to work on tracts of fallow land in the steppes.

About eighty families from various districts in West Ukraine have been deported to the Altai and Pryamurskyj Kray regions. Further deportations continue.

("Komsomolska Pravda", Nr. 72, 1956.)

Russia, but to the independent states of the peoples concerned! Lithuania, Byelorussia, and Ukraine were the only partners who counted for negotiation purposes, but surely not the Soviet Union.

If the Polish government were to acknowledge the independence claims of the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, and Lithuanian peoples in their ethnographical territories, it, too, would have a much sounder moral basis for its fight. But even such excellent memoirs as those by Jan Ciechanowski have been written in vain if Poland continues to be a slave to her imperialistic desires. Z.

Dr. Gregor Prokopschuk:

Der Metropolit

Verlag Ukraine, Munich, pp. 300.

This book to a very considerable extent rectifies the erroneous opinions which have arisen out of the ignorance, prevalent in many circles, of conditions in Eastern Europe and, in particular, in Ukraine.

The main theme is the life and work of the famous Metropolitan, Count Andreas Schieptytzkyj. Through the medium of his outstanding personality interest is focussed on the historical, ethnographical, and cultural development of events. The picture of the Metropolitan as a shepherd of souls in the truest sense, as a political initiator in the best meaning of the word, as a patron and promoter of the arts and sciences, and as the noble benefactor of the poor, of widows and orphans, is painted in a strikingly plastic manner. Special emphasis is placed on the courageous way in which he supported the cause of the natural and human rights of Ukraine and advocated the reunion of the Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic Church.

The great care and thoroughness with which this book has been written and edited is also evident in the compilation of pastoral letters and other messages addressed to the people by the Metropolitan. Many of the 66 photographs — some of them are full-page photographs — contained in the book, which, incidentally, is most artistically illustrated and bound, are reproductions of the works of famous Ukrainian painters and sculptors and show the high standard of Ukrainian art and culture.

In short, it must be stressed that this book is a literary work which should be read by all persons of intellectual interests and tastes. It will, undoubtedly, to a considerable extent help all those who read it to understand the Ukrainian nation better and will set up spiritual links which we need so urgently in these times. R. Persing



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From London To Catastrophe

Since the London visit of the heads of the Russian Communist Party the West, though it may not be aware of the fact, is proceeding along the path which leads to catastrophe. In the first place, the question of the NATO, for instance. It is now stressed that less money should be spent on the military equipment of this organization and more on its economic purpose. The rearmament of Western Germany is still proceeding very slowly. But various so-called democratic newspaper-men in the West are already beginning to persuade the patient public that the idea of Germany's reunification and the rearmament of Western Germany has never been popular with the average German. France has always been opposed to this idea and is now preparing some kind of "middle course" which would make Germany's rearmament a farce. This is merely one step towards the Soviet plan to neutralize Germany.

As far as France is concerned, she has already practically neutralized herself in Europe, for almost her whole army is at present in Africa. And Sir Winston Churchill in his speech at Aachen was already visualizing a new Russia, not a Stalinist but a "democratic" Khrushchev's Russia, and offered this Russia friendship, in order to join forces with her in fighting every "aggressor".

Political Suicide Methods

But who is the aggressor in the world of today which is only being threatened by Russia? Sir Winston Churchill forgot to mention this point. His intentions were, however, very obvious to the refugees from Eastern Germany who were entirely justified

in holding a demonstration in Aachen, at the same time, as a protest against the illusions which are so dangerous for Europe and the whole freedom-loving world.

Moscow regards the Bagdad Pact as a threat to its security, and the so-called democratic press, in accordance with Moscow's wish, is already suggesting that it should be changed from a military and political pact to an economic one. In order to enable Russia to torpedo the Bagdad Pact more easily, she is now allowed to play a decisive part in the Near East, which has so far never been the case. Instead of strengthening the defensive rampart — Turkey, Persia, and Pakistan — and also the NATO against Russia, the chief concern of the West appears to be the safeguarding of the "security" of its enemy, the U.S.S.R.

In addition, "Reuter" reports the "pleasant" news that the French Premier, Guy Mollet, has asked Tito to intercede with Moscow on behalf of France, in order to bring about the cessation of warlike action in North Africa. This territory is under French rule, but the French Premier appeals to Khrushchev to help him to deal with his own "rebels"!

In the year 1849, Emperor Franz Joseph of Austria asked Tsar Nicholas I to help him to deal with the rebellious Hungarians. If things continue in this fashion, M. Mollet will some day probably be asking Khrushchev to pacify Ducloux "a little" with his Communists. For this service Moscow will then claim the people's front in France. And the result will be a joint government with the French Communists and, later on, a French Bierut and Grotewohl in the Tuilleries.

To all appearances the world seems to have been transformed into a mad-house of suicide candidates; at least, that is the impression gained when one reads in the press that the American university of Princetown has invited traitor Hiss to give a lecture there after he has served his sentence, or sees the press photograph of fattened hangman Malenkov surrounded by smiling British workers, or learns that some of the Labour Members of Parliament have demanded disarmament and have stated that they are of the opinion that the attitude of the Kremlin tyrants has undergone a complete change.

Active Self-Defence instead of Trade at any Price!

After the destruction in 1945 of the two bulwarks, Germany and Japan, and the loss of the Chinese mainland a few years later, which would have been capable of checking Russia's expansion and her advance in Europe and

Asia, certain Western politicians are now prepared to neutralize Germany, to modify the NATO and the Bagdad Pact, and to give Russia the function of a mediator in the Near East and in Africa, regardless of the fact that such measures mean the loss of Western bases, oil-fields, and the remnants of Western prestige. Red China would thus be admitted to the UNO and together with the so-called neutral admirers of Russian Communism, such as Nehru & Co., would gain a majority in the UNO. In this way the UNO would become an organization of international Communist bandits and murderers who, through the medium of the people's fronts, would thus rule the rest of the countries which are still free.

The reason for this gloomy picture lies in the fact that the parties and secret circles, which take the lead in determining the course pursued by Western policy, reject the idea of fighting against Russian tyranny and oppose every form of idealism. Their main concern is to make bargains at any price and to carry on coexistence with the Devil.

It is pointed out that the only alternative to this kind of policy would be war. But this is not correct! Is not the present state of affairs the same thing as a war? Was there not a war in Korea, Greece, and Indo-China? Was there not a war in Cyprus, Albania, and Morocco? Incidentally, there are also other means of conducting an effective war against the U.S.S.R., as for instance the breaking off of diplomatic relations. Australia was at no disadvantage after she severed her connections with Russia. And America refused to recognize the U.S.S.R. until 1955 and suffered no loss as a result. What disadvantage to trade would such a step be? And, in any case, which trade? Great Britain for instance only derives 1½ per cent of its total trade volume from trade agreements with Russia.

Other effective measures which should be adopted as a means of conducting a war against the U.S.S.R. would be the dissolution of the Communist parties as organizations of high treason, the introduction of capital punishment as the penalty for membership of the Communist Party, a thorough purge of all government departments, universities, and institutions in the service of public opinion, as for instance broadcasting companies, the press, and television corporations, in order to get rid of all Communist elements and to prevent infiltration by Communist agents and traitors such as Fuchs, the Rosenbergs, Hiss, etc.; in addition, support should be given to all revolutionary and oppositionist forces in the U.S.S.R. and its satellite countries. In other words, the same aggressive

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Dr. D. Waltschegg

Why Chervenkov Had To Go

What is the purpose of the change in the Bulgarian Government?

Of the Soviet satellite countries, Bulgaria was the one in which the "new course" decreed at the 20th Party Congress in Moscow made itself particularly felt, and not only by the rehabilitation of the "Titoists" and a purely platonic renunciation of the personality cult, but, above all, by the fall of the head of the government, Chervenkov. This drastic step as regards the leadership of the government of the Bulgarian People's Democracy is, in general, regarded as the result of Chervenkov's so-called "Stalinism", on the one hand, and as a friendly gesture to Tito, on the other hand. And the latter assumption is probably to some extent correct, since Chervenkov, who was always most anxious to carry out Moscow's instructions to perfection and to exterminate all "national Communist deviations" in Bulgaria, waged a reckless agitation campaign against Tito and his regime. But seeing that the Communist governments in the other neighbour-states of Yugoslavia have been equally emphatic in their agitation campaigns against Tito, without the heads of the governments in Budapest and Bucharest having now been obliged to atone for these sins by being dismissed from office, consideration for Tito hardly seems to be an adequate explanation for Chervenkov's dismissal. In order to understand the motives behind this incident, it is necessary, at this point, to give a brief survey of events in the past.

Since the beginning of Communist rule in Bulgaria, there has been a certain divergence

in the Party leadership between the so-called "permanently domiciled" Party leaders and the leaders who returned to the country from abroad. The latter group, headed by Georgi Dimitroff, his brother-in-law, Walko Chervenkov, and Wassil Kolaroff, who later on became the president of the parliament and for a short time was the head of the government, for many years directed the work of the Party from the Soviet Union, where they were well-situated emigrants, whilst the "permanently domiciled" group, headed by Traitscho Kostoff, was obliged to carry on the illegal fight in Bulgaria, an activity which involved much hardship and sacrifice. During this period Kostoff himself was sent to prison on account of subversive activities; on one occasion he attempted to commit suicide before his interrogation, by jumping out of a window on the third floor of the police headquarters, but he survived, despite the fact that he sustained eighteen fractures. He was, of course, regarded by many Party circles as a martyr, and he actually enjoyed the same prestige and popularity as Dimitroff. It was therefore only natural that there should be considerable dissension in the Party when he was suddenly degraded at Moscow's orders, and, later on, actually sentenced to death in a mock-trial as a "spy of the Fascist police" and "agent of the Western imperialists", solely because he had tried to defend Bulgaria's economic interests in the face of Moscow's opposition. The dissension in the Party ranks continued to make itself

"cold war" which Moscow has been conducting against the West, unpunished and uninterrupted, since 1917 must now be waged against Moscow.

Of course, in order to accomplish all this, other politicians must assume the reins in the West, and there must be no Mr. Bevan, no M. Mendès-France, and no Mr. Wallace.

Representatives of a Judicious Policy

Certain persons in the West have comprehended this fact. The well-known American journalist, D. Lawrence, for instance, on one occasion wrote, "When are we going to wake up? When are we going to realize that the war has begun and that it surrounds us on all sides? Are we to go on waiting until all our allies desert us and until we are forced to fight all on our own?"

Admiral Radford recently affirmed, "We must support all the valiant peoples who desire freedom". The six Congress-men who made a tour of twenty-eight countries, from Japan to Greece, stated in the US-Congress that the Geneva Conference (the introduction to the London Conference. — The Editor.) had seriously endangered the anti-Communist attitude in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. This conference aroused a very dangerous neutralism in these countries, according to the statements made by the aforesaid Congress-men, and the general attitude there is that there is no point in resisting Communism if the West continues to welcome the Communists as respectable members of society after what happened at Geneva. Is it not likely that this attitude will be intensified still more after the London meeting?

The authors of the above report, which has

been presented to the US-Congress, advise America to adopt a more forceful policy towards Communism and emphasize that the universal idea which shall unite the anti-Communist forces shall be faith in God.

General Gruenther said on one occasion, recently, "Fundamentally, the struggle between Communism and the West is one between religion, between the belief in the dignity of the individual and the atheistic philosophy of Communism. I am concerned with our preoccupation with the materialistic way of life. Our concentration on the goods of this world may cause us to take our eyes off the ball and miss the sinister swings of the Soviets."

The policy of resignation and of yielding to Moscow and toleration of Moscow's agents in the West will lead to another dreadful war. If the West continues to pursue such a policy, then even the fact that Russia might be weak or on the verge of collapse would be of no avail to it. In the Korean War, too, the West failed to deal the enemy a decisive blow. In 1941 the West missed the opportunity of letting Stalin and Hitler destroy each other, just as, towards the end of the war, it was guilty of pursuing a policy of missed opportunities when the Germans were prepared to make a peace treaty with the West and join forces with the latter in order to fight Russia. Thus the West lost the war and peace after 1945. A third World War may ensue — which the West will again lose — if new and capable men do not assume the reins in the West.

The decisive action of such men and the revolution of the nations subjugated by Moscow is the only chance which the freedom-loving world has of overcoming Russian tyranny.

D. D.

felt in the subsequent period and could not be eliminated. The fact that Chervenkov has now been branded as a scapegoat for this "Stalinist" action and has been replaced by the "permanently domiciled" Jugoff thus seems to indicate that the direct and main aim of these measures was to settle an internal Party crisis.

Incidentally, this Bulgarian example is extremely informative as regards the practices of Communist rule as a whole and also the true nature of the "new course" decreed by Moscow, which, in place of Stalin's terrorist regime, is allegedly to establish a "Party democracy", supported by an honest and upright "collective leadership".

In view of the fact that the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party has now, at Moscow's orders, been obliged to accuse and dismiss the head of the government on account of "personality cult" and wilful "autocracy", it seems fitting to recall that it was precisely this Bulgarian Party leader who did his utmost to follow the Moscow instructions of the "collective leadership" most precisely. As early as the beginning of 1954, Chervenkov most emphatically objected to the glorification of his personality, with something akin to self-abnegation. During a session of the Central Committee, when he resigned from the office of a secretary-general, which had been abolished, he made the following statement:

"No member of the Central Committee, whoever he may be, should be placed on the same level as or on a higher level than the Central Committee . . . I condemn the propaganda which glorifies my person, describes my actions as 'memorable' and 'wise', sets up pictures or statues of me, and chants my name in unison. I have taken steps to stop this disgusting practice of glorifying my person . . . At the beginning of the year I sent a petition to the Politburo and also to the Ministerial Council, requesting that all statues of my person should be removed and that no more should be made."

(Quoted from the ideological journal of the Bulgarian Communist Party, "Novo Vreme", April edition, 1954.)

On the other hand, the fact that the former deputy Prime Minister, Anton Jugoff, as the present head of the government is now to symbolize severance from Stalin's ruthless regime of despotism and terrorism and an "evolution" in keeping with the resolutions of the recent Party Congress in Moscow, likewise prompts one to recall certain incidents which occurred in the past. He happens to be the same Jugoff who, as Minister of the Interior in the first Communist revolutionary government, on the day of the coup d'état, addressed a crowd of Communist partisans and released criminals, from the balcony of the War Ministry in Sofia, with the following words:

"Yesterday you were still the game that was being hunted and chased. From today onwards it is your turn to hunt and chase the Fascist rabble. Take up arms and shoot all those who until yesterday shot at you!"

This provocation was the starting-point for dreadful massacres which continued throughout the country for weeks on end. And, in addition to the ruthless atrocities committed by irresponsible gangs of partisans, who were filled with blind hatred, Jugoff's "People's Militia" — as a "lawful" police organ — conducted a systematic mass-murder campaign. At that time, thousands of Bulgarian subjects in the towns and the rural districts were tortured to death by the militia. And this was what Jugoff's former colleague in the Ministry, Nikola Petkoff, was referring to, when, as the Opposition leader in the parliament, he hurled those memorable words at the Minister of the Interior.

"You are a murderer, Mr. Jugoff! Your hands are stained with blood!"

Prof. Dr. Dr. Hans Koch, Director of the Institute
for East European Affairs, Munich, Germany

The Nationalities Problem in the U.S.S.R.

I

A Multi-National State

The Soviet Union, as everybody knows, is a multi-national state. (The 1926 census showed a total of 191 "nationalities" in the Soviet Union territory of that time, though, of course, many of these "nationalities" were actually national splinter-groups which were comparatively small in numbers.) According to the statistics of the official census of 1926, the Russians constituted 55 per cent of this medley of nations, whilst the second largest nation of the Soviet Union, the Ukrainians, constituted approximately 22 per cent.

As a result of the territorial expansion of the Soviet state after World War II, the population increased by about 20 million, but not one of these peoples belong to the victor state, that is, to the Russian nation; they are, for the most part, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, border-Roumanians, Jews, etc. It is true that, as a result of this increase in population, the numerical proportion of the Russian nation dropped to barely 50 per cent, but, at the same time, however, its political significance increased, since, in keeping with Stalin's speech at the Moscow victory celebrations in 1945, it now claims sole credit for the ultimate victory in World War II.

According to the Soviet Union Constitution of 1936, every "national" republic of the Soviet Union is entitled to sever its connections with the entire Union of the Soviet Federation, at any time (Article 17 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., Article 15 of the Constitutions of the Republics); on the other hand, however, it is stipulated in another paragraph that, in case of doubt, the "Federal Law takes precedence over the law of the constituent republics" (Article 20 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., Article 17 of the Constitutions of the Republics), and emphasis is likewise laid on the Bolshevik axiom that the affirmative relation between the minorities and the majority is not only a necessity from the point of view of constitutional law, but also a Communist precept; severance from the U.S.S.R. would thus be regarded as rebellion and heresy.

A balance between the individual nationalities is to be established by the Soviet doctrine, "National in form, Socialist in content". This formula was also quoted at the 20th Party Congress, but, in a manner characteristic of the whole Congress, it was no longer ascribed to its creator, Stalin, but, in general, to "the great Lenin" (cf. "Izvestija", 1. III. 1956, No. 52, p. 1).

II

National Reforms?

Of the 50 000 words which Khrushchev, in his seven-hour Stachanov speech, devoted to the entire problems of the Soviet Union, about 1500, i.e. about 5 per cent referred to the nationalities question; these paragraphs, together with the semi-official commentaries of the Party press (in particular, for example, the leader in the "Izvestija" of March 1, 1956, No. 52) and the solemn "Resolution" of the Congress ("Pravda", February 25, 1956), are the only, but nevertheless, authoritative

The above-mentioned facts should surely suffice to give the West a true picture of the alleged "change of course" in the Bulgarian People's Democracy. And no one should be deceived by the fact that Chervenkov, because of the charge of "Stalinism" against him, has now been obliged to give up his position to Jugoff, who as the star of a well-mannered "collective leadership" is in the ascendant in the Bulgarian sky. There can be no doubt whatsoever about the fact that this star is the same unchanging, sinister, red star of Muscovite tyranny — with or without Stalin.

source for assessing the importance of the "minorities question" at the Party Congress. We can only give a general survey here of the aspects of this question.

1) Armed Resistance?

A few days before the Moscow Congress convened on February 14, 1956, Moscow Radio broadcast a leading article which had appeared on Saturday, February 11, 1956, in the Ukrainian provincial paper, "Tschervonyj Prapor" ("Red Banner"), which is published in Rivne, Volhynia, and has so far always been regarded as unimportant. In this article, all those Soviet citizens, who "are still secretly hoping that there will be a change in the serious situation" and who "have still not returned home since the end of the war", are exhorted to report to the competent authorities. To all those who are guilty of "having served the enemy during World War II" and who, "driven by their guilty conscience, still refuse to repent and continue to hide from the organs of Soviet power", the appeal is issued: "Return home! Confess your sins! Your country will forgive you!"

Certain Western observers, as for instance the paper, "Münchener Merkur", of February 14, 1956, interpret this peculiar proclamation, which was undoubtedly issued to coincide with the beginning of the Party Congress, as an admission of the fact that there are still Ukrainian partisans in the forests of Volhynia, — which once again proves the existence of the Ukrainian national resistance movement. It is obvious from the contents of this strange amnesty offer that the circumstance which has prompted it, is not merely local resistance in the Rivne district; for there is no attempt to hush up this amnesty offer; on the contrary, it is trumpeted forth by Moscow with a great flourish and therefore obviously applies to the entire Soviet Union and not merely to one territory. Is it a trap set by the secret police? As another proof of their indispensability? Or is it an admission that there is a partisan movement of "entire Soviet Union" dimension?

In a leading article in the "Pravda" of February 15, 1956 (No. 44, p. 5), — likewise published in connection with the 20th Party Congress — the entire Soviet frontier corps is praised and extolled, on the occasion of its 55th anniversary: Of the many achievements to its credit (during World War II 105 members of this corps were designated as "Heroes of the Soviet Union"), mention is now suddenly made, in this article, of the victory of a detachment of the frontier corps over a Central Asiatic (Turkestanian — the Editor.) "group of partisans"; no details are given as regards the locality of this group, but it must have been of a considerable size, since a "frontier unit, headed by a field-officer and a battery instructor" were needed to annihilate it; the combat which took place is described as a "battle", in the course of which three officers, including the leader, were wounded. "All the partisans were annihilated." The date of this incident — summer, 1955 — is significant!

In view of such facts, international observers have come to the conclusion that the Soviet Government will have hard work to make the world believe its assertion that "it has the support of the entire population of the country", — that is to say, of the 50 per cent constituting the national "minorities", too.

The effect produced by the increased emphasis on the Ukrainian question, for instance, during the official discussions at the 20th Party Congress, was rather like the distant rumble of thunder.

When the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of

Ukraine, A. I. Kiritschenko, affirmed in his speech that the individual constituent republics of the Soviet Union ought to enter into "socialist competition" with each other, he was promptly interrupted by Khrushchev, who asked him suspiciously, "With whom do you want to compete?" Whereupon Kiritschenko unhesitatingly and confidently replied, "In keeping with our significance, Ukraine could vie with the Russian Federated Republic as the second largest republic."

Even the well-known Armenian, A. I. Mikojan, alluded to the Ukrainian problem, though in another connection. In a skilful, but very obvious manner, he rehabilitated two former Soviet politicians, who were executed by Stalin because they were allegedly "Ukrainian rebels", and described the discrimination applied in their case, later on, by official chroniclers of history as a plot on the part of Russian social revolutionary historiography, adding, very significantly, "I am sure there must be Ukrainian historiographers who are better fitted to write the history of their Ukrainian socialist state than the Moscow historiographers."

Even the woman-historiographer of the Soviet imperium, A. M. Pankratova, who has become known in the West, too, as a result of her drastic behaviour at the 10th International Congress of Historians in Rome, was obliged to admit, "In our text-books and works on the history of the individual (Soviet) peoples, hardly any attempt whatsoever is made to unmask the coercion enforced by the tsarist autarchy with regard to the national and colonization aspect. A number of authors, who quite rightly stress the progressive importance of the union of these peoples with Russia, disregard the other side of this question. Tsarism imposed a heavy yoke on the peoples... It is well known that Lenin called tsarist Russia a peoples' prison. And it was only the October Revolution which destroyed this prison... The writers who, contrary to the opinions of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, describe the wars of conquest conducted by tsarism as just, are making a mistake... ("Pravda", No. 53, of February 22, 1956).

Concrete proof of the revival of national tension in the U.S.S.R. is furnished by reports on the reaction of the Georgians to the condemnation of their fellow-countryman, Stalin, during the 20th Party Congress. On March 9, 1956, the leading Georgian Party organ, "Sarja Wostoka", published an article to mark the anniversary of Stalin's death, in which he was described as an "outstanding revolutionary and Marxist" and an "excellent disciple of Lenin's". In this connection, incidentally, international news agencies reported that demonstrations, in which thousands of persons took part, had been held in Georgia to protest against the abolition of the Stalin cult.

An indirect corroboration of these incidents is the fact that foreigners, up to a short time ago, received no entry permit for Tiflis; further, that TASS reported that 15,000 agitators had resumed work in the town, and that the local Party organs were openly reproached with having neglected their duty as regards maintaining law and order. Reuter reported similar incidents in Armenia and Azerbaijan. The Caucasian Soviet republics, during the early years of Soviet rule there, were focal points of national independence movements which were ruthlessly quelled.

It can be inferred from an article in the "Sarja Wostoka" of March 18, 1956, that in all these cases of unrest it is not so much a question of the Stalinists objecting to the course adopted by Khrushchev, but of the revival of national feeling. The paper contrasts "proletarian patriotism", which, it stresses, is not chauvinistic, with nationalism, which prevents

the cooperation of the socialist peoples. Socialism, so the paper affirms, does not destroy national characteristics, but enables them to flourish and develop.

It remains to be seen whether this dialectic interpretation of events will be able to neutralize the national consciousness and independence urge of the peoples, for any length of time.

2) More Economic Concessions?

Provided that appearances in this case are not deceptive, most of the concessions made to the "minorities" seem to be limited solely to the economic sector.

Khrushchev held forth at great length on the subject of the necessity of decentralizing the economic system, since — according to Lenin — "only the greatest solicitude for the interests of the various nationalities can remove the cause of conflicts and banish mutual distrust". Even the volume and page reference is given for this Lenin quotation, but not a word is said about Stalin („Isvestija", February 15, 1956, No. 39, p. 8).

According to Khrushchev, in the course of the reforms carried out in this respect since Stalin's death, the number of ministries in the autonomous "minorities" have been increased and the share of the latter in provincial production has likewise been increased. Thus, as Khrushchev pointed out, the Ukrainian Soviet government already controls 67 per cent of the industry operating in its territory, whilst the Kazakstan and Azerbaijan Soviet governments, for instance, control 62 per cent and 80 per cent of the industry in their respective territories. It is only the remaining percentages which come under the direct and central control of Moscow.

In like manner, so Khrushchev affirmed, the individual republics are to be vested with greater authority as regards the distribution of budget funds, since "certain Party members have complained (about the practice adopted hitherto)".

Of course, it will in this case not be a question of an extension, on principle, of the fundamental law of the individual republics, — the budget law will still come under the direct and central control of Moscow and will even include the enumeration of the individual budgetary items — but of a "fairer distribution of the budget funds", in keeping with the "objective measure of the share of the individual republics in the total production"; that is to say, the "fairer distribution of the budget funds" will, in practice, be determined according to the extent to which the constituent republics are willing to incorporate their peoples in the vast sovietization and amalgamation process of the central government.

In order to settle all these economic questions a special "inter-republican and internationalities" commission is to be set up in the Supreme Soviet; this commission will study the "economy" (that is to say, the economic situation) of the individual republics and will draw up suggestions for further "decentralization", accordingly. It is significant that this commission is, in the first place, to study the agricultural sector and make suggestions for increasing crop yields, purchase conditions, and supply possibilities; in other words, the provincial prices which are slightly higher are to be adjusted to the lower (Moscow and other controlled) prices.

III

The Same Old Plan

At the moment, the experts are inclined to view the improved position of the individual constituent republics, which is promised as a result of the above-mentioned measures on the part of the Soviet central government, with considerable scepticism; for, according to Khrushchev, supreme control and the authority to make the final decision as regards the "sovereignty of the individual republics" which allegedly is "to be strengthened", will

continue to rest with the central authorities in Moscow. As Khrushchev said in his speech, the federal ministries will explicitly take charge of the "general control, fixing of planning functions, seeing to it that they are carried out, providing of equipment, and financing of capital investments"; that is to say, they will take charge of most of the privileges that are to be had.

Khrushchev himself confirmed this suspicion, inasmuch as he enumerated all the supposed privileges of the constituent republics and then, as usual, extolled the old "plan", by affirming, "In stressing the absolute neces-

sity of extending the rights of the individual federal republics, we must also stress the absolute necessity of the planning factor. We must always bear in mind that the most important condition for a successful development of our country and of each republic of the Soviet Union is the unification of the forces of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R., the well-known centralization of our national economy with a wide scope for initiative and free activity on the part of the republics. Systematic planning is the greatest advantage of the socialist system of economy. We do not and never shall renounce this advantage."

For the Liberation of the Nations

The Executive Council of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations has addressed the following memorandum to the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the Right Hon. Sir Anthony Eden: (The Editor.)

Sir,

The American Friends of A.B.N., Inc. is an organization of American citizens and residents, descendants from countries which are at present occupied by Communists. The purpose of this organization is to resist the expansion of communism in the world and to work for the liberation of the nations enslaved by it. The A. F. of A.B.N. is in a good position to interpret the views and feelings of those people who and whose ancestors came from countries now behind the Iron Curtain, as well as of their American Friends.

We feel it our duty to call your attention to the fact that there is a growing resentment among our members concerning the policy of the Government of Great Britain toward international communism, exemplified particularly by the coming visit of Messrs. A. N. Bulganin and N. Khrushchev to Great Britain. This visit is the latest step in the strategy of the Kremlin rulers toward world domination and will serve as a testing ground for new Russian tactics. In a similar manner, the Russians have succeeded in enslaving approximately one-third of the world's population since the Revolution in 1917.

We consider the objectives of Russian policy to be the following:

To disarm psychologically the Western World by demonstrating the so-called policy of coexistence;

To destroy the confidence of the free world in its strength to resist communism by impressing it with the idea of Russian invincibility;

To weaken the vigilance of the free world by spreading a false peace propaganda;

To shatter the hopes of liberation among the enslaved peoples by showing them that the Western world does not support their cause for freedom;

To drive a wedge among the Allies in order to break the existing military alliances, and

To win more nations for the idea of neutralism in order to take them over at some future time.

In order to block the Russians' objectives

we propose to the Government of Great Britain the following suggestions:

To show the Russian rulers the invincible unity of the free peoples;

To make it clear to the Russians that Great Britain disapproves of Russian domination over countries that have once been independent;

To emphasize to the Russians that Great Britain believes in the principle of self-determination for the peoples at present subjugated by Russia;

To state its determination to support these nations in their struggle for independence;

To dissociate itself with the policy of coexistence at any price, and

To give its moral and material support to the movements that are working for the liberation of their respective countries from Russian imperialism and communism, especially to the A.B.N.

We firmly hope that the Government of Great Britain will take our suggestions into consideration.

At the same time, we are glad to have the opportunity to express our deep respect for Your Excellency and for the people of Great Britain.

Sincerely yours

Wasył Puntus, Anatol Pleskachevsky,
Byelorussian Representatives;

Dr. George I. Paprikoff, Dr. Kalin Koitcheff,
Bulgarian Representatives;

Rev. Berto Dragicevic, Lucian Reichherzer,
Croatian Representatives;

Dr. Arthur Voobus, Estonian Representative;

Zoltan Vasvari, Hungarian Representative;

Alfred Bumanis, Latvian Representative;

Victor K. Naudsius,
Lithuanian Representative;

J. Okal, Slovak Representative;

Josef Gorsic, Slovenian Representative;

M. Maksud-Bek, Turkestan Representative;

Gen. Omelianowych-Pawlenko, W. S. Diduch,
Ukrainian Representatives;

Geza Erenyi,
President, Council of Representatives,

Anatol Bedrij,
Secretary, Executive Committee American
Friends of A.B.N.

April 9, 1956.

Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky

President of the People's Council of the A.B.N.

The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.

It is strange and typical of the present situation that for weeks on end a political event is discussed, which should really be the purely internal affair of one of the Major Powers, namely the Congress of the official party of the U.S.S.R.

What happened at this Congress?

Comrade Mikojan affirmed in his speech on this occasion: "After a long interval collective leadership has been introduced in our Party... Collective leadership is a fundamental principle of the proletarian Party, of the Party based on Leninism, but we are obliged to stress this old-established fact because, for almost twenty years, there has in practice been no collective leadership in our Party."

And later on during the Congress, in the statements of various leading Soviet personalities and in the press mention was even made of Stalinist terrorism. Thus, the fact that, for the past twenty years, brutal tyranny has prevailed behind the Iron Curtain, was definitely corroborated by authentic circles.

There can be no doubt about the fact that Stalin's dictatorship was thus condemned as the dictatorship of one single person. But nowhere do we find any condemnation of the dictatorship of the Communist system. Indeed, if we study the various official statements issued, we are bound to come to the conclusion that the Kremlin despots had no intention whatsoever of criticizing the dictatorship of the Communist system, not even for propaganda purposes. In theory and in practice, therefore, all this means that in future, in place of a one-man dictatorship, there will be a collective dictatorship.

Who are these dictators?

One talks about a "dictatorship of the proletariat". If this were true, such a dictatorship would have a fairly solid basis, since the entire population of the U.S.S.R., with but a few exceptions, has been proletarianized. Actually, however, the proletariat in this case means the Communist Party as its representative.

And what does this Party consist of? Seven million Party members? — Officially, yes! In practice, however, there can be no doubt about the fact that it consists of the dictatorship of the presidium of the Central Committee, which takes the lead in the Party and is influenced to a decisive extent by the First Secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade Khrushchev. If one recalls how often this man was quoted in the various speeches held at the 20th Congress, one is even tempted to say Khrushchev enjoys a discreet supremacy, which for the time being, however, must be skillfully camouflaged until he has consolidated his position to such an extent — by liquidating all his opponents on the grounds that they are adherents of Stalinism — that he can take Stalin's place.

Aspects of party democracy

A great deal was said about democracy at the 20th Congress. But what was meant was not the introduction of democracy in the Western sense of the word, but merely a certain freedom of opinion on the part of the Communist Party organs. The conception which the leading men of the Kremlin have of democracy is obvious to anyone who studies the speeches, lectures, and discussions held at the Congress. In fact, the impression gained from the entire session was that it was a stage-play rather than a Party Congress. Everybody had learnt their lines so well that there was not the slightest hitch, discord, or disturbance, and, in fact, such things appeared quite unthinkable.

If one compares the 20th Party Congress, at which Lenin was constantly referred to, with the Party Congresses held under Lenin's leadership, at which lengthy discussions were held on all kinds of questions, the difference becomes apparent. In Lenin's day the Congress members were allowed to express their own opinions in Lenin's presence, even if these opinions differed from his. But such a thing would have been unthinkable at the 20th Party Congress.

And what about the other aspects of this Party democracy?

The First Secretary of the Party draws up the suggestions for the constitution of the Central Committee of the U.S.S.R. and also for the most important positions and organs. For the purpose of formal approval, his right-hand men suggest the members of the lower committee in the provinces, districts, towns, villages, and state enterprises. The democracy of the Party consists in the members merely being allowed to approve the measures suggested. Indeed, it is practically impossible and, in fact, extremely dangerous to suggest rival candidates or to venture to express an opinion of one's own which differs from the opinions formulated by the top leaders.

In the satellite countries there is even more talk of democracy, since other parties are officially allowed to exist there, in addition to the Communist Party. In reality, however, they are merely sham parties for their entire activity is determined and controlled by the Communists. These phantom-organizations merely serve the purpose of helping the Communists to pursue their aims more easily.

Not only was the personality cult condemned at the 20th Party Congress, but also certain atrocities committed by Stalin and his right-hand men. If we consider this question more closely, it becomes very obvious that the present leaders of the Kremlin are more or less only interested in the revision of certain court sentences, according to which certain Communists were either condemned or liquidated. It is therefore merely a question of condemning a small proportion of the crimes committed under Stalin's despotic rule.

But the millions of persons who have been liquidated, deported, or imprisoned do not belong to the ranks of the Communists, but are anti-Communists. And not a word is said about their liberation! A study of the decrees set forth by the Communist organs in the satellite countries reveals that they even contain threats addressed to all who might venture to oppose Communist despotism. There is a lot of talk about socialist laws in favour of the Communists, but threats are used towards the anti-Communists. And in this respect the Communists act up to their principles to such an extent that they even refuse to release the socialists, with whose political friends in the West they would like to cooperate.

And thus, all hopes that Communist tyranny behind the Iron Curtain might abate somewhat, are entirely unfounded.

A reversion to Lenin

The mighty men of the Kremlin are endeavouring to link up the Stalin era with a reversion to Lenin. There can be no doubt about the fact that Lenin was a powerful personality. Otherwise, he would hardly have succeeded in enforcing Soviet despotism in the Soviet Union. He was an unscrupulous tactician who was prepared to resort to violence in order to achieve his aims. But it was Stalin who succeeded in expanding the dictatorship of the proletariat, which until eleven years ago was limited to the Soviet Union, to such an extent that the present tyrants in the Kremlin have been able to introduce in their Party resolutions the principle, according to which "Socialism crossed the frontiers of a country and has become a world system". The fact that such a principle can be stated is undoubtedly due to Stalin's achievement.

However closely we may study all the addresses, speeches, and decisions of the Congress, nowhere do we find any condemnation of the deeds committed by Stalin which led to the propagation of Communist tyranny. Nowhere is there any condemnation of the unbelievable violation of dozens of nations and their many millions of inhabitants. The men of the Kremlin thus have no intention of revising this kind of action. Nor do they reproach Stalin for having spread Communist tyranny by means of terrorist and inhuman measures, but only for having alarmed the free nations to such an extent by excessive application

of aggressive methods that similar methods can no longer be resorted to in future. In fact, Mikojan admitted that the mistakes made by the Kremlin have aggravated international tension.

Stalin merely realized the plans which Lenin was unable to realize because he had not the available forces at his disposal and as a result of the unfavourable international situation. Stalin did not oppose Lenin's ideas, but realized the latter's aims.

The Dissolution of the Cominform

One feature of the 20th Party Congress which gives food for thought is the decision which, it is true, was not mentioned openly on this occasion, but which is in keeping with the purport of the speeches that referred to it, — namely the decision to dissolve the Cominform founded in 1947.

Is it possible that this step implies a fundamental change in the Communists' aims and methods? As a point of interest, let us call to mind the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943.

Did things change as a result of this measure? Most certainly, but only inasmuch as Stalin succeeded in allaying the suspicions of the United Nations and in creating the psychological preconditions for the expansion of the Muscovite imperium.

Now, as on that occasion, Moscow would like to emphasize the fact that it will not endeavour to enforce the Communist dictatorship elsewhere by interfering in the internal affairs of the independent states.

It would, however, be wrong to assume that the dissolution of the Cominform will result in the discipline in the Communist family being relaxed, for the dissolution of the Comintern had no such effect, either. In this connection the Moscow "Pravda" definitely points out that this form of association of the Communist leaders is out of date; but no Communist would ever dream of denying the necessity and expediency of relations and cooperation between the "Workers' Parties" which are the precondition for the activity of the Communists. The latter will, in the future, too, continue to act according to the principles of proletarian internationalism, which aims to unite all the workers of the world as one huge force.

There is, however, one very important though hardly noticeable aspect to this question. A study of the minutes of the sessions of the Comintern reveals that the representatives of the Communist leaders of numerous countries were allowed to have their say. At least, it would appear that the opinions of the non-Russian Communists were heard before any decisions were reached.

But what happened at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.? The decisions reached there, which officially were to be limited to Soviet territory, were not only accepted by Communist leaders all over the world, but are also being carried out — as we can see for ourselves everywhere — even though these non-Russian Communists had no say in the matter at all.

This fact once again proves that the Kremlin's point of view in all questions is decisive for the Communist leaders all over the world, and that the Kremlin has in these leaders an extremely well-disciplined force to aid it to achieve its imperialistic aims. In this connection, it is interesting to note that, even in the days when the Comintern and the Cominform did not officially exist, the will of Stalin was regarded as a binding law not only in the Soviet Union and the satellite countries, but also by the Communists of the free world. And this fact alone was reason enough to eliminate, liquidate and murder various well-known persons. And what of the present? — Although a decision was reached to the effect that the activity of the Cominform was to cease, the resolutions of the 20th Congress have been carried out in every respect with routine-like exactitude.

Has there been the least change in the methods of the present Kremlin despots? At the request of the Kremlin, extensive government changes have

taken place in the satellite countries. But this does not prevent Khrushchev from talking about non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.

To all outward appearance, no Comintern! But, despite the fact that it no longer exists officially, its discipline is still apparent within the framework of the Communist parties. Maybe there is still a Comintern in action behind the scenes?! In which case, the statements made at the Congress are nothing but a fraud and the Communists are still playing the part of an extremely pliant Fifth Column which is directed by the Kremlin. By such measures as the dissolution of the Comintern and Cominform, Moscow apparently wanted to decline all responsibility for the future activity of the Communists in the free world.

Or maybe, this is another example of the Kremlin reaching a decision on its own without troubling to ask anyone else's opinion; in which case, the consequences will be even more far-reaching.

New ways and means of achieving old aims

The question might be raised, as to why the Kremlin considered it necessary to resort to such measures. The answer is simple. The Kremlin rulers would like to ensure that the Communist dictatorship has a chance to expand still further. They have realized that the present tactics can hardly be continued and have therefore decided to take a new line. The presumption of the Stalinist policy has definitely prompted the free world to mobilize its material forces in order to defend its freedom. Even though there are many gaps in the dam which has been built, the prospects of the Communist dictatorship as regards a direct aggression are no longer what they were. The new principles set up by the Kremlin rulers are to provide the preconditions for new ways and means of achieving their aims, after all.

A study of the most important speeches made at the 20th Congress suffices to convince us that the present leaders of the Kremlin are determined to continue their efforts to extend Communist rule to all parts of the earth. And for this same reason, Moscow is determined to continue its methods of prevarication and deception in order to enforce the Bolshevik dictatorship on the rest of the free world.

The first essential prerequisite in this connection is the realization of the coexistence of the Communist system with the capitalistic system. Coexistence in this case to mean that the Communists in the free world are to have every opportunity to disseminate propaganda lies, to carry on subversive activities and terrorism, without the free world, however, being able to carry on the least political activity in the countries behind the Iron Curtain. Coexistence is to be realized according to the slogan, "trade instead of armament". And the free world is to supply the Communists with the necessary financial means so that the latter can then set up the gallows on which to hang the anti-Communists in the West. By means of coexistence Moscow is trying to hypnotize those persons who are politically short-sighted, in such a way, that they do not realize that they will be the next victims of their own short-sightedness.

The Communist leaders of the Kremlin make no secret of the fact that the sole purpose of all this coexistence business is to bring about a Communist revolution in still more countries. For this reason, they cannot do with a war, since that would be too great a risk. The Communist leaders can only afford to use less risky methods, all the more so since they already have a starting-point for such methods.

All they need do is to turn the dissatisfaction of the enslaved, colonial and semi-colonial peoples in Asia, Africa, and South America to their own advantage. And this aim can be achieved by the cooperation of the Communists with the socialist parties in the countries concerned. For this purpose, the dissatisfied population in as many countries as possible is to be roped in. And in this way it would be possible to form a people's front under Communist leadership. Should this be achieved, the realization of the Communist revolution would follow as a matter of course, and by actually using the parliamentary means of the present "bourgeois" democracy, the Communists would be able to deal the latter a mortal blow. Thus, a Communist revolution is, in fact, possible without a civil war, provided that the freedom-loving and anti-Communist forces put up no resistance. A bloodless revolution of this kind might

be successful in countries which are still fairly undeveloped, but in all other countries a civil war would most likely ensue, even in the future. In such cases, the Communists who have undertaken to introduce the Communist dictatorship would, of course, deny all responsibility. They would refuse to bear the blame for all the atrocities and acts of terrorism to which a civil war gives rise, and in this respect would hold those circles which have opposed the introduction of the Communist despotic regime responsible.

In order to carry out the above plan, Moscow's Fifth Column must have various possibilities, and the most certain method of all seems to the Communists to be coexistence.

The crisis of the Bolshevik regime

The sole purpose of the changes which, in accordance with the decisions reached at the 20th Party Congress, are to be effected in the countries behind the Iron Curtain, is to increase the labour productivity of the eight hundred million Communist slaves there. For the present basis of the regime is a very narrow one and only comprises 3.5 per cent of the population who are members of the Communist Party. And the initiative of this "select" minority is hampered by ruthless methods and extreme centralization. For this reason, the Party members are to be afforded a certain amount of security by the introduction of so-called "socialist laws". And for the same reason, various enterprises are to be decentralized, in the hope of thus being able to increase their production.

The resistance put up by the various peoples forced to live in subjugation behind the Iron Curtain is too strong, and this is the reason why an attempt is being made to win over certain circles. A decision was therefore reached to extend the competence of the member-states.

The dissatisfaction manifested by the masses is a serious matter. For this reason, it is necessary to hold out to them the prospect of an improvement in their standard of living.

The Kremlin rulers hope that all these measures will result in an increased labour productivity on the part of the enslaved population, and that it will thus be possible to increase the potentialities created by a policy of coexistence as regards extending the Communist dictatorship.

Thus, the question at issue with regard to the suggested coexistence is not merely the recognition of the present "status quo", as many persons assume, but the possibility of setting up the most

favourable preconditions for the Kremlin to take a step further towards its aim of world-domination.

The boldness of Moscow's aims is characterized by precise planning which takes into account the exploitation of every possibility. In the free world, on the other hand, a certain lack of planning is noticeable. Moscow, however, can rely on the Communists in the free world even though they only represent a comparatively small minority everywhere — in some countries, of course, as for instance in France and Italy, they represent an important minority. *But the free world, on the other hand, refuses to support the opponents of the Communist regime behind the Iron Curtain who number 80, 90, and 95 per cent of the population there.*

It is quite obvious that the crisis which the Bolshevik regime is at present undergoing is, for the most part, due to the unyielding resistance of the subjugated nations. *The national problem is Soviet Russia's most vulnerable spot. And it is the main reason why the U.S.S.R. is tied down by internal political difficulties to such an extent that it so far could not venture to attack the West.* It is high time the Western world realized this fact and gave the subjugated peoples its moral, political, economic, and material support in their fight for freedom and independence. This would be the surest way of putting an end to Bolshevik terrorism and Muscovite world-conquest aims.

Because this has not been done so far, Moscow has been able to keep millions of members of various nations in permanent enslavement, and, contradictory to what it preaches itself, has at the same time made use of the right of self-determination in Asia and Africa to gain its own ends. Moscow supports the Mohammedans in Africa in their fight for freedom, but, on the other hand, it subjugates 25 million Mohammedans itself.

The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. has proved that the Communist leaders are determined to achieve the aims which Stalin failed to realize. They have even described the methods by which they intend to rule the whole world. There is no doubt about the fact that the free world can successfully defeat all these aims, but only provided that it follows a definite plan as systematically and determinedly as the Moscow tyrants do. Since freedom requires determination and initiative for it to be victorious, let us be the apostles of this determination. In this way we shall establish the greatest claim to enjoy freedom and justice.

Red Mainland not Real China

Professor E. Stuart Kirby, editor of the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Hongkong, made a trip to Free China last year. On his return, he praised the Chinese Government's achievements in Taiwan, both in talks he gave and in written articles.

The professor who lectures in economics and political science at the University of Hongkong, and visited Communist China on a Peking-sponsored trip, said on January 9, 1956, that the Chinese mainland under Communism is characterized by its spiritual and physical drabness as well as by its "phony new culture".

Prof. Kirby, who is noted as a specialist on Chinese and Asian economics, said his personal appraisal of Communist China would indicate that the Chinese Nationalist government, despite its "very grave imperfection", represented rather more of the real China than was to be found in the Russianized mainland system.

In a lecture sponsored by the HKU's United Nations Association and Economics Society, Prof. Kirby summed up his Communist China observations as follows:

1, That on the question of the United Nations seat, Red China should not be admitted "at the cost of displacing" the Chinese Nationalist government;

2, That in actual economic conditions, he was struck mostly by the drabness, lack of sparkle and colour in the people, in their living conditions, their dress, their demeanour, in everything;

3, That the drabness in Red China caused him to agree with Winston Churchill's definition of Communism: "An equal sharing of squalor";

4, That, in comparison with his previous stay in China, he noted that when in the old days poverty was general, "dinginess or poverty has not at any rate invaded the spirit and outlook of the Chinese people;

5, That Peking's building programme has been dominated by "nondescript, characterless architecture", which has a barrack-like effect and which is "vaguely Western, or rather, Eastern European, in style and inspiration";

6, That in agricultural activities, he was impressed most by lots of people in work squads, building dykes, doing rough work on the land, ant-hill fashion;

7, That he did not see a single tractor except in an exhibition;

8, That drabness generally also dominated cultural life which was supposed to be compensated by the Communist "New Culture", which seemed to him in some part to be "phony"!

Milos Svoboda (Bohemia)

A Policy of Firmness — the only Way to Conquer Communism

If we ask ourselves which policy the free world should adopt towards the Soviet Union, then the answer is bound to be a rational policy, or rather a policy of rational firmness. The fundamental attitude of the Russians is based on the principle of never ceding any territory once they have established their dominion there. And they likewise observe this principle when considering all questions pertaining to their relations with the West and the rest of the world.

There can be no doubt about the fact that it is their aim to subject the whole world to Communism and that they will continue to pursue this aim until there is not a corner of the world left which is not under Communist rule. Reason tells us that the existence of powerful military states under the Communist regime in this atomic age represents a deadly menace to the entire free world. Should the Soviet Union at some time or other in the future succeed in gaining an advantage over the other countries as regards atomic armament, it would not hesitate to destroy the free world in order to achieve its aim of Communist world dominion, — for the Communists are incalculable and morally inferior elements.

Reason further tells us that the subjugated peoples in the East cannot be allowed to remain under the rule of these criminal elements for ever, but that they must at some time or other — and the sooner the better — be liberated. Reason and the policy of reason thus demand that we should exterminate Communism. Since a war with thermo-nuclear weapons would, however, result in the destruction of the European nations, we must endeavour to liquidate Communism without resorting to the use of thermo-nuclear weapons. But in this connection we must constantly bear in mind the fact that the question, war or no war, does not merely rest with the Western world, but will be decided solely by the Soviets. And for this reason the entire civilized world should be prepared for every eventuality.

In order to elucidate the policy pursued by Russia we should like to quote some historical examples.

Historical Examples

The history of the 19th and also of the 20th century proves beyond all doubt that whenever Russia in the course of a congress or conference renounced some territory or other that she had annexed, she merely did so either because she had suffered a military defeat or else was threatened by military force if she refused to renounce the territory in question, but never for any other reason. It was only Germany's ultimatum at the peace conference of Brest-Litovsk in 1918 which forced Lenin and Trotsky to renounce their claims to the Baltic states, Poland, and Ukraine. It was only the fact that Poland, Finland, and Ukraine proclaimed their national rights in 1917 and made it plain that they would, if necessary, resort to military force if their national aspirations were disregarded, which compelled the Kerenski government to yield.

It was only the presence of British convoys in the Sea of Marmora and the stern warning of the British Cabinet during the Turco-Russian War of 1878 that prompted Russia during the Congress of Berlin to renounce her Balkan booty and abandon her Dardanelles plans, much against her will.

It was only the defeat which she suffered in 1855 in the Crimean War that compelled Russia to renounce her claims to the Danube principalities of Moldavia and Walachia.

It was only the fact that Japan had been victorious in the war which led to the eviction of Russia from Korea and Manchuria at the peace conference at Portsmouth.

And it was only thanks to England's firm attitude that Russia was evicted from North Persia and Greece after World War II.

There never have been nor are there any other methods of forcing the Russian imperialists to cede territories which they have annexed. On every occasion it was the policy of rational firmness on

the part of the West or neighbouring countries of Russia that forced the latter to renounce her claims.

The Present Situation

If we examine the present policy of the free West, we are, however, forced to admit that it is practically the antithesis of a policy of rational firmness. Instead of liquidating world Communism, the politicians of the West advocate a policy of coexistence, as for instance was the case some months ago, namely at the Geneva Conference last summer. We know for a fact that in Czechoslovakia, for example, the number of persons who joined the Communist Party increased very considerably after the Geneva Conference. An American senator very rightly said in the US Senate on August 1, 1955: "We cannot offer the tyrants and murderers friendship without in this way supporting the cause of tyranny and murder. It was a great disappointment to the subjugated peoples who have been enslaved by the Communists that their voice was not heeded. These peoples have been violated by Communism, and one can hardly expect them to rejoice at a pleasant social meeting between their subjugators and those on whom they have set their hopes of freedom. We can be sure that the Communist government distributed the pictures of this amicable meeting in every town and village behind the Iron Curtain, together with the communiqué issued in Geneva, according to which the Western statesmen believed in the good intentions of the Soviets. I can think of no deadlier blow to the morale of the captive peoples than the reports which they have received about the friendly meeting between the Western statesmen and their Communist oppressors."

It is gratifying to know that President Eisenhower and the British Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, rejected Mr. Bulganin's offer of the so-called friendship pact. But, on the other hand, however, it is regrettable that the above-mentioned Western statesmen did not act on the offensive and that the West continues to allow the Communists to take the initiative. The West should take the initiative, not in adopting a policy of "peaceful coexistence", but in carrying out the large-scale offensive of a policy of liberation. It must not pursue a policy of amicable relations with the murderers and criminals, but must definitely take a firm stand. At present, many illusions still prevail in the Western world on the subject of the Soviet Union and a passive attitude towards world Communism. On February 21, 1956, a South German paper, for instance, wrote as follows: "It is true that the present conversion has already gone further, — but has it really reached the point where Stalin's ruthless methods of ruling definitely belong to the past. Only the coming weeks and months and, maybe, years will show whether it is a radical conversion or not."

People who express this kind of opinion will never realize that a radical conversion of Communism is and always will be impossible. The West is at present pursuing neither a policy of rational firmness nor a rational policy, but one of passivity, weakness, and surrender.

For instance, we have only to recall the revolt in the Soviet Zone of Germany in 1953 or the demonstrations held in Czechoslovakia in the same year. The "New York Times" on February 6, 1956, reported that the Western broadcasting stations encouraged the general strike and the demonstrations in the Eastern Zone of Germany, but, apart from such fine-sounding phrases of encouragement, no concrete support was given to the insurgents' action and there was no attempt at intervention on the part of the West in order to help the German workers in their fight for freedom. In 1953 the chief editor of the Czechoslovakian department of "Radio Free Europe" made the demonstrators in Czechoslovakia various promises, but there was no active support on the part of the West. It was merely another case of false alarm. A lot of promises were made, but none were kept. The people behind the Iron Curtain, however, believed in these promises; they gave their services,

they risked their lives and their freedom, and the final result was an even greater wave of terrorism with countless liquidations carried out by the Communist secret police, but help from the West was not forthcoming.

Such an attitude is by no means keeping with a policy of rational firmness, with a policy of support for the national revolutionary liberation movements, or with a policy of universal liberation, systematically synchronized and co-ordinated with the West. The latter has apparently adopted the attitude that it is better to let other people do the dirty work for it!

Historical Parallels

In order to understand the chaos and confusion which prevails in the West it is necessary to recall certain historical parallels, — Napoleon, Hitler, and Stalin, three men who wanted to conquer Europe.

It took the forces of free Europe — unfortunately, with Russia's help — fifteen years to overthrow Napoleon and five years to overthrow Hitler. Stalin, however, was able to leave his successors certain European and Asian territories. And the West, incidentally, censures all those who venture to suggest that the biggest criminal gang of all time must be overthrown if the world is to retain its freedom. Hitler as the ruler of Germany, France, Belgium, and Poland, was more than his enemies could tolerate. But the Russian conqueror as the ruler of half Germany, practically the whole of the territory of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and practically the entire Balkan states, China, North Korea, North Vietnam, and Tibet, is tolerated by the West, which even seeks to maintain friendly relations with him. Why should there be such a difference in the attitude towards these various dictators who sought to subjugate Europe?

It is affirmed that the reason why the West gives in to Russia is its strength as regards its material war potential. In my opinion, however, the reason is rather the weakness of the moral war potential of the West.

In the war against Napoleon, England was prompted by hatred and a defensive moral hostility towards the ideas of the French Revolution of 1789. In those days England as a whole was a moral monolith and inaccessible as far as the ideologies of that era were concerned. The French of Napoleon's day were in the opinion of the English, as Nelson himself said, "devils". And this attitude went hand in hand with the moral and intellectual atmosphere in the British Isles, which enabled Pitt, Nelson, and Wellington to realize their vast plans. It was, in fact, this atmosphere which gave the English the strength to vanquish the conqueror.

For Spain, too, which vanquished the conqueror of Jena and Austerlitz, Napoleon was the devil incarnate and the sworn enemy of the Church and of freedom. And in Germany the rousing patriotism of such men as Fichte and Görres helped to revive the Prussian spirit and prompted the German nation to rise up in active revolt against Napoleon. Incidentally, the same definitely hostile attitude on the part of the West towards Hitlerism helped to defeat the latter.

And the Present Situation?

In those days the anti-French West had no professors who preached the ideas of Voltaire or of "Mein Kampf" at the universities. Nowadays, however, there are plenty of persons at the universities and in some of the churches of the West, as for instance the "Red Dean", Johnson, who openly advocate the Bolshevik people's democracies or Bolshevik "pacifism". Nowadays there are big political parties in the West, in fact, even clergymen, reporters, and other representatives of public opinion, who promptly decry every government which intends to exterminate Communism, as corrupt, as fanatical warmongers, or as the enemy of democratic freedom, and defame those far-sighted politicians who unmasked men like Fuchs, Hiss and Rosenberg as Soviet agents. Many were the pro-

tests which President Eisenhower was obliged to face when he refused to pardon the Rosenbergs. Yet the same "humanists" who protested on that occasion have voiced no protests against the extermination of millions of persons in the East by Communism! The present psychological atmosphere is indeed entirely different to the one which prevailed in the West during the latter's fight against Hitler and against Napoleon. In those days persons like the Rosenbergs, like Fuchs, Johnson, Thorez, Duclos, or Togliatti would not have stood an earthly chance; for in those days such a game ended on St. Helena or in Nuremberg. Nowadays, however, the political atmosphere in Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam, and Geneva is completely changed and is one of "peaceful coexistence" between criminality and decency.

A Moral Revolution in Europe

As long as such an atmosphere, which paralyses all powers of resistance, prevails in the West, the latter will be unable to ward off the imminent danger of subjugation by Soviet Russia. The final issue of the inevitable clash between the free world and Russia will not be determined by the strength or weakness of the material war potential of Russia or the West. Nor will any purely mechanical unification of Europe help to ward off the Muscovite danger. *Europe must pass through a moral revolution; it must rid its system of foreign poisons, and must realize that its peoples are peoples of Christian civilization, who must fight the ideas of the Russian Communist revolution with as much strength and, in fact, even more intensively — both at home and abroad — than they did the ideas of Hitler.*

The investigations conducted by the Congress Select Committees of the US House of Representatives have produced a gloomy picture. In January this year, Senator Eastland (democrat) and his committee investigated the question of Communist infiltration in the American press. It was ascertained that there were fourteen secret Communists on the staff of one of America's leading papers, to quote but a single case. In February this year, the Select Committee against anti-American subversive activity, under the chairmanship of Congressman Walter, unmasked nineteen secret Communists in various government departments.

And what decisions were reached in Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam? The cession of the whole of Eastern and Central Europe and the expulsion of the German population of the Eastern European and Sudetic territories. And the ultimate result of these decisions was the loss of China, the surrendering of the victory of North Korea, and the cession of North Vietnam.

And what is the opinion voiced with regard to the firm stand taken by such men as Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek, Douglas McArthur, Knowland, Taft, Kersten, Feighan, McCarthy, and other sincere anti-Communist fighters in the West and East?

Not Coexistence, But a Policy of Liberation

A policy of liberation was originally advocated by US Secretary of State Dulles, and also, in particular, by Senator Knowland, Congressmen Burdick, Feighan, and Kersten, Senators Jenner and McCharty, General McArthur, the late Senator Taft, and various other leading American personalities. During the Korean War Douglas McArthur suggested that a firm policy should be adopted towards the Chinese Reds. As part of this policy of rational firmness, McArthur demanded

- a) an economic blockade of Red China;
- b) the bombardment of the Red China hinterland by the Americans;
- c) the use of Chiang Kai-shek's forces against the Chinese mainland.

There can be no denying the fact that McArthur was given a tremendous ovation on his dismissal and that he still enjoys enormous popularity in America even today. The majority of Americans support the idea of a policy of rational firmness. Indeed, President Eisenhower and in particular Secretary of State Dulles wanted to introduce this policy, but so far they have not succeeded in doing so owing to pressure on the part of certain hesitant circles. Senator Taft and his supporters advocated a universal policy of liberation and firmness.

A similar policy is now advocated by Senator Knowland and by Senator McCarthy, who on June 16, 1955, proposed a resolution in the Senate to the

effect that relations with the Communist regimes should be severed and that the exile governments should be recognized. The actual policy of liberation, which is also the policy of rational firmness, is inseparably linked up with the name of the former Congressman, Charles J. Kersten. Published in the "New York Times" on February 20, 1955, under the title of "A Program To Direct Our Foreign Relations", it was signed by many leading American political and military personalities. The principles of this policy are as follows: an extremely strong air force as well as atomic and technical superiority on the part of the West, which can prevent a war; complete extermination of Communist subversive activity in America; the cessation of diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union and the satellite countries, and the exclusion of these countries, that is to say of their Communist governments, from international organizations; an economic blockade of the East bloc; recognition of the exile governments; the formation of national military units composed of refugees from the enslaved nations and recognition of the right of the latter to complete independence; more effective broadcast programmes to be relayed to the East; military and economic help only to be given to nations that are anti-Communist; opposition to every type of super-national pseudo-state aiming to set up a world government; American policy to be adjusted to moral laws, Christianity, and enlightened nationalism; active support to be given to the underground movements in the subjugated countries.

The points contained in the program published in the "New York Times" bear the signatures of the Committee of Endorsers, namely of General Willoughby, Wedemeyer, Fellers, Stratemeyer, Congressman Bentley, Sheehan, Snits, General Chenalut, Congressman Jackson, Gwinn, Governor Lee, and various other persons.

This is, indeed, a rational policy of liberation.

And we must support this policy of liberation, must propagate it and fight for it, just as we must likewise support the politicians who are endeavouring to make this policy materialize.

A Crusade for Freedom

We must start a "CRUSADE FOR FREEDOM" — a better crusade than the one which exists at present — and it must have as its aim the restoration of state independence to all the peoples of Europe and Asia subjugated by Communism and Russian imperialism, this state independence to be based on ethnographical principles with the motto "Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!" and on social justice and a democratic spirit.

We must unite all freedom-loving forces all over the world, in America, Europe, and Asia.

We must do our utmost to set up a coordinated fighting front consisting of the anti-Communist forces of the Eastern peoples who have been subjugated by Communism and Russian imperialism, the Western nations, and also those forces which are fighting against Communism in Asia, as for example Free China and Free Korea. If we proceed against the enemy with all our forces united and if the West pursues an active policy of rational firmness, that is to say a policy of liberation, in the closest possible cooperation with the unpromising, national, anti-Communist liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain, we shall undoubtedly achieve the common aim of the freedom-loving countries of the world, namely the destruction of Communism throughout the whole world and the disintegration of the greatest evil of all time, the Russian imperium. And this alone will ensure a lasting peace, freedom, and justice to weary mankind.

The Peaceful Sovietization of Northern Europe

Whilst the Red General Staff, on the one hand, is engaged in equipping a powerful centre in Leningrad with huge means, for the northern flank, the Party, on the other hand, is making equally intensive preparations for the final assumption of power, by peaceful means, throughout the whole of Northern Europe. In order to complete the sovietization of Scandinavia, the East Baltic States and East Prussia are, in the first place, being completely russified. Military bases are not the only active factor in this process; to this end, too, the youth of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia is being systematically and forcibly resettled to Asia, and the older generation is being reduced to a state of physical debility by means of slave labour. In order to conceal this rapid extermination of the most ancient civilized nations of Europe from the so-called free world, as skilfully as possible, various cleverly organized propaganda visits on the part of certain extremely naive foreigners (not to mention Party agents), to the hitherto hermetically sealed Baltic countries, have recently been arranged. These visitors then circulate the desired and "reliable" information that life in this corner, too, of the Red Paradise is wonderful and, in fact, much better than during the "terrorist" independence period and, of course, much "freer" than it was under the "national bourgeois" dictatorship. In order to suggest even more reliability as regards this type of information, the Reds choose as their publicity men for this purpose, prominent persons in Finnish, Scandinavian, and even American circles, and, in particular, by way of a joke, ecclesiastical dignitaries.

The results achieved have so far proved extremely favourable. The Reds have succeeded in nicely confusing the West in its hitherto fairly clear attitude towards the Baltic problem. They are hoping to be able to bury this question for good, after a few more formal manoeuvres, so as to then tackle the next task even more energetically. Finland, for instance, is already fairly ripe for dropping into the lap of Russian imperialism once more. The typical "friendly alliances" (aided by huge Russian funds) have during the past ten years paved the way for the demoralization of this nation, so successfully, that Finland of today is no longer anything like the Finland of the winter campaign. For the first time in the history of the country, the present prime minister was voted by

the Communists, whilst Kekkonen's right-hand man, Prof. Vilkuna, tried to reach some sort of adjustment as regards the price for this piece of red trickery, by his "cultural negotiations" in Moscow. Some members of the Finnish intelligentsia have lost their sense of sovereignty so completely that they blindly and enthusiastically accept all the traps which Moscow offers them in so friendly a manner.

The last test to which the working class was subjected was the big strike, which proved, however, that the Finnish workers, at least at present, still refuse to allow themselves to be dominated by the Communists. For this reason, attempts are now being made to prepare the Fifth Column, which, for the sake of appearances, is being trained very patriotically and democratically in the secret schools of the Desinform in Sweden, for all the key positions.

The big strike in Denmark, where the Communists feel that they are strong enough to assume power when the right opportunity comes, was far more successful. And the same applies to Sweden, and, in fact, even more so. Sweden's political opportunism is, of course, world-famous and is developing, from day to day, into political capitulation before the Communists, — a world-menace which the "leading men" refuse to recognize. The general course is determined entirely by Foreign Minister Undén, a friend of the Communists, and the Opposition has practically no say whatsoever and is completely helpless, as was obvious during the visit of the Swedish Prime Minister in Moscow. As elsewhere, the academic and university circles in Scandinavia, too, are proving the most fertile soil for the gradual spread of influence of the Reds. Obedient radicals, cultural pessimists, nihilists, and other types of ideological phantasts always imagine that they are world reformers.

The only Scandinavian country capable of putting up any resistance against the Red scourge, is Norway. And for this reason, Moscow with considerable astuteness is trying to turn the internal economic, general, and cultural crises in Norway to its own advantage, in order to be able to accomplish its political Five Year Plan in any case and to sovietize Northern Europe as soon as possible. It would be more than naive to expect any surprises in this respect. R. Z.

Soviet Oppression of the Uighurs in Turkestan

By Dr. Arin Engin

Vice President of the Turkish Revolutionary Hearts, Istanbul

Soviet terroristic imperialism is particularly active among the Turkish nation of Turkestan, most inhumanely and unscrupulously. Regardless of justice, a process of annihilation is being continuously carried out. For the present, let us deal with the Uighurs. The press of today has more to say about the Uighurs, a people representing the most easterly branch of the Turkic race. At the present time, the Uighurs form the predominant part of the population of Eastern Turkestan, i. e. of the Chinese province of Sinkiang, and a few Uighurs are settled in the basin of the Ili river where they are known as Taranchi.

It is well established that in the 9th century the Uighurs were driven by tribes of Kirghiz origin from the sources of the Yenisei river. Outside the U.S.S.R. they number several millions and even in Soviet Central Asia are widespread. They live in compact groups in the east of the Alma-Ata oblast and to a lesser extent in Andizhan, Fergana, and in parts of the Kirghiz republic. They live under conditions of barbaric terrorism of Red Russian imperialism.

A recent book written by M. Kabirov, dealing with their migration into Russia, has been violently criticized on the ground of its distortion of facts and of the incomplete consideration given by the author to the involved international situation of the sixties and seventies of the last century. He also failed to stress the "predatory policies" of the "British colonizers" of those days, and their designs for the conquest of Eastern Turkestan. At the same time, the author praised the national policies of the feudal khanates and amirates. The book was considered so weak ideologically that it had to be returned to the author for drastic revision in line with party politics. The department concerned with the Uighur-Dungan culture at the Kirghiz Academy was above all blamed for not taking the trouble to discuss the thesis before publication.

Language and Alphabet

From the linguistic and cultural points of view the Uighurs are closer to the Uzbeks than to any other ethnic group in Central Asia, though in their language there are fewer Persian and Arabic elements. They are Sunni Muslims.

The ancient Uighur script is supposed to be derived either from Aramaic or from the script used in Sogdiana, the ancient province corresponding to the modern districts of Samarkand and Bukhara. It is said to have been used as the court script of the Golden Horde (Hazar Turks north of the Black Sea) from the 13th to the 15th century and to have survived to some extent until the 17th or 18th centuries. With the spread of Islam, the original Uighur script was supplanted by the alphabet of the Koran. Modern Uighur, within the U.S.S.R., is represented by two basic dialects: the Ili dialect used in Kazakhstan and the Kashgar-Yarkend dialect spoken in Uzbekistan.

Lately much attention has been paid to Uighur linguistics and to the general level of education among Uighurs in rural districts. Five years ago a department of Uighur-Dungan culture at the Academy of Sciences of the Kazak S.S.R. was formed, where much study has been done in the field of linguistics. New text-books for elementary and secondary schools for the study of the Uighur language and literature have been produced, and various schools for Uighurs exist in Kazakhstan. The U.S.S.R. always lays particular emphasis on the differences of dialect in order to destroy the unity of the Turks in Turkestan. Young Uighur scientists, in spite of Soviet oppression, are stated to be working on a number of problems in connection with the history, language and literature of their country.

In 1947, a decree issued by the Presidium of the Soviet of the Kazak Republic marked a major departure from past practice: the Uighur alphabet was to be no longer based on Latin but on Russian characters, in response, it was claimed to the demand of a large number of Uighur kolkhoz workers, industrial labourers, and local intelligentsia. This is also due to the policy of creating a wide

cultural gap between the Uighurs and the Turks of Turkey who have been using an alphabet similar to the previous Uighur alphabet since the linguistic reforms of Ataturk. This new Uighur alphabet was to be composed of 41 characters, 33 taken from Russian and 8 devised to represent sounds peculiar to Uighur phonetics. The change-over was to take place progressively in the schools; in the case of primary schools and the lower forms of the secondary schools by 1947, but not till 1948 in the seven-year primary and the middle schools. The native press was to adopt the new alphabet in 1947.

School for Uighurs

Much attention is now being paid to the Russification of Uighur schools. In the Alma-Ata oblast, the number of schools is increasing rapidly, though as yet not enough attention is given to instruction in the senior forms. In five Alma-Ata raions Uighur children are taught in their own language at the Uighur primary schools and very exceptionally up to the seventh form. In most cases, after completing their fourth form, Uighur children are transferred to Russian schools. In the so-called Uighurski raion, however, there are Uighur seven-year schools, but not a single ten-year one. There is not a single Teachers' Institute which qualifies instructors to teach children of the fifth to seventh classes in Uighur schools, and the only available instruction for teachers of primary schools is at the Panfilov and Turgen Teachers' Institutes. Thus, it seems, that the whole problem of teaching Uighur children in senior classes in their own language is still awaiting solution.

Other reports stress the lack of text-books in the Kazak schools open to Uighurs, though large numbers of Uighur children attend these schools. The middle schools do not always teach European languages, and graduates from the Selo Dubun and

other schools have been known to reach their eighth form without knowing even the rudiments of any foreign language.

Up till now, in fact, the schools in the Uighur raion have been intentionally badly neglected.

Higher Education

In contrast with this rather gloomy picture of the school situation, there are glowing reports of the Uighur youth freely mixing at Alma-Ata with Kazaks, Uzbeks, and Russians, both in and out of class. At the Kazak State University more than twenty Uighurs are studying journalism, biology and chemistry, while others are attending the mining, medical and veterinary institutes. Still others are to be found in the VUZ (High Schools) of Moscow, Leningrad, Tashkent, and Frunze, and there are even ten post-graduate students. A woman Uighur student recently delivered a thesis on the "Public and Family Life of Uighur Women in Kazakhstan", which is the second ethnographic work on the Uighurs to appear. Her opponent was the celebrated Professor A. Bernstam, at one time a deviationist.

It therefore seems that, given the necessary educational facilities, Uighur students are able to hold their own in competition with students of Russian nationality. These Turks are highly nationalistic, but ruthless Russian-Bolshevik imperialism always tries to suppress them in every respect, most inhumanly.

All these non-Russian peoples under Russian imperialism look to the West, not for the abominable co-existence policy, but for moral and material support for their liberation from an enslavement which human history has never seen before. This is the only policy to be conducted by the unselfish human civilization, of which the Western World so profoundly and honestly boasts.

Changes in Captive Lithuania

By J. A. Gytis

On the eve of the 20th Communist Party Congress in Moscow, the Kremlin bosses changed the Lithuanian puppet-governor. For some time, Mr. M. Gedvilas had been the "Prime Minister" of Lithuania which has been forcibly bolshevized. At the beginning of this year, however, Moscow appointed Mr. M. Sumauskas as the marionette Prime Minister. Is this a new policy? It is perfectly evident that Moscow hates the intellectual circles, whether they are Lithuanian or Russian, Communist or non-Communists. Mr. Gedvilas was an intellectual, since he was by profession a high-school teacher. He was a socialist, but, maybe, not a trustworthy Communist. Mr. M. Sumauskas is self-taught and, by profession, a worker in the printing trade, but he is a trustworthy, old Communist and definitely pro-Russian.

There is also another reason for the replacement of Mr. Gedvilas by Mr. Sumauskas. The Russian imperialists are aiming to russify the captive nations. And Mr. Sumauskas is a new agent of the russification process in Lithuania. Incidentally, the Lithuanian Communist Party did not appoint Mr. M. Gedvilas as a member of the Lithuanian Communist Party Bureau. Mr. Sarkow, a Russian, was appointed instead. The new secretaries of the Party Bureau are both Russians, — Sarkow and Afonin. The most important positions in agriculture, commerce, finance, industry, and planning, in Lithuania are held by Russians, by men such as Kolesnikov, Jekaterincew, and Korotkov.

What are all these Russians doing in Lithuania? Russification, espionage, speculating, drinking, and stealing are the order of the day as far as they are concerned. About one-fourth of the present population of Wilno, the capital of Lithuania, are Russians. Lithuanian families or single persons find it practically impossible to get accommodation there,

for the Russians carry on speculations with apartments. The Lithuanian Communist press frequently reports incidents of hooliganism and theft which occur regularly in Wilno and in the other districts under Russian administration.

The dissatisfaction with Russian rule in Lithuania is very obvious. The Lithuanian Communist Party numbers 38,087 members, the majority of whom are Russians. There is not one member of the Communist Party in the 542 kolchoses. In Lithuania only 1.2 % of the population are Communists, which is four times less than in Russia. And these Communists are not sincere, since they have been forcibly driven into the Party.

The Lithuanian press agency INA reports that dissatisfaction with Russian rule in Lithuania has incited Lithuanian partisans to action. This statement is not very clear, it is true, but it certainly is very clear that the economic situation in Lithuania at present is extremely serious. Even the Communists of the Kremlin admit that there is a shortage of bread, meat, and sugar in Lithuania. Many people are dying of starvation, and many are suffering from tuberculosis. They have no food and no medicaments, and are appealing to the Lithuanians in exile for help.

Lithuania, the land of agriculture, which prior to World War II, exported large quantities of food to England and the U.S.A., is now starving for want of food. And the reason for this is that the Russian Communists want to exterminate the captive nations, physically, since they want the empty land for colonization purposes.

The Communist press attacks the "bourgeois nationalism" of the Lithuanians. It likewise attacks the youth of Lithuania because it does not read Russian literature, but the works of Victor Hugo,

To the British People!

**Britons, tell Russians to quit the Captive Countries! No Agreement with Moscow—Until Enslaved Nations are free!
Ukraine Struggles for Freedom—Support her Noble Cause!**

A strong underground movement is in existence in Ukraine striving to liberate Ukraine and to achieve national independence. The movement is a natural ally of the West in resisting Moscow's aggression. BUT DOES THE WEST SUPPORT IT? Unfortunately, NO! The leaders of the West do not even inform their peoples about it, and the press prefers to write about domestic scandals, crimes, and silly jokes by Malenkov. Must we accuse the Western press of concealing facts about the plight of the captive peoples and their desire for national freedom? In particular we are thinking of Ukraine, Byelorussia,

of the Ukrainian Churches before and after the last war? Almost certainly you have not heard of the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which fought under the famous leader General Taras Chuprynka against both German and Russian occupiers during the war. And the fight went on after the war and still continues. General Chuprynka was himself killed in action against Russian security police troops in 1950.

But you may have heard of the strikes in Soviet concentration camps. In fact most of

stance would weaken seriously, you would lose your confidence and become embittered.

If you believe in justice, truth and freedom, if you want to help a neighbour in distress, then remember those who struggle behind the Iron Curtain. They are also struggling for you, to keep the power of Russia from your country.

You can help Ukraine and these other countries by explaining to your friends that the U.S.S.R. is a colonial empire, a prison of peoples, painted over in a protective Communist colour. In that huge empire the Rus-



Ukrainian Demonstration in London against Khrushchev and Bulganin (see page 14)

sia, the nations of the Caucasus, Turkestan, and other countries now within the U.S.S.R.

Take Ukraine as an example. Perhaps you have not even heard of the country, and did you know that she is fighting for independence? Do you know about the shooting of nine thousand Ukrainians at Vinnytsia at the beginning of Khrushchev's reign in Ukraine in 1957-58? And about the total liquidation

Jules Romain, Dickens, Shakespeare, and other Western and also Lithuanian writers.

Both before and after the Communist Party Congress in Moscow, the Kremlin bosses have endeavoured to prove that Lithuania is attaining her liberty through the Kremlin. Press bulletins in Italy stated that the Catholic Church in Wilno was allowed to celebrate Christmas perfectly freely. This, incidentally, was a Communist trick to lure the Lithuanian refugees, with such persuasive propaganda as: look, such is liberty in occupied Lithuania. Please return home! But we know only too well that, as in Russia, in occupied Lithuania, too, only names and phrases change, but not Party dictatorship. Slavery, demoralization, economic exploitation, russification, colonization, and annihilation continue to progress at full speed.

To the Lithuanians, neither Stalin nor Khrushchev, neither Lenin nor Bulganin, is the symbol of humanity. On the contrary, they are the symbols of slavery, murder, and despotism.

Lithuania of today is forced to endure political, economic, national, religious, and individual captivity. And all the Lithuanians, wherever they may be, are fighting for the freedom and independence of their own state and for the freedom of all the other captive nations.

them were organized by members of the Ukrainian resistance. The wagonloads of new deportees arriving in Siberia always contain some men and women accused of co-operation with the Ukrainian underground and it is the same with other enslaved countries — resistance and terror for millions of people who differ in language, race, culture, religion, and tradition from each other and from Russia.

Ukraine fought for three years against Communist Russia after the revolution in 1917. WITHOUT ANY SUPPORT FROM THE WEST. After the Second World War, again struggle for freedom, again no support from the West, who passed over the inhumanly difficult fight in silence in order to avoid antagonizing 'good old Joe Stalin', the vilest murderer the world has ever seen, although it must be said that those who stepped into his shoes do not lag far behind in infamy.

For those who think the regime has changed since Stalin's death, let the following fact speak for itself. As recently as 1953, according to the reports of the returning prisoners, 500 Ukrainian women strikers in the Karaganda forced labour camp were crushed to death by the Russian tanks sent to break the strike.

And now the West, with Britain in the lead, invites two representatives of the evil Russian Communist tyranny to friendly talks. What do you imagine would be your thoughts if you were behind the Iron Curtain and you heard about 'cordial' talks between your tyrants and the leaders of the democratic countries you were counting on for help? Your heart would falter, your will to resi-

sians, although slaves themselves to their rulers, play the role of an "elder brother", bullying all those other nationalities which make up about one half of the total population of the U.S.S.R.

Tell the Russian Communist bosses what you think of them, tell them they have gone far enough along the path of crime.

TELL THEM TO DISBAND CONCENTRATION CAMPS

TELL THEM TO RELEASE POLITICAL PRISONERS

TELL THEM TO RETURN ALL DEPORTEES IN SIBERIA

TELL THEM TO INTRODUCE FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND ASSEMBLY, NOW

TELL THEM TO STOP PERSECUTING RELIGIOUS LEADERS

TELL THEM TO FREE ALL COUNTRIES HELD IN SLAVERY

Down with Muscovite terrorism!

Down with the "Big Brother"!

Freedom to all nations enslaved by Moscow!

A just peace can only be achieved through the freedom of nations and of the individual.

Ukraine must be free!

Ukraine will be free!

The sooner this happens the better it will be for the world as a whole. **IN SUPPORTING UKRAINE'S FIGHT FOR INDEPENDENCE YOU FIGHT FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF BRITAIN.**

Ukrainian Committee in Great Britain,
49, Linden Gardens, London, W 2.

Major Mustafa Wali-Ajtugan

The Liquidation of the National Units of the Red Army

In October 1917, the Communists in Petrograd assumed absolute power. In order to consolidate this power they allowed the non-Russian nations a certain amount of autonomy, and in order to fight the remnants of monarchism and "local nationalism" they set up national military units and authorities. Although the administrative partition of the Soviet Union to all appearances assumed the aspect of autonomous or even theoretically independent republics, in the military sphere no autonomy of the national units was permitted. The entire territory of the Soviet Union was divided up into military regions which, not only in practice but also officially, were placed under the administration of Moscow.

The following national military units existed in the territory of the Soviet Union:

In Ukraine, the "School for Red Officers" in Kharkov; an infantry, an artillery, and a liaison school in Kyiv; an infantry school in Odessa and various other schools. Several Ukrainian national divisions were formed and these were stationed in various Ukrainian towns.

In the Idel-Ural territory there were the following national units: the "Tatar-Bashkir School" in Kazan; the "First Tatar Division" in Kazan; the "Fourth Bashkir Division" in Ufa; the "Mordov Division" in Saransk, and various special battalions and companies in the national regions.

On the Crimean Peninsula there was the "Third Crimean-Tatar-Division".

In Turkestan there were the following: the "Central Asiatic Military School" in Tashkent; the "Uzbek Infantry Division" in Tashkent; the "Turkmenistan Cavalry Division" in Ashkhabad; the "Kirghiz Cavalry Regiment" in Frunze, and the "Tadchikiz Mountain Rifles Division" in Stalinabad.

In Caucasia: the "Azerbaijani Infantry School" in Baku; the "Georgian Military School" in Tiflis; the "Azerbaijani Infantry Division" in Gandhi; the "Georgian Mountain Rifles Division" in Ahalzich, and the "Armenian Mountain Rifles Division" in Erivan.

In North Caucasia there were several national regiments, as for instance a regiment of Chetchens, a regiment of Karatchajevs, and various others.

In Byelorussia there were the "Minsk Infantry School" and several divisions stationed in Minsk, Bohrujsk, and various other towns.

Regiments and battalions were also formed in various other republics.

Altogether about 55 to 60 national units were formed. In order to oblige Germany (in the 1920's), German national regiments were also formed in the Soviet Union, their members being German colonists there. One of these regiments was stationed in Kyiv. The national units were all formed in their own national territory, and in the event of a war each military unit was to treble its strength; a regiment, for example, would in such a case become a division, and a division would become an army corps. All these military units were to draw their reserves from the native population, and for this reason they were called "territorial" units. Needless to say, this state of affairs was always a source of worry to Moscow.

The military statutes were translated into the various national languages. Training was likewise conducted in the language of the nation concerned, and orders were also given in this language. This fact not only led to the development of a national military terminology, but also fostered the national spirit of the army. National pride increased and resulted in the Russian language and also the Russians themselves being completely ignored.

The existence of these national military units helped to intensify the national feeling of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union and encouraged their aims to attain self-determination and detach themselves from the U.S.S.R.

The following incident will serve as an example of the attitude of the national military units. In the year 1931, a revolt against the introduction of the collective system of farming broke out in the village of Chuvach-Kupri and soon spread throughout the entire district. A battalion of the Tatar-Bashkir School and a regiment of the First Tatar Division were sent to suppress the revolt, but they

refused to fire at the insurgents as they were fellow-countrymen. After this incident these national units were replaced by an OGPU regiment, which in strength equalled an army division. This regiment, which consisted solely of Russians, was stationed near Kazan. It suppressed the revolt of the Turkic-Tatars.

OGPU units, which consisted solely of Russians, were now set up in the capital of each republic, where they acted as a security service.

To mention another instance, — in the year 1929 a revolt broke out in nine districts of Transcaucasia, but the main centre of the revolt was the town of Nudha. The Azerbaijani Division stationed in Gandhi was sent to suppress the revolt, but it proved quite incapable of doing so. Instead of firing at the insurgents many of the soldiers of the Azerbaijani Division went over to their side. Moscow was thus obliged to send a second division,

"A Study of the Communist 'Peaceful Co-Existence' Conspiracy"

Published by the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, China Chapter, 1955

Perhaps the most intriguing trick ever devised by the Communists is their terminology applied to cover up their conspiracy with the most high-sounding words. Just as they claim that they enjoy "the unanimous support of the people" where the term "people" only represents a minority composed of no other elements than themselves, they are now using the slogan "peaceful co-existence" in a great noise of hallyhoo to lure the Free World into passiveness.

"Peaceful Co-Existence", in the proper sense of the term, should be the goal of all human endeavours in realizing the ideal of "One-World", where all peoples, disregarding their differences in race, religion, ideology, etc., live together and co-operate with one another in peace and prosperity. Yet the basic theory of Marxism advocates eternal war and struggles in human society, in sheer negation of peace; and the past records of the Communists have already shown quite clearly that they are nothing but cores of a monolithic hegemony both in action and in principle, permitting no possibility of co-existence with others. A mere glance at their basic theories and past records is enough to convince us that these followers of Karl Marx are in fact the very enemies of genuine peaceful co-existence.

The Treatise "A Study of the Communist 'Peaceful Co-Existence' Conspiracy" published by APAACL, China Chapter, has pulled down the treacherous mask worn by the Communists and has revealed to the world the true nature of this Communist conspiracy. At its very beginning it points out that "Peaceful Co-Existence" as played up by the Moscow propagandists is nothing new. * * * (It would inevitably mean 'conquest by force' or 'surrender in instalments' to Moscow's own connotations and reasonings.)

But the irony is that, despite the fact that the inalterable Soviet basic policy for world conquest is universally known through past lessons, there are still to-day numerous responsible men in the free countries who seem to have been taken in by the sweet cooing of the Communists and tend somewhat to dance to the bewitched music of the conspiracy of "Peaceful Co-Existence." Examined by clear thinking these responsible persons are in fact thwarting the very purpose which they claim they are working for. It is a matter of certainty that, with the success of this conspiracy resulting in the appeasement or softening of the Free World, the Communists will be tempted all the more to embark upon further adventures in their aggressive designs, which will inevitably bring the danger of a total war much nearer. In this, the world can draw ready inference from the consequence of Hitler's adventures after the Munich appeasement.

It is to-day of real urgency and paramount importance in the interest of peace for us to wake up those who are falling to the bait of the Communists, in being lured into illusion. This urgent

the Stjopin Division, which had been set up in the Krasnopresnenskij district of Moscow, to the scene of the revolt. (This division took part in the suppression of the biggest revolt in Georgia during the Soviet regime, in 1924.) During the suppression of the revolt it was discovered that the rifles captured from the insurgents were rifles which had been manufactured that same year by the Soviet rifle factory in Ichevsk. It later transpired that the ammunition depots of the national Azerbaijani Division had supplied the insurgents with these rifles.

When Moscow realized, as a result of incidents such as the above-mentioned, that the national units of the Red Army were disloyal, it set about liquidating them. Those members of the national units who were most nationally-minded were shot, others were exiled, and the rest were assigned, in small groups, to various military units throughout the entire territory of the Soviet Union.

Thus Moscow did away with the "territorial system" in the organization of the military forces of the Soviet Union, since the nationally-minded members of the territorial units and their desire for national independence were too much of a menace to Moscow.

call has indeed been answered remarkably well by this Treatise which presents in its eight subtle chapters a clear picture of the real state of things behind this Soviet conspiracy. These chapters are, namely, I. "Moscow's Propaganda Build-up", II. "Principles of the 'Peaceful Co-Existence' Conspiracy", III. "Conspiracy Implementation of Russia's 'Peaceful Co-Existence'", IV. "What China Learned in 'Peaceful Co-Existence' with the Reds", V. "Russia's Current 'Peaceful Co-Existence' Intrigue", VI. "The British 'Peaceful Co-Existence' and Ike's 'Peaceful Co-Existence'", VII. "The Impossibility of 'Peaceful Co-Existence' and Its Damages", and VIII. "Peaceful Co-Existence' in Its True Sense".

As this Treatise points out on page 53, it is true that "The free world is faced with the same choice today: a choice between fake 'peaceful co-existence' and the real one; between 'one world' and Slavic empire; between positive action which will lead us to victory, and passiveness which will lead to defeat; and between current superiority and future inferiority." Let us hope that, in making this choice, the Free World will succeed in defeating this Communist "Peaceful Co-Existence" conspiracy by referring to the enlightened wisdom with which this Treatise is written.

(Reviewed by Chih-hwa Chen)

Strong Resistance Revealed in Ukraine

William Piddington, ex-British paratrooper who spent four years in a Russian slave camp, declared that there was an underground resistance movement in Ukraine nearly big enough to topple the Government.

He said that while he was in the slave camp in Siberia, serving a thirty-eight-year sentence for "espionage", he worked hand-in-hand with the Ukrainian resistance movement. Even in Siberia, Piddington said, it was strong enough to cause Russian authorities considerable trouble.

Since his release he has managed to maintain some contact with the group, he explained, and he is quite certain that the resistance movement is still going strong.

In Ukraine itself, he said, resistance organizations are so strong that they are able to maintain their own arms factories — and the country is constantly on the edge of chaos.

Piddington was passing through East Germany in 1950 on his way to visit a girl friend when he was arrested.

He had no permit to be in East Germany, and when he presented his British passport he was immediately charged with espionage.

Eventually, he was sentenced and taken to Siberia, where he remained until the Russians released him last July.

He has written a book, "Russian Frenzy".

Their Heroic Deed Throws Thermopylae Into The Shade

Five hundred Ukrainian women, banished to concentration camps, were crushed to death under M.V.D. tanks.

Hungarian ex-prisoner-of-war Dr. F. Warkoni brought back the following report from the Soviet concentration camps:

On June 26, 1954, five hundred Ukrainian women, interned in a Soviet concentration camp in Kingiri near Karaganda (Kazakstan), were crushed to death under Moscow's tanks. The internees in the camp had begun to revolt openly against Muscovite Bolshevik tyranny. The Bolshevik camp administration was powerless to quell the revolt and requested that tanks be sent as reinforcement to deal with the insurgents. When the Muscovite soldiers, armed to the teeth, approached the camp in their tanks, five hundred Ukrainian women, who were completely unarmed, blocked the road, in the hope that their heroic action would prevent the enemy from carrying out their plans and would thus save the lives of their fellow-internees. But their action was in vain, for the Russian tanks continued to advance. Linking arms, these five hundred Ukrainian heroines went to meet the tanks and, with their bodies, defended those who had defended and fought for the life of their nation, in the camps. The enemy refused to stop, and the tanks rolled over five hundred bodies. It was during this terrible moment, when the Ukrainian women were dying in agony, that the heroism of the Ukrainian nation reached the highest level ever known in its history. This deed surpasses the limits of time and space. News of it has now reached us through the impenetrable Iron Curtain and has stirred our inmost hearts. We regard this heroic deed as the most significant event in the U.S.S.R. during the past decades. The fight of the Ukrainian nation for freedom, a fight which is unparalleled in the history of the world, has begun. How can the West remain silent in view of such heroism which throws even Thermopylae into the shade!

Below is a detailed account of this event based on Dr. Fedor Warkoni's report.

A year before the great uprising, on May 16, 1953, the prisoners of the Kingiri camp were fired upon from automatic weapons without any cause, while they were returning from work. This wanton provocation was staged for the specific purpose of discovering among the prisoners such persons who belonged to the underground organization.

The following day, May 17, the prisoners refused to go to work and demanded that the guards guilty of the shooting, in which four persons lost their lives, be severely punished. The strike was not well prepared and it was broken in three days. The strike organizers and the more active strikers, 300 in number, were put under investigation arrest. In July of the same year, a woman was killed by shots from a watchtower, for allegedly entering the prohibited zone. The results were the same as those following the earlier killing of four prisoners.

On January 16, 1954, a male laboratory worker was killed in the DOK compound. The guards dragged the body of this prisoner into the forbidden zone so that it would appear that he was killed while trying to escape. When the prisoners found out about this, they stopped work in all sectors and the guards had to take them back to camp. This time the camp administration also had their way. An MVD detachment was called and it drove the prisoners to work. In this connection there was a new wave of arrests of hundreds of Ukrainians, Russians and Moslems.

On April 9, 1954, many prisoners were taken from the camp to a closed prison without any explanation. On April 16, a new transport of 600 prisoners, all classified as so-called "criminals", was brought in. This was an unheard-of event in the history of special camps. They were brought from Novosibirsk under disciplinary punishment. During the first days after the arrival of these prisoners, the political internees kept away from them, since they recalled only too well that in the post-war period the common criminals had been encouraged by the MGB to make trouble and to taunt the political prisoners among them. Undergoing a two-week quarantine, the "criminals" lived in separate barracks and did not go out to work. But one day, some of the common criminals who were confined to the camp prison dismantled a wall and went out into the prison yard and from there, over a fence into camp point 3 to join their colleagues. Within a few days they beat up several guards, including the warden of this compound, Captain Stadnikov. Neither the MGB, nor the operating group were able to do anything about this.

Following May Day celebrations, a delegation of the "criminals" came to us and proposed that we start an open war against the MVD. The delegates

said that First Lieutenant Byelayev, chief of the operating group, had tried to persuade them to take action against the political prisoners, because, as he said, there were many among them who belonged to an underground organization and they were preparing an attack against the "criminals". The chief of the operating group was supposed to have assured them that if they were unable to take care of the political prisoners, an MVD detachment would come to their aid.

After lengthy negotiations the "criminals" entered into an agreement with the political prisoners.

On May 16, 1954, at 8 P.M., the political prisoners of point 3, together with the "criminals" totalling 2,500 people, attacked the walls which separated the camp compound and, within about one hour all the prisoners of Kingiri, 4,500 men and 3,500 women were "united". At the same time, those under investigation arrest were set "free", about 300 people.

On May 17, soldiers of the MVD entered the camp at 3 A.M. and opening fire, killed 76 persons. Drunken soldiers broke into women's barracks and with shouts of "hurrah" stabbed the women with bayonets. After this bloodshed, the dead and wounded were loaded on trucks and taken away.

That night a camp committee was elected from among all the nationalities, headed by Kuznetsiv. Its purpose was to maintain order in the camp and to present a series of demands to the command of Kingiri.

These demands were:

1. We demand to see a representative of the (CP) Central Committee of Moscow.
2. Bring to justice chief of the operating group, Senior Lieutenant Byelayev, and all other officers and soldiers who took part in the mass killings of May 16th, and 17th, 1954.
3. Return the wounded and bodies of the dead to the camp.
4. Appoint a medical committee to examine the wounded, because many had been killed by exploding bullets.
5. The prisoners of Kingiri refuse to work until these demands are met.

The demands were signed on behalf of the camp committee by Kuznetsiv.

The answer came two days later. — Generals arrived from Moscow: deputy commander of GULAG (Glavnoye Upravleniye Lagerov — Chief Command of Camps — Ed.'s note.), General Bichkov, and deputy prosecutor-general, General Dolgikh.

The men and women called a meeting which resolved not to negotiate with the MVD chiefs, but

nevertheless to listen to what the Generals had to say.

At the camp meeting Kuznetsiv presented the following petition to the Generals:

1. We request to see representatives of the Party Central Committee in Moscow.
2. Punishment of officers and soldiers responsible for what happened on May 16th, and 17th.
3. Appoint a medical commission to perform autopsies of the dead.
4. We demand removal of numbers from clothing and bars from barracks windows.
5. We demand an 8-hour working day.
6. We demand wages in cash.
7. We demand credit of each day of imprisonment to count as equivalent of three days.
8. Release before expiration of term of all minors who had been arrested while not of mature age.
9. Release the sick and those suffering from incurable diseases.
10. Send aliens to their homelands.
11. Abolition of compulsory settlement after serving of sentence.
12. Review of all prisoners' cases.
13. Permission to write home once a month.
14. Permission to be visited by relatives.
15. Until the arrival of representatives of the Central Committee no prisoners to be removed from the camp.
16. The camp committee not to be held liable.

Generals Bichkov and Dolgikh heard the prisoners' demands and immediately made counter-proposals. They said that inasmuch as there is already a Government decree of April 24, 1954, "as of today, numbers are removed from prisoners' clothing, bars from barracks windows, an 8-hour day is introduced, one day of imprisonment is counted for three, after a court review all minors will be set free and invalids who served two-thirds of their sentence; by October 15th, all foreigners will be sent home; prisoners will be permitted to write and receive mail once a month, and to see relatives twice a year. Nobody will be removed from the camp, and the strike committee members will not be held responsible."

The Generals nevertheless asked the prisoners to return to work so that normal life could be restored in the camp, which would give an opportunity to the prosecutors and judges to fulfil their assignment.

It was announced that Lt. Byelayev, Timofiyev and a Lt.-Col. had been arrested.

At a meeting called after this, the prisoners, many of whom were not subject to a reduction of sentence, voted unanimously to return to work.

The next day only service personnel and "criminals" remained in the camp zone and all others went to work. Later the "criminals" were led in front of the guardhouse and then under heavy guard to the station, where so-called "Stolypin" railroad cars were awaiting them. These are special barred cars to transport prisoners, named in honor of the tsarist Minister, Stolypin.

This is how the red generals broke their word. A few hours later, officers and soldiers entered the empty camp, restored the wrecked fences between camp points and put up signs on the fences: "Do not come near or I shoot."

When the prisoners returned from work, an order was read to them in front of the guardhouse that machine-gunners, stationed on towers, would fire without warning if anyone came near the fence. In this way the administration wanted to prevent a repetition of the uprising. The MVDs thought that the political prisoners would be afraid to attack through the line of fire.

But to the administration's surprise, about one hour after this announcement, the sounds of a Ukrainian fighting song were heard from the women's compound: "Rank after rank, the partisans come marching...". People attacked from all sides, under fire of machine-guns. It was a terrible sight. Rockets lighted the camp, machine-gun fire sparkled from towers, walls were cracking. Soon the camp was again united.

The Byelorussian and other Soviet Republics in the Light of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party

By Prof. R. Ostrowski

President of the Byelorussian Central Council

The Soviet press is right in affirming that the 20th Congress of the Communist Party was a historic event, since it caused such disorder in the Soviet system that the Bolsheviks will have a hard task to set things right again.

The Communist leaders, in dethroning the "unmistakably" almost "holy" Stalin, have, however, overlooked the fact that it will be difficult for them to continue "Stalinism" as a system which is necessary to them in future. No doubt this move was dictated by the state of deadlock to which the Communist leaders, together with Stalin, have reduced the Soviet Union.

To save their face (as this is their main object), the "collective" leaders must now detach themselves not only from Stalin, but also from Lenin and Marx, and endeavour to rehabilitate themselves in the eyes of the people before it is too late. This advice may sound paradoxical, since the West regards the present Bolshevik moves as positive and longs to see a change for the better in Khrushchev and Bulganin, who, it is hoped, will proclaim the famous "peaceful coexistence", so ardently desired by Western capitulationists.

But this advice is not given from the point of view of the psychology of the West, which is at present undergoing a grave ideological crisis, but solely and exclusively from the standpoint of the potential of the Soviet-ruled peoples, — of this artificial conglomeration of various races and peoples subjugated by Muscovite imperialism.

A detailed analysis of the situation in the Soviet Union would fully corroborate this assertion, but even a superficial survey of the economy of one of the sixteen Soviet Republics will suffice to convince us of the economic crisis which has prompted the "collective" leaders to cut down the branch on which they sat, together with Stalin, for 40 years.

In this connection let us consider the economy of the Byelorussian Soviet Republic, for example, which in no way differs from the other Soviet Republics. The Secretary of the Byelorussian Communist Party, Mr. Patalitchay, was obliged to admit in his speech, delivered in Minsk, the capital of Byelorussia, on March 15, 1956, on the results

The prisoners' joy did not last long, however. An MGB detachment entered the camp and repeated what happened on May 16th and 17th. More than a hundred women and men fell that night, but the rest did not surrender.

On the morning of May 20th, the strike committee presented a petition to the administration that the military be ordered to leave the camp. The demand was complied with at 3 P.M., after dinner. But the MVDs, leaving the camp, took the dead and wounded with them.

Negotiations began, which went on for forty days, until June 26th. During this entire time the prisoners' demands were announced over loudspeakers. The Ukrainian women distributed thousands of leaflets throughout the camp, they made "grenades" from bottles filled with lime and chemicals taken from the dispensary, they built barricades and tended the wounded. In the meantime men forged "cold arms" from scrap metal and window bars and waited for orders.

On June 18th, a short-wave transmitter was in operation, constructed by the prisoners from parts of electrical and surgical tools. We found out later that our broadcasts were picked up in Alma-Ata and Karaganda.

Meanwhile thousands of troops drawn from various towns were encircling the camp, and planes of the MVD flew over our heads several times each day.

All the time, day and night, prisoners stood on guard, men and women taking turns.

On June 24th, General Bichkov gave the prisoners an ultimatum to surrender and leave the camp. He got a reply: "We shall not take one step to leave the camp until representatives of the Party Central Committee come."

At 3 o'clock in the morning of June 26th, seven T-37 tanks suddenly broke into the camp. Women

of the 20th Congress, that the "achievement of the Five Year Plan will be determined by the diligence and heroic work of the Soviet people". ("Svezda", No. 65, March 17, 1956.) It is thus obvious that Moscow demands diligence and heroic work of the Byelorussian people in order to fulfil the task which, in keeping with the plans of the 20th Congress, are considerably greater than those laid down in past Five Year plans.

By means of this planning, Moscow aims (and here again in the Stalinist way) to "catch up to and overtake the leading industrial capitalist countries". But this is a yet only wishful thinking, and results will depend on actual facts and achievements. Although Mr. Patalitchay refers to Soviet statistics in the usual manner and carefully avoids quoting concrete data, one figure was revealed probably against his intention. This was the milk production figure in the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1956, which amounted to 450,000 tons. Perhaps this figure appeared to Mr. Patalitchay to be enormously high. As there are 12,000,000 people living in the B.S.S.R., however, this figure means that not more than 100 grammes (less than half a cup) fall to one person per day. Incidentally, Mr. Patalitchay made no reference to the figures for meat, bread, sugar, and other consumer goods, and confined his statements to the consumption percentages of individual districts.

It is thus obvious that there is a serious crisis in this sector and that the Soviet-ruled peoples have neither sufficient bread, milk, meat, nor clothing and footwear. Indeed, this is a case of systematic underfeeding, in fact, starvation. And this applies not only to Byelorussia, but also to the whole of the Soviet Union.

It is hardly likely, in view of such conditions, that the results of the 20th Congress planning will be "speedy" and "effective". The Communists exhort the people to devote themselves to work, but what do they promise them? Nothing! They even deprive these wretched, half-starved people of the little they have.

According to the decision reached by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, which was

and men poured into the yard facing them. Soldiers appeared from behind the walls. Sixteen hundred soldiers, armed with automatic weapons, rifles and machine-guns went into action on Bichkov's orders. Bottles and rocks went flying. The tanks approached the prisoners at full speed. Then the Ukrainian women, wearing embroidered blouses, which they probably wore to church at home, joined hands, and holding their heads high, marched against the tanks. We all thought that the tanks would stop before the ranks of these defenseless women. But no, they accelerated their mad rush and clashed their steel against the live hodies, carrying out Moscow's order. We did not hear any shouts, all we heard was the horrible sound of crushed bodies and cracking bones. Meanwhile the soldiers deployed among the barracks, shooting and killing anyone they came across. They bloody massacre lasted from 3 to 8.30 A.M.

At 9 A.M. all who were still alive were driven out of the camp and "sorting out" began immediately. 1,600 men were taken to the station with Kolyma as their destination. That night more than 500 women and men had been killed. The bloodstains of these unfortunate victims of communism could be seen on the ground and on the walls for several months.

Over 600 Ukrainian women refused to return and they were also taken to Kolyma, to the death camps.

All the members of the strike committee had to face charges and their fate remains unknown.

In spite of all this, the Kingir uprising was not without results. After the blood bath in which hundreds of courageous people lost their lives, the terror of the MGB in the camp subsided somewhat, and there was some improvement in working conditions and in food rations.

published in the "Svezda", No. 59, of March 10, 1956, even the village small holdings are to be confiscated. By this measure the Bolsheviks are hoping to make up for the shortage of arable land, which they had hoped to cover by the cultivation of virgin soil in new regions, and are endeavouring to force the farmers to work exclusively in the koldhoses, under the supervision of propagandists and M.V.D. units.

This is a very dangerous and risky step. It is obvious that the million-strong M.V.D. army will, for some time, by armed force be able to continue to compel the people to keep silent, but it will be a very dangerous silence, which under favourable conditions will turn to national wrath from which the M.V.D. will be unable to escape.

The first indications of this national wrath were the riots which occurred in the street of Tiflis, where the people demonstrated their true feelings by tearing portraits of Bulganin and Khrushchev to pieces. Similar demonstrations have taken place in Armenia and Azerbaijan, a fact which speaks for itself, inasmuch as it proves that forty years of terrorism under the Kremlin tyrants have failed to suppress human thought and feeling and the eternal urge for freedom. And it is precisely this factor which is the source of the potential strength of the subjugated nations and leads us to hope for liberation from the Muscovite Communist yoke.

After World War I the insurgents in Byelorussia continued to be an active force until 1929, and since World War II up to the present time there has constantly been partisan activity. We are convinced that, while toasts are proposed in the West in honour of those who are tyrannizing millions of innocent persons, the Byelorussian partisans, after the "atomic bomb" dropped by the 20th Congress of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, are engaged in forging the swords with which to fight these same tyrants.

Wayward Youth

"The most precious thing that man possesses is life. It is only granted to him once and he should therefore spend it wisely, so that he will not have to regret wasted years". These words, by a Russian writer, are at present extremely popular among the Soviet youth. The young people of the Soviet Union are well aware of the mendacity of the Soviet regime; they are tired of the fine phrases of Bolshevism, and they are turning away from the Soviet System en masse, so that they "will not have to regret wasted years". This fact is so alarming that the entire Soviet press has felt it to be its duty to utter some words of warning.

One of the chief phenomena in the life of modern Soviet youth is its mass-inclination to favour a "petty bourgeois" mode of living, to use the Bolshevik terminology. The paper "Sowjetskaja Kultura" in its edition of January 18, 1955, deals with the problem of the so-called "Stiljagi". The name is derived from the word "style", and is used to designate a young person who tries — often very clumsily — to imitate the people of the West in his mode of living. One cannot imagine anything more objectionable, writes the "Sowjetskaja Kultura", than the life of the young persons who are designated as "Stiljagi". You can recognize them at once by the special "style" they adopt in conversation, by their behaviour, by their peculiar dress and their defiant look. If you meet a "Stiljaga", he promptly adjusts his tie with an elegant gesture, and in doing so displays his strange ring, apparently unintentionally. In order to impress you even more, he then takes a cigarette-case of foreign make out of his pocket, and lights a cigarette, inclining his head with its long hair well pomaded with brilliantine. These "Stiljagi" dress according to "foreign" pattern; they wear narrow trousers and long jackets. The "Stiljagi-girls" try to copy foreign film-stars in all that they do and wear.

According to the "Sowjetskaja Kultura", the interests of these young persons are confined to modern dances, "boogie-woogie", night-clubs, drinking, trashy literature, sentimental songs, and Western films, which strange to say manage to get into the Soviet Union somehow or other. The strangest and worst of it all is, so the "Sowjetskaja Kultura" complains, that the young people of the working class are adopting this Bohemian way of living en

Ukrainians and Slovaks "Welcome" B. and K.

When the Russian bosses, Khrushchev and Bulganin, arrived at Victoria Station in London on April 18, and were officially welcomed by their British hosts, another "welcome" was prepared for them by the exiled Ukrainians in Britain. Outside the station, in the midst of the tensely waiting crowd, there suddenly appeared placards with slogans in English and Russian, demanding freedom for Ukraine, the release of political prisoners by Moscow and of religious leaders, as well as the dissolution of the Siberian slave camps.

There are 30 thousand Ukrainian refugees from Bolshevik tyranny living in the United Kingdom at present. So when the spokesmen of the Soviet regime which has caused the entire Ukrainian nation immeasurable suffering, death, starvation and oppression arrived in this country with the clear intention of securing Britain's tacit connivance to the continuation of their rule over the millions of enslaved people, Ukrainians who had been forced to leave their homes and their families could not restrain their bitter feelings completely. Without intending in the slightest to embarrass the British government, the responsible Ukrainians in Britain felt that it was their duty to protest against the injustice done to their nation.

A few weeks before the visit of the Soviet dictators, a Ukrainian Committee was formed in London, representing all major Ukrainian organizations and groupings. It set itself the task of co-ordinating and directing into a dignified and impressive way of expression the spontaneous movement of protest against the continued enslavement of Ukraine by Russia. One of the most important tasks of the Committee was to prepare a Memorandum to the Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, as well as a leaflet addressed to the British People, and to sponsor protest meetings.

The Memorandum which summed up the Bolshevik policy of oppression in Ukraine and gave a brief survey of the unrelenting struggle of Ukraine for national freedom, warned Britain against concluding any unjust agreements with Moscow which might prejudice any chances for the liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain. The Memorandum was subsequently published and copies were sent to all Members of Parliament as well as to other prominent people. At the same time, about a quarter million leaflets calling on the British People to demand from the Russians the release of Ukraine and other captive countries, the freeing of political prisoners etc., were distributed

in the streets of British towns. It ought to be mentioned that a similar leaflet campaign was carried out in the first half of January 1956, soon after B. and K.'s notorious visit to India. At that time the leaflet candidly put the question, "What About Russian Colonialism?" and sought to expose the crude hypocrisy of Moscow in its relations towards the subject peoples.

On a beautiful Sunday afternoon, on April 22, an unusual meeting took place in Hyde Park. About 2000 Ukrainians and their British friends, also joined by a group of Slovaks, gathered there to hear speeches denouncing the criminal conduct of Russian rulers in the enslaved countries, and particularly in Ukraine. Later a mile-long procession carrying numerous banners with "Freedom" slogans marched solemnly and silently through the centre of London by way of Oxford Street towards the Cenotaph, where a wreath was laid in memory of the Defenders of Freedom. A young Slovak girl laid a bouquet of flowers. This protest march was the most impressive and moving event of the week.

Similar protest meetings and marches were held in Leicester, Coventry, Bradford, Nottingham, Manchester, and other places. Everywhere Ukrainians unanimously expressed their sorrow at the fact that hardened criminals were being received as guests of the British government. They also appealed to British and world public opinion to bring moral pressure to bear on the Soviet leaders to restore freedom to Ukraine. This was also the time of mourning for all the countless victims of the Communist Russian oppression. April 18 was the day of fasting for all Ukrainians, black sashes were worn, and Ukrainian blue and gold flags hung at half-mast as a sign of mourning from the windows of Ukrainian homes.

When the Soviet chiefs visited Birmingham on Monday, 23rd April, they came across a Ukrainian group holding placards with slogans demanding the freeing of Ukrainian bishops from prisons, and the restoration of liberty to Ukraine. Angered at this, Khrushchev made a notorious speech threatening the Western world with hydrogen bombs.

The British on the whole gave a correct report of the Ukrainian protest actions. In addition to short notices, photographs were published in some popular daily newspapers. On the eve of the arrival of B. and K., the Independent Television broadcast an interview with three Ukrainians who explained the Ukrainian attitude to the Russian

masse, and what is even stranger is that the Komsomol Organization (the Communist Youth Movement) approves of all this.

Not only in this sphere, however, is there an indication that the youth of the Soviet Union is turning its back on the mode of living which the Bolshevik regime is trying to force on it. The Soviet Press reproaches the young people of the Soviet Union with being indifferent to the Communist ideology, and says that they take their time about carrying out the orders and instructions of the Party, are not in the least interested in settling in new territory (despite the artificially aroused enthusiasm), and are giving up their work in the kolchozes, etc. According to the "Komsomolskaja Pravda", there are more than 200 girls and boys, between the ages of 17 and 25, in a kolchos near Alma-Ata, and 170 of them take no part at all in the work in the kolchos, but are either idle or else they try to get work in the neighbouring town.

But there are even more menacing phenomena in the way of living of the Soviet youth of today. These phenomena are the direct result of the negative influence of the entire Soviet system, and include an increased addiction to drink and an inclination to behave in a disorderly manner. In the court files on the case of the murder of Turnov, a schoolboy, things are explained most simply, — says the "Komsomolskaja Pravda" of January 23, 1955. At a dance one schoolboy trod on another schoolboy's foot. Thereupon the "one who had been insulted" hit the other boy in the face, and then they proceeded to the nearest dark alley and started fighting with knives. Jurij Turnov was killed and Stanislav Sapov was seriously injured. Such cases must be a mass-phenomenon, to judge from the attention which the Soviet press devotes to this problem.

The "Komsomolskaja Pravda" goes on to say that young people loiter about in the streets of the towns, in large groups, swearing at and insulting other pedestrians. The paper "Molodoj Kommunist", in its first edition this year, affirms that it is not safe to walk through the streets of Tiflis, for instance, because of the constant brawls and the disorderly behaviour of the young people. The extent of this rowdiness can be judged from the fact that the militia has now formed special auxiliary groups of the komsomol organizations, in order to cope with it. But there are very few persons who are willing to join these groups.

The Soviet press tries to blame wrong training at home and at school for the ever-increasing demoralization of Soviet youth. In doing so, the Bolsheviks, however, overlook the fact that they themselves are most to blame for having destroyed healthy family life and the influence of parents on their children. The monument to Morosov, the boy who denounced his parents, is probably still standing in Moscow! Soviet propaganda ridiculed the conception of the family and described it as a "bourgeois prejudice". The Bolsheviks sought to substitute a new "Communist" idea for the family idea, but their idea has proved a miserable failure. It is hardly surprising that boys brutally stab each other with knives, for they know only too well that life has no value in the Soviet Union. Nor is it surprising that they engage in brawls, for the entire Soviet system is based on violence and atrocities. And why should the youth of the Soviet Union not be addicted to drink, since, as the saying goes, everybody and everything drinks in the Soviet Union except the telegraph-poles! Moral principles and training must always be based on sound and just principles and not on injustice and violence.

M. S.

rulers. The visit of Khrushchev, the "hangman of Ukraine", as he became known in Britain, as well as his henchman, Bulganin, provided ample opportunity for confronting the British public opinion with the facts of the inhumanity of the Bolshevik system and informing them about the struggle of Ukraine for national freedom. The Ukrainians in Britain tried to make the most of this opportunity, and it may be argued that they have reasonably succeeded in stating their case.

Our Commentary

Dictators' Meeting in Moscow

Yugoslav "Marshal" Tito-Broz has now at last discarded the mask with which he has so successfully deceived the world for so long. After having enjoyed Western aid to the full, he has now returned to the bosom of "Big Brother Russia", or, to put it more correctly, he has openly admitted to the world that he cherishes a secret affection for the propagators of Russian Communist Bolshevism.

Of course, there was great rejoicing at this fact in the blood-spattered halls of the Kremlin. And the leaders of the Soviet hierarchy gave him a state reception, complete with salvoes, drums, and parades by the Guards, which would have been fitting for a king.

Did Stalin turn in his grave because this "renegade" was now considered worthy of such honours? — Certainly not! He most probably grinned cynically with satisfaction at the thought that the civilized nations had so readily fallen into the trap of Tito's former "estrangement" with the Kremlin. For the donations and subventions which America gave that "noble-minded Communist" Tito, who was apparently concerned with national and human interests, can now be directed into the channels for which they were undoubtedly intended from the outset, namely into the arsenal of the entire Communist armaments.

We, incidentally, have never held any other opinion in this respect, and it is regrettable that the free world, to its own detriment, is only prepared to accept our warnings as those of a voice crying in the wilderness, when it is already confronted by accomplished facts. It would be so easy to understand events if only the Western statesmen would bear in mind that, as far as their treacherous policy is concerned, one Red is just as bad another, despite all attempts at camouflage and disguise. Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, Malenkov, Khrushchev, Bulganin, and Tito — all corroborate the saying "Birds of a feather", as indeed has been proved by the touching scenes of a sham reconciliation which were recently enacted in Moscow. R. P.

The Russian Language in Turkestan

The following report was published in the Muscovite "Literaturnaya Hazeta", No. 42 (3643), of April 7, 1956:

"Tashkent. The following words by Mayakovski were written on the banner exhibited in the new workers' club in Navoya: 'I would learn Russian solely because Lenin spoke it'... The programme of the evening organized by the local pedagogic institute was summed up in these words...

"In the course of the evening various speakers referred to Lenin's words: 'the language of Turgenyev, Tolstoy, Tchernychevsky — a great and mighty language...' And we, needless to say, insist that every Russian citizen (and this was said in Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan! — "A.B.N. Correspondence") has an opportunity to learn this great Russian language.

"All the speakers stressed the fact that Russian had helped them to acquire more knowledge, and pointed out that the boys and girls of Uzbekistan were now able to read the famous poems by Pushkin, Lermontov, Krylov, and Mayakovski, and novels by Tolstoy, Turgenyev, and M. Ostrovsky, in Russian.

"The poet, Kuddus Muchammadi, reminded the audience of the beneficial influence which Russian culture has had on the development of Uzbekistan culture and Russian literature on the works of Uzbekistan writers.

From Behind the Iron Curtain

ARMENIA

The Patriarch of the Armenians, Vashen I, has returned to Armenia from his visit to the Armenian churches in Lebanon, Egypt, Italy, France, and England. When interviewed by a TASS correspondent, he said that all the Armenians abroad are anxious to make a pilgrimage to Etchmiadzyn and that the majority of them would like to return to Soviet Armenia in order to take up their permanent residence there. He also said that he had been given a very friendly welcome by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Fisher, and added that he intended telling the Armenians all about his trip and about the hard life of the Armenian emigrants abroad. ("Isvestija", May 9, 1956)

AZERBAIJAN

In May, 1956, the workers of various industrial concerns in Ordzonikidze sent letters of complaint to the newspaper "Trud", to the effect that there is a considerable shortage of staple foodstuffs, such as sugar, meat, milk, eggs, and potatoes. It was pointed out in these letters of complaint that these goods are very often not available at all, and that, in any case, there are always long queues for them. The official price of a pound of bread is 1 karb. 80 kopijok (= 0.45 dollars) and of a pound of meat 28 karb. The average wage of a worker in Azerbaijan is 400 karb. (100 dollars) per month. A pair of shoes costs 360 karb. (90 dollars) and the rent for lodgings averages 80 karb. (20 dollars) per month.

In their letters of complaint the workers demand that an adequate distribution system should be introduced as regards consumer goods and that there should be a more abundant supply of such goods. ("Trud", No. 102, 1956)

BOHEMIA

CSR — The Arsenal of the Soviet Bloc

Special attention is devoted to the training of the civilian population. This training is carried out, above all, by the "Society for Cooperation with the Army", which instructs factory workers and, in particular, young girls in the use of light machine-guns and grenades.

BYELORUSSIA

The Byelorussian Ministry of Forestry accuses the local authorities of failing to adopt counter-measures to combat the destruction of forests by the local population. According to the statement issued by the Ministry, people are felling trees in the forests in order to obtain the necessary timber for building houses. Rigorous measures are to be taken against these violators of "Socialist laws", and the offenders will be dealt with by a court, accordingly.

The melioration department is dissatisfied that the Byelorussian population is not making enough

"A Chinese worker, Li Mao-sin, delivered a speech in Russian, and said, '... in a short time we shall be returning to our native country, China, in order to help on the industrialization process there. We shall take back home with us not only a love for the Soviet people, but also a love for the great Russian language.' He then went up to L. Horbunova, who was present at the meeting, and, pressing the latter's hand, said, 'On behalf of all of us, please accept a simple Russian "spasibo" (thank you), "Tovarishchi" (my friends).'"

Is this "friendship" of nations? Is this a mutual exchange of ideas on cultural development, among equals? Is this the development of national culture? Or is it merely an attempt to unleash the chauvinistic, racist feelings of the Russian people, whose conviction of being the "superior" Russian nation is, in any case, unfettered enough!

effort as regards the draining of the swamps and pastures. The population of the districts along the frontier between Byelorussia and Russia manifests an unfriendly attitude as regards mutual help and the exchange of practical ideas in the kolchos system. The Byelorussian farmers fail to put in an appearance at meetings at which "elder brothers" — Russians — give talks on the exchange of practical ideas.

("Sovietskaja Bielorus", No. 8, 1956)

GEORGIA

The Presidium of the Georgian Central Council states that "during the years from 1949 to 1954 the population of 26 villages of the Southern Ossetynska Oblast (district) was completely resettled to new regions, but still no decision has been reached that the names of these villages which are now non-existent are to be removed." The Presidium does not, however, mention the name of the place to which the population of these villages was resettled, nor the reason for this resettlement. ("Saria Vostoka", April 21, 1956)

The same newspaper, "Saria Vostoka", reports that 46 students have been arrested in Tiflis for "violation of Socialist laws". The secretary of the Communist Party at the University of Tiflis has been removed from office because of his negligent attitude towards his ideological work; as a result of this attitude on his part, the students have not been attending the lectures on political economy, dialectical materialism, and Marxism and Leninism.

("Saria Vostoka", March 29, 1956;
"United Press", March 28, 1956;
"Communist", No. 4, April 1956)

LATVIA

The "Day of Youth" was celebrated in Latvia on May 6th. The young people celebrated this occasion by cleaning the streets and by "voluntary" conscription for resettlement to remote regions where they will work in industry.

("Pravda", May 7, 1956)

A factory in Riga received an order to supply 140 thousand metres of linen during 1956, but it has failed to fulfil its quota in this respect, owing to a considerable shortage of manpower. (The "voluntary" resettlement to Siberia is beginning to make itself felt. — "A.B.N. Correspondence".) The factory's quota in this case remains a dead letter. ("Pravda", No. 129, 1956)

Another group of young Latvians has arrived in Kustanay, as "voluntary" workers in the industry there. A number of young Estonians have arrived in Aktubinsk for work on the railway there.

("Komsomolska Pravda", No. 107, 1956)

TURKESTAN

The Soviet Kirghizstan press repeatedly reports that during the past three years 89 per cent of the Party secretaries have been removed from office. Changes in personnel have been made at least six or eight times.

According to a statement issued by the Central Geological Research Department, huge deposits of iron ore and non-ferrous metals have been discovered in Kirghizstan which are much richer than the deposits in Magnitokorsk. In this connection, new appeals have been issued to the youth of the Soviet republics to resettle "voluntarily" to Kirghizstan. ("Komsomolska Pravda", No. 79, 1956.) Further deportations of young people from the subjugated countries are thus to be expected.

At the end of April, 1956, further tank and paratroop units arrived in Turkestan. The Turkestan military district is under the command of Marshal Lutschynski, candidate to the Central Committee of the Communist Party. He is also in command of the Central Asian military unit, with its headquarters in Tashkent. At the end of 1955 Turkestan military district possessed about 30 divisions and eight thousand planes. The men of Turkestan are not allowed to do their military service in units stationed in the Turkestan military district, but are sent elsewhere.

In January, military manoeuvres, during which atomic weapons were tried out, were conducted in the territory bordering on Iran and Afghanistan.

The "Isvestija" reports that cotton sowing in Tadzikistan has proved most unsatisfactory. Only 46 per cent of the fixed quota has been fulfilled. The farmers no longer carry out their duty and completely disregard the new Soviet technical methods. ("Isvestija", No. 109, 1956)

According to a "Pravda" report, a big metallurgical station is under construction forty kilometres from Karaganda. Its furnaces, when completed, will be much more powerful than those in Ukraine. This station is being built by young people from Ukraine, Moldavia, Uzbekistan, and Latvia. Appeals have been issued to the youth of these countries to supply more workers. Further contingents of young persons from Ukraine (Dnepropetrovsk), Esthonia, and Lithuania are expected by June. ("Pravda", No. 128, 1956)

On March 25, 1956, another 26 families were deported as "voluntary" emigrants from Moldavia to the Talda-Kurhanska Oblast (district) in Kazakhstan. On March 20th, sixteen families were deported from Moldavia to the village of Chumyr, namely to the Kalinin kolchos in the same district. All the deported families have been assigned to different kolchoses. ("Kazakstan Pravda", No. 72, 1956.)

UKRAINE

This year, the districts of Kyiv, Rivno, Drohobytch, Lviv, Czernihiv, and Tarnopil have been severely censured by the Ministry of Ukrainian Farming (Silske Hospodarstvo Ukrainy) for not having fulfilled their sowing quotas by April 30th. Only 9.7 to 17 per cent of the quotas fixed were fulfilled in these districts. The Ministry affirms that this is due to absenteeism on the part of the farmers themselves and to the fact that the leaders of the kolchoses have failed to arouse their interest.

("Radianska Ukraina", No. 103, 1956)

According to instructions issued by the Soviet Ministry of Education, examinations on the history of the U.S.S.R. are to be abolished for the time being. The Ministry states that this measure has proved necessary since the history of the U.S.S.R. is being rewritten.

("Radianska Osvita", No. 52, 1956)

Ukrainian writers are accused of having concealed "dangerous" conceptions of Ukrainian "bourgeois" nationalism. The newspaper, "Liberaturna Hazeta", affirms that they ascribe the individual cultural development of Ukraine to the latter country and not to Russia, and deny the fact that "proletarian" culture originated in Ukraine in the pre-August period. They are likewise accused of disseminating the nationalist theory of the double origin of Marxism and proletarian culture. Numerous works of the Association of Ukrainian Writers have been confiscated by the ideological censorship. ("Liberaturna Hazeta", No. 14, 1956)

At the beginning of this year, purges were carried out in the Komsomol in Ukraine, as well as in the whole U.S.S.R. Every Komsomol member is obliged to go to the Komsomol headquarters for his new membership card. This year, however, many members failed to appear and were, accordingly, excluded from the Komsomol ranks.

("Molodj Ukrainy", No. 95, 1956)

The deputies elected to the Soviet institutions are at present engaged in giving reports on their activities. The "Pravda Ukrainy" and "Radianska

Ukraina" complain that the population is assuming an attitude of indifference to these reports. The people absent themselves from the meetings and do not even know who has been elected to the official institutions.

("Pravda Ukrainy", No. 101, and "Radianska Ukraina", Nr. 103)

So-called workers' correspondents have carried out inspections as regards food conditions in restaurants, inns, and drugstores, etc., in Kharkiv. It was revealed that very little is done to meet the primary needs of the workers. Conditions, on the whole, are most unhygienic. There are not even facilities in such eating-houses for the workers to wash their hands before a meal, and the food served there is completely lacking in variety. On the other hand, however, there are several luxurious restaurants in the centre of the city which are entirely at the disposal of the high Party officials.

The "Communist Ukrainy", No. 3, 1956, sharply criticizes the newspapers which are printed in Ukraine. The writers of articles appearing in these papers are accused of displaying a lack of initiative and of revealing a certain standardization in their articles, which are lacking in ideological content

and border on "bourgeois" idealism. It is pointed out that the editors are persons who have never had anything whatsoever to do with journalistic work. (It looks as though there is likely to be a purge among newspaper-men in the near future. — "A.B.N. Correspondence".)

In the Voroshilovhrod and Krym districts, young people, who have completed attendance at ten-class schools, are now being registered for resettlement in Central Asia and Siberia, according to a report in the "Komsomolska Pravda", of May 8, 1956. The lists are prepared in the schools without the young people concerned, however, being consulted.

A FEW STATISTICS ON SOVIET CONCENTRATION CAMPS

According to a number of reports by German ex-prisoners-of-war, the following concentration camps and penal labour-camps are located in one district alone in Siberia: the administration in Taischet includes 603 camps, whilst in Krasnojarsk there are 1,000 camps, in Norylsk 40, in Tchihirn about 60, in Novosibirsk 11, in Kemerovo 50, and in Irkutsk 60.

"This is the starting-point for Soviet infiltration into the Islamic countries and into the whole of Asia" . . . "And, lastly, Turkestan as a country of Islamic culture and tradition occupies an important junction position between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

It is thus imperative, in view of the present political situation, that one should know more about this country!

In his introductory chapter the author gives a brief but concise survey of the history of Turkestan up to the 20th century, the history of this ancient nation of Islamic culture. It was not until the 80's of the last century that Russia managed to gain a footing in Turkestan and subjugate the entire country, although this urge on Russia's part already assumed considerable dimensions during the reigns of Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great.

The author then gives a detailed and informative account of the cultural, political, social and economic development of the country during the 20th century. His account of the suffering and hardship endured by the people of Turkestan under Soviet rule with its disastrous moral and material consequences, is most interesting and enlightening.

This book has not only been written with scientific exactness, but its style and detail possess considerable instructive value for all who read it. At the same time, it represents a valuable contribution to the field of ethnological studies, not only for specialists in this subject, but for all who are interested in foreign countries and peoples. Indeed, in our present age, in which countries and peoples are no longer separated by the insurmountable barriers of distance, it would be an unforgivable omission to neglect one's knowledge of ethnology and geography.

In writing about his own native country and his fellow-countrymen, the author has both fulfilled his duty to his nation and has rendered the world in general a great service by furnishing it with an authentic account of conditions in Turkestan. At the same time, we should also like to express our gratitude not only to the editor, Prof. Dr. G. von Mende, who is an old and sincere friend of our peoples, but also to the publishing firm of C. W. Leske. The publication of this series of works will enable the world to form a true picture of the ancient civilized nations of the East and of Asia. This series will thus render both civilization and our nations a most valuable service.

N. Ekhadieli

The History of Georgia

The Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana in the Vatican City has published a history of Georgian Church literature in German, entitled "Geschichte der georgischen Kirchen-Literatur", by Pater Michael Tarchnischvili in cooperation with Dr. Julius Assfalg. This work comprises 521 pages and has been compiled and based on the research work of specialists at the Georgian University of Tiflis. It is an extremely valuable contribution, in a foreign language, to the history of Georgian culture.

Undertones of Coexistence

In an article which deals with the Soviet Army the Soviet-Ukrainian illustrated journal, "The Ukraine", speaks its mind about American soldiers, as follows:

"Every soldier, whether Roman legionary, German mercenary, French musketeer of Louis XVI's day, Turkish janizary, Napoleonic grenadier, or British "Tommy", S. S. man or American soldier, — they all were and are the forces which are isolated from the people and are hostile to the latter . . . Wherever American soldiers occupy territory, the blood of defenceless women and children is shed, brigandism prevails, buildings are demolished, crops are destroyed, forests are burnt down, the earth groans, and the innocent victims curse those responsible for their sufferings."

Such was the opinion held by the Bolsheviks of American soldiers, only a few months ago. Truly, most harmonious undertones of "peaceful" coexistence!

Act of Athens

We free jurists from forty-eight countries, assembled in Athens at the invitation of the International Commission of Jurists, being devoted to the Rule of Law which springs from the rights of the individual, developed through history in the age-old struggle of mankind for freedom; which rights include freedom of speech, press, worship, assembly and association and the right to free elections, to the end that laws are enacted by the duly elected representatives of the people and afford equal protection to all.

Being concerned by the disregard of the Rule of Law in various parts of the world, and being convinced that the maintenance of the fundamental principles of justice is essential to a lasting peace throughout the world,

Do solemnly Declare that:

1. The State is subject to the law.
2. Governments should respect the rights of the individual under the Rule of Law and provide effective means for their enforcement.
3. Judges should be guided by the Rule of Law, protect and enforce it without fear or favor and resist any encroachments by governments or political parties on their independence as judges.
4. Lawyers of the world should preserve the independence of their profession, assert the rights of the individual under the Rule of Law and insist that every accused is accorded a fair trial.

And we call upon all judges and lawyers to observe these principles and

Request the International Commission of Jurists to dedicate itself to the universal acceptance of these principles and expose and denounce all violations of the Rule of Law.

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BOOK - REVIEWS

Dr. Baymirza Hayit:

Turkestan in the 20th Century

C. W. Leske Verlag, Darmstadt. 406 pp.
Price: DM 28.50

This book in the German language has been published as Volume I of the series, "A Study of the Modern History of the Peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia", which is being edited by the well-known specialist and expert on Eastern problems, Prof. Dr. Gerhard von Mende.

The author is a native of Turkestan; he belongs to the younger generation and, as a result of the events of the last war, was obliged to emigrate to the West. He completed his academic studies in Germany. Up till 1941 he lived in the Soviet Union, where he likewise pursued his studies. Thus, in his case all the preconditions are existent to make his book particularly valuable.

German research in the field of the ethnology of the East and Asia formerly ranked with English and French research in this field as outstanding. The aftermath of the last war, however, caused Germany to lag behind in this respect, and America now tops the list as regards research achievements. But Germany is gradually catching up, and the institutes which make a special study of Eastern problems have already achieved commendable results.

At the time of the Rapallo Treaty, the history of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union was considered in Germany from the point of view of Russian sources, a fact which frequently resulted in a strong Russian trend; and this trend was actually a violation of the scientific study of the subject in question.

In the meantime, however, the world has realized that the country which was designated as Russia is neither Russia nor Russian. And it is also well aware of the fact that the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union are nations with a separate history and culture of their own, who also had independent states of their own before they were subjugated by the Russians. One of these nations is Turkestan. But what does the average person in the West, in fact, even an educated person, know about this vast country beyond the Caspian Sea? Nowadays, distances are surmounted by means of technical innovations and inventions, and nations and peoples are no longer as far apart. Civilized man, on the whole, is eager to learn more about distant countries and peoples, and not even the Iron Curtain, which separates East and West, has been able to check this urge. By means of wireless, contact can be established with the countries beyond the Iron Curtain.

Turkestan has now advanced into the limelight of public interest all over the world, — not only in connection with the Soviet plans to open up new territory and the resettlement of thousands of persons which these plans involve, but also for the reason which Prof. Dr. von Mende so rightly stresses in his preface to the above-mentioned book:

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Vol. VII. No. 8/9. August/Sept. 1956

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Prisoners in the Soviet Concentration Camps Accuse Moscow

AN OPEN LETTER

to the United Nations, Division on Human Rights, and to the Entire Civilized World
from the Prisoners in Camps in the USSR

The Ukrainian political prisoners in the Soviet concentration camps accuse the Russian Bolshevik regime of terrorism and genocide and demand a decisive intervention on the part of the United Nations.

At the same time, they appeal to their fellow-countrymen abroad to adopt consolidated measures to ensure the protection of political prisoners and in order to acquaint the free world with the truth about the Soviet Union.

For the first time in the history of the U.S.S.R. and its concentration camps, a written report from the prisoners of this inhuman system has reached the free world. The Ukrainian political prisoners — fearless champions of the cause of freedom for nations and individuals — have sent an appeal to their compatriots abroad and to the Commission for the Protection of Human Rights in the United Nations.

We are publishing these important historical documents together with a photostat of one document. The Editor

We, the prisoners in the Mordovian special camps, wish to bring the following statement to the attention of the entire civilized world.

We Ukrainians are in favor of any movement whose aims are freedom and truth; we advocate cultural progress in all walks of life, and we stand behind self-determination for all nations, including the United Ukrainian State.

We have no desire to exaggerate the facts of the situation that has long existed in Ukraine. We do not ask for mercy or pardon. We demand our right to live under laws that should be recognized by the entire civilized world — the world of twentieth-century civilization. This civilization has been spearheaded by a number of humanitarian elements, from small groups on up through national leaders. They include the great world-wide organization, the United Nations.

Our Ukrainian nation, like a number of other nations, has come under the conquering heel of Red Russia. We have been driven into camps, with severe sentences of from ten to twenty-five years — not for criminal acts,

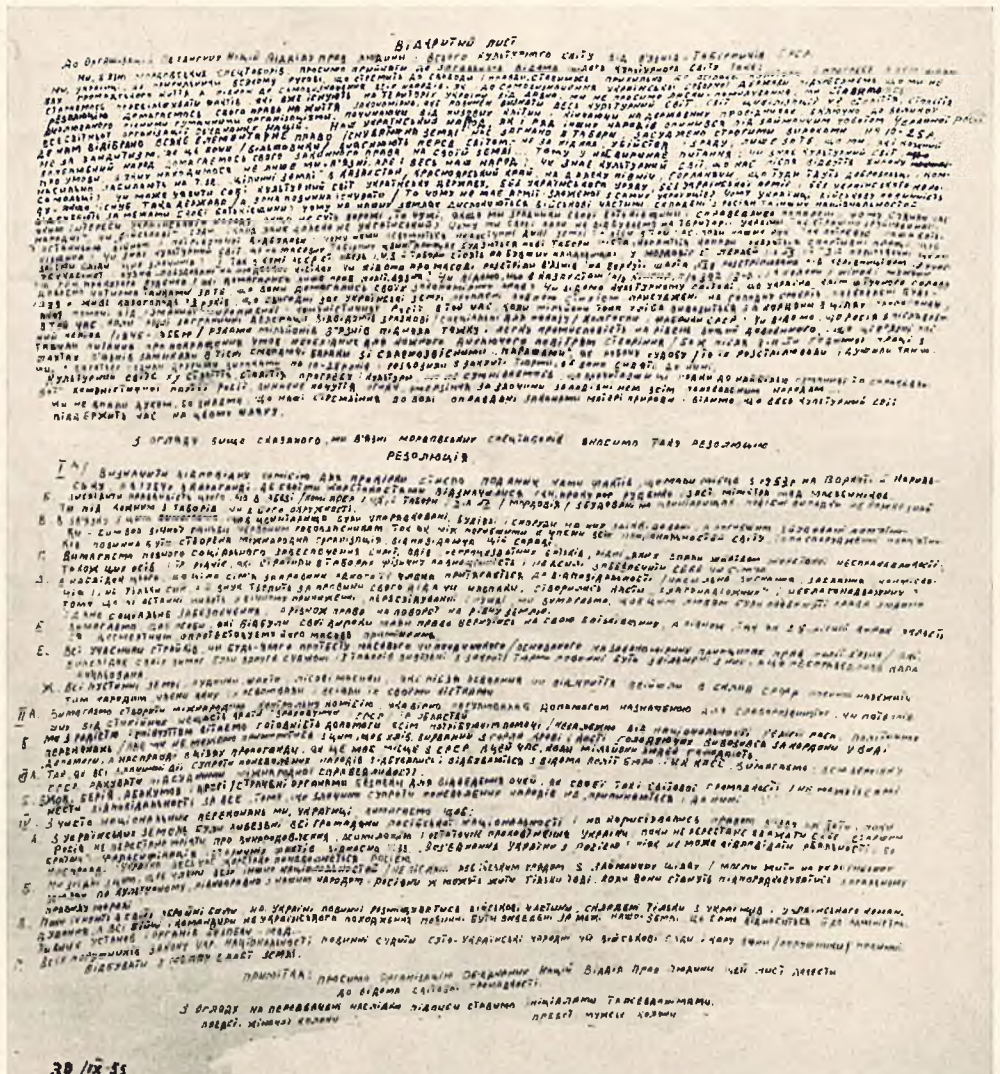
as the Bolsheviks maintain before the rest of the world; not for arson, treason, or murder; but because we, like every freedom-loving people, demand our lawful rights in our own land.

The question therefore arises: Does the civilized world know about the conditions prevailing not only among us prisoners, but throughout our country? Does the civilized world know that, when we have served our sentences, we are exiled to the so-called virgin lands of Kazakhstan, Krasnoyarsk, and the Far North — while they proclaim that it is volunteers and members of the Komsomol who go out to those areas?

Can the civilized world conceive of Ukrainian sovereignty without a Ukrainian government, without a Ukrainian army, and without the Ukrainian people? If Ukraine is sovereign — and she should be — why is there no army

composed exclusively of Ukrainians? Why do Ukrainians serve their terms in the army beyond the borders of their country? Why are military units composed of Russians and other nationalities to whom the interests of the Ukrainian people are alien, if not directly hostile, stationed in our country? If we are traitors and if our punishment is just, why were we tried by "peoples" or "military" courts, whose composition is certainly not Ukrainian? Why do we not serve our terms on Ukrainian territory, which was ravaged by the last war and is in need of reconstruction? Why do we have to work at the cultivation of wild, remote lands and forests, when there is such a need for our forces at home?

Does the civilized world know that, over the mass burial sites of the prison camps, new camps and cities are built, canals are dug,



The Facsimile of the original Letter, written on linen, from the Ukrainian prisoners in the Camps in the U.S.S.R. to the United Nations, Division on Human Rights, and to the Entire Civilized World. The Letter was smuggled out of a Mordovian prison camp.

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and stadiums are erected, in order to obliterate the traces of these crimes? In Abez' (Komi ASSR), Camps 1, 4 and 5 stand on former cemeteries. At Zavod 5 in Leplya (Mordovskaya ASSR), the first and second polishing shops, the technical laboratory, and the forge were erected on human bones. Does the world know about the mass executions of prisoners who only demanded their rights as political internees? (At Mine 29 in Vorkuta. Attorney-General Rudenko was in charge of the firing squads.) Is it known that, in Kingir (P. O. Box 392, Colonies 1 and 3, Kazakhstan), men and women demanding their lawful rights were charged by four tanks and crushed by them?

Does the civilized world know that Ukraine has suffered starvation for thirty-eight years, in addition to the artificial famine of 1933; that Western Ukraine has been inundated by floods, and that the people have been condemned to death by starvation, with no hope of aid from "humanitarian, peace-loving" Communist Russia? This at a time when millions of tons of grain are exported abroad for propaganda purposes, when all sorts of foreign delegations visit model collective farms (special display models) and factories in the USSR.

In the postwar period (1945-55), Russia has raised the level of light and heavy industry beyond the prewar level. This was accomplished by a toll of millions of prisoners. Those prisoners raised the issue of improved living conditions — an improvement essential for any creature that breathes air (after between nine and eleven hours of work in the mines, the prisoners were shut up like cattle in close, stinking barracks furnished with the well-known "slop buckets"). Some of these prisoners were shot, others were crushed by tanks. Many of them received additional sentences of from ten to twenty-five years and were put in jail, where they are to this day.

This is addressed to the civilized world of the twentieth century — a century of education and progress. We feel certain that anyone who reads these lines will experience revulsion and contempt for the "just and humanitarian" Communist Party of Russia and the crimes committed against the nations it has enslaved.

We are not discouraged, because we know that our will for freedom is founded on natural law, and we believe that the entire civilized world will uphold us in our course.

Resolutions

Bearing in mind the foregoing points, we, the prisoners in the Mordovian special camps, have adopted the following resolutions:

I

a. A commission should be appointed for precise verification of the facts as we have stated them: that Attorney-General Rudenko and Deputy Minister of the MVD Maslennikov were distinguished by the cruelty of their conduct in Vorkuta and Noril'sk in 1955, and in Karaganda in 1954.

b. The fact that Camps 1, 4 and 5 in Abez' (Komi ASSR) and Zavod 5 (Mordovskaya ASSR) were built on cemetery grounds should be verified. Similar cases are not hard to find — there are forty-four such camps in this area.

c. We demand that the cemeteries be put in order, that the buildings and plants on them be razed, and that memorials be erected to the dead, as a symbol of perpetual shame to the Red slaveholders. Since members of all nationalities of the world are numbered among the dead, a special international organization should be established for the purpose of erecting these memorials.

d. We demand comprehensive social security for the orphans, widows, and parents (if they are not fit for work) of these victims of cruel injustice; also for those persons and their families who have suffered complete physical disability in camps and are unable to provide for themselves and their families.

e. Since an entire family is held responsible for an offence committed by one member

(they are all subject to exile, deportation, confiscation of property) and a man's grandson as well as his son may suffer because of an act he himself committed, there have appeared castes of "reliables" and "unreliables". The "unreliables" live under constant oppression, persecution and misery. We therefore demand that these people be given back their rights as human beings, that they receive social security, and that they be permitted to return to their countries.

f. We demand that all persons who have served out their sentences be permitted to return to their native lands. We protest the passing of sentences up to twenty-five years on a mass basis, because such a sentence is a sentence for life.

g. All persons who underwent a second trial and were then transferred from camp to jail because of their participation in camp strikes or in any other form of mass or individual protest against the violation of their rights as political prisoners should be released from jail and their sentences annulled.

h. All desert lands, pits, mines, and forests that became part of the USSR after their discovery or cultivation should belong to the nations whose sons and daughters worked on them and strewed them with their bones.

II

a. We demand the establishment of an international control commission charged with the fair distribution of aid earmarked for underdeveloped countries and for disaster areas (including the USSR).

b. We are wholeheartedly in favor of extending aid to all those who need it — regardless of their nationality, religion, race, or political convictions. But we cannot agree that bread should be torn from the mouths of the starving and sent abroad as aid, when it is really for purposes of propaganda. This is done in the Soviet Union, at a time when millions of people are starving.

III

a. Whereas every criminal act against the enslaved nations is perpetrated with the knowledge of the Politburo and of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, we demand that the entire

ruling class of the Soviet Union be brought before international justice.

b. Yezhov, Beria, Abakumov and others whose execution was ordered by the security organs in order to deceive people at home and abroad, cannot be held responsible for everything, because crimes against the enslaved nations continue to be perpetrated.

IV

We Ukrainians make the following demands on purely nationalist grounds:

a. All Russian nationals shall be required to leave Ukrainian territory. They shall not be permitted to return until such time as Russia abandons her dream of denationalizing, assimilating and eventually devouring Ukraine — until she ceases to regard herself as Big Brother. It is a distortion of reality and of historical fact to speak of "the union of Ukraine with Russia".

b. We concede the right of other nationals — unless they have been sent by the Russian Government for aggressive purposes — to live on Ukrainian territory, enjoying equal rights with the Ukrainian people. Russians may live there only when they begin to be governed by general standards of morality.

c. As long as there are armed forces in the world, the only units stationed in Ukraine are to be composed exclusively of Ukrainians and under the command of Ukrainians; all soldiers and commanders not of Ukrainian extraction are to be withdrawn beyond the borders of our country. This also applies to the administrative and security organs of the MVD.

d. Anyone who violates the laws of Ukraine is to be tried before a Ukrainian people's or military court; if convicted, his sentence will be served within the national borders.

Note: We request that the citizens of the world be informed of this letter by the United Nations, Division on Human Rights.

We have signed with initials and pseudonyms, so as to forestall any possible consequences.

(Signed by initials and pseudonyms of five deputies from the women's column and eight deputies from the men's column of prisoners.)
30/IX/55.

From Women Political Prisoners to Ukrainians in the Free World

DEAR FRIENDS:

We want to take advantage of this opportunity to tell you in brief what the Bolsheviks say about you — our political émigrés of the last decade — in their so-called lectures and in recent articles in the press. We would also like to give the Ukrainians abroad who are not indifferent to our fate some idea of the conditions prevailing among political prisoners in special Soviet camps since the war.

Lectures on Ukrainian affairs are delivered by important officials in the Mordovian Party, and not by members of the administration of local special camps. The main point in what they have been saying about you is roughly as follows: Although the number of Ukrainian political émigrés in the last decade has been small, the group is torn by dissension and split into many parties. They are politically shortsighted, and they no longer enjoy popularity among their people, whose support they have lost. They are not fighting for anything real — just for the capital letter "U". The Bolsheviks cite the names of our most prominent political leaders abroad, calling them "the most despicable betrayers of the Ukrainian people".

Lectures on Ukrainian affairs were recently discontinued. The reason may lie in the prisoners' dignified reaction to the Bolshe-

viks' tendentious distortion of historical fact. These lectures, held at unexpected times, caused us spiritual anguish. But at the same time, they were a welcome event, because they allowed us to think (correctly, we hope) that our position in international politics had improved and that the Bolsheviks were therefore intensifying their propaganda efforts in the pertinent direction. Political prisoners of other nationalities in the Soviet Union envy us without rancor, and they hope that we did not rejoice in vain.

Among recent printed works attacking us, first place is occupied in the libraries of the Mordavian special camps by the brochures of Halan (Selected Works, 1954), of Belyayev, and of M. Rudnitskij (Under Alien Banners). They are permeated with monstrous, unparalleled venom, bigotry, and hatred for everything Ukrainian and non-Communist.

Entire chapters in these libellous sheets are devoted to you, our political émigrés of today. Emphasis is placed on internal disorder, dissensions, the struggle for power, the lust for gain, and political immaturity. Our attitude toward all forms of Bolshevik propaganda is the same. We are convinced that the written and the spoken word in the Soviet "prison of nations" is hopelessly slanted. We firmly believe that, with the benefit of past experience, you will do your duty with honor

Dr. D. Waltscheff (Bulgaria)

The New Course in Moscow, and the Western World

Has Bolshevism undergone an Evolution?

The resolutions of the 20th Party Congress and the present course of Soviet policy still continue to claim the attention of the Western world and to have a far-reaching influence on international political questions. Again and again, various circles express conjectures in the press and over the wireless as to the new course adopted by Moscow and are tempted to draw conclusions from the alleged ideological change in Bolshevism, as regards political practice and the course which Western policy should now adopt.

There is considerable divergence in the way in which the situation is assessed, and every point of view, either based on theory or on practical politics, is expressed, ranging from the opinion that a genuine and fundamental change has taken place in Bolshevism which thus demands a corresponding revision of the policy pursued hitherto by the West, to the assertion that things are just as they were in the Soviet world despite the new line of conduct manifested by the rulers of the Kremlin. Whereas those who uphold this latter opinion warn the Western world not to fall into the Soviet trap of an alleged change and not to reduce its armed strength, the advocates of the former point of view actually maintain that, with the condemnation of the Stalin cult and above all with the revision of Lenin's doctrine of the "permanent revolution" and of the necessity of "destroying capitalistic encirclement", Communism has not only entered upon a process of ideological self-liquidation, but has also retired from the initial position of a world revolution and has renounced its claim to rule the world. The

— a moral duty imposed by the nation upon its political émigrés; that your years in exile will not prove to be time lost; that you are using this time to good advantage; and that you will return to Ukraine with your forces undiminished and with an awareness of all important theories successfully practised in Europe and the rest of the world, so that our nation may benefit from them. We believe that your long sojourn abroad will not diminish your longing for your country and that it will not make you want to live abroad for the rest of your lives.

And now a few words about living conditions among political prisoners in Soviet special camps during the postwar years. The basic features of the Bolshevik prison-camp system have not changed. Almost all of the special camps are located in areas where the climate is severe (Kolyma, Taymyr, Siberia, Komi, Kazakhstan). Sentences for political crimes vary in length from five years (for a single attempt, as they say in jest, at "suspect" thought) to twenty-five years in so-called corrective labor camps, and from fifteen to twenty years of penal servitude. In the immediate postwar period, famine, unendurably hard labor, and appalling sanitary conditions took a toll of thousands of political prisoners.

Again in 1948 a so-called strict regime was introduced in the special camps. The iron-barred barracks were locked at night. Correspondence was restricted to two letters per year. No one was permitted to keep cash. There were penal barracks. Prisoners were not allowed to wear their own clothes but had to wear prison uniforms with numbers on the back; they were not allowed to take notes from books, to engage in handicrafts, to assemble in large groups, and so forth. All this was coupled with twelve hours at hard labor and a deliberate increase in the work norms.

The unbearable living conditions brought

main argument for this latter theory is provided by Moscow's so-called "capitulation" to Tito, that is to say its renunciation of an exclusively monolithic leadership of the Communist regime in the individual countries, which have allegedly now been granted the explicit right to put the Communist system into practice in their own way.

These contradictory opinions, in so far as they lack a profounder analysis of the situation and are not substantiated by further reasoning, both seem to contain as many deceptive truths as obvious untruths. And, to anticipate our later arguments in this respect, — problems cannot be dealt with, still less rightly answered and solved, merely on the basis of doctrines. As long as one clings to theories, one is in danger of both gaining a true insight into matters and drawing wrong conclusions. In order to ascertain the truth, it is necessary to examine political facts most carefully by every means available and to find a satisfactory answer to the following questions: for what realistic political reasons and for what practical and political purpose has an ideological or merely a tactical change of course actually become a necessity as far as the Bolshevik leaders are concerned? Only when we have found the answer to these questions, can we form a correct opinion as to whether the recent modulation of the Communist system and of Soviet policy is a genuine evolution of Bolshevism or merely a compulsory and purely external adjustment of the latter in the pursuit of the same old, traditional aims, which must now be achieved more easily by new methods.

If one considers the why and wherefore

about uprisings in certain camp centers — Vorkuta in 1953, Noril'sk in the spring and summer of 1953, and Kingir (Kazakhstan) in 1954. Over forty thousand prisoners of different nationalities took part in the uprisings. In suppressing them, the enemy used all kinds of weapons, including tanks. At the cost of several thousand comrades killed or wounded, we brought about the abolition of the stricter regime and the introduction of an eight-hour day.

In the last few years the Bolsheviks have paraded their humanitarianism before the world. They issued decrees that also pertained to political prisoners, but most of them were not put into effect on a comprehensive scale (the decree releasing invalids from special camps, the "probationary" release of political prisoners who had served two-thirds of their terms)! Following their release from special camps, prisoners can usually expect to be exiled to Siberia for an indefinite period.

In September of this year, an amnesty was declared for political prisoners who had collaborated with the Germans during the war. The official Bolshevik term for our nationalist prisoners is "Banderivtsi" or "Ukraino-German Nationalists", and the amnesty does not apply to us — another proof of the perfidy of the Bolshevik system.

For the sake of the truth, we want to say in conclusion that we hold the name, Ukrainian political prisoners, in deep respect and that we have, generally speaking, gained favor and recognition from political prisoners of other nationalities.

God bless you, dear friends. Do not forget us, and keep in mind your return to Ukraine.

Ukrainian Women
Political Prisoners in the Mordovian
Special Camps.

Mordovia, 5 October 1955.

of the sensational events of the recent Moscow Congress, even with only an elementary knowledge of the development of the political situation so far, one is bound to come to the following conclusions:

1) There can be no doubt about the fact that the posthumous overthrow of Stalin, the idol of the Communist world during the past decades, was an extremely daring step, indeed, a moral salto mortale on the part of the Bolshevik regime. It is likewise an indisputable fact that Communism, by resorting to this measure, has revealed its weak spot not only to its own family as it were, but also to the whole world. But since the new rulers in Moscow nevertheless decided to take this step three years after Stalin's death, they must obviously have had very weighty and, in fact, urgent reasons for adopting so drastic a measure. At the same time they must also have been quite sure that the victim in this case, namely world-Communism, would not only survive, but would even gain fresh strength as a result of this measure. Otherwise the Communist leaders

From the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Article 3. Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4. No one shall be held in slavery or servitude . . .

Article 5. No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6. Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law . . .

Article 15. (25) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality . . .

Article 18. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion . . .

Article 19. Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression . . .

Article 20. (3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government . . .

of the Kremlin, who can certainly not be described as lacking when it comes to cold-blooded calculation and political cunning, would never have decided to take such a step.

2) Even in the early days of the Soviet state the aims of the Communist rulers in Moscow were primarily concerned not with doctrine as such, but with the assertion of power by the state and the conglomeration of power at any price. Political power, economic power and military power for the purpose of carrying out and enforcing the so-called proletarian world-revolution, or, to be more exact, the conquest of the world, — this alone was and remained the highest aim of the Soviet Russian system, and not by any means the preservation of doctrinal dogmas as such. As was already obvious in Lenin's day in the so-called Novaja Ekonomitscheskaja Politika (NEP), the New Economic Policy, in the subsequent fight against so-called "Trotsky-ism", in Stalin's "short course" and in the purges carried out in the 1930's, and finally in Khrushchev's far-reaching corrective, dogmatic Marxism was subordinated to realistic political considerations and was always sacrificed without hesitation whenever such a step seemed expedient in the interest of the consolidation

of Soviet power and its international political aims. This alone has always been the supreme law in the Kremlin.

3) The foundations of Russian Communist domination over the peoples in the Soviet Union and in the countries which were only annexed and subjected to Communist law after World War II, were — except in the opinion of a dwindling handful of fanatical Communist doctrinaires — neither built up on Marxist theories nor on the prestige which the latter enjoyed among the masses, but rather on two basic factors, namely power and mass-suggestion. Despotism, coupled with improvised propagandistic mass-influence, as circumstances demanded, were and still are the sole sources of Communist political power, and not by any means the dusty pages of Lenin's thirty-five volumes or of Stalin's works with all their dogmatic value or trash, which is of not the least interest to the subjugated masses. And since the foundations of Russian Communist domination — permanent terrorism and mass-suggestion and mass-influence — were beginning to show serious signs of cracking, the Communist leaders in Moscow decided to make Stalin the scapegoat and to throw him and all the ideological principles which seemed an unnecessary ballast at the moment overboard, so as to gain the upper hand again.

In any case, we all knew that the late Joseph Dzugashvili was no angel and we are likewise well aware of the fact that most of the atrocities, senseless and ruthless mass-murders, various other crimes, and the persecution mania which Comrade Khrushchev ascribes to him posthumously, are in keeping with the truth. Except for his callous attitude in matters pertaining to internal party politics, Stalin, incidentally, was probably no worse than his present successors. The fact that he alone is now held responsible for ruthless dictatorship, for lawless despotism, for a constant state of terrorism, and for mass-murders, is undoubtedly a well thought-out move on the part of the Kremlin rulers. Burdened with all these sins of Communist despotism and aggression, of which his former co-workers are no less guilty, his corpse is, as it were, cast overboard, and the era of a highly moral and conscientious regime, which faithfully observes "socialist laws", is proclaimed in order to clear the air somewhat in the Communist-ruled countries, to keep down the latent rebelliousness of the subjugated peoples for the time being, and to make the methods of mass-suggestion more effective again.

The fact that the Moscow rulers have now been forced to clear Communism and the Soviet regime of all blame in the eyes of the whole world and have burnt Stalin's dirty linen on the pyre, is in the first place due to the hostile attitude and the seething discontent of the subjugated peoples and masses, who are beginning to resist the effectiveness of the well-tryed methods of coercion and misleading suggestion.

This, however, is only one side of the picture. It was likewise imperative that Soviet policy should at the present time emphasize its peaceableness and willingness to accept co-existence and make these qualities appear credible in the eyes of the world. And here, too, the Kremlin rulers resorted to the shade of Stalin and to the hackneyed idea of the personality cult. Formerly extolled as the "Father of Victory" and the "Liberator of the Peoples", he was now to assume the responsibility for the aggressive Soviet foreign policy, too, in order to deceive the world into believing that violent aggression is already a thing of the past as far as the amiable and kindly "collective leaders" are concerned and that cases of surprise attacks like those which occurred in Prague and Korea will not be re-

peated. In order to make the new course appear credible and to delude those who are in the habit of taking doctrinaire Communist catchwords seriously, the Kremlin leaders delved into their ideological store and cited maxims about "peaceful coexistence" and about peaceful competition with other social and political systems and so forth, and alleged that they were willing to renounce all violent revolutionary methods and would adopt the course of progressive evolution, even by parliamentary means and by recognizing the national and state sovereignty of other nations.

The reasons which have now made this metamorphosis of Soviet foreign policy necessary, are obvious. Just as, in the internal political sector, the open and, even more so, the latent resistance of the masses and peoples forced Khrushchev to introduce his sensational cor-

600 reported dead in Ukraine mutiny

Six hundred Soviet officers are reported killed when three regiments of the Red Army mutinied in Kyiv, capital of Ukraine, about two months ago. Many of the rebels escaped and joined the underground Ukrainian insurgent army whose activities have recently been intensified.

This report came from a source close to the Russian Embassy in Israel. An earlier report from Vienna said that on May 20, Ukrainian underground partisans blew up an ammunition train, killing an unknown number of Russian soldiers.

The underground forces fought a pitched battle with Russian Army and M.V.D. detachments.

Five days later students and workers held meetings in many parts of Kyiv, publicly demanding "an end to Muscovite colonialism in the Ukraine."

This outbreak may explain why Kyrchenko, secretary-general of the Ukrainian Communist Party, was the only member of the Praesidium who was not in Moscow to welcome Tito during his recent visit.

rective, so, too, the attitude adopted by the free world so far and, above all, the objective and uncompromising line of America's foreign policy under Secretary of State Dulles have compelled the Soviets to change their conduct as regards their foreign policy. But this change is obviously only a tactical manoeuvre which in no way alters the essential quality of Soviet policy or the ultimate aims of world-Communism.

The purpose of this manoeuvre is a double one; on the one hand, to undermine the unanimous hostility of the free world and its potential strength both morally and materially, to make Communism socially acceptable in the field of world politics, and to usher in an era of not only peaceful, but, if possible, friendly co-existence. But all this is only a means to an end; the main and ultimate aim of this new course is to create the psychological preconditions which will ensure the success of the Communist methods of mass-suggestion and mass-influence and to consolidate anew the tottering Soviet regime of despotism in its former sphere of influence, in order to use the latter as a reserve and as a stepping-stone for political, economic and, maybe, for military world-aggression.

This is the reason for Moscow's hectic "fight for peace" against the "policy of power" and against a cold war. It is the intention of the present rulers in Moscow that the West should cease defaming the Communist system and that the liberation hopes of the Communist-ruled peoples should be shattered for good, so that the process of national sterilization and of enslavement in the interests of far-reaching

Communist world-plans can continue undisturbed.

Those who study the press of the East bloc countries with an open mind and read between the lines, will be obliged to admit the truth of the above statements. All contacts with the West, as for instance the Geneva Conference, the German visit to Moscow, the Soviet visit to London, and the French visit to the Kremlin, have been exploited by Communist propaganda in such a manner as to have an almost hypnotic effect, which is probably the case as far as the average reader is concerned. Articles in the Western press, which can in some way or other be interpreted in the Soviet sense as an echo of these contacts, also do their share in helping to convince the average reader that an understanding has already been reached between Moscow and its allies of the last war and that the harmonious relations which formerly existed between them have once more been restored. Statements to the contrary, on the part of Western statesmen and politicians, and all similar remarks coming from the West are merely mentioned in the Soviet press and propaganda as strange anachronisms and peculiarities, which can no longer assert themselves in view of the development which is now taking place.

This fact alone surely proves the extent to which Communist rule is based on mass-suggestion coupled with violence, and also that this method has become its main artery. Communist rule has obviously now reached a critical stage, where brutal power is beginning to make no headway and is in need of a new impetus, as regards mass-suggestion, in order to ensure its success. The question now is, what attitude should the West adopt in its policy at the present time! Should it increase its own potential strength and adopt an even more uncompromising and firm attitude than hitherto towards Moscow, in order to frustrate the biggest deceptive manoeuvre of Bolshevism so far, or should it allow itself to be taken in by the conjuring tricks produced at the 20th Party Congress, renounce the Atlantic Pact, do away with the cold war, gloss over the alleged "evolution" of Bolshevism, and, by establishing friendly relations with Moscow, once again furnish the collective leadership of the Kremlin with the strongest weapon that is needed, — namely, the psychological weapon which will undermine the internal front in the Soviet sphere of influence, not to mention the fact that it will also undermine and demoralize the free Western world, which will then be the next victim of global Communist aggression. The answer to this question is surely obvious.

In the course of all the political discussions which have been held all over the world in connection with Moscow's alleged "new course", the one statement which hit the mark was that made by the US Senate Executive Committee, to the effect that Communism has become not more harmless, but more dangerous since the 20th Party Congress. It was pointed out that, whereas in Stalin's day Soviet policy revealed its aims by undisguised ruthlessness and evoked reactions accordingly, his successors now pretend to be harmless, but are, in reality, much more dangerous than he was, since their methods are more cunning and designing.

Those who allow themselves to be deceived by the new principles preached by Moscow and are over-eager to assume that the Communist danger is past and affirm that it would be advisable to fall in with the Soviets' suggestions of a reconciliation, are playing straight into the hands of that trickster, Khrushchev. This sort of opinion only serves to strengthen the Communist fetters which bind the subjugated peoples and, moreover, is guilty of fatally misleading the free world.

Niko Nakashidze

The World-Front Against Bolshevism

The Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, Republic of China (APACLROC) and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) recently issued a joint communiqué in which it was stated that these two important organizations had reached an agreement on their cooperation in the fight against Communism and Russian imperialism. Various free and uncompromising anti-Communist Asian countries are represented in the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL).

This is the first time in history that European and Asian national forces have united to fight Russian imperialism and world Communism. This agreement is therefore of world-wide significance.

The representatives of several nations, in fact, of different races, religions and confessions, have joined forces in order to wage a joint war against tyranny for man's most precious possession, namely for freedom. This

duals!" — will now be adopted by the peoples of Asia. The Freedom Manifesto of the ABN and the ideology of the ABN — the ultimate disintegration and annihilation of Russian imperialism and the restoration of the independent states of the nations subjugated by Russia, within their ethnographical boundaries, — will be supported and advocated by the APACLROC in Asia.

The APACLROC recognizes the ethnographical principle and the principle that compensation must be made for the suffering inflicted on the subjugated peoples by Bolshevism, that is to say that all persons who have been exiled or forcibly deported must be allowed to return to their native country.

Communism, in the opinion of the peoples of Asia, too, is merely another form of Russian imperialism, for the advocate and executor of the Bolshevik revolution was Russia, which



Ku Cheng-kang and Jaroslaw Stetzko signing the Agreement in Taipei (Formosa).

is indeed a powerful union of nations, a union which is prompted by noble motives, namely to save mankind from destruction and ruin.

It is true that other unions of states have been formed for tactical and practical reasons, but they are necessitated by temporary circumstances, and frequently the members of such unions are states in which human rights and freedom do not count at all.

In the case of this union, however, cooperation between the partners is based on their common ethical, moral, just, and ideological principles. And herein lies their strength and their power.

Another important moral and political factor also plays a decisive part in this agreement between APACLROC and ABN: the allies of the ABN in Asia also represent countries which are free sovereign states. The organizations which are members of the ABN represent the subjugated peoples whose countries are ruled by Soviet Russia or by the latter's Communist satellites. On the strength of this agreement they, too, have now been recognized by Free China as the authorized representatives and champions of their nations in the free world.

In signing this agreement, the friends of ABN in Asia proceeded from the conviction and the opinion that no nation can resign itself to slavery and that it can only be, and actually is, represented by those who fight for the freedom of their people.

What are the practical results of this agreement? The principles of the ABN now hold good unreservedly in Asia, too. The fundamental principle proclaimed by ABN — "Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Indivi-

has forced Bolshevism upon other nations, including the Chinese mainland.

The peoples of Asia know as well as we do that the Russian imperium is now the only colonial power in the world which rules over foreign peoples. This imperium alone is the main support of international Communism.

The ABN engages to do its utmost in supporting the fight of Free China and other members of the APACL for the liberation of the Chinese mainland and other Asian countries from Communist rule, and in working for this cause in the free countries of the West.

The ABN supports the movement initiated by Free China, "All Roads Lead To Freedom". This movement is based on humanitarian, noble and ideal principles.

The most important feature about the joint decision to set up an international anti-Bolshevik world-front is that it is not based on the principle of "non-precedent for the future of the peoples", but on the principle of the unconditional recognition of the right of every nation and people to restore its independent sovereign state. And, in this age of disintegration, of the liberation of nations, and of vast political and social upheavals, this decision and this principle are of the greatest possible significance for the success of the fight against Bolshevism.

The agreement between APACLROC and ABN as the nucleus of the world-front against Bolshevism and against the last and only remaining colonial power, Russia, which has enslaved millions of human beings, can provide America and other Western powers with a guarantee of victory and of permanent

(Continued on Page 6)

Unrest in the U.S.S.R.

Ashfield, Juniper Green, Edinburgh, July 2, 1956

The trouble in Poland should not be pushed aside as a mere local riot. At the back is the spirit of Poland, that of the Poles of the Warsaw rising, and with the same ultimate object—throwing off the yoke of a hated oppressor, hated through the centuries. It is unlikely that it had any hope of immediate success, but it was timed to come into the open when there were many Western witnesses, who might bring it to the notice of the free world. Poland is as much under the control of the Kremlin as any State directly in the Soviet Union, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Army is the Russian Rokossovsky, but the Poles, like any people who have known freedom, will never permanently accept slavery, and the Poznan revolt is merely a symptom. It is also a manifestation of what is happening in other countries under Russian domination, with the same aim, free national States.

A similar outbreak occurred in Hungary in June, but there were no Western witnesses, and we shall not learn details for some time. That followed a most significant demonstration in Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, from May 25 to 27, on the 30th anniversary of the murder by a Soviet agent in Paris of Petlura, the Head of the Ukrainian Free Government. Leaflets to his memory and calling on all Ukrainians to fight for Ukrainian independence were posted all over the city. Huge meetings of working men and women and students called for "the liquidation of Muscovite colonialism in Ukraine." The police did not interfere and did not react against the demonstrations. On the evening of the 27th, the demonstrations were continued unabated, and this time were joined in by Red soldiers and sailors, non-Russians, giving point to a former contention of mine that, in the event of war against the West, the non-Russians would not fight for Russia.

In May, a heavily armed Ukrainian insurgent army force attacked a Red force on the railway between Kyiv and Lviv, killing a number of Red soldiers and blowing up an ammunition train. But fighting in Ukraine against the Russians has never ceased in all the 300 years of the Muscovite occupancy, and there is visible proof that all the frightful massacres of the Ukrainians and the deportation of millions by Stalin and Khrushchev have had no other effect on the Ukrainian people than to stimulate them in their fight. It is significant that these demonstrations are especially taken part in enthusiastically by the younger generation, whom Moscow had expected to Communise and denationalise before now, and that the active resistance movement has penetrated all classes, all of whom demand sovereign independence, which they had for many centuries before the civilised world ever heard of the Muscovites.

Again, these Ukrainian outbreaks were preceded by what we were told was a students' riot in Tiflis, the capital of Georgia, in March, against the denunciation of Stalin. In fact it was nothing of the kind, but was a very serious revolt throughout the whole country, beginning in the provinces among working men and women and permeating all classes. It did not reach Tiflis till after some days, as the people there were waiting for the arranged arrival of the French President Auriol, who had been invited to visit the capital, so that a Western witness could be at hand. In the end, the authorities took fright, stopped the President ten miles outside, and he never saw Tiflis, which then rose en masse, against Russia.

Two years before there was another very serious revolt in Georgia, when many Georgians were killed and their dependants were deported, but no news of this has been allowed to reach the West as far as I know.

And so it goes on; on all the subjugated nations Russian rule has been imposed against the will of formerly free peoples and they will never accept it, and, if the West will not give them even moral support in their great fight, they may well become our enemies instead of our friends.

There has never been a more favourable opportunity for the West to press Moscow to abandon the "colonialism" against which she protests when it is other nations who are the "colonialists". Equalling the struggle in the non-Russian countries for free-

dom there is a struggle inside the so-called "collective leadership" for the sole dictatorship which is indigenous to Russia. The power of Khrushchev is by no means secure, and he has serious rivals, the most dangerous of whom is Zhukov, with the Army behind him. And it should be remembered that the Russian soldiers in that Army, as well as the non-Russians, remember well that their fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters were sent to death and misery in the slave camps in Arctic Russia and

Siberia by the same Khrushchev. In the coming struggle for supremacy, the Army supports Zhukov.

Meantime, it is worth again quoting Lord Vansittart's speech in the House of Lords on March 14, when he said that it was the resistance of these people which kept Russia from attacking us. Are we going to have these defenders of ourselves with us or against us? Time presses.

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

A Program of Action for Unifying the Anti-Communist Activities of the Asian Peoples

Since Communist aggression and enslavement are the greatest source of misery and suffering in Asia, as elsewhere in the world, in order to preserve life and freedom and to help maintain international peace and security, the Asian peoples must act without further delay to resist Communist expansion and to liberate the enslaved peoples from the Communist totalitarian rule so that a new Asia, prosperous, free and democratic, may emerge.

The Communist Imperialists are intensifying their subversive activities and expanding their influence in Asia for the purpose of realizing their grand design of world conquest by first conquering Asia. But the internal weaknesses and critical situation of the Communist regimes are also becoming clearer day by day. To save themselves as well as the entire world, the Asian peoples must work out effective counter-measures for immediate implementation. The present program is hereby drawn up as a guide for concerted action.

I. TO BUILD UP AN ANTI-COMMUNIST UNITED FRONT THROUGH ORGANIZED STRENGTH AND COLLECTIVE ACTION, WE MUST:

1. Consolidate and broaden all existing anti-Communist organizations of Asian peoples so that they may unite together under the banner of freedom, irrespective of race, nationality, geographical location, religion or occupation, or political ideas, so long as those ideas be democratic.

Promote the cooperation of all anti-Communist Asian governments for the cause of freedom, strengthen their economic and cultural interchange, and build up an anti-Communist collective security organization composed of all governments in Asia and those bordering on the Pacific.

3. Increase mutual contact and cooperation among all anti-Communist forces of the world, sponsor a world anti-Communist congress, and draw up an overall anti-Communist strategy and program of action.

II. TO LAUNCH AN ANTI-COMMUNIST IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AND AN ANTI-COMMUNIST CAMPAIGN FOR THE REFUTATION OF COMMUNIST THEORIES, WE MUST:

4. Consolidate and build up, on the basis of our precious cultural heritage of the Asian peoples, a correct view of the world and of history as an

answer to Marxism-Leninism which play up contradictions, hatreds, and class struggles.

5. Use educational, informational, and publicity media and every means to expose the errors and weaknesses of the Communist theory and forestall the spread of its poisonous propaganda.

III. TO EXPOSE THE SOVIET INTRIGUE OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" AND OPPOSE THE POLICIES OF APPEASEMENT AND COMPROMISE, WE MUST:

6. Unmask the cold-war strategy and tactics of International Communist Imperialism and refute the so-called "five-principles" advocated by the puppet Peiping regime.

7. Oppose all neutralism and appeasement and urge all governments and peoples to refuse to cooperate in any way whatever with the Russian Imperialists and their satellites and bar them from all international conferences in Asia.

8. Oppose all useless "peace talks" with the Russian Imperialists and their satellites, and the signing of all futile "treaties of friendship" with them.

9. Warn against any sort of political coalition or alliance with the Communists inside the country in order to defeat their dangerous intrigues of forming "United Fronts" and vaging parliamentary struggles.

IV. TO FOSTER THE ANTI-COMMUNIST POTENTIALS OF ASIAN SOCIETY AND DEFEAT THE INFILTRATION AND SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES OF COMMUNIST IMPERIALISM, WE MUST:

10. Urge all governments to outlaw the Communist Parties through due legislative procedure and forbid all their open or secret activities.

11. Improve the livelihood, health, culture, and education, recreational facilities, and productive power of all Asian peoples with a view to promoting the welfare of their children, women, and the broad masses of farmers and laborers and removing the cause of Communist agitation.

12. Urge and help all governments to strengthen their counter-espionage activities and exchange anti-Communist information and experience as well as counter-infiltration and counter-subversion techniques and methods.

13. Remove all remnant colonial forces and influences and create, on a basis of absolute independence, equality, and mutual benefit, new

represents the foundation-stone, as it were, of the friendship of nations, of the peoples of Europe and Asia, a friendship which will survive the test of time.

In this age of technical progress distances no longer exist and the nations are nearer to each other than they were in former times, but only in the material sense. As a result of this agreement between APACLROC and ABN, however, the nations are united spiritually and morally. In our atomic age half the world is living in slavery, a fact which is a disgrace to civilization. The world-front of the peoples of APACL and ABN aims to do away with this dreadful evil. And because it is fighting for a just cause, it will be victorious. The Western powers, too, will soon realize that our course is the only one to be adopted if the world is to be saved.

We wish our friends - Free China - success and victory for their just cause, which is and will continue to be our cause, too.

friendly relations between Asian and other free nations in order to make it impossible for the Communist Imperialists to cause misunderstanding and drive a wedge between them.

V. TO INSIST ON THE LIBERATION OF PEOPLES SHUT BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN AND DESTROY THE PUPPET REGIMES THE RUSSIAN IMPERIALISTS HAVE SET UP IN ASIA, WE MUST:

14. Give moral and material support to the anti-Communist activities of peoples behind the Iron Curtain; help them escape from Communist-held areas, and give them political asylum and means of livelihood.

15. Oppose the aggressive expansionism of the Russian Imperialists and their satellites in any part of Asia; refuse to recognize, and eventually overthrow, all puppet regimes and territorial changes effected through violence by the Russian Imperialists and their satellites.

16. Oppose the admission of any puppet Communist regime to the United Nations and rigidly enforce the UN global embargo against the aggressors.

17. Support the Republic of China in recovering the Chinese mainland, the Republic of Korea in recovering North Korea, and the Republic of Vietnam in recovering North Vietnam, and oppose any measures that obstruct the realization of those goals.

VI. TO MAKE ASIA INTO A FREE, PEACEFUL, AND PROSPEROUS CONTINENT AS PART OF THE ANTI-COMMUNIST STRUGGLE, WE MUST:

18. Develop, as part of the anti-Communist struggle and by democratic methods, ways of life and political institutions suitable to the people's needs in accordance with their historical backgrounds, geographical environments, cultural traditions, and regular aspirations.

19. Cooperate on a basis of equality with any nation of the world for the anti-Communist cause and work hand in hand with all democratic countries of the world.

20. Bear the share that is due of the anti-Communist responsibility along with other peoples of the anti-aggression camp, and work for the creation of a new Asia, free, peaceful, and prosperous, in order to uphold and promote world peace and prosperity.

(From "Documents of the Second Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist Conference" APACL, Manila, March, 1956)

President Jaroslav Stetko Visits Ambassador Dr. Yu Tsune-chi

On June 22nd, the President of the Central Committee of the ABN, Mr. Jaroslav Stetko, visited the Chinese Ambassador, Dr. Yu Tsune-chi, the chief delegate of Free China at the Conference of the International Labour Organization (ILO), in Geneva. In the course of the lengthy discussion which Mr. Stetko had with the Ambassador on the subject of the international political situation, it became obvious that there was complete agreement between the attitude maintained by Free China and that of the ABN. The Ambassador very aptly, and, incidentally, with a certain amount of irony, described the present tactics of the Kremlin when he remarked, "If Khrushchev was prepared to betray his master, Stalin, why should he not betray the West, too? If the collective leaders profess that they desire peace and freedom for all peoples of the world, why does Russia not grant Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, and the other subjugated countries independence? Why do the Moscow rulers not withdraw their armies from the countries subjugated by Russia? Why do they not put an end to concentration camps and why do they not introduce free elections as proof of their changed attitude?"

At one point in the ILO Conference, the Ambassador interrupted the Bolshevik delegate and informed him that he had represented Chiang Kai-shek's government for many years in the past and was still representing it. It would be interesting to know, so he added, whether the Bolshevik delegate was still representing Stalin and which of his employers he would describe as a mass-murderer in the near future!

peace. To disregard the fate of the peoples ruled by Bolshevism and to buy coexistence at this price, is to bring about the downfall and destruction of the free world.

The emigrant organizations of the subjugated peoples and of the countries ruled by Russia, that is to say by Communism, shall and will support the APACLROC by every possible means and in every possible way, and will, on every occasion, defend the just cause of the national government of Free China.

The positive attitude expressed by President Chiang Kai-shek himself during his talk with the President of the ABN, Jaroslav Stetko, towards the idea of the national liberation of the peoples subjugated by Russia and by Communism, corroborates our point of view and gives the agreement a special significance.

This agreement is the foundation on which the new world is to be built, a world of free individuals, a world of free nations. It also

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

The Soviet Solidarity Committee of the Asian Countries

Moscow's efforts to achieve a more effective European policy by consolidating its influence in Asia still continue. According to Moscow's opinion, Europe is a hotbed of colonialism and Asia the victim of Western imperialism. And this is the slogan which the Soviets use in their constant efforts to stir up strife between the peoples of Asia and the peoples of Europe and America.

So far the Soviet government endeavoured to consolidate its Asian policy by means of an economic offensive, by an intensive cultural propaganda, by disseminating the coexistence idea, fighting the Western powers and colonialism, establishing personal contacts with leading personalities in Asia, and propagating the Soviet regime. We do not at this point intend to discuss these Soviet measures in detail, since we are convinced that the people of the West are capable of forming their own opinion in this respect and trust that they are well aware of the significance of such measures. Suffice it is to say that the Soviets have recently intensified their activity in Asia considerably. Whereas their aim in Europe is to preserve the status quo, their efforts in Asia are concentrated on preparing one country after another for the Soviet system of people's democracies.

The 20th Party Congress of the Soviet Union clearly stated Moscow's real global aim and, at the same time, defined the new principles to be adopted by the Soviets in their activity in Asia. With the aid of Red China, India and Burma, Asia is to be won over for the coexistence idea, in order to guarantee the victory of Communism "by means of peaceful competition". By resorting to various methods and means, the Soviets intend to compel the countries of Asia to join the camp of Communist socialism. And in order to achieve this aim, the Soviet government has not only employed its diplomats, but has also formed a parent organization consisting of some of its leading men in public life who have so far played a decisive part in Asian problems.

On May 20, 1956, TASS announced in all Asian languages that a Soviet Solidarity Committee of the Asian countries had been founded in Moscow. This committee, of which Mirza Tursun-Zada, a Turkistanian, is the president, consists of twenty persons. Its members are representatives of five nations of the Soviet Union, namely 12 Turkistanians, 5 Russians, 1 Armenian, 1 Azerbaijanian, and 1 Georgian. A closer study of this personal combination of the committee reveals that Moscow intends to reinforce its advance in Asia with the aid of certain well-known personalities. The president of the committee, Tursun-Zada, a poet, is also president of the authors' association of the Tajikistan S.S.R. His poems have been published in India, Pakistan, Iran, and Afghanistan. He knows these countries well and enjoys considerable prestige there on the strength of his poetic talent. His task is not to disseminate Soviet propaganda in the Orient by making speeches in public there, but to try to spread the Soviet spirit by means of his poems. Another important member of the committee is the son of the Red Mufti of Turkestan, Sijauddin Babachan, who in the Mohammedan countries of the Orient claims to be the supreme provincial judge of Turkestan, an office which has been corroborated by the government of the Soviet Union in the free Mohammedan countries. Babachan knows the Arabian countries well and speaks Arabic fluently. His sphere of operation is the holy city of Mecca, the centre of Mohammedanism. With the help of this man, Moscow has for some time been trying to spread its influence among the millions of Moslem pilgrims who come to Mecca. The remaining ten Turkistanians on the committee include professors and ministers of the Soviet Republic of Turkestan, as well as trade union functionaries, who all know the countries of Asia well, either as a result of their studies, their employment in Soviet service, or numerous visits to these countries. Among those members of the committee who hail from Caucasia, one of the most important men is the vice-president of the Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan, Toptshibashi, who is regarded in the Soviet Union as one of the outstanding authorities on Turkey. Of the Russian members, two of the most important are probably Nesterov and Prof.

Guber, who play an important part in the Soviets' Asian policy. Nesterov is the president of the Chamber of Commerce of the Soviet Union and is regarded as the advocate of the Soviet economic offensive in the Asian countries. Prof. Guber is the head of the Institute for Oriental Studies at the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. and is in charge of Soviet research activity throughout the entire Orient. All the persons on the committee, some of whose names have been mentioned above, represent the elite of Soviet experts on the Orient, whose authority, knowledge and activity Moscow is now employing in Asia with considerable expectations.

This Soviet Solidarity Committee of the Asian countries is not the only committee of its kind, for national committees exist in 15 Asian countries which are not part of the Soviet Union. The idea of founding national solidarity committees was prompted by the All-Indian Solidarity Committee which was already formed in 1950. In April 1955, a conference of the All-Indian Solidarity Committee of the Asian countries, which was attended by a Soviet delegation, was held in Delhi. The primary task of this conference was to pursue the aims set by the Soviets in Asia, since Moscow had by this time succeeded in influencing the All-Indian Solidarity Committee of the Asian countries. At present, all the national solidarity committees of the Asian countries are under the influence of the Soviets or are about to be subordinated to Moscow's domination.

As was announced, the aims and tasks of the Soviet solidarity committees of the Asian countries are as follows:

- 1) to spread and intensify the coexistence idea;
- 2) to fight the "colonialism" of the West and to liberate the colonial and semi-colonial countries from European and American "imperialism";
- 3) to support the peoples of Asia in their national independence policy;
- 4) to coordinate Soviet propaganda in Asia;
- 5) to strengthen cooperation with the national solidarity committees of the Asian countries.

According to Soviet reports, the national solidarity committees have more than 100 million supporters. Though this figure is undoubtedly an exaggeration on the part of the Soviets, the fact must not, however, be overlooked that the latter have, through the medium of these committees, managed to find a large number of supporters in the Asian countries who exert their influence on the population under the guise of the "solidarity of the Asian countries".

The Western world also possesses an "Asia Committee", namely the "American Committee of Free

Asia" in California, which has a branch-office in Karachi. The aims and tasks of this American committee, however, are very different from those of the Soviet Solidarity Committee. Whereas the "American Committee of Free Asia" is purely defensive in character, the purpose of the Soviet Solidarity Committee of the Asian countries is an aggressive one. The American committee is, above all, occupied with fighting Communism in the free countries of Asia and its primary aim is to protect the free countries from Communism. The various aims and tasks of the Soviet committee have already been mentioned above. The American committee is not conducting a fight against Muscovite colonialism. The Soviet committee, on the other hand, however, openly attacks America and Europe through the medium of its extreme fighting slogans and poses as the pseudo-defender of the colonial peoples, despite the fact that the colonial system of the West in Asia is now vanishing completely.

The free world is thus once more confronted with a dangerous Soviet organization in Asia. The Soviet Solidarity Committee of the Asian countries is a combination of well-known personalities who play a leading part in political, academic and economic life. And this committee is backed up by Soviet diplomatic circles, Red China, countless Soviet camouflage organizations, and the Communist parties. Moscow is endeavouring by means of this committee to assume the leadership of the peoples of Asia, who are seeking to solve their political, social, economic, and cultural problems by joint action. It is truly astounding that the free world press has so far not paid any attention to this latest Soviet procedure, the significance of which must by no means be underestimated. If Moscow conquers free Asia, Europe and America will likewise be lost. We must, of course, bear in mind that Moscow, at least for the time being, has refrained from resorting to belligerent measures against the free countries. But its strategic aim on the other hand, namely to achieve the victory of Communism by Communist infiltration into the individual countries, has now advanced into the foreground. On every possible occasion Moscow quotes Lenin's words: "Sooner or later, all nations will adopt socialism". The Soviet Solidarity Committee of the Asian countries is an indicator, the purpose of which is not to point the way to peace and freedom, but to register the weak spots of the Asian countries. It was not for nothing that the Moscow journal, "Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie", No. 1, 1956, in its leading article emphasized that the main task in research should be "to ascertain the differences between the national forces of the Orient and the imperialism of the West".

Free China's Ambassador To America, Dr. Tong, On The Fight Against Communism

During a speech which he held at the "National Press Club" in Washington on June 13, 1956, Dr. Tong stated that Soviet Russia was taking advantage of the armistice described as "peaceful coexistence", in order to industrialize the Chinese mainland. He went on to say that once the latter had approximately reached the level of Soviet Russian industrialization, the two states by their union would represent the strongest aggressive power that has ever existed in this world. He added that once such a dreadful union had been effected, it would be immaterial whether this union concerned the territory of the Chinese mainland since the consequences would affect all of us.

The question at issue in this case is, what attitude are the free nations going to adopt in this matter? Dr. Tong pointed out that at present certain influential persons in the free nations, in Europe, Asia, and even in the United States are "advising the free nations to come to an agreement with the Communists and to make a bargain with them, and actually attach a certain amount of importance to such a step." This sort of attitude, so Dr. Tong stressed, is likely to endanger defensive alliances and strengthen and consolidate the Communist bloc. "This would encourage the cowards to desert, and the hesitant ones to give

up the fight, and would, furthermore, completely undermine the morale of the subjugated peoples.

"Those who support such advice apparently overlook the fact that the Chinese mainland is not as yet the mighty colossus which the adherents of coexistence would have us believe. The power of the regime which prevails there is based almost exclusively on terrorism and oppression. It is a regime which has been set up on a time bomb, and this time bomb is the uncurbed and uncompromising nation."

Dr. Tong added: "A veritable workshop of Asiatic democracy has been set up in the Republic of China, on the island of Taiwan. The Chinese who are obliged to endure the terrible yoke of the Communist regime envy their fellow-countrymen in Taiwan who are free. Communism will never succeed in consolidating its empire which it has pieced together at the cost of so much bloodshed; it will continue to breed unhappiness and discontent among the people.

"Resistance has never been hopeless in the fight of freedom against oppression and tyranny. And tyranny does not afford the tyrants security, for the people continue to oppose them both openly and secretly."

Spain as an Example

Spain is the only country in Europe which understands our fight and its aims, and her statesmen give moral support to this fight whenever an opportunity presents itself. On Spanish soil the representatives of the subjugated peoples are allowed complete freedom in propagating their ideas. Spain refuses to acknowledge the present status quo in Eastern Europe, and to a certain extent the Spanish government still legally recognizes the diplomatic representatives of National Poland, Bulgaria, Roumania, Hungary, and the Baltic States, etc.

The Ukrainians and members of other nations who have been subjugated by the U.S.S.R. enjoy complete freedom of thought and convictions in Spain, as well as the moral support of the Spanish public and press. It is a well-known fact that Spain is in sympathy with our fight for freedom.

Spain of today deserves the whole-hearted support of the peoples subjugated by Bolshevism, for she is one of the few free countries in the world that is not afraid to declare openly that she sympathizes with the national anti-Bolshevist fight of the peoples subjugated by Moscow. If the Western world were to adopt the political attitude maintained by Spain towards the anti-Bolshevist fight, the entire international political situation would be quite different.

On every possible occasion, Generalissimo Franco and Foreign Minister Artajo stress the fact that they sincerely sympathize with the subjugated peoples' fight for freedom and endeavour to point out to the West the right course to be adopted in the fight against Bolshevism.

A Memorable Day in the History of Spain

Every year, July 18th, the day on which the war of liberation against Communist rule broke out in Spain twenty years ago, is celebrated as a national occasion. This memorable day should really serve as a warning to and be observed by the entire free world. For if Communism in Spain had not been overthrown thanks to the strength of the Christian and national idea, then Muscovite divisions would now be stationed along the Mediterranean and the Atlantic.

To mark this memorable occasion, a reception was held at the Spanish Consulate General in Munich by Consul Rafael Fernandez-Quintanilla. The numerous guests present also included representatives of the Bavarian government, notable personalities in political, educational, and economic circles, and members of the German nobility and the press, etc.

The Consul General of the USA, various other consular representatives in Munich, and Archduke Otto von Habsburg and his wife also attended the reception. Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, the President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and formerly Prime Minister of Ukraine, was also present and, on behalf of the subjugated peoples, congratulated the Spanish Consul General on the occasion of this memorable national day.

A Spanish Friend Appointed to a New Post

On June 27, 1956, Senior Prof. Dr. Antonio F. de Correa Veglison, who is a big friend of the peoples subjugated by Communism, was appointed head of the press, propaganda and broadcasting departments of the Spanish Falange by Generalissimo Franco.

During the anti-Communist war of liberation in Spain Prof. Veglison took part in the heavy fighting on the northern front, along the River Ebro and in Catalonia. After the successful termination of the war, he was appointed Governor of Gerona. Subsequently, he was appointed head of the information service of the government in 1939, Governor of Barcelona in 1940, to the rank of a head professor of the Military Polytechnic Department in 1945, and, later on, to various high posts in the Ministry of Education.

In the course of his activity in all these posts, Prof. Veglison always showed a sincere friendliness towards the subjugated peoples, and the students

living in exile in Spain found a generous friend and protector in him.

The Central Committee of the ABN takes this opportunity of expressing its sincerest congratulations to Professor Veglison on his appointment to his new post.

His Excellency Martin Artajo Receives Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko

On June 20, 1956, the former Ukrainian Prime Minister and present President of the Central Committee of the ABN, Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, was received in audience by the Foreign Minister of Spain, Senor Martin Artajo, in the presence of the head of the East European Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Minister of State, Daniel Castel.

The Foreign Minister stated that he was fully in sympathy with the peoples subjugated by Communism, in their fight for freedom and independence.

Mr. Stetzko expressed his gratitude to the Spanish government for its friendly attitude towards the peoples of Eastern Europe and then discussed current problems of world-politics with Senor Martin Artajo and Senor Daniel Castel.

The communiqué on the audience which was issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was published in the Spanish press.

Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko Visits His Excellency, the US Ambassador at Madrid, John D. Lodge

Whilst in Madrid Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko called on His Excellency, the US Ambassador, John D. Lodge.

Since the days of his political activity in the USA Ambassador John D. Lodge has been

known as a sincere friend of all the peoples subjugated by Moscow and as an authority on questions pertaining to the East. He has always supported our peoples' cause and their fight for freedom and state independence, and enjoys the confidence of political emigrant circles from the countries behind the Iron Curtain.

The King of Bulgaria Holds a Reception in Madrid

Last year, His Majesty the King of Bulgaria, Simeon II, attained his majority and began to organize the National Representation of the Bulgarians in exile.

The Bulgarian National Front, which is represented in the Central Committee of the ABN by the former Bulgarian Minister of State, Stateff, and the former Bulgarian Secretary of State, Dr. Walscheff, and the majority of Bulgarians supported the initiative of King Simeon II.

On June 16, 1956, after attending divine service, King Simeon II, together with his mother, Queen Johanna, the daughter of King Victor Emmanuel of Italy, held an official reception to mark the occasion of his nineteenth birthday.

Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko on behalf of the ABN conveyed the organization's sincere good wishes and congratulations to King Simeon II and, at the invitation of the latter, took part in the celebrations, accompanied by the secretary of the ABN delegation in Spain, Mr. Wlodomyr Pastuschuk.

The guests who had been invited to the reception by King Simeon II included representatives of the Spanish government and the army, members of diplomatic missions in Madrid, and numerous well-known personalities of political and public life in Spain.

The Central Committee of the ABN also sent a message of congratulation to His Majesty. Our Editorial Department would like to take this opportunity to likewise express its sincere good wishes and congratulations to King Simeon II.

A Commentary on the Riots in Poland

It is true that the revolt of the Polish workers in Poznan was forcibly suppressed by means of tanks and machine guns and in keeping with the usual ruthless methods of Soviet Russian terrorism, but, following on the insurrections and demonstrations in East Berlin, Tiflis, Eriwan, Baku, Kyiv, Vorkuta, Kingiri, and elsewhere, it nevertheless must be regarded as a warning beacon by the entire free world.

The riots in Poznan are, above all, convincing counter-evidence to the superficial opinions held in the Western world, according to which the "new course" since the 20th Party Congress has resulted in a relaxation of the regime in the East Bloc countries;

these spontaneous riots are likewise irrefutable proof of the true conditions in Soviet-Russian-ruled Poland which, as in all the other Russian-ruled countries, continue to be so unbearable that a single spark suffices to make the seething discontent of the masses develop into a conflagration;

the revolt of the Polish workers is, moreover, a powerful manifestation of the spirit of resistance of the peoples enslaved by Communism and of their willingness to sacrifice their own lives for the restoration of their national and individual freedom;

and, finally, the revolution in Poznan which was suppressed in its early stages is an unmistakable sign of the grave crisis which at present prevails throughout the entire Bolshevik sphere of influence and

which is caused by the general latent resistance of the subjugated peoples against Soviet Russian rule;

viewed in the light of the Poznan riots, the "new course" decreed by Moscow stands out as an obvious attempt to neutralize this internal crisis and to ease the internal political tension by a policy of coexistence.

The incidents in Poznan are thus a warning, written in blood, to the Western world lest it legalize the Communist regime in any form whatsoever or help Bolshevism to stabilize its status by discontinuing the cold war.

This revolt and all the countless and ruthlessly suppressed insurrections organized by all the enslaved peoples in the Soviet sphere of influence represent an urgent appeal to the conscience of the free world. They demand not only that an uncompromising attitude should be adopted towards Moscow, but also that the fight against Communism and Russian imperialism should be intensified as far as possible, especially in view of the present crisis, in order to strengthen and give active and effective support to the spirit of resistance of our enslaved peoples.

It is thus the duty of the West, in its own interest, to further the liberation policy of the subjugated nations in keeping with the watchword, "Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!", so that these nations shall not be reduced to the depths of despair, but will remain allies of the West. It is imperative

Final Remarks on the Riots in Poland**The Fiery Signs of Desperation***Western Coexistence Policy a Rear-attack on the Subjugated Peoples*

The terrestrial globe trembles under the brazen tread of a relentless fate which rages blindly against the nations violated by Russian Communist Bolshevism. Scores of peoples struggle fiercely against the stranglehold of Moscow. And in the cause of historical truth one is bound to admit that, had the Western powers supported our fight for independence after the first World War, had they insisted upon Ukraine regaining her independence after the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, and had they refused to agree to the conditions of Yalta, Teheran, and Potsdam, then the history of the world would, indeed, have taken a different turn.

In making these mistakes the West has, however, to a very considerable extent helped vampiric Soviet Russia to develop into a gigantic power and menace, a fact which has forced the nations in the Bolshevist peoples' prison to continue their desperate fight against Russian tyranny which they have been conducting for the past 35 or 15 years. It is little consolation to them that one of the statesmen responsible for the policy of the West in World War II, namely Sir Winston Churchill, has come to the conclusion that "the wrong pig" has been slaughtered.

There was bitter feeling enough on the part of the subjugated peoples towards the Western world when the latter during World War II showed, by its over-eager negotiations with Stalin, that it preferred to help this powerful and most dangerous tyrant and to surrender the countries now enslaved to him in order to conciliate him, instead of forming an alliance with these peoples against Hitler's Germany and Russia, in order to get rid of both these despotic regimes. Nor is the present policy of the West likely to have a favourable influence on the feelings of the peoples of Eastern Europe or of Asia.

Despite this fact, however, these peoples, who in their hearts are nevertheless well-disposed to the West, have not abandoned their fight even though they have, as it were, been attacked in the rear in so regrettable a manner. Undaunted, they continue their heroic fight against their Russian subjugator.

Under pressure of this national fight for freedom the Kremlin rulers have been obliged to change their tactics, to preach coexistence, and to lay the blame for the crimes committed against the subjugated peoples on their "example and master", Stalin. In its essential character, however, the Stalinist regime has not changed at all, and terrorism continues unabated. It has merely resorted to deceptive manoeuvres in order to mislead the naive-minded.

Cracking Beams in the Temple of the Bolshevist Idols

The ones who refuse to be misled by such manoeuvres, however, are those peoples who are obliged to endure personally the blessings of the

that every possible attempt be made to prevent the embitterment of the subjugated nations, a feeling which has been aroused by the passive attitude and indifference of the West to their fate, from growing still more.

It is imperative that the West should actively support the national and revolutionary freedom aims of the peoples enslaved by Moscow and should guarantee them the right to national independence and freedom in their democratic states within their ethnographical boundaries!

Only in this way, by national revolutions, can Soviet Russian despotism and Communism be vanquished without an atomic war.

The Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN).

"Soviet Paradise", day in day out. And this is the reason why their resistance against the Muscovite dictatorship is assuming more and more intense forms.

Exactly two years ago, that is to say soon after Stalin's death, the German workers revolted against the "Workers' and Farmers' Government".

At the same time, insurrections also occurred in the satellite countries and in some of the countries of the U.S.S.R. itself. But the West ignored the desperate cry and the blood shed by the enslaved German workers on June 17, 1954. It was pleased that peace and quiet had at last been restored. The peace and quiet of graveyards and concentration camps!

Exactly two years ago, thousands of internees, including workers, farmers, and members of the intelligentsia, rebelled against Russian subjugation in the Kingiri concentration camp near Karaganda, in Turkestan. Singing the Ukrainian national anthem, five hundred Ukrainian heroines hurled themselves of their own free will under the wheels of the Russian tanks, in order to save their comrades in the concentration camp from being massacred ("Rheinischer Merkur" of June 15, 1956).

On February 16, 1956, the paper, "Red Banner", reported from Volhynia in Ukraine that thousands of insurgents were fighting in the forests of Ukraine against Red tyranny.

On February 13, 1956, the "Pravda" reported insurgent fighting in Turkestan, and the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Kyritchenko, himself corroborated this statement.

And then numerous demonstrations were held in the streets of Tiflis (Georgia), in Baku (Azerbaijan), in Erivan (Armenia), and in Odessa and Kyiv in Ukraine, which did not — as one erroneously wanted to assume — serve the purpose of defending Stalin, but of taking advantage of the dissolution of the regime and proclaiming the people's aim to obtain their freedom.

When the French Foreign Minister, Pineau, visited the town of Erivan in Armenia, women broke through the crowds and cried, "Save us!"

A short time ago, the youth of Bohemia and Slovakia held demonstrations to protest against Communist inhumanity.

Clashes between the population and the Communist police are also reported from Hungary, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, and the Baltic States.

But there is not merely political ferment behind the Iron Curtain. The subjugated peoples have now entered upon an open war, everywhere, both "in freedom" and in the concentration camps. But the West only receives news of this fact occasionally, that is to say whenever Western observers now and again visit the countries behind the Iron Curtain.

A Warning to the West

The riots of the workers in Poznan represent the last warning to be given by the peoples and individuals who are being tormented and tortured by the Russian tyrants. They are the last link in the long chain of the active national fight for freedom. And they are not only a "memento mori" to Moscow, but also the last warning to America and the West.

If the West does not actively intervene and support the fight for freedom waged by our peoples, and if the West continues to support the coexistence policy introduced by Russia solely for reasons of weakness and continues to allow the Russians to murder our peoples, as has been and is still the case in Poznan, East Berlin, Bohemia, Georgia, Slovakia, Armenia, Ukraine, Bulgaria, Esthonia, Lithuania, and elsewhere, then the subjugated peoples in their despair and embitterment will turn against the West and will follow their own course. If the West joins Russia in pursuing

a common policy against our peoples, then it need not be surprised if the latter draw the logical conclusions to be inferred from such a step.

The present situation urgently demands that no new errors should be added to the old ones. We warn the West to desist from continuing its policy of fear and weakness. Hitler on a previous occasion already drove the peoples of Eastern Europe into the hands of Russia, that is to say, it was he who compelled us to wage a two-front war against Germany and Russia. By pursuing its present policy, the West is likely to make the same mistake that Hitler did, in which case it will be worn down, materially and physically, by Russia and will then be incorporated in a Communist world-empire. When they have been reduced to this sorry state, the Western peoples as our fellow-sufferers will probably become our allies!

If the West continues to pursue its present policy, a war is bound to be inevitable between the West and Russia, and the West will lose this war if it does not receive the active support of the subjugated peoples. The "policy of no precedent" adopted by the West was a big disappointment as far as our peoples are concerned, and now, to crown matters, the West is virtually supporting the tyrants by agreeing to their policy of coexistence and to the extermination of our fight for freedom, and, as regards this latter measure, is indirectly offering to assist the Kremlin.

It seems almost incredible that a member of the Foreign Office should affirm that the rioting in Poznan is "an internal Polish affair". Was the revolt against Hitler in Warsaw also an internal affair? Valuable lives are sacrificed not only for the freedom of our peoples, but also for the freedom of the West. And even if it is only thanks to our resistance that the West continues to live in freedom and even though this fact is assessed in such a peculiar manner, we cannot help but ask: What has happened to the Christian ideals, the humanity and the dignity of the Christians who live in freedom?

Our peoples are not begging the West for favours. They are merely urging it to remember that their cause is its cause, too! The Armenian women cried, "Save us!", but we cry, "Save yourselves!", provided that it is not already too late to do so. For if Russia exterminates our national liberation movements, then you, too, will be the victims of Russia and of war. And in that case, seeing that the West is now maintaining an egoistic attitude, our embittered peoples would not try to save Western freedom.

By supporting our national fight for freedom you can prevent an atomic war, since Russia, once the national revolutions, which now threaten, have broken out, would not be in a position to attack the West or to use thermo-nuclear weapons. This latter possibility would be out of the question, all the more so since such weapons would be directed against the territories occupied by Russia and against her own military forces, who would, of course, have to be used to fight against our peoples.

The workers and the youth of Poznan, Georgia, Ukraine, Bohemia, Armenia, and in the concentration camps of Siberia and Kazakstan have revolted in order to show the West once again and for the last time that we are continuing our fight and that the time is now ripe — and now, especially ripe — for the West to adopt a policy of intervention and liberation. Insurrections are constantly breaking out everywhere, but this fact is intentionally overlooked by the West.

Hasten to give your support to a just cause before it is too late! Erivan, Baku, Tiflis, Volhynia, Prague, and Poznan are the last warning which the West will receive.

Russia is at present an idol with feet of clay. It is imperative that you should intervene at once before these feet turn to steel! Help the subjugated peoples in their fight for freedom, for by doing so you are helping your own cause! Z. K.

Europe in the Atomic Age

On June 2nd, Jaroslaw Stetzko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine in 1941 and now President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, arrived in Madrid, where, at the invitation of the "European Centre of Documentation and Information", he attended its 5th Congress, which was held in Escorial from June 4th to June 7th. Another Ukrainian, Mr. Wolodymyr Pastuschuk, also took part in the Congress. In the evening, on June 3rd, all those taking part in the Congress were invited to a reception given in their honour by the Institute of Spanish Culture. Immediately after the reception they then left for Escorial.

The Congress was held in the chapter-house of the famous monastery. In order to meet the requi-

rial goods. Were social justice to be applied in keeping with the social measures he had suggested, then, the speaker added, it would be much easier to conquer Communism. His lecture was imbued with the spirit of Christian and social idealism, which culminated in an appeal to all social classes within the nation to cooperate and to overcome every form of class egoism. In the discussion which followed some extremely interesting ideas were voiced by the former Minister of Education, Mr. Ruis Chimenes, who emphasized the important part played by the family and the necessity of solving the present social problems at once if the West wishes to emerge victorious from its competition with Communism. The opinions expressed by Mr. Solis Ruiz and Mr. Ruis Chimenes gave

of the subjugated peoples to the questions dealt with by Dr. von Merkatz. As a number of speakers interpreted the term "Europe" as meaning Western Europe only, Mr. Stetzko pointed out that it was erroneous to regard the problem merely from this aspect, since such an attitude was not only incompatible with the actual state of affairs, but also acted as a rebuff as far as the friendliness of the East European peoples towards the West was concerned and drove them into the arms of Moscow against their will.

The next speaker after Mr. Stetzko was the editor of the German paper, "Münchener Merkur", Mr. Alfons Dalma, who supported Mr. Stetzko's opinion regarding the part of the subjugated peoples in the fight against Bolshevism and the possibility of preventing an atomic war by applying the policy of liberation. Other speakers in the course of these discussions were Senator Henri Sacquet of France, Dr. Emil Franzel, editor of the journal, "Das Neue Abendland", who disagreed with Mr. Stetzko's conception of national states, but later on acknowledged that this conception was right with regard to the Russian imperium, the Spanish delegate, Mr. Fucyo Alvarez, Dr. Hahn, the delegate from Holland, Count de Montareo, representing Spain, Mr. Kaptijn, representing Holland, Dr. Schwarzenbach, the Swiss delegate, and various other persons.

It is interesting to note that one of the Belgian delegates stressed the fact that Ukraine is part of Europe; he pointed out that the Europe which some of the delegates talked about was an amputated Europe, and thus supported the views expressed by the Ukrainian delegates. One of the French delegates, too, sided with the opinion voiced by the President of the Central Committee of the ABN.

The Executive Committee of the Congress which convened for three days consisted of the following members: the President of the Committee, Archduke Otto von Habsburg, and Dr. von Merkatz, Senator Yver, Dr. Jäger, Vice-President of the German Bundestag, Marquis de Waldeglesias, the Spanish Secretary-General, and various other persons.

On the fourth day, the 5th International Congress of the European Centre of Documentation and Information was officially terminated in the presence of the Spanish Foreign Minister, Martin Artajo, as President of the Presidium, accompanied by Otto von Habsburg, Ibañez Martin, the President of the Council of the Kingdom, Antonio Villaciers, the director of the Department for Foreign Relations, and Marquis de Waldeglesias.

Marquis de Waldeglesias gave a summary of the work of the Congress with regard to the lectures and discussions held.

The representatives of the various national delegations then made statements in which they signified their approval of the summary given by Marquis de Waldeglesias. Archduke Otto von Habsburg stressed the important part played by Spain as a bulwark of Europe in the fight against godless Bolshevism.

In conclusion, the Spanish Foreign Minister, Martin Artajo, emphasized the importance of the idea of a United Europe in the fight for the liberation of the peoples subjugated by Moscow, whom, he added, Spain would never forget.

A big banquet was then given in honour of the delegates at the Hotel "Philipp the Second". Speeches were made on this occasion by Foreign Minister Artajo as the host and, on behalf of the representatives of the free and the subjugated nations who had taken part in the Congress, by the Greek delegate, Mr. Papadakis, who, in the name of all the delegates, expressed his thanks to those in charge of the Congress.

During the Congress the Chief Mayor of Madrid, Count de Mayalde, and his wife gave a dinner in honour of the delegates. After the Congress the delegates were invited to take part in a sight-seeing tour of Granada, which is famous for its buildings in the Moorish style, the Alhambra, the former Palace of the Moorish kings, and many other remarkable works of Spanish architecture



The members of the Congress in Granada.

rements of the Congress, control-loudspeakers had been installed in the chapter-house by means of which it was thus possible to relay the lectures simultaneously in Spanish, French and German. The general theme of discussion at the Congress was "Europe in the Atomic Age".

On the first day of the Congress, a lecture, which had as its subject "Europe's Economic Problems in the Atomic Age", was given by Senator Michel Yver, a member of the Commission for the Foreign Affairs of the Council of the French Republic. Senator Yver discussed the prospects of using atomic energy for peaceful purposes, and in particular stressed its use in cases where coal and other types of fuel and also electricity are not available. He did not, however, mention the military, economic, and political aspect of the problem, a fact which was pointed out to him by certain members of the audience in the course of the discussion which was subsequently held.

On the second day of the Congress, the President of the Spanish syndicates, Mr. José Solis Ruiz, gave a lecture on the "Social Aspect of Europe in the Atomic Age". He discussed the relation between capital and labour and, mentioning the faults of the liberal capitalistic order, stressed the necessity of consolidating the social order in Europe, which should be based on the joint cooperation of all the social classes of the nation, should preclude any possibility of the worker being exploited, and should, moreover, guarantee the worker the right of co-determination in the process of production and of distribution of mate-

rise to a lively discussion in which members of various national delegations present at the Congress took part.

The most interesting subject as far as the subjugated peoples were concerned was that of the third lecture, "The Pros and Cons of Democracy", which was held by Dr. von Merkatz, Minister of State of the German Federal Republic. Despite the fact that his lecture was the main theme of the third day of the Congress, Dr. von Merkatz only dealt fairly briefly with the political aspect of Europe in the atomic age. He mentioned the dangers of technocracy which may result from the fact that the secrets of atomic energy are known to a limited circle of technical experts only, who may possibly then seek to eliminate the intellectual elite from leadership in the social and political sphere. He then criticized the parliamentary democracy of the Weimar Republic type and quoted the example of the two-party system in the Anglo-Saxon world. He dealt at rather too much length with the forms of democracy in Western Germany. His ideas on the training of a new democratic elite, to be determined not by social origin or material circumstances, but solely by intellectual and moral qualities of character, were definitely most constructive.

The problems which Dr. von Merkatz dealt with in his lecture aroused considerable interest on the part of those present at the Congress. The first speaker in the subsequent discussion was the President of the Central Committee of the ABN, Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, who represented the attitude

The Church of Martyrs

A Memorandum to all National non-Communist Delegations in the United Nations, concerning religious persecution in Ukraine

Christianity has been existing in Ukraine for more than 1,000 years. It has fostered a profound faith in God among the people, and has begotten abiding moral principles, and nourished a new culture and erudition.

In December, 1917, Communist Russia invaded Ukraine and in 1919-1920 occupied the eastern provinces of this country. The Soviets were bent on extirpating Christianity from these regions. In their coup d'état they published aggressive anti-religious propaganda and terrorized the people with threats of exile, torture and death.

First, the Communists attacked the Church in Eastern Ukraine. Within ten years, from 1921 to 1931, they unjustly arrested and ruthlessly murdered 34 Ukrainian Orthodox bishops with the Metropolitans Vasyl Lypkivskij and Nicholas Boretzkyj at the head and more than 3,000 priests. Hundreds of thousands of the faithful were inhumanly tortured in prisons or deported to concentration camps in Siberia; a greater part of these innocent people died martyrs to their Faith; the remainder still endures the appalling trials and hardships of imprisonment.

The Reds destroyed 80% of the churches (many of these churches contained precious historical relics, as for example the Golden Domed Michalivsky Monastery in Kyiv from the 12th century); other churches were despicably converted into warehouses, theatres and convention halls; monasteries were outraged and cemeteries profaned.

By 1930 the Communists had completely liquidated the entire Ukrainian Orthodox Church, barring it from all public activity.

Though Article 123 of the Soviet Constitution, which is binding in Ukraine as well as the USSR, explicitly recognizes freedom of religion, yet, during the first Red occupation of Western Ukraine (1939-1941), the Communist regime overtly persecuted the Church, arresting many Ukrainian priests and ruthlessly murdering 27 of them.

This anti-Christian terror adopted more hideous means of exterminating Christianity in Ukraine during the second occupation of this country beginning in 1945. On April 11, 1945, the Soviets arrested the Metropolitan of Halych and Archbishop of Lviv, Joseph Slipyj, 80-year-old Bishop Gregory Khomyshyn, Bishop John Latyshevskij, Bishop Nicholas Charnetskyj, C.S.S.R., and Bishop Nykyta Budka. On June 25, 1946, Bishop Josaphat Kotsylovskij, OSBM, and Bishop Gregory Lakota were imprisoned. All these

and painting. On this occasion a reception was given for the delegates by the Chief Mayor of the city, the head of the University, and the directors of the Arabian Institute.

In the course of the week they spent with the representatives of the West European countries, our delegates had an opportunity to acquaint many of them with the problems of the Ukrainian policy of liberation and with the ideology of the ABN. The Congress, which had as its guiding thought the principle that a union of Europe is only possible on the basis of the teachings of Christ, has contributed a valuable share towards a closer friendship between the peoples of Europe and towards a better understanding of their common interests.

Wolodymyr Pastuschuk

bishops were condemned to forced labor for 8 to 10 years and even life; the imputation was lawfully unjust. Some of these bishops (for instance Bishop Gregory Khomyshyn and Bishop Josaphat Kotsylovskij) later died from maltreatment in prison. Still more, when Archbishop Joseph Slipyj's or other bishops' term expired, the Reds would not release them from prison.

In the autumn of 1947, the Communists murdered Bishop Theodore Romza, Uzhorod, Carpathian Ukraine, and in 1950, the Bishops

Vice-President of the Central Committee of A.B.N. Visits Turkey

The President of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee and Vice-President of the Central Committee of A.B.N., Veli Kajum Khan, has been the official guest of Turkey for the past two months. Mr. Kajum Khan has been visiting Turkestanian political emigrants who wholeheartedly support the National Turkestanian Unity Committee in its political activity. The Turkish press has published several commentaries on Kajum Khan's visit, in which it expressed its friendly attitude towards the liberation struggle of the Turkestanian and other nations subjugated by Moscow. This visit will undoubtedly contribute to a furtherance of the friendly relations between the Turks and our oppressed peoples. Turkey has always been a sincere friend of the peoples under Russian domination and is now a trustworthy ally of the freedom-loving world in its fight against Communism.

Paul Gojdich, OSBM, and Basil Hopko, Pryashiv, Czechoslovakia, were imprisoned. On January 15, 1951, Bishop Paul Gojdich was tried and unjustly condemned to forced labor for life. Bishop Basil Hopko is now in a concentration camp.

Altogether, ten Ukrainian Catholic Bishops have been liquidated by the Reds.

In 1946, the Soviets enjoined the legal continuance of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine. Thus, in our own 20th century, it has been reduced to the sorrowful plight of the "Church of the Catacombs", as was the primitive Church during the Neronian persecution.

Two thousand secular priests and monks, for rightfully refusing to acknowledge the Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church as their head — this Church is now subservient to the Communists — were arrested and deported to slave labor camps. The Reds exterminated all five dioceses of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, desecrated 4,400 of its churches and chapels together with 195 religious houses. The Communists continue to oppress mercilessly the Ukrainian laity for remaining steadfast to its Christian heritage, Church and Faith.

I also request that the non-Communist governments propose to their delegations in the United Nations that the condition of the persecuted Church in Ukraine be placed on the agenda of the United Nations Assembly.

Jaroslaw Stetzko,
former Ukrainian Prime
Minister.

84th CONGRESS
2d Session

H. RES. 482

RESOLUTION

To express House disapproval of anti-Christian terror and persecution by Communists of the Ukrainian Christians.

By Mr. Dodd

April 25, 1956

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

Whereas Christianity has existed in Ukraine for more than a thousand years, fostering in the Ukrainian people a profound faith in God and begetting in them an abiding moral force; and

Whereas, beginning in December 1917, Communist Russia has sought to extinguish Christianity from Ukraine by armed aggression, terror, anti-religious propaganda, and persecution of the Ukrainian people; and

Whereas the church was first attacked in the Moscow-dominated area of Ukraine, and by 1931, the Communists had completely liquidated the entire Ukrainian Orthodox Church, and had arrested and murdered over three thousand Ukrainian Orthodox bishops and priests, and had arrested, tortured, and imprisoned hundreds of thousands of the faithful; and

Whereas, during the first occupation of the non-Communist western area of Ukraine (between 1939 and 1941), the Communists continued their anti-Christian persecutions, murdering twenty-seven Ukrainian priests and arresting many more, even though article 123 of the Soviet Constitution, which is applicable to Ukraine, was in effect and specifically recognizes freedom of religion; and

Whereas, during the second occupation, beginning in 1945, the Communists continued the anti-Christian persecutions in Ukraine by enjoining the legal continuance of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine in 1946, and imprisoning and murdering Ukrainian Catholic bishops; and

Whereas two thousand secular priests and monks in Ukraine have been arrested and deported to slave labor camps for refusing to acknowledge the Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church as their head, such church being now subservient to the Communists; and

Whereas the Communists have exterminated all five dioceses of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and desecrated four thousand four hundred of its churches and chapels, together with one hundred and ninety-five religious houses; and

Whereas the Communists continue to oppress mercilessly the Ukrainian laity for remaining steadfast to its Christian heritage, church, faith, and nation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House hereby expresses its profound disapproval and condemnation of the anti-Christian terror and persecution inflicted by the Communist rulers of Russia on the Christian Ukrainian nation; and be it further

Resolved, That the House requests the President to instruct our delegates to the United Nations to take whatever steps may be necessary to place this tragic record of Communist terror and persecution against the Ukrainian Christians before the United Nations for consideration and such action as may be appropriate.

(A similar resolution — S. Res. 189 — was submitted to the Senate by Hon. H. Humphrey on January 20, 1956.)

Sidelights

Accomplices Among Themselves

It is interesting to note how the big men of the Communist world-front are endeavouring to deceive public opinion in the West by their put-up "self-criticism". In view of their own frame of mind, Togliatti and Thorez believe that the Western world has a poor memory and has already forgotten that the two of them basked in Stalin's favour for years, in Moscow. They try to white-wash themselves by affirming that they knew nothing about the mass-murders committed by their accomplices, despite the fact that these crimes and the dreadful "purges" occurred during the years they were in Moscow and therefore took place under their very noses. That honourable gentleman, Monsieur Herriot of Paris ("for Brutus is an honourable man!"), likewise failed to notice the terrible famine, "made in Moscow," during which millions of Ukrainians died, when he paid a visit to Ukraine in the 1930's.

Now that the Communist conjurers are suddenly feigning ignorance of the Stalin murders, Khrushchev might perhaps be able to defend himself in the eyes of his branch-managers, Thorez and Togliatti, by affirming that he was permanently domiciled in the Soviet Union and could therefore expect to be executed if he had ventured to criticize Stalin in those days, though, incidentally, the mass-murders in Ukraine were due to Khrushchev's very own initiative. Togliatti and Thorez, however, cannot claim such an excuse. They were living in security in another country, but they refrained from criticizing Stalin, since they were afraid that if they did so they would be "overlooked" when the Muscovite bribes were distributed. And this is certainly an excellent testimonial for the high moral standing of the leading apostles of the theory of world-happiness!

Dr. Adenauer's Clear-sightedness

There can be no denying the fact that Germany's leading statesman, Dr. Adenauer, really comprehends the meaning of the present Russian policy better than any other statesman in Western Europe. That is why he has so aptly described Russia as Germany's arch-enemy and has come to the conclusion that he would never negotiate with Russia alone, since he does not trust Moscow and does not believe in its coexistence policy.

The amazing part of it is that other West German politicians do not attach more importance to Dr. Adenauer's interesting insight into the present international political situation, and that the German press does not try to give the public a clearer picture of this situation. We for our part are of the opinion that the Federal Chancellor has done the cause of the subjugated peoples a service by his courageous statements.

Conscription in Germany and the Policy of Coexistence

Khrushchev's policy of coexistence has achieved most effective results, in particular as far as the Social Democratic Party of Germany is concerned. Now that the Bundestag, after a considerable struggle, has succeeded in passing the law on conscription, the Social Democratic Party is trying its hardest to get this law abolished.

It is incomprehensible to us how people can talk about independence and reunification and, at the same time, disregard the necessary preconditions. As we have stressed again and again, only a policy of power and not a policy of weakness is likely to defeat Moscow successfully. How the Social Democrats can visualize a reunification without conscription in Germany, is a mystery to us. Russia will never yield to the weakness of the West!

The Drunken Dictator

It looks as though the Western advocates of coexistence are more embarrassed by Khrushchev's addiction to drink than the Russians themselves. For the former have already deplorably raised the question as to what will happen when Khrushchev is supplanted by his accomplices, Molotov, Malenkov, and Kaganovich, on account of his permanent state of intoxication.

What we cannot understand, however, is why Khrushchev is suddenly no longer a Stalinist,

though he overthrew Malenkov in the name of Stalinist principles, that is to say in favour of the heavy industries and to the detriment of the light industries and the foodstuffs industry.

Malenkov was governor of Moscow for many years and Khrushchev held the same office in Kyiv. Both of them, needless to say, were equally brutal. We fail to see what difference there is between them. Both of them support the principles of class-conflict, and both of them have firmly established the idea of the so-called "socialist" nations in the U.S.S.R. and have stressed the theory that the "capitalist" nations are to be found in the West. Thus the "capitalist" class must be exterminated both in the U.S.S.R. and also in the whole world. According to the ideological principle regarding the "socialist" and the "capitalist" nations, which was published in the "Communist" some time ago, the course to be adopted by Bolshevism in interstate relations is, therefore, clearly outlined. Just as there can be no lasting coexistence and reconciliation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, so, too, this is impossible between "socialist" and "capitalist" nations.

Not only did Khrushchev's behaviour, when he made his violent tirade against the West and the statesmen of the West, remind one of the behaviour of a person suffering from delirium tremens, but in his state of intoxication he for once spoke the truth and quite openly revealed the Kremlin's real conception of coexistence, a "peaceful existence side by side". In addition, he continued all the hypocritical talk about the independence of the small nations, which is at present the fashion in Russia, to the point of absurdity, and he stamped it as a tactical manoeuvre when he said that there were only two nations, Russia and America, which were of any importance in the world.

This is the first time that we are most grateful to Comrade Khrushchev for having helped us to gain even more insight into the true nature of the so-called "new course" in the Kremlin, as a result of his "Confessions of a Noble Soul".

It is most interesting to note that Khrushchev in his secret report states that Stalin exterminated and exiled Caucasians, Ukrainians, Tatars, and other non-Russian peoples, but makes no mention whatsoever of the crimes which Stalin committed against the Russian people. This corroborates our theory that the Russians are the true supporters and champions of Bolshevism and that Stalin was merely the hireling of the ruling Russian imperialist class, which was led by genuine Russians such as Khrushchev, Molotov, Zhukov, Malenkov, Shdanov, etc., who jointly pursued and still continue to pursue a genocidal policy as regards the non-Russian peoples.

Z. K.

The Riddle of the Bern Trial

The daring feat of the anti-Communist Roumanians who, during the night of February 15/16th,

last year, occupied the Roumanian Soviet embassy in Bern, is still fresh in most people's minds. And the attentive observer still clearly remembers the facts which were reported by the entire Swiss and foreign press, namely that the Roumanian champions of freedom wanted to exert pressure on the Communist government in Bucharest by their deed, in order to obtain the release of their comrades imprisoned there, and, above all, wanted to protest openly, before the whole world, against Communist terrorism in their native country.

The strange part of it is that when the trial began in June this year, none of the leading Swiss papers mentioned any exonerating circumstances at all. On the contrary, one gained the impression that the accused were to be stamped as irresponsible adventurers. And the Swiss papers likewise kept quiet about the fact that the people of Switzerland realized that the Roumanians had been prompted by *ideal motives* and for this reason sympathized with them whole-heartedly.

Why this silence! Can it be that the reason is to be sought in the following facts? The First Secretary of the Communist Party of Roumania, Georghiu-Dej, told the Swiss chargé d'affaires point-blank that he hoped the trial would end to the satisfaction of Bucharest, and added that the Roumanian government would "hardly find time" beforehand to deal with the exit permits for the various Swiss nationals who have been applying for and trying to obtain such permits since 1948. There are, incidentally, 400 Swiss nationals at present living in Roumania. Sixty of them have been arrested, most of them on fictitious charges of tax offences. A member of the Swiss Red Cross *recently died in prison* in Roumania. In addition, considerable property value is at stake.

In view of this large-scale attempt to influence the decision of the court by the usual Bolshevik methods, the latter naturally saw itself faced with a difficult task. The sentence which was pronounced seems to us to be most unjust and wrong, if we consider the many Bolshevik murders, which have been premeditated and committed with criminal intent against leading emigrant politicians and have never been atoned for because the murderers were acquitted. A verdict of not-guilty in the case of the accused in the Bern trial would have been in keeping with justice, all the more so in view of the fact that the Communist rulers have murdered thousands and thousands of innocent persons behind the Iron Curtain. We should at this point like to mention the case of a Communist agent of the name of Schwarzbart. In May, 1926, he murdered the former President of the Ukrainian National Republic, Simon Petlura, in the street, in Paris and was acquitted by a French court!

There is no denying the fact that the action taken by the Roumanian anti-Communists in Bern revealed that the Soviet embassy there was definitely a Communist Russian hotbed of espionage. And this is a matter which surely concerns both European interests and European security. Why then have no steps as yet been taken in this matter, and when, indeed, is it likely that steps will be taken?

Some things apparently take a very long time to impress themselves on the human mind! R. P.

An Anti-Communist World-League

The Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, of which Free China is also a member, has appealed to the peoples of Asia and of the free world to set up a joint front of all the free peoples of the world for the fight against Communism. In answer to this appeal the Chinese section of the League stated that 520 organizations of Free China intend holding a conference in Taipei, which will deal with the question of founding an anti-Communist world-organization. The Chinese section of the League entertains friendly relations with over 700 anti-Communist organizations in the USA, South America, and Europe.

At a conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League which was held in Manila in March this year, a resolution was passed to the effect that all the peoples of Asia should be called upon to join in the active fight against Communism and that the admission of Red China and Outer Mongolia to the United Nations should

be opposed. The conference described the governments of the satellite states as puppets and instruments of the aggression of Russian imperialism.

The President of the Chinese section, *Ku Cheng-kang*, has suggested a security pact between Japan, Korea, and Free China. During an address which he delivered in Taipei, *Ku Cheng-kang* exhorted the free peoples of the world to regard the fight against Communism as the foremost and most important task to be fulfilled in the course of their policy.

It is very gratifying to us to know that the idea of the necessity for an anti-Communist world-front, which we have advocated ever since the ABN was founded, has now found the support of the peoples of Asia. During his visit to Free China, the President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), *Jaroslav Stetzkó*, successfully convinced the leading representatives of the Asian peoples of the necessity of setting up an anti-Communist world-front.

M. Svoboda

Rioting Continues

Recent events in Poland have to a considerable extent also made themselves felt in Czechoslovakia. The day the riots began in Poznan, curfew was imposed in Czechoslovakia, too. The cadres of the Workers' Militia were ordered to stand by in readiness. The commanders of these workers' divisions were rounded up as fast as possible in apparently every town in Czechoslovakia, especially in Ostrau. Police patrols were on duty in all the streets. In Brünn police sentries were on guard in front of various big factories. On the following day, loudspeakers were going most of the time in the factories. It was affirmed in most of the broadcast reports that the disturbances in Poznan had been incited by "agents of capitalism" who, dressed in workmen's clothes, had landed in Poland by parachute. According to these reports, the workers had turned out in a body in order to deal with them, and it was only police and military units that could prevent them from stoning the agents in their anger.

On the following days, sentries continued to remain on guard in front of the factories, and support units were immediately transferred to the Czechoslovakian-Polish frontier and also to the Czechoslovakian-German frontier. For three days, the frontiers between Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the German Democratic Republic were open in order to enable the police units to keep in contact with each other. In the district of Reichenberg, Troppau, and Königgrätz raids are still being carried out in order to get hold of Polish refugees who have managed to escape from Poland and are trying to reach Austria or the Federal Republic of Germany. These raids are, however, considerably impeded by the fact that a large number of members of the Polish pre-military youth organization, "Friends of the Polish Soldiers", are at present visiting Czechoslovakia, who, for instance, travel along the Moldau, from its source to Prague, in boats and have a camping-ground in Prague-Barandov on the Moldau. Many of these young Poles have been arrested by the police and only released 24 hours later after lengthy interrogations. Police dogs and special guides are used for these raids.

Despite all these precautionary measures, various insurgent incidents have occurred in Czechoslovakia. The workers of the tractor department at the "Sverma" factory in Brünn protested against the unbearable economic conditions. Similar incidents have occurred in Partyzanske (formerly called Batovany), in the "Stalingrad" Works in Prague, in the engine works in Nymburg, in the mining area of Ostrau, and above all at the "General Svoboda" Colliery in Orlova. Shooting incidents occurred in Zlin when the workers tried to hold a demonstration in the streets. Police guards, units of the Workers' Militia, and police reinforcements were used in order to stop the demonstration. Motorized units of the 6th Division, which is garrisoned in Brünn, have been moved to the districts of Opava, Mährisch-Schönberg, and Wischau. Tank units of the tank training centre in Deditz near Wischau are likewise standing by in readiness.

It is true that the incidents in Czechoslovakia are connected with the riots in Poznan, but they have not assumed such proportions and force as the latter.

These riots, which have now partly spread to Hungary, too, actually originated in Carpatho-Ukraine, and in Prague, Brünn, and Bratislava. In May this year, the students in these towns held their summer festivals (Majales), and on this occasion demonstrations were held which, it is true, were not violent in character, but very cleverly and wittily ridiculed the present regime.

Since the end of April a state of emergency has existed in Carpatho-Ukraine and its capital, Uzhorod, due to the fact that the population revolted against the subjugation of their nation, the deprivation of their personal freedom, and unbearable conditions as regards the food supply situation. Various demonstrations were held which clearly showed the population's hostility to the Party functionaries, who were not capable of organizing the food supply system satisfactorily, as was evident from the fact that goods trains containing mouldy Chinese rice instead of flour

arrived in Uzhorod. The police and the army turned out to deal with the demonstrators, the majority of whom assembled in the vicinity of the castle of Uzhorod and near the station, hearing banners with national watchwords inscribed on them. Despite the intervention of the police and the army, the demonstrations continued from April 27th to 29th. As the measures adopted by the police and the army were not effective enough, troops from Lwow (Lemberg) were sent to Uzhorod. Tanks are now standing in readiness on the square in front of Uzhorod station, and further troops are at present stationed at the training centre in the neighbourhood of the Radvansky Forest. As a result of these demonstrations, the celebrations on May 1st were limited very considerably.

Similar measures have also been enforced in other parts of Carpatho-Ukraine, as for instance in Berehovo and in frontier garrison towns like Surty, Cierna, etc.

Baron Dr. Manteuffel-Szoegé:

Europe's Task as Viewed by the German Refugees

A New Order in the East

A most interesting speech was held by *Baron Dr. Manteuffel-Szoegé*, the president of the Refugees' Associations, on June 15, 1956, before the Advisory Committee of the European Council in Berlin. We quote some of the important ideas expressed in this speech, below.

Referring to the new policy of the Soviets which, so he pointed out, we must take into account even though it might be misleading, Baron Dr. Manteuffel-Szoegé stressed that this was, in any case, a current problem with which we must occupy ourselves, since it concerned the right of self-determination. Self-determination, he added, meant that the peoples who had a native country or regained their native country could demand that conditions there and the social and economic order were in keeping with their needs and wishes, and were not forced on them by some party or other.

Dealing with the question of establishing the necessary contacts with Eastern Europe and its emigrants, Baron Dr. Manteuffel-Szoegé said that two questions concerned us which he wanted to stress in particular. The first question was that there were other peoples in Europe who had perhaps suffered even greater hardships than the German refugees. There were, he pointed out, millions of persons in the East and Southeast of Europe who were living in slavery, and these persons probably envied the German refugees their fate since the latter were now living in freedom even though they had been deprived of their native country. It was essential, he added, to establish contact with these peoples and with their emigrants, and said that he was convinced that all peoples had a right to their own free existence. For this reason, so Baron Dr. Manteuffel-Szoegé went on to say, the Refugees' Associations were earnestly endeavouring to maintain a close contact with the subjugated peoples and with their emigrants. He then expressed the hope that these emigrants would remain a united and powerful force.

Passing on to the second question, which he considered to be as important as the first, he said that soon after Germany's collapse at the end of World War II, many far-sighted and peace-loving persons propagated the idea of a European integration, of a common European fate, of the duty of all the European peoples to protect Western traditions and ethical and cultural values, such as Christianity, humanity, social order, and all that is connected with these traditions and values. But, unfortunately, so many people — even in Germany, too, — only considered the Western aspect of Europe, whereas the major part of Europe, according to population figures, was actually situated on the other side of the River Elbe. Baron Dr. Manteuffel-Szoegé added that in his opinion all West Europeans, irrespective of which nation or state they belonged to, were interested

in the regeneration of Eastern Europe, and for this reason one of the main tasks of the refugees was to foster this idea of East Europe, which, after all, was only part of the idea of a united Europe.

Referring to the relations between the refugees and the rest of the population in Germany, Baron Dr. Manteuffel-Szoegé most emphatically stressed the fact that if Eastern Europe was to be free and united to the rest of Europe, all the peoples must pursue a policy which would enable this idea to be realized.

The Situation in Carpatho-Ukraine

A state of emergency at present exists in Carpatho-Ukraine. No one, except persons who possess a permit issued by the political and military headquarters on the Tolstoy Quay, is allowed to be out on the streets after 10 p. m. Soldiers, who do not have the red stripe on their uniform, are not allowed to leave barracks, since many of them are deserters who belonged to the units which have been sent into the interior of the country. Permits to be out on the streets after curfew are only issued to people who are obliged to work late at night. All the hotels are occupied by Soviet officers. A police regiment from Kyiv is quartered in the castle at Uzhorod and in the neighbouring areas. Colonel Lisenko is the political and military commandant of Uzhorod. Red Army infantry is at present stationed in barracks at the southwest end of the Tolstoy Quay, where sapper units were formerly stationed.

Every evening, the "Black Maria" takes persons who have been arrested from the prison to the trains which leave for the concentration camp Dumen No. II, near Rahovo.

In the military training centre in the Domansky Forest, southeast of Uzhorod, officers of the East armies are constantly being trained under the guidance of Soviet officers. The persons taking part in these training courses include Hungarians, Roumanians, Poles, Germans, Czechs, Slovaks, and Bulgarians.

Soviet units of the motorized infantry are stationed at the military training centre in the Radvansky Forest, east of Uzhorod. Their numbers are so large that they cannot all be accommodated in the tent encampment and in the log cabins, which were erected there last year, and many of them have to sleep out in the open.

In the frontier garrison town of Surty on the Czechoslovakian-Soviet frontier, the strength of the garrison of the frontier guards has been reinforced by an additional 120 men, 38 horses, and 12 cross-country vehicles. The commanding officer of these special units is a Russian, Grigorij Nowak.

One hundred and forty men of the frontier guards are now stationed at the frontier station in Cierna. Every train arriving there, either en route for the U.S.S.R. from Czechoslovakia or vice versa, is promptly surrounded by guards on both sides. Patrols then go through the train in order to make sure that there is no one hiding in or between the coaches or trucks.

Armoured cars constantly patrol all the streets of Uzhorod.

In Presov in Eastern Slovakia, Ukrainian schoolchildren are constantly being interrogated as to whether they know of any of their acquaintances harbouring deserters from Carpatho-Ukraine.

The alarm-signal equipment and the wire-entanglements along the frontier are still being increased.

Hitting the Mark

"Le Figaro"

The leading French sociologist, Raymond Aron, writes as follows in his weekly commentary in "Le Figaro": "There are a number of politicians and writers in the West who are just as embarrassed as the Communists themselves, at the riots in Poznan. On the eve of the revolt there, the President of the Royal Bank of Canada, James Muir, who had just returned from a visit to Eastern Europe, affirmed that the West should give up its attempt to bring about the liberation of the satellite states since the states allied with the U.S.S.R. feel free and independent and

Three Characteristic Facts

Khrushchev when dealing with the internal situation of the Soviet Union declared that it is characterized by the constant growth of all branches of industry, further strengthening of the Soviet social and state order, promotion of the people's welfare, and the universal progress of Soviet culture.

This assertion was, however, refuted by him and his associates when they revealed in their speeches the whole range of failures of the Soviet system, failures which prove the contrary. Still more light is cast on the real situation by the present anti-Stalin campaign. As a result of all the controversies which have arisen in the ideological, national, economic, and structural sphere, the present rulers of the Soviet Union were compelled to admit that the Soviet Union was one of the most totalitarian states during the past twenty-five years, subject, as it was, to the will and criminal caprices of Stalin, the dictator.

Thus they denied the theory, propagated for many years, of the existence of Soviet democracy and of the unity between the regime and the broad masses, which was established through the voluntary subordination of the masses to the unitarian Bolshevist government. During Stalin's time even the remnants of inner-party democracy, left over from Lenin's day, were liquidated. In fact, Stalinism was the logical result of this process which began under Lenin, namely the process of depriving the people of their freedom and introducing terrorism as the system of governing. This, after all, is consistent with the Bolshevist ideology. The idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, proclaimed by Marx and dogmatically accepted by the Communists, headed by Lenin, was, in practice, bound to become Party dictatorship, and later, under Stalin, mono-dictatorship (a one-man dictatorship), which, in accordance with the sociological laws of every dictatorship, aimed at intensifying complete oppression and terrorism, not only with regard to the masses, but also to men from its own group who, in some way or other, might have been a menace to the dictatorship. The group from which a dictator comes and which supports him in the cause of common interests is, at the same time, a most serious danger to him, since it is in this group that oppositionist elements or individual rivals are most likely to assert themselves in the struggle for power. For this reason, Stalin subjected the Party to constant purges in order to keep it in fear and allegiance, and transformed it into a willing tool in his hands.

Two kinds of terrorism can be said to have existed in the Soviet Union under Stalin's rule; the terrorism directed by Stalin against his instrument of power, the Communist Party, and the terrorism directed by the Party under Stalin's leadership against the masses. Today, the situation is such that the Party, and in particular its chief leaders, are slowly detaching themselves from the internal system of terrorism which was created by Stalin. The liquidation of Beria and his associates was the first, essential step in this direction, and the present anti-Stalinism process is the second one. But the liquidation of Stalin's dictatorial system worked out by the new Kremlin rulers, above all as regards its inner-party aspects, as a means of putting the Party on a sound basis and the transfer of dictatorial powers from one person to a "collective leadership" have, at the same time, weakened the Bolshevist system and have stirred up those anti-regime forces which already exist, either passively or actively, and carry on their work among the masses, in particular among the non-Russian peoples.

Thus, the process of exterminating Stalin's dictatorship, which is going on in the Party itself,

are very satisfied with their economic cooperation with the Soviet Union' . . . If Mr. James Muir, on his return from Warsaw, poses as the guarantor of the happiness of the Polish people, or if Mr. Cyraniewicz should in the near future be welcomed as a hero in Paris, then the West is likely to be the loser on all sides, for it is betraying those peoples behind the Iron Curtain who are still our friends, without, however, making its peace with the Communist rulers. In the end, the West will be regarded with justified contempt by both."

is slowly but surely—much against the will of Stalin's successors, headed by Khrushchev—assuming greater dimensions, namely the extermination of the Bolshevist system as such. The terrorized masses of the peoples subjugated by Moscow realized after Stalin's death that the system was beginning to weaken and, accordingly, gradually cast aside their fear and revealed their anti-Bolshevist attitude more and more openly. This process is apparent in many forms and in different spheres of life under Soviet terrorism. It constitutes the main source of obstacles which the Soviet regime is obliged to encounter in agriculture, industry, national problems, in dealing with the youth problem, and so on. In all these spheres the regime encounters the resistance of the masses who, in spite of the formal and official enthusiasm created by Soviet propaganda, show their hostility and opposition to all efforts and plans on the part of the regime. In fact, the regime has only been able to carry out its plans so far by continuing to follow the system created by Stalin, and the weakening of this system, which is bound to ensue as a result of the present anti-Stalin campaign in the Soviet Union, will automatically undermine the regime. On the other hand, however, the Soviet rulers are forced to conduct this campaign in order to prevent the Party from dying out and from being demoralized. It is obvious that the Soviet system has now reached a deadlock.

The permanent resistance of the masses is Moscow's main anxiety at present. The weakening of the Soviet regime involves a far greater danger as far as Moscow is concerned, namely the activation and strengthening of anti-Bolshevist forces which will, in some form or other, lead the revolutionary fight against the regime, and the liberation of new, active anti-Bolshevist forces. That such a possibility exists is obvious already from the following three characteristic facts which preceded Poznan and Kyiv.

Firstly, the mass riots in various concentration camps. These riots were organized by Ukrainian revolutionaries who had been sent to the camps by the Soviet regime because of their revolutionary activity in Ukraine. But the grim and rigorous regime of camp life failed to break their spirit. On the contrary, they even succeeded in maintaining organized contact among themselves; they managed to organize their fellow-countrymen and internees in disciplined groups, and, taking advantage of the fact that the camp administration was at a loss as how to act after Stalin's death, organized a whole series of riots in various concentration camps. In spite of the ruthless suppression of these riots by the authorities and the tragedies which occurred in this connection—we refer to the vast loss of human lives and, above all, to the heroic sacrifice of the five hundred Ukrainian women,

who, in order to save the insurgents, threw themselves under the tanks of the M.V.D.—they definitely represent a turning-point in the history of the Soviet Union. These riots prove that the fight against the regime is possible even under such unfavourable conditions as prevail in concentration camps, and they have, in fact, assumed psychological importance, inasmuch as the masses now realize that the Soviet regime is not omnipotent.

The second important incident, which occurred on the eve of the 20th Party Congress, was the appeal published in the newspaper, "Red Flag", in Rivne. It was addressed to the Ukrainian insurgents and exhorted them to surrender, in which case the government promised them an amnesty. Thus, Moscow officially confirmed the existence of the Ukrainian revolutionary underground and also its own weakness. Despite all its efforts, Moscow failed to liquidate the underground by means of force, and for this reason it tried to liquidate the latter by means of "peaceful" methods. We doubt very strongly whether it will succeed in doing so. Nobody is likely to be eager to take advantage of the Soviet amnesty offered, because the Bolsheviks observe an amnesty in the same way as they observe international treaties. Moreover, the above incident proves that there definitely is an active resistance and that it is steadily increasing in the course of the present critical situation of the Soviet regime.

The third incident which preceded Poznan and Kyiv is of especial importance. We refer to the demonstrations held in Tiflis, Erivan, and Baku. This was the first time since the stabilization of the Soviet regime that the people ventured to demonstrate openly in the streets, to express their dissatisfaction with the Soviet regime, to demand that it should be abolished, and to paralyse the counter-measures adopted by the Soviets. Those who know what life is like under the Soviet regime and know the methods resorted to by the Bolsheviks to liquidate all anti-regime resistance, will agree that such events as the mass riots in the concentration camps and the anti-regime demonstrations in Caucasia are of great, indeed, epoch-making significance. What a few years ago seemed an unreal fantasy, has now become reality. Passive animosity on the part of the subjugated peoples towards the Soviet regime—an animosity which Soviet propaganda did its best to suppress by fine phrases—has now begun to manifest itself actively and openly.

In such a situation the existence of organized underground movements is of the utmost importance. These movements represent a potential threat to the regime. By taking advantage of the weakening of the regime, by seizing the opportunities which the further development of events in the Soviet Union may afford, and under favourable international conditions, these movements may become a revolutionary factor which will in future liquidate the Soviet regime. *M. Andrienko*

President Syngman Rhee to the Slovak Liberation Committee

*Kyung Mu Dai Seoul
11 June 1956*

*Mr. Jan Lukac
Secretary
Slovak Liberation Committee in United States
30-16 33rd Street
ASTORIA 2
L. I., NEW YORK*

My dear Mr. Lukac:

I thank you, Dr. Francis Stevek, and the Slovak Liberation Committee in the United States for your kind letter of 16 May congratulating me on my re-election. Your words of support are very encouraging and I want to assure you I shall continue, with faith in God, to work towards a United and democratic Korea.

The undaunted spirit of the exiled Slovaks and other freedom loving peoples who continue to work for the liberation of their countries spurs me in my efforts to awaken complacent people in supposedly distant and safe lands that no one is safe as long as the Communists subscribe to their plan to control the world.

With my good wishes.

*Yours sincerely,
Syngman Rhee.*

Food in Kolchozes worse than Prison-Diet

The periodical, "Der Sudetendeutsche", states that visitors to South Moravia unanimously affirm on their return that the food in the kolchozes there is worse than the prison-diet served in Austrian prisons. Only one kind of food is served in the kolchos canteens, and most of the cooks are not qualified. In any case, there are not enough food-stuffs available to cook a good meal.

Very often there are only a few dozen cattle in the stables in the kolchozes, whereas in former times the Sudeten German farmers of the same villages possessed hundreds of heads of cattle. Visitors to South Moravia say that the kolchos farmers told them that an order was on one occasion issued that the early potato crop was to be harvested much sooner, despite the fact that there was hardly any potato crop at all.

As regards the condition of the fields in South Moravia, it is reported that the crops were for the most part battered to the ground as a result of the heavy rainfall this year, and that weeds were the only thing that grew in abundance. The threshing-machines refused to function properly as they can only be used on grain that is dry. In numerous cases the farmers only cut off the ears of corn, so as to save at least part of the crop.

From Behind the Iron Curtain



BOHEMIA

BERLIN AND POZNAN SET AN EXAMPLE

The Czech security police is said to have discovered a "conspiracy" some time ago and to have dealt with it effectively. The "conspirators" were arrested and promptly liquidated. A shooting incident, in the course of which a member of the security police was killed, occurred when one of the leaders of the so-called conspiracy was arrested. The insurgents intended to seize the broadcasting station and the general post-office and to set fire to the Prague Pancraz prison.

The insurrections in Poland (Poznan) have partly spread to Czech territory. The Prague government has been obliged to suspend all frontier traffic with Poland and to reinforce the frontier guards with special troops organized by the Ministry of the Interior.

In the interior of the country the security police is standing by in readiness. On July 4th, arms and ammunition were issued to the trustworthy units of the "Workers' Militia", a fact which caused considerable indignation amongst the workers and led to fights in Pilsen and Prague and even to shooting incidents in Prague.

During the students' demonstrations held in Prague, the students demanded that the government should discontinue all lectures on Marxism and Leninism at universities and colleges and should afford students an opportunity to travel abroad for study purposes. The Ministry of Education announced that the universities and colleges would be purged of "reactionary elements".



BULGARIA

KOLCHOS WORKERS RECRUITED WITH THREATS OF MURDER

During the first three months of this year the Communist rulers in Bulgaria ruthlessly enforced the collective system of agriculture. The remainder of the private property belonging to the farmers was confiscated. At the end of 1955, 62 per cent of the acreage under cultivation in Bulgaria belonged to the kolchos, and during the first three months of this year another 280,000 farming families were forced to join the kolchos.

The collective system was enforced according to the usual Soviet methods. The farmers were rounded up with the aid of the police and were then threatened with terrible penalties in order to force them to join the kolchos. Those who refused to do so were led out of the village by the police, accompanied by armed Party functionaries. The farmers then had to line up and, after threatening to shoot them, the police and the Party functionaries fired shots over their heads into the air. On hearing the shots, the people in the village assumed that the persons who had been led away had been shot. In order to save themselves they "voluntarily" signed a statement to the effect that they would join the kolchos. By the time those who had been "shot" were brought back to the village, completely unnerved, the kolchos had already been "founded" and they, too, were obliged to join "voluntarily".

It is reported by reliable sources that the recent collective measures were undoubtedly enforced at the request of Khrushchev, who visited Sofia in June, 1955, and on that occasion said that he would like to see Bulgaria become an "exemplary country of kolchos".



CHINA

GUERRILLAS STAGE 131 DARING RAIDS IN 1955

Nationalist guerrillas conducted 131 raids against Communist positions on the string of islands guarding the China coast, over the past year, and cap-

tured a total of 540 prisoners-of-war, the Ministry of National Defense revealed.

Fourteen Communist strongpoints were crushed in these raids, and 730 enemy were counted in the actions, spreading over *Tapu Island, Hutoushan, Weitoushan, Chinwei, Tsungwu, Nanji Island, Kueishia, and Tangtung*. Over 37 junk-loads of material and 621 weapons were captured by the guerrillas in 1955.

The Chinese Air Force flew a total of 8,745 combat sorties last year, in which one Red MIG was shot down, two more MIGs damaged, one destroyer sunk, and 482 vessels of all types destroyed. CAF bombs also destroyed 95 Communist piers, warehouses and gun positions.

In its daring "mercy missions", the CAF dropped 79,498 pounds of rice, 23,604 pounds of small leaflets, and 7,106,957 large leaflets over nine provinces of the Chinese mainland.

The navy chalked up a total of one Communist warship and eight gunboats sunk, 15 other vessels and four planes damaged, and 25 Red coastal artillery positions destroyed.

These results were part of the "Difficulty-Overcome" year-end tallies made known by the Ministry of National Defense. The "D-O" campaign, which consists mostly of finding ingenious ways to encounter the lack of equipment and funds in the armed forces, saved the Government a total of TW 770 million during 1955.



GEORGIA

LARGE-SCALE TERRORISM

After the demonstrations in the capital, Tiflis, in March this year, which more or less assumed the form of a public riot, and in the course of which the demonstrators attempted to seize the general post-office and the broadcasting station, and the government and Party functionaries were shouted down, ruthless reprisal measures were enforced by Moscow.

During the demonstrations several hundred persons were killed by Russian soldiers and thousands of people were arrested. According to the Soviet press, immediately after the demonstrations Moscow sent 15,000 "propagandists" to Georgia. It goes without saying that these "propagandists" are MVD officials. A short time after their arrival in Georgia, thirty goods trains left Tiflis, taking deportees to Siberia.

If one reckons that each goods train consists of about fifty trucks and that there is room for about thirty-five persons in each truck, then, at a low estimate, the number of persons deported amounts to more than fifty thousand.

And the Georgian Party papers brazenly stated that only 46 students had been arrested. The same papers likewise reported that the students do not attend the lectures on Marxism and Leninism, and on Russian history and literature, at all. These papers also affirm that some of the professors stuff the students' heads with ideas about the old, "illustrious past" of Georgia and evoke a false national pride. They likewise stress the fact that "it is necessary to exterminate bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism. Racial and national hatred and separatist ideas are alien to Soviet patriotism."

So these are, therefore, the motives which prompted the Georgians to riot: the "separatist idea" and "national hatred" of the Russians...

Foreigners who have recently visited Georgia say that Russian is boycotted there completely. A foreign diplomat was told by a Georgian (and it can be assumed that the latter must have been a high-ranking functionary, since no one else has a chance to meet and talk to a diplomat from another country), "The present position of the Georgians in the Soviet Union is much the same as the position of the Jews in Hitler's Germany."

But the Georgians refused to allow themselves to be intimidated by this large-scale terrorism, and on May 26, the anniversary of the day on which the independence of Georgia was declared in 1918, placards were to be seen all over the town, bearing the words, "Long live independent Georgia! — Long live May 26th! — Throw out

the Russians! — Down with Marxism and Leninism! — Down with Communism! — Down with socialist slavery! — Long live freedom! — Long live Georgia!" N. N.



HUNGARY

"AMNESTY" FOR INNOCENT PERSONS

The Hungarian Ministry of Justice has granted an amnesty to 14,704 persons who were sentenced during the past few years. The reason for this amnesty, according to the Ministry, is that these persons were either arrested and imprisoned "illegally" or the sentences were "too severe". In addition, another 8,546 persons have been released on probation. It was further stated by the Ministry of Justice that the sentences pronounced "according to justice", which are "politically and also legally" incontestable, would not be revised.

One can well imagine what the legal position of the citizen in the "People's Democracies" must be, if one takes into consideration the fact that in a comparatively small state like Hungary more than 23,000 sentences have been pronounced during the past few years which were either "illegal" or "too severe". It is easy to guess how many thousands are imprisoned "legally".



LATVIA

SOVIET TANKS IN ACTION IN BALTIC STATES

Riots have once again broken out in the Baltic States, which have been incorporated in the Soviet Union as Soviet Republics. A campaign conducted by a liberation movement has now extended to all three States. Some of the active members of this movement, who managed to escape to Finland, report that the Soviets have moved the 11th Tank Brigade to Jakobstadt, Friedrichstadt, and Livonia, in order to gain control of the situation. Other refugees from the towns of Riga, Windau, and Jakobstadt, who have arrived in Finland, report that resistance against Moscow is increasing. The broadcasting station in Riga was held by the insurgents for 48 hours. The Moscow TASS agency has already officially denied the reports of riots in the Baltic States four times, which no doubt corroborates the fact that insurrections have actually broken out there.

COMPULSORY DEPORTATION CONTINUES UNABATED

On April 11, 1956, it was reported from Moscow that the Resettlement Department of the Ministerial Council of the U.S.S.R. had announced two huge resettlement schemes. According to these two schemes, 100,000 young workers of both sexes from the three Baltic Republics, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, were to be resettled to Kazakhstan and the Altai region. In addition, another 180,000 persons from twenty different districts of Ukraine were to be resettled to the Arctic Ocean regions of Archangel, Karelo-Finland, and to the "autonomous" Republic of Komi.

This announcement is now being carried into effect with suspicious haste. On May 30th, Moscow broadcasting station reported that 100,000 young Latvians had been registered by Soviet Russian recruiting commissaries for work in East Siberia and in the Donets Basin. Compulsory deportation is thus being continued in the Baltic countries, a fact which represents a new stage in the Bolshevik policy of extermination and Russification, since 10 per cent of the entire population have already been the victims of Soviet deportation measures on previous occasions.

There has in this respect thus been no change whatsoever since Stalin's death, which once again goes to prove that all the talk about a "new course" in the Kremlin is nothing but sheer bluff.



POLAND

THE "PEOPLE'S LOYALTY" TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY

According to the Polish Communist paper, "Glos Koszalinski", about 30,000 soldiers of the Polish army and the security service and members



THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS (ABN) REGRETS TO ANNOUNCE THE SUDDEN DEATH ON JULY 31, IN NEW YORK, OF OUR FELLOW-SUPPORTER AND SINCERE FRIEND, THE GEORGIAN DELEGATE OF THE FIRST ILLEGAL ABN INAUGURAL CONFERENCE ABROAD IN CRA-COW, IN 1944,

MR. ALEXANDER TSOMAIA

WE SHALL ALWAYS RESPECT THE MEMORY OF THIS LOYAL CHAMPION OF THE CAUSE OF THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF HIS NATION.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS (ABN).

of the Polish Communist Party have been killed in Poland since the year 1945, in the course of the fight against "public enemies".

The Polish Communist paper, "Zycie Warszawy", reports that about 4,900 cases of arson, including about 1,800 cases in kolchos and state property, occurred in Poland during the first three months of this year.



SLOVAKIA

THE COMMUNIST PARTY WITHOUT WORKERS AND FARMERS

It is reported from Slovakia that there is renewed activity on the part of the resistance groups, in particular in the region of the East Beskides, where frontier guards have been attacked and railway lines have been blown up. Cooperation between the Slovak and the Polish resistance movement is also reported.

According to official Communist information, there are 131 village organizations of the Communist Party in the district of Banská Bystrica which have not a single farmer or kolchos worker on their membership roll.

In the district of Medzelaaborce practically all the young men who receive orders to report at the recruiting office are suffering from tuberculosis, as a result of malnutrition.



UKRAINE

THE INTREPID UPA

According to "United Press" reports and information received from Western diplomatic circles in Vienna, members of the Ukrainian Underground Movement on May 20, 1956, blew up a military train near Schepetivka, on the route from Kyiv to Lviv. A large number of soldiers of the Red Army were killed. Immediately after this incident, cordons of troops of the security service were posted throughout the entire district round Schepetivka. South of the town the security service troops encountered a heavily armed Ukrainian unit. It is likewise reported that the Soviet security service has been constantly standing by in readiness during the past few months, on account of renewed activity on the part of the Ukrainian Underground Movement in the environs of Kyiv, Lviv, and Berdytchiv.

A New Publication

Prof. Dr. Gerhard von Mende has recently edited a special booklet written by Dr. Baymirza Hayit, which is entitled "Mohammed Iqbal und die Welt des Islam" and has as its theme an appreciation of the personality, the works and influence of Pakistan's great philosopher and poet.

BOOK-REVIEWS

Nikolai Berdjajev:

"Das neue Mittelalter"

Verlag Günther Neske, Pfullingen. 140 pp.
Price: bound DM 6.—

In order to be able to combat Bolshevism, it is necessary to go back to the causes which prompted its origin. And in this respect, Berdjajev's book will to some extent prove helpful. For this reason, the publishing firm of Neske in Pfullingen deserves special credit for having published a new edition of this work. Berdjajev's book is one of the few books by Russian writers, publicists, and philosophers, which deal with the sources of Bolshevism without being too obtrusive in tendency. Berdjajev is one of these theoreticians who are few in number not only amongst the Russians, but also amongst the Western anti-Communists, and who seek the primal cause of Bolshevism not in the abstract, international classification, but in the soul, character, and attitude to life of the Russian people. He rightly discerns the Messianic traits in the Russian character, and, although he is reluctant to acknowledge Russian imperialism as such, he is, nevertheless, obliged — in a careful manner and by using the term Messianism — to unmask the Russian expansion urge which has brought disaster to the world. He candidly admits that Bolshevism "is a distorted, subverted realization of the Russian idea."

In his profound analysis of the Bolshevik Revolution, which he regards as a typically national Russian revolution and not as something imported and foreign, he openly admits that "socialism in Russia is a religious question, a question of atheism, and that the Russian revolutionary intelligentsia is not concerned with politics, but with saving mankind without God".

For this reason, he continues, "socialism in our country has a secular character and has become a pseudo-church and a pseudo-theocracy."

It would be very desirable for the leaders of Western psychological warfare to accept this idea, namely that Bolshevism is a typically Russian evil which is only supported and fostered by the Russians. In that case, they would plan their psychological warfare differently and would acknowledge and stress the national independence of our peoples as the trump card in the fight against Bolshevism.

In addition, Berdjajev severely criticizes the Russian emigrants who, like certain Western circles, blame all the peoples of the East for Bolshevism. In his drastic classification of the character of the Russian emigrants, he provides the West with valuable data as regards the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union. He writes as follows: "The Russian people get used to slavery. They no longer need freedom. They have betrayed the freedom of the spirit for the sake of material goods. The evil feeling of jealousy becomes a

decisive world power and it is difficult to prevent it from spreading still further." Berdjajev even goes so far as to admit that *the non-Russian peoples forcibly incorporated into the Russian imperium differ completely from the Russian element and are in no way akin to the latter*. And in this connection he takes his readers by surprise by making a statement which the "American Committee" would be well-advised to bear in mind, namely that "Russia is where the soil and the people are Russian."

We have on countless occasions affirmed that Bolshevism is the most recent form of Russia's expansion aims, and Berdjajev openly admits this fact and writes as follows: "In the opinion of the Russian intelligentsia, Bolshevism is a substitute for tsarism and fulfils the functions of the latter." In his anxiety to find the right method of radically exterminating Bolshevism, he goes to the very root of the evil and exclaims, "... And that is the reason why our wretched and evil revolution must be acknowledged as a national revolution!"

Berdjajev also endeavours to find a solution to the problem, that is to say the ideas and methods of a victory over Bolshevism, and sees this solution in the revival of Christianity, on which he builds up his spiritual, moral and political reform and also the social institutions in the state which will ensue from this revival of Christianity. He is of the opinion that the "New Middle Ages", that is to say, the era of a new faith and a new religiousness is dawning.

But one cannot fail to recognize the influence of Russian Messianism in his case, too. By resorting to the idea of a revival of Christianity as a means of exterminating Bolshevism, he endeavours to propagate a new Russian Christian Messianism, which might very easily lead to worldwide expansion under the guise of a pseudo-Christian idea. We are of the opinion that every nation should be happy in its own way in the Christian faith and should not try to force other nations to adopt its faith, since such a measure is contradictory to the very essence of Christianity. S.

185 Bishops Victims of Red Terrorism

According to the latest information obtained by the American Catholic news agency, "National Catholic Welfare News Service", 185 Catholic ecclesiastical dignitaries have been removed from office in their sees behind the Iron Curtain by the Communists. They include 4 cardinals, 32 archbishops, 117 bishops, and 32 apostolic canons and administrators. The majority of these dignitaries have been expelled from the country, sent to prison, murdered, or banished from their sees. Only three bishops managed to escape from the country. Other countries, apart from Soviet Russia, in which ecclesiastical dignitaries have recently been persecuted are Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the districts of Indo-China under Viet-Minh control, the Communist district of Korea, Poland, Roumania, and Yugoslavia.

Such is the freedom of religion exercised in the countries subjugated by Bolshevism!

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We accuse Moscow before the whole free World

A Powerful Protest Against Moscow's Barbarity

In connection with the open letter of September 30, 1955, by the prisoners of the Mordovian special camps and with the documents which, by various ways and means, have reached the outside world from concentration camps in the U.S.S.R. and the satellite states and from the catacombs of the militant Churches, the political exiles once again protest most emphatically against this form of barbarity and cruelty, hitherto unheard of in the history of mankind, and against the inhuman method of murdering and exterminating entire peoples and countless nations who are striving to attain state independence.

These political exiles appear before the whole Christian and civilized world and before all freedom-loving nations as living proof of Moscow's incredible atrocities and as a living reproach to all who dare to tolerate the ruthless misdeeds of a fiendish regime, which is directed against God's creatures. Nowadays, it is hard to believe that in past centuries a political emigrant who fought tyranny was more respected in Europe than an ordinary citizen, since he was a symbol of the fight for a freedom which was valued so highly in the West and of the spirit of self-sacrifice for the good of others, for his friends, his native country, and for religious faith... In our day, however, a political exile is usually stamped as a "second class" subject, since the West is striving to obtain material goods and quiet, even if this can only be achieved at the cost of enslaving millions of persons of other nations. For this reason, the political exiles have become a living reproach to Western mankind, obsessed as it is by materialism. This reproach will become even more eloquent if we remind the free world of certain facts, — of the situation of a religious-minded person forced to languish behind the Iron Curtain, of the situation of a nation, which like every nation, according to the thought expressed by a philosopher, is an idea of God on earth, and of the situation of religion, which is man's most precious possession.

The political emigrants will not forget one single crime committed by Moscow and will

continue to protest against the imprisonment of twenty million sons and daughters of the nations subjugated by Moscow, who have been persecuted because they believed in God, because they strove to attain freedom, and because, in defending their own human rights and those of all mankind, they have by their self-sacrifice and by their resistance to enslavement held up Russia's advance against the free world for a while.

The political emigrants protest against the existence of the concentration camps and slave labour camps, which solely constitute a means of exterminating the best elements of the nations subjugated by Moscow and by Communism.

The political emigrants protest against "collective responsibility", which has been applied by Moscow for centuries, right up to the present times, as a means of its regime of terrorism, and against the mass murder of innocent individuals and entire peoples merely because they are fighting for the ideals of truth, the common good, freedom, and right, for their national state independence, for human dignity, and for religious faith. They likewise protest against forcibly created and systematically organized famines as a means of subjugating peoples and forcing them to submit to the system of Bolshevik tyranny, against the persecution of religion and the Church, against the mass imprisonment of bishops, priests, and religious-minded persons, against the destruction of churches and monasteries and other monuments of ancient Christian culture and of the culture of various other nations enslaved by Moscow and by Communism.

Above all, the political emigrants protest against the main source of evil in the subjugated countries, namely against the brutal liquidation of their independent national states by armed Muscovite Bolshevik hordes.

Millions of Persons Accuse the Present and Past Moscow Regime

The political emigrants who as representatives of their peoples speak on the latter's behalf in the free world, censure and accuse, before the tribunal of history and the conscience of the whole Christian world, the Moscow tyrants, the Soviet government, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (C.P.S.S.), the Ministry of the Interior (M.V.D.), the Committee of State Security (C.G.B.), all the factors of Moscow's atrocities and their imitators in the vassal states, — on account of serious crimes against humanity and against the national rights of the individual peoples, on account of constant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Declaration of the United Nations on Human Rights, and on account of disregard of all international obligations and treaties. In particular, the political emigrants accuse Moscow of constantly and outrageously violating the right of the peoples to self-determination, that is to say, the right to state independence, of carrying on wars of aggression, of perpetrating war crimes, of exterminating eight million persons by systematically organized famines, and of torturing more than twenty-seven million persons to death whilst working on state building projects (canals, roads, railways, and fortifications, etc.) or as victims of

slave labour in Soviet concentration camps. According to statistical data, the population of the U.S.S.R. has suffered a loss of 53.5 million lives (as compared to the natural increase in population which is normal for other peoples) since the Communist regime assumed power, up to 1954.

There is no crime which Moscow has not committed. It is therefore a disgrace to the 20th century that the U.S.S.R. and the Communist satellite states — after having perpetrated so many crimes — are allowed to be members of international organizations (as for instance, of the United Nations) which have as their aim the defence of human and national rights and the ensuring of world security and peace, prosperity and justice for all nations and individuals irrespective of race, religion, or origin. It would be more appropriate for Soviet Russia to be a member of a gangster organization, an organization of slave-traders, thieves or robbers, of murderers, international crooks, sadists, of all those who in all states and among all peoples — even those on a lower cultural level — are punished by just laws, — but not a member of the United Nations.

Furthermore, the political emigrants, on behalf of their peoples, accuse the so-called Soviet Union and the Communist governments of the latter's satellites of completely disregarding and constantly violating the following articles of the Charter of the United Nations: Preamble, I, § 1, Articles 1, 2, 3; II, § 2, Articles 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; IV, § 13, Article 1 b; IX, § 55, Articles a, b, c; and also the following articles of the universal Declaration of the United Nations on Human Rights: Articles 3, 4, 5, 6, 15 (2), 18, 19, 21 (3).

Demands of the Subjugated Nations to the Free World

As representatives of their nations, the political emigrants make the following demands, pursuant to certain articles of the Statute of the United Nations (Chapter II, point 6):

a) that the open letter from the Mordovian prisoners to the United Nations and the entire material available on concentration camps in the U.S.S.R. and in the satellite states, which reaches the West by various ways and means, should be examined; that witnesses should be interrogated in this connection; that conditions as regards the existence of religion and the Church behind the Iron Curtain should be investigated, as well as the Bolshevik policy of hatred towards individuals and peoples, which Moscow pursues in the subjugated world;

b) that the Bolshevik methods of subjugating peoples and individuals, the persecution of religion and the Church, the conducting of wars of aggression, the violation of international treaties, the violation of the right of the nations to self-determination and disregard of state independence, interference in the internal affairs of other nations and states, provocation of civil wars and unrest throughout the whole world, exploitation of the individual and the introduction of slavery should be censured and condemned;

c) that the U.S.S.R. and its satellite governments should be excluded from the United Nations (on the strength of the Charter of the United Nations, Chapter II, point 6);

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d) that the government of the U.S.S.R., the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Ministry of the Interior of the U.S.S.R., the Committee of State Security, and other factors of Bolshevik atrocities (and their imitators in the satellite states) should be sued before an International Tribunal and should be condemned, at least from the ethical point of view.

The political emigrants shall insist that the demands of the prisoners in Soviet and other Communist concentration camps be discussed by the United Nations; that a special commission of the United Nations be set up for the purpose of inspecting concentration camps and labour camps in the U.S.S.R. and the satellite states; that all such camps be dissolved; that all political prisoners and all innocent persons who have been sentenced be released; that all deportees (including those persons who have been sent to the so-called new clearance regions) be allowed to return to their native country, a condition which also applies to entire peoples who have been forcibly resettled; that all factors of Muscovite and Communist atrocities (M.V.D., Russian troops, Communist and so called Union Parties, etc.) be removed from the countries subjugated by Russia, a fact which constitutes the main precondition for a free expression of will on the part of the peoples subjugated by Moscow; that all citizens of Russian nationality be required to leave the territory of the subjugated peoples — which is what the Mordovian prisoners quite rightly demand — and that they should not be allowed to re-enter such territory until Russia has abandoned her aim of denationalizing, assimilating, and finally swallowing up the countries she has subjugated; that secret, direct, free elections be introduced again in the countries enslaved by Moscow and by Communism; that complete freedom of speech and assembly, of the press, of organization, of conscience and of religion be guaranteed in these countries, as well as freedom of creative and independent work and initiative and freedom from fear; that all Churches beyond the Iron Curtain should regain their freedom; that a jurisdiction, independent of the administration, be introduced there, the function of which will be based on conformity to valid laws and on conscience, and not on arbitrariness; that a democratic order be introduced in the countries subjugated by Moscow and by Communism and that the governments there be set up on the strength of the free expression of will of the people. To put the case briefly: the political emigrants are striving after a political state order which will give the individual democratic rights and freedoms, and after social and economic conditions which are based on social justice and equality and are in keeping with the vital interests of the masses and the general needs of the individual.

A democratic and socially just order can only be realized in the countries enslaved by Moscow if the principles of the Atlantic Charter, the Statute of the United Nations, and the Declaration of the United Nations on Human Rights are conscientiously observed and realized. For this reason, the political emigrants shall demand that the United Nations, on the strength of these principles, shall proclaim the **Big Charter of the Independence of all Nations of the World**, which shall, in clear and definite terms, approve of the dissolution of the Russian imperium into national democratic states of the peoples subjugated by Russia; only a partition of this kind, which is in keeping with the right of the nations to self-determination, can guarantee the realization of a democratic order in the countries at present enslaved by Moscow, inasmuch as it will also guarantee permanent peace and security in the world once the Russian imperium has been eliminated as a perpetual mischief-maker and as a constant danger to all peace-loving mankind.

The political emigrants, as representatives of their nations who have been subjugated by Moscow and by Communism (and who under Bolshevik despotism have no chance of expressing their own free will), declare and affirm that neither the government of the U.S.S.R. nor the governments of the so-called

Soviet Socialist Republics and of the Communist satellite states have any right to act in the name of the subjugated peoples or to represent the latter in the international forum, since they are the governments of an occupant or of the latter's agents. Any further recognition of the Bolshevik regime on the part of the free world is equal to recognizing a totalitarian robber state and denying millions of subjugated persons and scores of nations their right to national and individual freedom; it is equal to giving preference to aggression and tyranny, to the disadvantage of the right of the nations to self-determination, that is to say, to national and state independence, and for this reason such recognition on the part of the free world may destroy even the firmest foundation of a just peace and of world security.

The political emigrants demand that the peoples enslaved by Moscow should be represented in the general assembly of the United Nations and in other international organizations by their national representatives, who are fitt-

ed to express the wishes of their peoples, and not by agents of Muscovite imperialism and totalitarianism; they also demand that those peoples, subjugated by Moscow and by Communism, who so far had no share in the United Nations, be likewise admitted to the general assembly of this organization; on the strength of §§ 1 and 2 of the Hague Convention of 1899 (that is to say, in the edition of 1907), they also demand that the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and all other fighting units of the nations subjugated by Moscow, which are fighting for the freedom of the peoples and of the individual against Communist tyranny, should be recognized as belligerent forces and treated accordingly.

Our demands regarding the exclusion of the U.S.S.R. and its satellite governments from the general assembly of the United Nations are based on legally valid conditions; and this applies to an even greater extent to the demands made by the prisoners of the Soviet concentration camps, who have appealed directly to the United Nations.

Moscow's Advance on the Straits

Turkey a Sincere Friend of the Subjugated Nations

Moscow has always been attracted to the Straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles since it has no direct access to warm oceans. Whether the testament of Peter I is genuine or false is of no importance compared to the fact that for centuries Moscow has been trying to gain such access, either directly or indirectly. Hitler offered Stalin (Molotov acted as the intermediary in Berlin) access to the Indian Ocean via India, that is to say, through the entire complex of the British Empire, in so far as it is situated south of the U.S.S.R. But Stalin did not venture to accept this offer as he was only too well aware both of Albion's obduracy and America's resources. The trend of Russian imperialism towards the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, however, continues to remain the main trend of Russia's expansion, a fact which was already recognized by the Ukrainian Hetmans of the 17th century, Bohdan Khmelnytsky and Petro Doroshenko, who for this very reason sought to establish a firm alliance between Turkey and Ukraine; at the beginning of the 18th century, Hetman Pylyp Orlyk, who was exiled, also endeavoured to bring about an extensive anti-Russian confederation of states, to be headed by Turkey.

For decades, Turkey herself refused to acknowledge the partition of Poland and in 1918 she was one of the first states to recognize the sovereignty of Ukraine unconditionally, since the existence of an independent Ukrainian state is entirely in keeping with the vital interests of Turkey herself. Turkey is not in the least interested in the continuance of a "united and indivisible" Russian imperium; on the contrary, she realizes that the downfall of this imperium would mean that she could enjoy undisturbed possession of the Straits and Stambul, since Ukraine lays no claim whatsoever to these territories, but, on the other hand, is anxious that a permanent alliance should be formed against Russia by all the nations that possess territory on the Black Sea coast. Turkey is a loyal and staunch friend of Ukraine, and all the problems which might arise in connection with the relations existing between these two countries must be solved on the basis of their lasting friendship. For this reason Turkey does not need to set up any "bridge-heads" on the north coast of the Black Sea, especially not since the "rejuvenation" of the Turkish state, effected by Kemal Atatürk, renounces every form of imperialism on principle. Turkey knows how to defend these frontiers effectively, and it is therefore not surprising that the Soviet Union does not venture to launch a direct attack on the Straits, even

though it has been making preparations which have this aim in view and have been skilfully camouflaged by the "ecclesiastical" activity of the newly restored Moscow patriarchate.

Significant Facts

The well-known international Dardanelles Treaty is due to expire in the near future. In view of the fact that a diplomatic advance on the part of the Soviet Union is to be expected, it is by no means a coincidence that Shepilov, some months ago, spurred on Nasser of Egypt as regards laying claim to another — artificial — straits, namely Suez. Nor is it a coincidence that the U.S.S.R., after amazingly brief negotiations, is now releasing the Spanish members of the "Blue Division" and also the Spaniards interned (and, in fact, deported) in the Soviet Union since the end of the Spanish civil war. The purpose of these measures is obviously to neutralize Spain's radical anti-Bolshevik attitude and to draw General Franco's attention to his chances as regards *Gibraltar*. Any complications which might arise in connection with Suez and Gibraltar would considerably facilitate Khrushchev's advance on the Dardanelles. Of course, Franco is not Nasser and will not allow himself to be misled as easily as the latter. But, nevertheless, the game has begun, and Franco himself, despite his farsighted policy and his unwavering anti-Communist attitude, will be forced into a difficult position should the Soviets at some conference of the United Nations (at which they can already count on the votes of most of the Afro-Asian members in advance) try to link up the Suez problem with that of Gibraltar.

Whilst the West, on the one hand, is to a considerable extent dependent on supplies of fuel from the Near and Middle East, this East, on the other hand, is dependent on the West, since the latter pays and Saudi Arabia, Persia, and Iraq would very soon be done for if these payments ceased. The U.S.S.R. is not in a position to finance these countries to any considerable extent, however many promises it may make and however much propaganda it may disseminate in this respect; and leading circles in the East and the entire West are no doubt well aware of this fact, even though the latter feels that it is being disorientated and intimidated.

The same line of the Soviets' foreign policy which has as its objective the encirclement of Turkey is even more plainly in evidence in the attitude displayed by the Soviets in the case

Determined Solidarity with the Hungarian Fight for Liberation

Two urgent telegrams

To the United Nations, New York

In the name of the subjugated peoples who are united in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations we declare before the forum of the United Nations that we are wholeheartedly on the side of the heroic sacrificial fight for freedom of the Hungarian people. We request that the brutal Russian military interference in the internal affairs of Hungary should be censured by the United Nations and that the Russian occupation troops should be forced to withdraw from the territories of all countries so that our peoples may in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter be able to lead a state and political life of their own as they choose.

For the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations:

Jaroslav Stetzko Colonel General Farkas
Major General Zako

President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Washington

In solidarity with the Hungarian people in its heroic sacrificial fight for freedom we trust

that the USA under the leadership of Your Excellency and in the spirit of the tradition of Lincoln and Washington will actively support all our peoples in their unequal fight and will not allow them to continue to lay down their lives in vain. Only the spokesmen of the fight for freedom are the legitimate representatives of our peoples and their appeal for military aid should also be fulfilled in accordance with the precedence cases of Korea and Vietnam.

For the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations:

Jaroslav Stetzko (Ukraine)
Colonel General Farkas,
Major General Zako (Hungary)
Kajum Chan (Turkestan)
Ferdinand Durcansky (Slovakia)
Prince Nakashidse (Georgia)
Dimiter Valtchev, Christo Statev (Bulgaria)
General Leo Prchala (Bohemia)
Professor Ostrovski (Byelorussia)
Oskar Loorits (Estonia)
General Alabanda (Croatia)

The following two Declarations were read at a press conference held by ABN in the „Deutsches Theater“, Munich, on October 26. The conference, which was conducted by Dr. Dimiter Valtchev, was attended by numerous representatives of the German and the foreign press. The Declaration of the Hungarian Defence Council in exile was read by Major-General (ret.) Andras v. Zako. The Declaration of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations was read by Dr. D. Valtchev.

Jaroslav Stetzko gave a short political commentary.

Declaration of the Hungarian Defence Council in Exile

On October 23, the Hungarian people, led by the youth of the country, the workers and the soldiers, rose up in revolt against the tyranny to which they have been subjected for decades. In order to crush the fight for freedom, Moscow's governors in their alarm called in the Soviet occupation forces to come to their aid. The sacred soil of our native country will once more be stained with the blood of the champions of freedom of the Hungarian people.

This unexpected insurrection is the newest and most important link in the chain of revolts against the regime of terrorism behind the Iron Curtain. And it is the best proof of the fact that years of alien occupation, exploitation and terrorism have failed to break the spirit of the Hungarians. They still definitely reject every form of Communism with its entire moral, social and economic system. They still adhere faithfully to the Christian doctrines. For the sake of their freedom and for the sake of their native country the youth, the workers, the peasants and the soldiers of Hungary are still prepared to make heroic sacrifices and to seal the fight for freedom with their blood.

The youth of Hungary has risen up in revolt, though the world may perhaps have assumed that it would be unable or unwilling to fight for the cause of true freedom and of its nation after having been trained to the Communist pattern for ten years. It is with pride in our hearts and deeply stirred that we follow the determined course of our people in their fight against Communism.

The fight for freedom may be crushed by means of Soviet armed strength and our people may be

reduced to slavery once more, — but the blood that is shed in this insurrection will be proof for ever that the Hungarian people will never become resigned to their fetters.

Comrades in our native country! Your sacrifice is not in vain! It speaks to the conscience of the entire free world! Even if we cannot be with you in your ranks, we shall fight on free soil for the sacred ideas for which you are sacrificing your lives. We shall never tire and never weaken in our efforts for the cause of freedom!

We protest against the suppression of the free expression of will of the Hungarian people, against the armed intervention of the Soviet troops and against the inhuman reprisals!

We appeal to the United Nations to intervene as speedily as possible in order to protect the rights and freedom of mankind. What is happening in Hungary at the present time is the brutal destruction of the fundamental rights of man and the mockery of all justified endeavours to attain freedom.

We appeal to the entire free world to support the cause of Hungary's freedom! May Hungary be helped in her fight to regain her human rights!

In the name of the Hungarian Defence Council in exile:

Major-General (ret.) Colonel-General (ret.)
Andras v. Zako Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak
Colonel-General (ret.) Field-Marshal
Emil v. Justhy Erzherzog Josef

The Russian Imperium on the Edge of a Volcano — The West must not keep silent

A Warning

The bow of the Russian terrorist regime was already drawn to straining point to such an extent in Stalin's day that it seemed entirely in keeping with the actual state of affairs to introduce a policy which was to check the anti-Russian liberation revolutions, which were in the course of preparation in all the countries behind the Iron Curtain, and direct them into channels less dangerous for Russia and Communism. This, too, was the reason for the "de-Stalinization" and for the fact that all the blame for past events was thrust on to Stalin. It was not a change in their political attitude, but a strategic plan to check the outbreak of indignation and resentment that prompted Khrushchev and his clique to assent to the reinstatement of such former Communist traitors to their peoples as Gomulka and Nagy, who are mainly to blame for the fact that Communism has assumed power in their countries and that the latter have been subjected to Russian domination. None other than Gomulka was mainly responsible for concealing the crime of Katyn and, in particular, for approving of the stopping of the Rokossovsky offensive before Warsaw during the revolt against Hitler. None other than Gomulka, as long as he was in power, concealed and approved of the crimes of Russia and of the Communist Party of Poland against his own fellow-countrymen. He alone is responsible for the murder of hundreds of thousands of Polish champions of freedom, peasants, workers and members of the intelligentsia, and for the persecution of the Church, — all of which measures he not only sanctioned, but also carried out.

In order to save the Russian Communist imperium somehow or other, mass murderer Khrushchev has helped to restore the former so-called National Communist rabble to power again. The Poznan revolt was not organized by National Communists. The national, Christian and social factors of the Polish nation, which definitely opposes Communism as a whole and Russian imperialism, are precisely the active forces in the present events in Poland.

It is a pure coincidence that Gomulka was not — as Nagy now is in Hungary — in power during the Poznan revolt, otherwise he would have crushed the revolt for freedom of the Polish workers, peasants and students with the help of Russian troops. The concentration of Russian troops in Poland and of the Russian fleet in Polish waters was not directed against Gomulka, but against the advance of the national revolutionary forces who want to get the better of Gomulka. The Russian troops and units of the Russian fleet have concentrated their forces as silent allies of Gomulka and as a precautionary measure against incidents such as those which have occurred in Budapest. And in this respect it is significant that Rokossovsky had to remain commander-in-chief with Spychalsky, who had been recommended by Gomulka, as his deputy. A joint front has thus been set up against the national revolutionary forces, which is more than Gomulka bargained for. →

Declaration of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations on the latest events in Hungary

Just as Kerenski was to prevent the disintegration of the Russian imperium, to continue the renewed offensive against the Central Powers in the name of Great Russia and to reject all fundamental changes in the structure of the Russian empire, so, too, Gomulka and Nagy are nothing but hirelings in disguise of the Russian world imperium. Nagy revealed the true nature of Titoism when he appealed to the Russian troops to help massacre the workers and students of his own country. His conduct in this respect resembles that of Emperor Franz Josef, who in 1849 requested the troops of the Russian Tsar, Nicholas I, to crush the Kossuth champions of freedom. In inciting the Russians to fight against his own fellow-countrymen, the proletarian Nagy has manifested as noble a feeling of fellowship as did the alien Habsburg Emperor, when he asked the Russians to crush the Hungarians' urge for freedom.

The heroic martyrs in Budapest have taught the West, which believes that the Communist sphere of influence could be defeated with the aid of Titoist National Communism, a good lesson!

At the crucial moment, the Communists, whatever their political colour may be, will join forces and will, moreover, put up a joint defence, aided by Russian assistance, against their own fellow-countrymen. **The heroic people of Hungary are fighting for their national independence, for a social order which is in keeping with the soul and spirit of the nation, for religion, against the collective system, against large-scale farming, against the enslavement of the individual, and for the freedom of thought and action.**

We are profoundly stirred by the great heroism of all those who have fought desperately for the freedom of the whole world and have been massacred by brutal Russian and Communist force, thanks to that criminal, Nagy. We are horrified at the indifference shown by the Western world, for the workers and students of Hungary have laid down their lives for the cause of freedom and for the West, too.

During the past weeks Hungary and Poland have become a most urgent warning to the Western world. After the events which have occurred in these two countries the people there will not only hate the Russians and the Communists with all their hearts, but also the materialistic West, which holds all ideal values in contempt and has delivered up our peoples to the Russians and is chiefly to blame for our sufferings and our distress. We warn the Western politicians and nations to be beware of the hatred of our peoples. It is a sin before God and one's own conscience to look on passively whilst men die fighting for freedom because the West has sinned against our peoples. Our countries would never have come under Russian and Communist dominion, had not Roosevelt and Churchill in Yalta and Wilson, Poincaré and Lloyd George after the first World War abandoned our peoples to the power of the Russian monster.

What could be easier than to let a few paratroop divisions land in Hungary and Poland and thus answer the appeal for help of the freedom-loving Hungarians and Poles and of all our authorized spokesmen of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain. Seeing that Nagy appealed to the Russians for help and they responded, why should not the Americans respond to the appeal for help made by the national forces and fight against Nagy's Communist troops just as the Russians are doing against the national champions of freedom? Such a step would start a chain reaction throughout the entire Russian sphere of influence, all the more so since one revolt after

Now that the heroic insurrection in Budapest has broken out in spite of Russian bombers and tanks at the greatest sacrifice on the part of Hungarian students, workers and soldiers, we feel it our urgent duty, as fellow-sufferers of the sorely tried Hungarian people, to make the following declaration before the free world:

1) We bow in reverence before the sacrifice of the Hungarian champions of freedom, who intrepidly opposed the overwhelmingly superior material strength of Soviet tyranny and laid down their lives for freedom. They died not only for their native Hungary, but for the freedom and value of life of mankind and the nations as a whole.

2) The outbreak of the desire for freedom in Poland, which was expressed by the Poznan revolt, and above all the armed mass revolt in Hungary deserve more than a merely platonic manifestation of sympathy on the part of the Western world. These deeply moving events make it imperative that the attitude of the free world so far towards Moscow should be thoroughly revised. Moscow should not be allowed to fool the entire civilized world anew and to stamp the fallen heroes of Budapest with its usual defamation as "Gangs of robbers and murderers in the services of Western imperialism".

3) The revolt in Poznan and, to an even greater extent, the armed national insurrection in Budapest have shown up the resolutions of the 20th Party Congress in their true light and have revealed both the *true motives* and the *perfidious diversion manoeuvre* which was the aim and purpose of the slogans about an alleged "democratization" and "liberalization". There can no longer be any doubt about the fact that the entire so-called "de-Stalinization" was not a sudden wilful idea, but had, on the contrary, been forced on the present rulers in Moscow by necessity as the last expedient in order to check the *explosive urge for freedom* of the enslaved peoples in the Soviet Russian sphere of influence and direct it into new, so-called "national Communist" channels.

4) But from the moment that the notorious Hungarian National Communist Imre Nagy turned Russian tanks and jet fighters on his own people and let the Hungarian workers and soldiers die under Russian bombs and shells, the "new course" of Moscow was not only unmasked, but the death-knell sounded for so-called "National Communism" and its entire credibility on this side of and beyond the Iron Curtain. The funeral address was given by the Polish National Communist Gomulka of Warsaw, when he said, "The setting up of socialism in Poland without the U.S.S.R. or, as some madmen would like to believe, against the U.S.S.R., is impossible."

5) In view of the events in Poland and Hungary, it is time people ceased to cherish the illusion that the present international political crisis can be solved by means of the hoped for relaxation of the Communist regime in the East bloc countries and the latter's gradual release from the Russian stranglehold. On the contrary, experience has shown that independence in the National Communist style and every kind of so-called "Titoist" rebellion against Moscow always cease to exist when the violent Communist regime as such is threatened and the peoples desire genuine freedom and independence.

6) The solidarity of world Communism is a supreme law for the "National Communists", too, and the validity of this law is guaranteed by the trickery of the Warsaw Pact. This pact is a fig-leaf

another has broken out in the concentration camps of Vorkuta, Norilsk and Kingiri during the past three years, at the instigation of the Ukrainian prisoners interned there. It is a well-known fact that the "Pravda", prior to the 20th Party Congress of the U.S.S.R., issued an appeal to the Ukrainian insurgents in Volhynia, in which the latter were requested to lay down arms and were promised an amnesty if they did so. **The demonstrations which occurred in Kyiv, Odessa, Tiflis and Baku are likewise an established fact. Like the demonstrations and revolts in Hungary, they were held not for the purpose of supporting**

for the permanent military subjugation of all the peoples in the East bloc countries and in reality is a legalization of a mass murder of which they are the victims and which can in future be carried on by Moscow just as unchecked as the constant and grim suppression of the urge for freedom of all the other peoples in the U.S.S.R. itself.

7) Recent developments in Poland and Hungary have proved an instructive object-lesson on the true nature of Bolshevik tyranny, which in reality is a **HYBRID BETWEEN RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM AND COMMUNIST DESPOTISM**, a theory which incidentally has always formed a fundamental part of our ideology. **THE ABOLITION OF THE COMMUNIST REGIME WITHOUT THE SIMULTANEOUS DEPRIVING OF POWER AND DESTRUCTION OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM IS AS IMPOSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE AS THE ABOLITION OF THE RUSSIAN COLONIAL EMPIRE WITHOUT THE SIMULTANEOUS LIQUIDATION OF THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM, WHICH IS UNNATURAL AND ALIEN TO CIVILIZATION.**

8) The forces of the fight for freedom are not to be found in National Communism, and "Titoism" is not the path to liberation and progress. The ideal of freedom can and will only be attained by the masses who from the start steadfastly opposed Communist heresy and defended their free national life against the onslaughts of Russian imperialism. The masses will not and cannot accept National Communism, since it merely holds out a promise of tyranny and in the end must inevitably lead to subjugation under Moscow.

9) Now that Russian Bolshevism, as yet in the dawn of the alleged "de-Stalinization", has once again and for all time been put out of countenance in the massacre of Budapest, the free world must cease to look on passively whilst legalized mass murder is committed. The Communist puppet governments in all the non-Russian countries of the Soviet colonial empire, including all the governments of the National Communist type who on previous occasions have already proved to be the hangmen of their own peoples, must no longer be allowed to act as the legitimate representatives of their countries. It is time the Western world, by recognizing the appointed spokesmen of the martyred peoples, set up a *counterweight in the free world against the tyrannical trickery of the Warsaw Pact*, so that the fight for freedom of our peoples will in future cease to be a fight on a lost outpost.

10) The history of the Russian colonial empire contains more than enough evidence of endless and brutally suppressed struggles for freedom and insurrections on the part of the subjugated peoples. The recent sacrifice of the Hungarian champions of freedom of Budapest completes this series and is, as it were, a beacon which must not be overlooked by the free world and must not be allowed to pass into oblivion again. The desperate rebellion against alien Russian rule and against Communist despotism of every kind has already reached a climax. The peoples of Eastern Europe must no longer be abandoned to Russian tanks and bombs like cattle to be slaughtered. They expect not merely manifestations of sympathy from the democratic world powers, but active solidarity. Should the peoples behind the Iron Curtain be let down by the West and, as a result, become hopelessly resigned to their fate, then the rest of the world will sooner or later be deprived of its freedom, too.

The Central Committee of the ABN.

National Communism but in order to oppose every form of Russian domination and every kind of Communism. Another world war could be avoided if the Western Major Powers, in response to the appeal for help of the champions of freedom, were now to intervene with armed force in the conflict behind the Iron Curtain.

The entire Communist system and the Russian imperium would then fall to pieces without the West having to resort to the use of atomic bombs; and Moscow would, of course, in that case not be in a position to use its thermonuclear weapons against

To: Moscow's Advance . . .

of Cyprus; the part played by the Cypriot Communists speaks for itself. A short time ago, hundreds of bottles were found in the Bosphorus, containing leaflets which were allegedly of Greek origin and which stated that Stambul is a Greek town and should belong to Greece. As a rule, Bolshevik provocation propaganda is not disseminated in so crude a manner; but the purpose in this case is very obvious, namely to stir up hatred among the Greeks against Turkey, at any price, either on account of Cyprus or for some other reason. Should a new government (of the "Popular Front" type) assume power in Athens, then the political and strategic encirclement of Turkey would thereby become an accomplished fact and Moscow would be able to launch its frontal attack on the Dardanelles.

Thus the various lines of the Soviets' foreign policy — irrespective of whether it is allegedly concerned with Suez, Gibraltar or Cyprus — actually converge in the Bosphorus and Dardanelles question. And it can be assumed with certainty that as soon as the Dardanelles Treaty expires, the Soviets will demand a revision of the present "status quo" and will rely on the rivalry between Greece and Turkey when doing so. It is, of course, obvious that Greece would actually gain as little as Lithuania, for instance, did, when Moscow at the end of 1941 "generously gave" her Wilno; by the following year, Lithuania together with her capital, Wilno, had already become, "of her own free will", part of the U.S.S.R. The Greeks should have paid more heed to the story of the wooden horse of Troy.

Seeing that Moscow is thus quite openly preparing its advance on the Straits, it strikes one as rather strange that the British Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, should manifest such opportunism and should still be hoping to satisfy Moscow with peaceful speeches. This time it is not a Korean War, and it is not the U.S.A. which are being attacked, but Great Britain herself; and one might at least have hoped that the British reply would have been worthy of "proud Albion". But the British lion has, unfortunately, become very tame. Why did Eden not ask Shepilov at the Suez Conference in London what Moscow's reasons are for not relieving Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan, and Byelorussia of its own occupation armies, instead of slyly "defending" certain peoples of Asia and Africa who have actually already been free and independent for a long time? It would only be right and proper for Eden to declare that Britain would be prepared to give up all claims to the Suez Canal, provided that Moscow would be willing to confine itself to its ethnical frontiers and set the countries that it has occupied free, just as Britain has actually done in the case of Suez and Ceylon. In any case, Moscow had no business at all to be at the Suez Conference in London, and its presence there is completely unjustified since it has no access to southern waters; on the other hand, however, Ukraine, Bulgaria, Roumania, and the Caucasian countries should be represented at this conference — namely by their *free* representatives, since they are seaboard states of the Black Sea which border on southern waters. Even an invitation to the officially (according to Stalin's constitution of the U.S.S.R.) sovereign "Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic" would have been useful from the foreign policy point of view, since such an invitation would have resulted in the colonial status of the non-Russian "Soviet Republics" being revealed to the rest of the world in a most striking manner.

Nasser Incited By Moscow

Surely Sir Anthony Eden is not so simple as to be unable to carry out a counter-attack on Moscow, even if it were only for the pur-

pose of stopping Shepilov's little game! What could be simpler than to reply to Moscow's provocations, regarding "the independence of former members of the British Commonwealth and Empire", with similar demands regarding "the independence of all the satellite states and non-Russian Soviet Republics"? But the fact that this has not been done points to the existence of certain plans, which to some extent are similar to those of certain American and Russian "private circles", — to the modernized colonial interests of Western capital, with its actual domination, with a corresponding "world government" or with the fictitious "United States" of Europe and, above all, of Eastern Europe, with a systematic rejection of the national idea . . .

Eden's reaction to Nasser's impudence is entirely wrong; the economic matters of Suez should be left to Egypt, but the Canal should be occupied by British troops. American units

Telegram to His Excellency Sir Anthony Eden Prime Minister, Westminster

We the national representatives in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in Great Britain urgently appeal to the British Government to take immediate action in support of the National Revolution in Hungary. We ask you to condemn the Russian intervention and Communist terror and give every help to the Hungraian people fighting for christianity, national freedom and democratic liberties.

Radoslaw Ostrowsky President Byelorussian Central Council; Igor Bazovsky Vice-president Slovak Liberation Committee; Wasyl Oleskiw for Ukrainian Nationalists Organisation.

are stationed in Turkey and even in England, so why should not British units protect the Suez Canal against Shepilov's "friendliness"! And if the administration of the Canal were left to Egypt, the Arabian countries would raise little objection, since this would not be a capitalistic solution to the problem, but the only sound solution, namely a national one.

To compare Nasser with Hitler is to disregard the part played by Moscow. Hitler reached all his decisions independently; Nasser, on the other hand, is more like Benes in this respect. Just as the latter, in the shade of Soviet Russian bayonets, hounded millions of women and children out of their homes and property, so, too, Nasser, at Shepilov's instigation, is now confiscating foreign property. There can be no denying the fact that, without French and English capital, technical skill and

The Russian Imperium . . . (Continued from page 4)

America or England, especially not as non-Russians constitute 52 per cent of the Soviet Army. The latter, too, would likewise fall to pieces; just as the Hungarian or Polish soldiers of the Red Army have gone over to the side of the champions of freedom, so, too, the non-Russian soldiers of the Soviet Army will go over to the side of their own peoples. And in that case who, apart from the Russians, will defend the Russian imperium, if the West guarantees the peoples at present subjugated complete national independence, freedom for the individual and a just social order according to their own choice?

Once again the West has missed its opportunity. "Freedom from Moscow!" — "Down with every form of Communism!" — these

enterprise, there would never have been either a Suez Canal or all the advantages which Egypt has derived from its existence. It is true that the territory is Egyptian, but that is about all. It is thus merely a question of simple jurisdiction to allot to Egypt and to the other parties concerned that which lawfully belongs to them.

Nasser, however, is merely an insignificant puppet. Suez is to be Egyptian today, only to become the property of Moscow tomorrow, — just as the Oder-Neisse-Line is allegedly Polish, but in reality Soviet Russian. In the first stage of its advance, Moscow always aims to exploit the national sentiments of its partner for its own advantage, in order to sacrifice this same partner later on to its own imperialistic desires.

The Suez Canal question is merely a curtain-raiser to the big drama of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles which is about to be enacted. The Balkan Pact has already been rendered practically invalid by Moscow, and the same thing is obviously about to happen as far as the Bagdad Pact is concerned; Tito's treason to the West, Greece's animosity, a fanatically anti-Western attitude in the entire Arabian and Moslem world, — things could not be better, as far as Moscow is concerned! And what has the West accomplished in the meantime? For five years it supported that "convinced Communist", Tito, and for ten years it never did a thing to free Albania — situated on the Ionian Sea and isolated geographically by the Soviet zone of influence — from her satellite status. There are plenty of American, British, and French men-of-war in the Mediterranean, but the West has neither money nor cartridges nor even moral support to spare for the national liberation movement in Albania or for the national aims of the fairly numerous Albanian political emigrants. Albania is simply not mentioned.

The case of Albania is the most striking proof of the complete fiasco of the so-called "psychological" war conducted by the West. Such, in fact, is the "Liberation Policy" which was once solemnly proclaimed by President Eisenhower.

This policy is both senseless and hopeless as long as the West fails to approve of and actively support the programme which has been set up by the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe and of Asia who are subjugated by Moscow, — the programme of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. As long as the West ignores this programme of the national idea, its political tactics in the face of Bolshevism and Russian imperialism will continue to be senseless, contradictory, and completely ineffective, for every success achieved by the U.S.S.R. in the field of foreign policy is based on this lack of ideas on the part of the West.

are the watchwords of those who are fighting for freedom.

It is high time the West ceased to be party to Moscow's crimes against our peoples and refrained from acting as Russia's ally against our nations by its passiveness and coexistence. The course of events behind the Iron Curtain cannot be held up. Neither Gomulka nor Nagy, nor Kyritchenko in Ukraine, nor Jugoff in Bulgaria will be able to save the situation for Moscow. The national liberation revolution is under way and sooner or later, even though it may involve the greatest sacrifices, it will bring about the downfall of Russia. Whether the Western world as a result of its dilatoriness and indifference will suffer the same fate, remains to be seen.

Americans for A.B.N.

"Freedom and Peace through Liberation" Congress in Washington

On July 2, 1956, the eve of the 180th anniversary of the American Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776, various American patriots and friends of the subjugated nations from the Soviet Union and Asia held a "Freedom and Peace through Liberation" Congress in Washington.

The Congress was opened in the House of Representatives with a prayer spoken by Father Nikolaus Lapizky (Byelorussia).

After welcoming the delegates of the subjugated peoples and of the House of Representatives, the president of the Congress, ex-Congressman O. K. Armstrong, moved the agenda which was accepted by those present. In his address he defined the aim of the Congress; those present should protest against the enslavement and extermination of the nations by Moscow. "Now especially, on the eve of Independence Day", he added, "it is our duty to demand anew that all the peoples subjugated by the Soviet Union should be liberated."

Four topics which had been prepared by well-known American personalities and representatives of the enslaved peoples were dealt with on the agenda of the Congress.

Firstly, the drafting of a programme for the US Republican and Democratic parties in which both parties should declare their willingness to support the principle that the peoples subjugated by the Soviet Union should be liberated. Prof Dr. L. Dobriansky of Georgetown University, Washington, the chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee, gave a lecture dealing with this topic.

Second topic: the drawing up of a universal Declaration of Independence by the subjugated peoples throughout the whole world. Mr. Edward M. O'Connor, a former member of the D. P. Commission in Washington, gave a talk on this topic.

An address on the third topic, the non-admission of Red China to the United Nations, was held by Congressman Walter Dodd (Minnesota).

The fourth topic, recommendations to the US Congress on the manner of conducting the political offensive against the Communist regime and avoiding the danger of a war, was dealt with by Congressman Michael A. Feighan (Ohio).

Of the general committee, consisting of about 120 representatives of the subjugated peoples, four executive committees were appointed for the purpose of drawing up the necessary resolutions. The Ukrainian group was well represented and included the following persons: Dmytro Halychyn, president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee (U.K.K.), Prof. Dr. L. Dobriansky, chairman of the U.K.K., Mr. St. Jarema, solicitor, head of the executive committee of the U.K.K., Mr. Hnat Bilinsky, secretary-general of the U.K.K., and Mr. Dushnyk.

The organizations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front also represented the local groups of Chicago, Buffalo, Philadelphia, New York, and Washington at the Congress with the following delegates: Mrs. Ulana Celewych, Dr. Nestor Prozyk, Mr. Sharwan, Dr. Sokolychyn, Mr. B. Moroz, and Mr. P. Goy.

The attempts of the Russians and certain Benes Czechs to change the designation "Soviet Russians" and thus make the Russians appear

in a more favourable light were frustrated by the excellent arguments put forward by the president of the U.K.K., Mr. Dmytro Halychyn.

At the suggestion of Dr. Sokolychyn, Dr. Koycheff, a member of the Bulgarian National Front and of the American Friends of A.B.N., was elected to the executive committee for the drawing up of a Declaration of Independence, despite the protests of the opposing candidate, leftist Dimitroff, and some of his supporters.

Mrs. Ulana Celewych, the well-known representative of the American Friends of A.B.N., Chicago group, was voted a member of another committee.

Addresses were held by Mr. Emet of the Union of the Subjugated Peoples and by the former Polish ambassador, Lipsky. The latter mentioned the riots in Poznan and appealed to those present to help the victims of terrorism there. Dr. Mikush (Slovakia) dealt with the question of Red China.

Dr. Prozyk spoke on behalf of the American Friends of A.B.N. and mentioned the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the fact that the Bolsheviks on the eve of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had issued a radio appeal to the members of this army to desist from their fighting activity. Dr. Jan Drach (Slovakia) refuted the opinions expressed by certain Benes-Czechs, opponents of that big Czech patriot, General Lev Prchala, who were so Russophil in their attitude that they demanded the restoration of the status quo of 1938/39 only for the satellite states.

The various executive committees submitted their suggestions for the resolutions to be moved, whereupon the discussion began. Prof. Dobriansky read out the proposals for the American parties. These proposals, which consisted of three points, were immediately challenged by the Russians present, who demanded that the terms "Russians" and "Bolsheviks" should not be identified as one and the same thing, since it was wiser to win over the Russian people rather than repel them. They also requested that the expression, "Moscow, the centre of world Communism", should be omitted. Boldyrev, the delegate of the NTS, hypocritically and amiably pointed out that Karl Marx had stood godfather to Communism in London, but that no mention of London was made in the proposals for the resolution. "Communism also exists in China", Boldyrev added, but he omitted to mention the fact that Communism was introduced in China by Moscow. In addition, Boldyrev also requested that the territorial and not the national designation should be used for the subjugated peoples, since the latter should not decide to which side they wish to belong before Bolshevism has been overthrown.

Dr. Prozyk refuted Boldyrev's remarks by pointing out that Ukraine, Finland, the Baltic States, Turkestan, Georgia, Byelorussia, and other peoples had already declared themselves for the independence of their states in 1918 and have done so again and again since then. The "no precedent" policy represents a danger to the subjugated peoples inasmuch as it may undermine the policy of liberation.

One member of the Byelorussian delegation, a young woman-student, made an excellent speech and suggested that the front of the subjugated peoples should be strengthened and extended. The Byelorussian delegation, incidentally, consisted of six members.

During an interval in the discussions, the Ukrainians canvassed support for House Resolution 482 on the persecution of the Church in Ukraine, which has been proposed in the US Congress, and for the resolution proposed in the previous session of Congress (183), to the effect that Moscow should be censured for aggression and for subjugation of the nations.

All A.B.N. proposals were accepted in principle, and the final text of these proposals will be drawn up by the heads of the various executive committees. After the final wording has been decided on, the resolutions will be submitted for approval to the representatives of the various national groups. The Congress hopes that by October 1st of this year it will have collected a million signatures for the universal declaration of the liberation of the peoples subjugated by Russia and by Communism.

The representatives of the national liberation organizations and of A.B.N. unanimously opposed all attempts on the part of the supporters of an "Indivisible Russia" to assert their cause, and, in order to bear out their arguments in this respect, made ample use of all the literature available at the Congress. The Ukrainian delegation presented its arguments in a most convincing manner.

After the Congress, Dr. Jan Drach (Slovakia), Dr. Sokolychyn (Ukraine) and Mr. P. Goy (Ukraine) paid a visit to the US Congress Library and presented it with a number of books on the subjugated peoples and on the A.B.N. Dr. Drach and his two companions then visited Congressmen Dodd (Connecticut), Preis, and Meden and expressed their thanks to the latter for having proposed resolutions on the liberation of Slovakia and admission to the UNO. They also appealed to the three Congressmen to support the resolution regarding the persecution of the Church in Ukraine and the resolution to the effect that the Soviet Union should be censured. The Congressmen assured them that they would wholeheartedly support the cause of the liberation of Slovakia and Ukraine and other subjugated nations.

Fierce Clashes in Siberia

The broadcasting station at Novosibirsk was recently the scene of fierce clashes between employees of the station and the Soviet police, in the course of which persons of both sides were wounded.

According to a report in the legal gazette of the U.S.S.R. and in the paper, "Sowjetskaja Sibir", employees of the broadcasting station tried to remove valuable apparatuses and abscond with them. The radio engineers involved had been working hand in hand with a resistance group, at whose instructions they had attempted to obtain the material needed to set up an illegal partisan transmitter.

This plan was discovered by an employee at the broadcasting station, of the name of Kremljew, who immediately informed the police. When the situation became hopeless owing to the fact that Bolshevik reinforcements arrived on the scene during the fighting, the engineers tried to set fire to the broadcasting station, but their efforts were frustrated by the timely arrival of the fire-brigade.

In keeping with their usual hackneyed methods, Soviet official circles in this case, too, try to divert the attention of the public from the internal resistance against their odious regime by resorting to stereotype phrases, such as "Western imperialistic agents" and "Western spies".

ABN-Leaders visit Turkey

Summary of Press Notices on the Occasion of President Veli Kajum Khan's Journey to Turkey

As we reported in our last issue, the President of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee, Veli Kajum Khan, spent four months as an official guest in Turkey. He was received everywhere with understanding and enjoyed the moral support of the Turkish people. The press published exhaustive accounts of his journey and contacts.

Below we give a summary of the notices and articles published in Turkish papers.

PRESS NOTICES

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| May 11, 1956, Radio announcement and account of the arrival of Kajum Khan in Istanbul, from Ankara and Istanbul radio. | May 12, 1956, Vatan — a long report. |
| May 15, 1956, Cumhuriyet — Interview with picture. | May 29, 1956, Zafer — Account of placing wreath in Ankara. |
| May 16, 1956, Dünya — Picture and report of reception given by Governor of Istanbul. | May 30, 1956, Mediyet — Account of visit to the chief mayor of Ankara. |
| | May 30, 1956, Hakimiyet — Report on the arrival in Ankara. |
| | May 30, 1956, Zafer — Announcement of the arrival and official visits. |



President Veli Kajum Khan with his co-workers.

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|---|--|
| May 16, 1956, Istanbul Ekspres — Picture and account of banquet. | June 4, 1956, Yeni Adana — Report on the arrival in Adana. |
| May 16, 1956, Tercüman — Account of banquet and extracts from Kajum Khan's speech. | June 7, 1956, Begün — Account of the press conference. |
| May 16, 1956, Cumhuriyet — Report on the Governor's reception. | June 8, 1956, Valandas — Press conference. |
| May 18, 1956, Tercüman — Commentary on Kajum Khan's speech on Turkestan's independence. | June 8, 1956, Turkozöyü — Article on the press conference. |
| May 15, 1956, Son Posta — Announcement of arrival. | June 8, 1956, Begün — Report and extracts from the press conference. |
| May 12, 1956, Yeni Istanbul — Report on arrival. | June 8, 1956, Yeni Adana — Remarks on the press conference. |
| May 12, 1956, Yeni Sabah — Account of arrival — picture. | June 9, 1956, Yeni Adana — Announcement of the banquet. |
| May 12, 1956, Dünya — Announcement of arrival — programme of journey. | June 11, 1956, Yeni Adana — Account of the banquet. |
| May 12, 1956, Tercüman — Announcement of arrival, report on Kajum Khan's activity. | July 13, 1956, Acak — Long article about Kajum Khan and his activity. |
| | Aug. 27, 1956, Tarjumen C. Efkar (Pakistan) — Account of Kajum Khan's journey in Turkey. |

Cordial Reception

The President of the Central Committee of the ABN and former Prime Minister of Free Ukraine, Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, has recently been visiting Turkey as the guest of his Turkish friends in Istanbul. Upon his arrival he was cordially welcomed by *Dr. Arin Engin*, the Vice-President of the organization "Turkish Revolutionary Hearts", and by Mr. *Veli Kajum Khan* and his wife. A little Turkish girl presented a bouquet to Mr. Stetzko.

On the occasion of Mr. Stetzko's visit to Turkey lengthy articles appeared in the Turkish press on the fight for freedom of Ukraine and on the activity of the ABN and of Mr. Stetzko. The daily press, including the well-known daily papers, "Cumhuriyet", "Vatan", "Istanbul", "Tercüman", and "Milliyet", which have a big circulation, and various other papers published photographs of the ABN President and also stressed the anti-Bolshevist attitude of the Ukrainian liberation movement and the ABN and the fight which these organizations conducted on two fronts during World War II. The Turkish daily papers which are published in French likewise printed extremely favourable reports in connection with Mr. Stetzko's visit.

At a press conference which was held on this occasion twenty-five journalists were present.

Mr. Stetzko also visited numerous Turkestanian emigrants in Turkey as the guest of the Turkestanian friends of ABN. The President of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee and Vice-President of the Central Committee of ABN, Mr. Veli Kajum Khan, has been in Turkey for some time now, on a visit, and has been holding speeches, attacking Russian imperialism, at mass rallies of Turkestanian emigrants. The Turkestanian and Ukrainian friendship on the basis of ABN has thus been consolidated considerably, all the more so since both peoples are conscious of the fact that they are closely linked to each other by their common interests and fate.

Dr. Arin Engin is a permanent contributor to the "ABN Correspondence", in which he has already published many articles opposing Russian imperialism. He is a sincere friend of the Ukrainians and of all the peoples subjugated by Moscow.

From the Interview with Dr. Engin

Do you think that universal support of the national fight for freedom of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain by means of national revolutions would be able to bring about the downfall of the Russian Empire?

I believe that the only way if we wish to a void atomic warfare, to bring about the downfall of the Russian Empire, the happy realisation of which is incontestable very soon, is to support wholeheartedly, morally and materially, the whole national liberation movements within and without that detestable frontier which is known as the Iron Curtain. Such support must be so great as to start new liberation movements and unify them all to the one single aim: the destruction and complete disintegration of the Russian Empire, whatever colour it carries, red or white. It does not make much difference.

Turkish Press shows great Interest



*In front of the memorial to the champions of freedom in Istanbul
Centre: Veli Kajum Khan and his wife; on left Dr. Salih Erkinokol*

During his visit to Turkey, ABN President Jaroslaw Stetzko attended several press conferences. In this connection the following Turkish papers — “Evening” (“Aksam”), “New Morning” (“Yeni Sabah”), “Homeland” (“Vatan”), “Liberty” (“Hurriyet”), “Nationality” (“Milliyet”), “The World” (“Dünya”), “Yeni Istanbul”, and “Tercüman” — published articles on the historical development of ABN, its activity and aims, and on the necessity of cooperation between Turkey and ABN in the common fight against the world menace of Russian imperialism and Communism. We are herewith publishing an extract of some of these articles.

Evening (Aksam)

Jaroslaw Stetzko, the former Prime Minister of the National Ukrainian Government which was founded during the second World War, has arrived in our city.

Stetzko declared that he is engaged in great activities to secure the demolition of communist regimes all over the world.

New Morning (Yeni Sabah): 22. 8. 1956

The former Prime Minister of Ukraine who declared war against Soviet Russia in 1941 is in our city

The former Prime Minister of Ukraine and present President of ABN, Jaroslaw Stetzko, yesterday arrived in our city on a private visit. He stressed that 40,000,000 Ukrainians behind the Iron Curtain are asserting the ideas of ABN, against Russian Imperialism.

Stetzko who was President of the National Ukrainian Government on June 30, 1941, declared war against Russia as an independent Ukrainian Government, but Hitler refused the army of an independent Ukraine and arrested the leaders of the Government and sent them to concentration camps till 1944.

In 1943 the Ukrainian Nationalist Organisation together with 13 other National Organisations organised the ABN: it now fights again for the destruction of Communism, but its primary aim is to liberate nations under Russian Imperialism and give them their full independence.

For the duration of his stay here, police security arrangements have been made to protect him.

Homeland (Vatan)

Former Prime Minister of Ukraine arrives

Jaroslaw Stetzko who has come to our country to investigate the situation of Atatürk Revolutions, declared that “Atatürk Revolutions being communal Revolutions prevented the spread of Communism in Turkey.”

Jaroslaw Stetzko, who is known as an authority on Russia, said that “Russia has changed a regime simply. Russian Imperialism continues with all its severity”. Then he added:

“All the peoples behind the Iron Curtain are supporting us. We want to destroy the Russian empire and give full independence to all nationals to have their own separate States. Kerenski, who was former Prime Minister of Russia, is supporting the aims of a separate organization, the N.T.S.”

“This Organization which is being supported by some wealthy Americans is trying to introduce a new Russian Imperialism instead of the present one, and therefore A.B.N. is against it. We can recognize a small Russian State only around Moscow.”

Liberty (Hurriyet): 22. 8. 1956

The former Prime Minister of Ukraine in Turkey

The former Prime Minister of Ukraine, Jaroslaw Stetzko, arrived in our city yesterday. Stetzko, who is known for his fight against Communism, at a Press Conference today gave ample explanations about Russian Imperialism. Stetzko is seen in the above picture distributing booklets and pamphlets against Communism (the lady next to him is Mrs. Halide from Turkistan who is the President of the Women’s Union of Turkey, and also President of

the Turkistanian Unity). Mr. Stetzko is the guest of Dr. Arin Engin (Member of the Turkish Academy and Vice-President of Turkish Revolutionary Hearts of Turkey.)

Nationality (Milliyet)

The former Prime Minister of Free Ukraine is in our City

Jaroslaw Stetzko was the first Prime Minister of the National Ukrainian Government which was established on June 30, 1941.

This Government, being quite independent, proposed to Germany to fight together against Russia; but this proposal was turned down by Hitler, and the Government leaders were thrown into concentration camps. Thus Jaroslaw Stetzko whose Premiership lasted three weeks remained in concentration camps up to 1944.

During this period the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (underground) was organised and fought on the one side against Hitler’s Gestapo and SS, and on the other side against Russia.

In 1943, this underground Army of about 200,000 played a part in killing the Soviet Marshal Valutin and General Moskalenko and also a general known as Walter who commanded the Red Army in the Spanish Civil War. This man was Communist Poland’s National Defense Minister, Swierczesky.

Stetzko who fled from concentration camps and who is the President of this Organisation has visited Canada, England, France, Spain, Nationalist China, and has initiated a widespread struggle against Communism. A Bulletin “ABN Correspondence”, has a wide circulation. Mr. Stetzko is the guest of Dr. Arin Engin (Member of the Turkish Academy and Vice-President of Turkish Revolutionary Hearts of Turkey) and will remain here about a week and will also go to Ankara and get in touch with official personalities.

(The picture shows Mr. Stetzko and Dr. Arin Engin.)

The World (Dünya): 22. 8. 1956

The Prime Minister who remained three years in concentration camps comes to our City

The President of the A.B.N., Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, and Vice-President Veli Kajum Khan arrived yesterday in our city. The President with whom we spoke yesterday, gave us information about the founding and the aims of this Organization.

The aims of A.B.N. are to secure the demolition of Russian Imperialism and to assure peace and independence to the nations under Russian subjugation. Mr. Stetzko defended the theory that the Russians must only be allowed to have a State in a democratic regime within their own territory. He added that “if our aims are achieved, Russia will no longer play the strategic role in the West.”

Mr. Stetzko who has come to our city at the invitation of his supporters in Turkey, will also see the changes and social developments in Turkey. The President said that “Russian Imperialism together with Communism created the synthesis of Bolshevism.”

Mr. Stetzko will attend another Press Conference today and will produce certain evidence regarding the underground struggles.

Deportation

The following report from Moscow shows how the Kremlin tries to bait the youth by promising them Potemkin’s siola (Potemkin’s fictitious villages). The second stage of Siberia’s cultivation and development has been announced by the Soviet Party Secretary to 1,800 young construction labourers in the Kremlin. Approximately 300,000 to 500,000 youths are to be employed for this gigantic project which also aims at the industrial development of the country. “It is the country of the Future”, Khrushchev said. “It is an enormously rich country; Its tremendous resources of coal, minerals, and timber, as well as its vast network of mighty rivers make it a country of inconceivable wealth.”

Communist Activity in Finland

From our own Correspondent in Finland

Since the war Moscow has, on every possible occasion, referred to Finland as the ideal example of a country in which the best form of democratic coexistence with the Communists prevails. Indeed, Moscow has even deceived many politicians and newspaper-men of the free world into believing that this is really the case. The exceptional situation in Finland is a grave menace to Scandinavia, where Moscow is doing its utmost to create the impression that not the least danger threatens Scandinavia from the East.

For these reasons the activity of the Communist Party in Finland is particularly intricate and is so cunningly camouflaged that the Finns themselves frequently fail to realize the nature of the traps which are set to ensnare them. Incidentally, Lebedev, the Red ambassador in Helsinki, is extremely astute and is in charge of a large staff, the members of which are as sly as he is. Despite this fact, however, comparatively little mention is made in Finland of the Finnish Communist Party, even though it has been in existence since 1904 and includes among its members many old fanatics who are now living in the Soviet Union and in the U.S.A., too, as emigrants. In the course of the years many Finnish Communists have also emigrated to Sweden, where they have continued their activity most effectively as trusty agents.

Officially, however, a peculiar coalition predominates in Finland; this coalition was formed on October 29, 1944, and bears the solemn name of "Democratic Alliance of the Finnish People" ("Suomen Kansan Demokraattinen Liitto"). The following parties are members of this coalition: the Finnish Communist Party (formally, therefore, merely as an unimportant member of whom little mention is made), the Socialist Unionist Party (the left-wing Socialists who made a compromise with the Communists), Finland's Democratic Women's Union (cf. also in Sweden and elsewhere), the Academic Socialists' Union (which endeavours to win over the "progressive" and "radical" youth of the country), and Finland's Cooperative Union (which vies with the Socialist trades unionists). Officially, therefore, this coalition does not represent the general Communist line, but has duly recognized Finland's sovereignty and democratic constitution, etc., is seeking to achieve its aims by parliamentary means, and is always inclined and prepared to cooperate with the other parties. Cleverly camouflaged in this way, it has already achieved considerable success among the masses and must, in fact, be regarded as an extremely strong and effective central power, which is excellently organized throughout the entire country (it goes without saying that this organization is secretly financed by Russian funds) and possesses an extensive press service. The highest organs of the "Democratic Alliance of the Finnish People" are the Federal Council (52 members) and the Federal Central Committee (34 members), under whose supervision 17 district organizations, closely distributed throughout the whole country, carry on their activity. As a point of formality those who hold a presiding office are usually persons of secondary importance; actually, the leadership is in the hands

of E. Kilpi and Y. Murto, at the back of whom important persons, unknown to the public, play a leading part. The key position is held by Hertta Kuusinen as secretary-general; and, as a point of interest, the fact should be mentioned here that she is the daughter of the former Red Chancellor of the so-called Karelian Soviet Republic, Otto Kuusinen, who, during the winter campaign of 1939/40, also made all the necessary plans to set up a Red Finnish government. The following figures reveal how dangerously powerful this Red alliance has become for the so-called peaceful Sovietization of Finland:

Party Representatives in the Finnish Parliament Parties

	Election Year			
	1945	1948	1951	1954
Conservatives (Kansallinen Kokoomus)	28	33	28	24
Liberals (Suomen Kansanpuolue, also known under other names)	9	5	10	13
Agrarians (Naalaisliitto)	49	56	51	53
Swedish National Party Socialists (Sosiaalidemokraatit)	51	54	53	54
Communists (under the guise of the Democratic Alliance)	49	38	43	43
	200	200	200	200

The fact that the Communist Party does not assert its influence by direct means and does not seek to assume governmental power by aggressive means has, during the post-war years, to a very considerable extent led to the political demoralization and division of the Finnish people. Completely misled by the sly and insidious propaganda disseminated by the Fifth Column, more and more people are beginning to believe seriously in a peaceful coexistence with Russia and are most enthusiastic whenever Russia now and again gives some indication of her "friendliness", makes some concession or other (as for instance, in connection with the payment of compensation for war-damage, in returning the base of Porkkala, etc.), adopts a kindly attitude, and hints at the great economic prospects which will allegedly be realized in the future. In addition, the various Finnish-Russian friendship societies (lavishly supported with money and gifts by the Reds) do their share in fostering the kindly feeling of the Finnish people towards Russia; as a result, there are many members of the middle class who are all in favour of a compromise with Russia, and they include a large number of the intelligentsia who are won over in a masterly way by financial means. And, finally, visits to the Soviet Union serve to an ever-increasing degree as an attractive and delightful means of drawing a veil of oblivion over the old Finnish hostility towards the Russians.

On the other hand, however, there are plenty of persons in Finland who clearly recognize the dan-

ger which threatens their country and seek to protect it against Red infiltration. But they are not able to act openly and freely, but are always obliged to take actual "circumstances" into account, and for this reason the fight goes on more or less behind the scenes, a fact which creates the impression that the political life of Finland is constantly in a state of internal crisis. As a result of their credulity, the left-wing Socialists have, at regular intervals, suffered a disappointment and in the course of time most of them have withdrawn from the Red coalition, a fact which, however, has not undermined the power of the Reds in the Finnish parliament. For some years now, middle-class circles have realized that that powerful statesman, U. Kekkonen, represents a considerable danger to the country, for he is known to be an extremely ambitious man, who is greedy of power and utterly ruthless in the methods he resorts to in order to achieve his aims. The political situation reached a dramatic crisis when the presidential election was held this year; on the whole, this election was regarded as an intentional campaign against Kekkonen, who is only too willing to reach a compromise with Russia, but it is significant that Kekkonen, the friend of the Communists, was, however, elected president on the strength of the Communist votes which he received — incidentally, the first time such a thing has happened in the history of Finland — despite the fact that he is actually the leader of the Agrarians. The tragic part of the election was that the former president, Paasikivi, who is extremely popular and highly esteemed by the Finnish people, failed to gain a majority — which almost looked like an act of revenge for the fact that during his presidency he cleverly frustrated plans for a Communist takeover on the lines of the one effected in Czechoslovakia. The fact that Kekkonen owes his election to the Communists does not, however, prevent him from circulating rumours to the effect that he is an absolutely loyal patriot and anti-Communist who knows how to deceive the Reds. But he is nevertheless regarded with considerable distrust and suspicion by the Finnish people. In addition, he is one of those dictator types who rally servile confidential agents round themselves, eliminate all rivals of importance, and retain the entire leadership firmly in their own hands.

Most of the members of the Democratic Alliance do not even know what the actual plans of the Communist Party in Finland are and they are thus most successfully employed merely as naive functionaries. The actual leadership of the Communist Party is most carefully camouflaged and is only known to a very small group of persons, who themselves hold office in the various local Party groups. The present leaders of the Central Committee are Aaltonen, Pessi, and Ryömä, with Martti Malmberg as First Secretary of the Party. Their closest associates and co-workers are Hertta Kuusinen whom we have already mentioned above, Leskinen, Murto, and, to a certain extent, the Kilpis, a married couple. It is not known exactly what part Leino at present plays in the Communist Party. Two distinct trends are clearly noticeable in the Communist Party in Finland; one group is striving to become less dependent on Moscow and to be officially acknowledged as Finnish Communists, whilst the other group blindly obeys all the orders issued by Moscow. This internal split is the main reason why Moscow maintains two forms of contact with its confidential agents in Finland in a much more rigid manner than elsewhere; in other words, one hand must not know what the other hand is doing. And this applies in particular to espionage and to the key positions in the army and in civil administration, etc. Genuine Moscow agents have already been smuggled into every sphere of life in Finland without many of the leading and patriotically minded Finnish Communists actually being aware of and believing this fact. Indeed, this is the reason why many of the leading Finnish Communists quite sincerely believe that all statements to the effect that Finland's freedom is thus being undermined are sheer libel, — a new type of Red Titoists.

In the summer of 1956 this internal dualism assumed the external form of a minor conflict, when the new tactics adopted by Moscow were the subject of discussion and a favourable opportunity

Religious Instruction Forbidden in Polish Schools

The appointment of *M. Izydorczyk*, a leading active Communist and former Polish ambassador in East Germany, as head of the Ministry of Church Affairs and Education is already making itself felt in the new anti-church measures adopted by the Warsaw regime. Religious instruction has now definitely been forbidden in all elementary schools. Hitherto the catechism was still taught in some schools. From now onwards Polish children can only receive religious instruction either at church or at home. The second decree issued by Izydorczyk was directed against a number of monasteries and convents, as for instance the nuns of the Ursuline Order in Otorow near Poznan, the Benedictine Order in Plock, and the nuns of the Order of St. Elisabeth in Breslau (Wroclaw). The third terrorist measure was the liquidation of the faculty

of theology at the universities of Warsaw and Cracow. At the same time a theological academy, under the patronage of the Ministry of Church Affairs and Education, was founded in Bielany, to the north of Warsaw. The administration of this new academy has been entrusted to the "patriotic clergy", who co-operate with the Warsaw regime.

All these measures against the Church on the part of the Warsaw regime are calmly endured by the population, but at the same time mass demonstrations of a religious nature are held by way of retaliation. A demonstration of this type was recently held by the population of Debowiec near Jaslo, where there are a church and remnants of the Order of Salesian Fathers. Thousands of persons from near and far attended the mass held in the monastery to mark the anniversary of its dedication. It was a huge religious demonstration which undoubtedly gave the Communists much food for thought.

to reproach the internal and strictly exclusive group of leaders presented itself. But strict Party discipline won the day and forced all criticism and censure to silence. In accordance with Moscow's instructions, a slight wave of unrest was allowed to ripple through Finland's Red press in order to confuse the public and to lull the astonishment expressed in the ranks of the Finnish Communists themselves; the main organ of the Democratic Alliance, "Vapaa Sana" ("Free Word"), published in the capital, Helsinki, was slightly attacked by the Red paper, "Kansan Lehti" ("People's News"), which appears in the industrial town, Tampere. But whether the editor of the latter, Arvo Tuominen, together with the other editor, Sulo Kivinen, will, as rumour has it, found another new Communist but "independent" party, remains to be seen. Actually, there are no true presuppositions which would appear to be an indication of this fact, and the parallel Communist parties which exist throughout the country must be assessed solely as a political manoeuvre. It is significant that the genuinely Communist paper, "Työkansan Sanomat" ("Workers' News"), did not sully its reputation by taking part in this dispute, but calmly continues to advocate the "right" line.

The case of Finland is definitely a warning example of the manner in which a peaceful takeover is prepared by the Communists. Since the war a large number of people have been politically trained to such an extent that they will regard a Communist takeover of the country not as treachery, but as the sacred wish of the Finnish people. The tiny army of Finland is already controlled by Red "instructors"; the police can be replaced at a moment's notice by the "people's militia". There are sufficient capable Party functionaries who can take charge of the entire administrative system — down to the smallest form of local administration — throughout the country. The postal service, traffic and transport, etc., will be taken over by the Communists without a state of chaos ensuing; even among the members of the teaching profession and the clergy there are many persons who are in favour of a compromise with Russia, but their numbers from the Communist point of view are not yet strong enough. In any case, the entire intellectual elite is already divided into two groups, inasmuch as the uncompromising anti-Communists are powerless in the face of those who desire a compromise with Russia. More and more writers, actors, artists, musicians, and scientists, etc., openly express their approval of the "world peace" and of the new so-called "freer" conditions in Russia, which are proof of Russia's reversion to democracy and are to save the world from a horrible disaster. All these people are firmly convinced that Finland, too, if she wishes to save herself, has no other choice but to make a compromise with Russia. The municipal elections are to be held in October, and it is significant that all the parties (even the Swedish National Party) are at present battling with internal difficulties and crises.

The Russians are not in a particular hurry to complete the Sovietization of Finland. Indeed, for the time being Finland has nothing to fear in this respect as long as Scandinavia has not been fully prepared for a "peaceful" Communist takeover. Once that is the case, new political stars, who are at present quite unknown to the Finnish Communists, will again appear on the horizon. These leaders and propagators of terrorism are chosen and trained exclusively by Moscow, whereas the secret schools in Sweden are intended as training centres for local functionaries, many of whom now frequently pose as big patriots and even as anti-Communists. These tactics are no doubt considered necessary as part of the mass-psychology to be applied when the actual takeover is effected and in order to prevent or at least lessen any unnecessary confusion, since a preponderance of loyal patriots, who are apparently patriotic purely on the strength of their convictions, would represent the only valid example of the transition to the new and fateful political course. In preparation for the transition period it is, of course, planned to win over still more genuine middle-class patriots, who either because of their weakness in numbers or out of sheer fright will be willing to carry out the tasks expected of them.

Some of the Communists' efforts have proved a failure. The Communist Party always tries to get its confidential agents into all the leading posts at the right time. In spite of this, however, the number of professors at the universities who are pro-Russian is not increasing as satisfactorily as it should; and the Red candidates for vacant posts are usually dropped. Considerable attention is, however, paid

to Prof. Iversen, for instance, who heads the peace campaign and is in charge of the visits to Russia. A decisive fight for power is at present (August 1956) in progress at the Academy; the President of Finland is determined to get his right-hand man, Prof. Vilkkuna, known as an able negotiator with the Communists, elected a member of the Academy. We have already mentioned the fact that the left-wing Socialists are gradually severing their connection with the Red coalition. The trades union movement is still in the hands of the Socialists, but the latter are divided by internal conflicts and disputes and can no longer guarantee the loyalty of the Finnish workers to the cause of freedom. An attempt was made by certain members of the middle-class Agrarian Party to form an opposition against the leader of this party, Kekkonen, but this attempt was a complete failure. As a result of its friendly attitude during the past years towards Finland's dear and powerful neighbour in the East, the middle-class has by now been thoroughly poisoned and lacks both the strength and the courage to adopt a firm stand against Communism.

The number of open and secret pro-Communists in Finland is already estimated at half a million. It is true that not all these persons vote for the Com-

munist Party in the elections, but they are nevertheless none of them opposed to a "peaceful" and "genuine" coalition with the Reds "in the interests of Finland". The following persons represent the Democratic Alliance in the present Parliament: Aimo Aaltonen, Paavo Aitto, Yrjö Enne, Toivo Friman, Kaino Haapanen, Esa Hietanen, Tauno Kelovesi, Eino Kilpi, Sylvi-Kyllikki Kilpi, Antti Kinnunen, Aleksi Kiviaho, Matti Koivunen, Toivo Kujala, Hertta Kuusinen, Martti Leskinen, Pentti Liedes, Hemming Lindquist, Hugo Manninen, Unto Miettinen, Yrjö Murto, Janne Mustonen, Lauri Myllymäki, Judit Nederström-Lunden, Niilo Nieminen, Toivo Niiranen, Nestori Nurminen, Ville Pessi, Pauli Puhakka, Pertti Rapio, Eino Roine, Gösta Rosenberg, Irma Rosnell, Juho Rytönen, Mauri Ryöma, Usko Seppi, Elli Stenberg, Leo Suonpää, Eino Tainio, Hannes Tauriainen, Anna-Liisa Tiekso-Isaksson, Irma Torvi, Rainer Virtanen, and Toivo Asvik.

For further information on the position in Finland see "A.B.N. Korrespondenz", 1955, No. 6/7, pp. 10-11 („Ein neuer Unruheherd in Europa?"), and "A.B.N. Correspondence", 1956, No. 6/7, p. 8 ("The Peaceful Sovietization of Northern Europe"). O. L.

Chairman of Scottish League expresses his opinion on burning problems

John F. Stewart, Chairman of the Scottish League for European Freedom, has sent a Memorandum on the Persecution of the Christian Church in Ukraine to certain delegates to the United Nations, asking them to support this Memorandum when it is dealt with by the United Nations. In his accompanying letter Mr. Stewart writes as follows:

The Russian Orthodox Church is the creation of the Russian Government and it is now striving to gain recognition and fellowship with other Christian Churches and religious bodies in free countries. In reality it is a purely political organisation and its object is the strengthening of Soviet rule throughout the world. Actually, the Russian Orthodox Church has, almost throughout Russian history, been merely a Department of the Russian Government under the control of a Minister (a layman) termed the Procurator of the Holy Synod. In Tsarist days, certainly, it owned allegiance to a nominally Christian ruler, now, it owns allegiance to a Government which is professedly and actually atheist and one of whose objects is the destruction throughout the world of any belief in God. How can any Christian Church in the free world possibly recognise or support a body like this without being accused of hypocrisy?

The following is the full text of a letter which, with some omissions, appeared in the Scottish national newspaper, "The Scotsman", on 3rd Aug. 1956:

Prospects in Poland

Sir, — In his letter in your issue of July 26, the Duke of Atholl suggests that Russia might agree to a free Poland if her western frontiers were secured by a guarantee of a neutral and unarmed Poland and Germany. His Grace appears to be unaware that Russia has been busy safeguarding her frontiers for centuries—north, south, east, and west—by annexing by violence or fraud, or both, the smaller adjoining country, and the next after that, and so on, for the Russian concept is that the more territory you have, the safer you are; the present Russian rulers have not swerved from that world-conquering policy — they have only changed to much more dangerous tactics. In modern times and much of it in our own day, Russia has secured her western frontiers by the violent annexation of much of Finland, the three Baltic States, Poland, Ukraine, Georgia, Belorussia, Cossackia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, East Germany and the so-called satellite States. None of these belongs to Russia and she has neither legal nor moral right to hold them.

There is only one way to secure Russia's western and Germany's eastern frontiers, and bring peace and end aggression. That is to form an impenetrable barrier between the two, and this was seriously taken up after World War I by the very able statesmen of those countries. The plan was to form federations with similar countries of the group as they desired, and one confederation of all for mutual defence against aggression from east or west. This would have been in accord with the traditional European policy of Britain so eulogised at one time by Sir Winston Churchill, and so disastrously de-

parted from in 1918—1919 by the Government, of which he was the most powerful member, the policy of uniting the smaller European nations to prevent the rise of a tyrannical over-lord of Europe.

East Europeans look on Britain especially as having directed her efforts to the buttressing and extending of Russian Imperialism, whether Tsarist, Socialist, Bolshevik or Communist, and she is no longer trusted or respected.

The goal was that every people should have sovereign independence within its own ethnographical frontiers, the Russian's included. The peoples in the group of subjugated countries are mostly peasant, and no peasant is given to aggression or aggrandisement if left alone and not used as a pawn by greater Powers, but they are stout fighters for their own rights. After all, there are 150 to 200 millions of them, twice or three times as many as there are Russians.

Is the world to be kept in perpetual terror and subjection by a minority of a minority, by the Communist Party of the Russian people? This would be incredible if it were not the case.

The initiative will have to be taken by the subjugated peoples themselves if they do not wish annihilation or permanent slavery. Poland and the others must end their internal sectional differences, put aside all territorial or other claims on any of their fellow-sufferers, and come together and again hammer out the plan which was in embryo at the time of Versailles, and during the heyday of the abortive League of Nations. They must keep up strong, united, and unceasing pressure on Britain and America for at least more moral support in their fight for mere freedom and the abandonment by Russia of that "colonialism" which Moscow so vehemently denounces in other Powers. After the first World War, the Allies considered they had "settled Europe for good", without ever consulting the wishes of the peoples themselves, and indeed without any real knowledge of Eastern Europe and its problems. That must not be repeated. The pressure must especially be united, as the influence of each people acting by and for itself is negligible.

If we are told this will mean war with Russia's immensely superior military power, the fact should be kept in mind that the bulk of the Russian forces consists of non-Russian peoples who, if they were assured of the independence of their own countries, would not fight for the Soviet Union.

All must be freed who have been subjected at any time in history; if it were done Russia could menace nobody, for it is her control of the subjugated countries' manpower and their enormous natural resources which enables her to menace the world; without them she has plenty of room and resources for herself within her own ethnic territory. The barrier would even prevent a future coalition between Germany and Russia, a danger not to be entirely ignored. Everything has been tried to secure world peace except the one thing that will succeed.

If the Duke of Atholl will help on this scheme, instead of trying to obtain a Russian agreement

Bolshevism a Russian Phenomenon

The NTS Turns Spiteful

The fact that ABN and APACLROC made an agreement infuriated the NTS (Nationalno Trudowyj Sojuz) and it promptly mobilized its "non-Russian" allies, whereupon protest resolutions by these would-be "politicians" were published in the NTS organ, "Posew", No. 32, of August 12, 1956.

It is affirmed in these protests that "the agreement between ABN and APACLROC (and, incidentally, these would-be "politicians" wrongly designate this League as "Asiatic Peoples" instead of "Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League") in no case means or can mean the establishing of any contact between the NTS and ABN either in connection with its cooperation with APACL or otherwise".

This solemn statement is not without a certain touch of humour, for the ABN has never even dreamt of establishing any contact with the NTS and its hangers-on. In any case, how could the ABN possibly entertain relations with persons who support the imperialistic principle of a "Greater Russia" and do their utmost to keep the subjugated peoples fettered in Russian chains and under the Muscovite yoke?

It is a well-known fact that the Russians in general, irrespective of whether they are Communists or not and of any political differentiation, are unanimously agreed that the Russian imperium, the only colonial power still left in the world and the notorious peoples' prison, must be preserved for ever and that they must fight in complete unanimity for its preservation.

It is thus both idiotic and ridiculous to expect the ABN ever to entertain relations with the NTS or its followers.

We are not surprised to learn that the NTS and other Russian organizations are fighting against the ABN. Indeed, they are to a certain extent justified in doing so, since we are fighting against Russian despotism. But we can find no possible excuse for the conduct of certain non-Russian persons who have joined forces with the NTS people as advocates and servants of the Russian imperium.

Traitors there have always been and always will be! And these persons like most renegades lie and defame others most shamelessly. They pose as the "Azerbaijan National Union", as the "Union of Armenian Fighters for Freedom", and as the "Ukrainian Liberation Movement". But we all know what is behind these pompous titles and these alleged "organizations" — merely a handful of insignificant individuals who represent no one except themselves.

A Childish Confusion of Ideas

These quislings pose as "fighters for freedom" and as "national liberators", yet they deny their own peoples national freedom and support Russian coercion and tyranny in their own countries. Surely this is the height of treachery!

These renegades affirm, "Mr. Stetzko is trying to use the watchwords of Rosenberg and Hitler as a weapon . . .". According to their opinion, therefore, the liberation of the subjugated peoples from foreign tyranny and the restoration of their independent states is based on an idea propounded by Rosenberg and Hitler!

which will never be kept, Poland, as well as the other subjugated countries, will have "prospects" which they will never otherwise have.

He can also find that both World Wars, at the root, were instigated by Russian Imperialism, one Tsarist and the other Communist. He will also find that, in a competition through the centuries, for the most barbarous, predatory aggressor, Russia leaves Germany at the post. — I am etc.

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

We, however, were of the opinion that this idea was part of the highest democratic principles! Of course, it is an established fact that renegades do not distinguish themselves by a particularly high intellectual level!

They also talk some further twaddle about "international Communism" (sic!) having "assumed power in Russia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, etc." in 1917. Actually, it was not "international Communism" but Russian Bolshevism which usurped governmental power in Russia in 1917. And there is also sufficient historical evidence available to prove that Ukraine and Azerbaijan severed their connections with Russia and set up their own independent states again, which were recognized by various foreign powers, and that Russia violated these countries with the aid of Russian troops and destroyed their states.

Only persons who have turned traitor to their own nation can lie to such an extent, a fact which proves how utterly lacking in morals they are.

They refer to the fact that there were non-Russians, too, in the ranks of the Bolsheviks and affirm in this connection that Bolshevism is "not a specifically Russian phenomenon". Those of them who speak on behalf of the alleged "Ukrainian Liberation Movement" and pose as Ukrainians, as for instance D. Guliaj and P. Salisky, make out that Mr. Stetzko's argument regarding the "particular propensity of the Russian people to Communism" is a defamation and actually affirm, "It is difficult for Mr. Stetzko who has never been a citizen of Russia to have a true idea of the wishes of the Ukrainian people, of their longing, of the relations between the Russians and the Ukrainians, who were welded into one, by their common sufferings, under the Communist yoke and united with other peoples of this same country."

These persons call themselves Ukrainians; they are proud of being "Russian citizens" and regard it as a sin on Mr. Stetzko's part that he has not been a "Russian citizen". They most certainly are loyal "Ukrainians"!

It definitely is true that the Ukrainian people together with other peoples of the Soviet Union were united, by their common sufferings, under the Russian scourge. But it is equally true that all these peoples are conducting a joint fight against the Russians.

There is, of course, no denying the fact that there were non-Russians, too, in the ranks of the Bolsheviks, but they were criminal elements who had fled from their native countries.

Russian Responsibility for Bolshevism

The "ingenious" creator and theoretician of Bolshevism, the leader of the Bolshevik Revolution was a Russian, — Lenin. The Bolshevik Revolution usurped governmental power only in Petrograd and Moscow, but not in Kyiv, Riga, Kaunas, Reval, Tiflis, Baku, Erivan, and Tashkent.

The Russians were the advocates of Bolshevism. And international Communism is of Russian origin, for Russian Bolshevism and none other created it, spread it abroad in the world and fostered it.

It is true that some of the Russians rose in revolt against Bolshevism and fought against it, but they were members not of the masses but of the upper class, — the intelligentsia and the officers, for instance. The masses accepted Bolshevism unquestioningly.

The "White Army" was raised not in Russia, but in the Kozak countries. And when it advanced into Russian territory the peasants rose up in revolt and attacked it from the rear and defeated it.

When Russia was swept by the Bolshevik conflagration, national life began to stir anew in the non-Russian countries of the former

Russian imperium. The peoples of Caucasia, Ukraine, Turkestan detached themselves from Russia, restored their states in the form of democratic republics on a progressive political and social basis, and devoted themselves to the task of peaceful reconstruction. But they were destroyed again by Russia's military superiority.

To quote the Russians themselves on the subject:

The well-known military historian, Prof. General Golovin, writes as follows in his book, "The Russian Revolution": "When the Bolshevik Revolution broke out, the peasants of the Muscovite central countries became particularly servile slaves of Bolshevism" (Book 4, part 2).

The well-known democratic woman-politician and writer, E. Kuskova, wrote as follows in P. Miljukov's paper, "Poslednyja Nowosti" (Paris, July 1951): "The spirit of the late Lenin hovers over the earth . . . Russia which had been scratched but lightly by civilization did not offer any mass resistance to the spirit of destruction; on the contrary, she helped it in every way and it is already deeply rooted."

The editor of the paper "Wosrojdenje" (Paris), Jurij Semjonov, a nationalist, affirmed in his leading article (February 1951), "Yes, we ourselves bear the full responsibility for the Bolshevization of our country; we called it into existence; it was born in our country; it is a Russian phenomenon and, furthermore, of ancient origin." (The italics are ours. — The Editor.)

The same writer also affirms in another leading article published in 1954: "We are bound to admit that Bolshevism was forced on the so-called foreign tribes of our country by Moscow."

And, finally, that deeply religious thinker and philosopher, N. Berdjajev, writes as follows in his book, "The New Middle Ages": "Bolshevism is in keeping with the spiritual state of the Russian people; it is merely the expression of the inner moral division of the people, of its apostasy, of its religious crisis, and its profound demoralization . . ." (p. 76).

"They (the Bolsheviks) are entirely in keeping with Russian nihilism" (p. 79).

These quotations surely suffice to prove that Bolshevism is a specifically Russian phenomenon. And such phenomena are nothing new in Russia.

Historical Evidence

The national character, the attitude to life in general, and the intellectual and spiritual make-up of a people are revealed in its folklore. The Russians have an old legend which tells the story of a giant, Ilja Muromez, who slept for "thirty and three years" and, when he awoke, destroyed everything within reach. And that is what the Russians have always been like.

The mighty Muscovite Tsar and founder of the Russian imperium, Ivan the Terrible, with the aid of his "Opritschina" (the forerunner of the present MVD troops), annihilated the entire Russian upper class and exterminated the persons who adhered to the old Russian national traditions. He even murdered his own son.

Tsar Peter I, called "The Great", likewise exterminated the upper class and caused his own son to be hanged. Terrorism for state reasons was the system which was always applied in Russia.

Tsar Alexander II abolished serfdom and issued a manifesto to his people with the words: "Cross yourselves, pious Russian people, and beg God's blessing for your free work!" . . . But what did the Russians do! They murdered this Tsar who had freed them from slavery. Instead of crossing themselves, they wrought havoc and destruction throughout the

country; they murdered thousands of persons and spared neither women nor children. Of their own free will they became slaves once more. And then they charged forward like wild animals, overran foreign countries, subjugated the peoples of these countries, and dragged millions of persons down into the Russian Communist hell.

The Mental Incurables

Neither life itself nor history has taught the Russians a lesson. Russian emigrant politicians still cherish the old illusions of a "Greater Russia" and are obsessed by mad imperialistic ideas. They still pay homage to the ultra reactionary ideas expressed by certain muzzled politicians and actually believe that the Russian imperium will continue to exist.

The famous Russian statesman, Prime Minister A. Stolypin, told the Georgian Socialist delegate in the Russian duma, "You want great upheavals and we want Russia's greatness". Exactly three years later he was murdered by Russians, and ten years later his "Greater Russia" collapsed.

How Soviet Russia Occupied Estonia

1939. On September 28, the Mutual "Aid" Pact between Estonia and the Soviet Union was signed, and in October, Red troops occupied a number of "bases" in Estonia "to protect her from being conquered".

1940. On June 16, the entry of the Red Army was demanded by an ultimatum;

On June 17, the Red Army occupied Estonia;

On June 19, A. Zdanov entered Tallinn in an armoured car;

On June 21, he staged an "insurrection" of blackguards and local Russians and gave orders that a pro-Communist provisional government headed by J. Vares was to be set up;

From July 14th to 15th, illegal elections were forcibly held. The number of voters is fixed beforehand at 81.6 per cent, but seeing that TASS has already reported 92.9 per cent, the latter percentage is then accepted;

On July 21, the Red Diet convenes and proclaims Soviet Estonia;

On July 22, the Red Diet is asked by the Soviet Union to incorporate Estonia, too;

On July 23, the entire country with all its natural resources is "nationalized";

On July 30, President Konstantin Päts is arrested and deported to Russia, after the same fate has befallen the G.O.C.-in-C. Johan Laidoner a week earlier. The small Estonian army is likewise moved to Russia by degrees;

On August 6, the Supreme Council in Moscow receives Soviet Estonia into the Soviet Union as a "Federal Republic";

On August 25, the Red "Constitution" is proclaimed and the Communists headed by J. Luristin take over the government.

1941. On June 14, 10,205 persons are suddenly arrested and immediately deported to Russia. The second and third mass deportations are planned for July and August, but cannot be carried out owing to new developments in the war.

During the first year of their occupation of Estonia the Russians arrested, deported or murdered 60,973 Estonian subjects, that is to say, 5 per cent of the population.

During the second Russian occupation of Estonia, that is to say, since 1944, the extermination of the Estonian people has continued unabated, though it has been more carefully camouflaged. Instead of mass deportations, people are constantly disappearing, their destination being the concentration camps in Northern Russia where they are forced to do slave labour. During the past twelve years, from 1944 to 1956, more than 300,000 Estonians (that is to say 33 per cent of the population) have been arrested, deported, or forced to resettle "voluntarily" (there are no exact statistics on the number of persons who have been murdered). No one has any illusions as regards the alleged protection afforded by a so-called law against terrorism. The entire nation is consciously prepared to meet death; it puts up a passive resistance and hates and proudly ignores the Russians, completely. The introduction of the kolchos system has ruined the agriculture of the country to such an extent that the rural population is practically

In 1915, the Romanov dynasty, with a great deal of pomp, celebrated its three hundredth anniversary. Exactly four years later it was overthrown by the Russians; the Tsar and his family were bestially murdered, and a regime of slavery and terrorism was introduced.

Bulgarian, Khrushchev, and Co. are likewise dazzled by the might and size of their sphere of power and are convinced that Russia is safe for ever. But they are sadly mistaken, for they and their imperium will vanish into oblivion as so many and greater empires have done before them.

The Russian imperialists have not yet realized that the present age is one of mighty national, political and social upheavals. It is the age of disintegration and of the liberation of nations. Colonial empires have vanished and have been disintegrated. And the Russian imperium, too, will not be able to escape this fate. Neither the Russian Communist rulers nor the feeble Russian emigrant would-be politicians and hangers-on of the NTS, together with the latter's Armenian, Azerbaijani, and allegedly Ukrainian "allies", will succeed in retarding this process. N. E.—li.

starving; in addition, it has been deprived of the freedom to move from place to place and is now held in bondage to the state. The Russification of the towns has been carried out at such a speed that the Estonian population in the larger centres has been reduced to the status of a minority, in particular in the capital, Tallinn, which now resembles a Russian town rather than an Estonian one. Russian is the official language and is taught in all the primary schools. The youth of Estonia is being systematically resettled to Asia. It is sheer irony that the "amnesty" is granted to the aged and the sick who are no longer fit to work in the labour camps and who are "released" and sent home to die. To begin with, America's radio propaganda evoked considerable enthusiasm, as long as the people of Estonia genuinely believed that they were really going to be liberated; but since they have suffered so many heartbreaking disappointments in this respect, this kind of propaganda only depresses them still more since they realize that actual and effective help is not forthcoming.

Literature: Baltic States Investigation / Hearings before the Select Committee to investigate the Incorporation of the Baltic States into the U.S.S.R. / House of Representatives 83d Congress, First Session / H. Res. 346 — Part / H. Res. 438 — Part II.

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A Change in Slovakia's Status?

Owing to the constant opposition on the part of the Slovak people to the forcibly created state structure of Czechoslovakia, the Prague government, or rather, the Central Committee of the Communist Party has been obliged to amend the constitution of so-called Czechoslovakia. This amendment applies solely to Slovakia. On July 31, 1956, the Prague parliament passed a "Constitutional Bill on the Slovak National Organs". This Bill is substituted for all the clauses of the Communist constitution of May 9, 1948, which apply solely to Slovakia.

The purpose of this change is to create the impression in Slovakia and in the world in general that Slovakia now has a far greater autonomy within the state structure of Czechoslovakia than

was hitherto the case. Actually, however, the competence of the so-called Slovak national organs — that is to say, the Slovak National Council and the Council of Commissars — which are supposed to play the part of a diet and a national government, is so slight that it would be completely illusory to talk about a real autonomy. The presidium of the Prague parliament, incidentally, can repeal any law passed by the so-called Slovak National Council. And the governmental competence of the so-called Council of Commissars is practically nil. The Council of Commissars and its individual members (commissars) are in duty bound to observe the "basic" instructions and principles of the Prague government and its members (Ministers). They are also bound to carry out all orders and decrees issued by the Prague government and by individual Ministers. They do not, therefore, constitute a government, but are merely an executory organ of the Prague government and an intermediate authority of the state administration.

It is obvious that the Slovak question cannot be solved by such sham concessions. In any case, the Slovak people are not likely to be satisfied with an autonomy, for they want to have an independent state of their own again, — the Slovak Republic, which according to international law still exists.

The Slovak people have by no means forgotten that Slovakia enjoyed state independence from March, 1939, until April, 1945. Mock trials against members of the Slovak resistance movement, daily attacks in the press directed against the Slovak "bourgeois nationalists", the "separatists", and national emigrant circles, defamation of the free Slovak Republic, and the new amendment of the constitution are sufficient proof of the fact that the spirit of national freedom still lives on in the hearts of the Slovak people and that it is this spirit which not only resists the Communist regime, but, also opposes the artificially created state structure of Czechoslovakia.

Bolshevist Katyn Crime to be Disclosed

The massacre of eleven thousand Polish officers who were prisoners-of-war, in the forest of Katyn, evoked horror and indignation in every part of the world when their mass graves were discovered by the German army in the year 1943. It was obvious that this bestial crime could only have been committed by the Bolsheviks.

After World War II, Soviet Lieutenant Colonel Ozol tried, during the Nuremberg trials, to give the Germans the blame for this dreadful crime. In the course of investigations carried out at the request of the U.S. Congress in 1947, the Swiss professor of medicine, Dr. Naville, ascertained beyond all doubt that the Bolsheviks had committed this crime, a fact which was also corroborated unanimously by numerous Soviet Russian refugees.

Incidentally, a non-German commission and a Pole, Mackiewicz, who had visited Katyn with a Red Cross delegation, already reached the same conclusion in 1943.

At the end of August this year, it was reported from Poland that Katyn, in view of the de-Stalinization, had once more become a problem. The Poles still look upon the Polish officers who were murdered as martyrs for the cause of their national tradition and refuse to drop the matter until it has been cleared up. The Polish Communist Party is obliged to respect the wish of the Polish people in this matter, and, to judge from various discussions in the Central Committee of this Party, it looks as though positive results are to be expected in the near future. In this connection the Swiss paper, "Die Tat", writes as follows: "It is well-known that Gomulka is insisting that there should be a Katyn statement (that is to say, an admission by the Russians. — The Editor.) soon, and the return of the former exile Premier, Mackiewicz, who brought Western arguments regarding the Katyn statement with him, is acting like yeast in the Katyn trough". In addition, American delegates have pointed out in a letter to Khrushchev that it is imperative that a public statement should be made in this matter.

However much Khrushchev may at present be trying to dodge the issue, he will nevertheless have no other choice but to yield under pressure of the overwhelming evidence and of Poland's insistency. There is no longer any point in resorting to camouflage manoeuvres. The disclosure of the truth in this case will once more provide the world with terrible evidence of the atrocious methods to which Bolshevist brutality and inhumanity resorts.

On the Threshold of the Atomic Age

Remarks on the 5th Congress of the European Centre of Documentation and Information

Countless critical essays and works have been written on the subject of the "Dark Ages", but the positive factors of that era are not stressed sufficiently. The Inquisition, the intolerance which prevailed at that time, serfdom and feudalism have quite rightly been condemned, but the fact has frequently been overlooked that, apart from these evils, the Middle Ages also gave the world certain creative forces and ethical values: the belief in all that is good and noble which created the magnificent monuments of culture which are still admired by us today, the typical figures of the knight and the monk, the ideal of a sublime love which can only be won by chivalry. But, unfortunately, the heroic and altruistic qualities, the spirit of self-sacrifice and the noble virtues of mediaeval man were overshadowed by the atrocities of the Middle Ages.

If one enters the Escorial and beholds the pantheon of kings or the royal palace with its austerity of style, if one enters the monastery buildings and sits in one of the halls and listens to the interesting arguments propounded by the president of the Spanish syndicates, *José Solís Ruiz*, as he criticizes the modern social and economic order of liberal capitalism, by endeavouring to protect the worker and demanding a solidary cooperation between all social classes of the nation and the elimination of exploitation, — one cannot help but feel how absolutely essential it is that the present ruling class in economic life should allow itself to be ruled by the spirit of a new Middle Ages — by austerity of morals, faith in God, and renunciation of an extravagant way of living — in order to be able to wage a victorious fight against Bolshevism.

The atmosphere of the Escorial constantly reminds one of the fact that, without a new spirit, without new ideas, without the rebirth of Christian ethics, and without the furtherance of national consciousness, there can be no solution of internal national and social problems in the true sense of justice. Liberal capitalism has denied the nation from the ideological point of view by taking the unlimited egoism of the individual as the basis for social and economic life. The economy of a nation, however, does not allow the egoism of individual persons a free hand, but represents the basis of the material existence of the nation. Bolshevism preaches materialism, but, unfortunately, there are many people in the West who convert materialism into reality. Man is becoming more and more obsessed by the idea of "prosperity"; a fierce competition has begun for the material things of this earth, for the amassing of huge riches, for unlimited material wealth, and for hedonism, as if man had only been created in God's likeness in order to lead a life of luxury and brutally oust his own fellow-countrymen in the competition for the luxuries of life. It is not Christian doctrine with its eternal and unchanging truth that has become obsolete; the Christians themselves have ceased to be Christians. Modern Christians disregard Christian doctrine, despite the fact that they constantly use fine phrases about God, "social justice", "brotherliness", "peace", and "humanity", etc.

Christian moral standards have indeed come to a sorry pass when the advocates of our modern age believe that the greatest evil of the Middle Ages were the knights' wars, in which each individual personally risked his own life and the conquered were as a rule spared, and are of the opinion that the modern type of war, conducted against women and children, is "nobler". The development of morality is by no means keeping pace with the present technical progress of civilization. Man invented the atomic bomb, but has no qualms about using it against old persons, women and children, or, in fact, against the unarmed population as a whole. For practically forty years, the evil-doers of the Kremlin have, with the aid of modern technical science, been enforcing an unheard of terrorist regime on the subjugated peoples and nations and are now threatening the entire free world with this same regime.

The atomic age, one might assume, should bring with it the further liberation of man from his dependence on the powers of Nature, the improvement of living conditions, and should create preconditions which allay man's fear of over-population, inasmuch as it opens up new sources of the

energies needed by mankind. The French Senator, *Michel Yver*, who is a member of the Commission for Foreign Affairs of the Council of the French Republic, gave an excellent technical survey of the possible means of bringing about a coordination of European interests as regards the use of atomic energy for peaceful economic purposes. Unfortunately, however, he did not mention the political aspect of this problem and entirely overlooked the existence of a despotic major power. But this major power possesses destructive atomic weapons which it can use against the Western world whenever it sees fit, if the latter concentrates its attention above all on the peaceful use of atomic energy and neglects its own armament and the policy of liberation towards the peoples enslaved by Moscow. It seems, incidentally, as if it were perhaps too soon to attempt to deal with the problem of Europe's economic and social status in general in the atomic age, since we are still on the threshold of this age and cannot as yet clearly visualize what consequences the manifold use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes would have. We cannot as yet foresee whether such a use of atomic energy would make more or less human labour available and what the results would be as regards unemployment, for instance, and reduction of working time, etc. As far as the destructive power of atomic energy is concerned, the only two examples we have which give us some idea of what would happen if the old type of atomic bomb were dropped, are Hiroshima and Nagasaki. But what about the new type? Nor do we, for instance, know what would happen if an unintentional explosion were to occur in an atomic plant "for peaceful purposes" . . .

We are still only on the threshold of the atomic age, yet already a tragic problem confronts us: scores of nations and hundreds of millions of human beings in slavery! Such is the result when man, grown too self-confident and presumptuous through his own intellect, loses his faith in the world hereafter and in human feelings and, seeing that he has discovered a new source of energy, becomes convinced that he alone is able to rule the world and determine its existence. A philosopher in ancient times once said that the state should be ruled by philosophers. But at present the physicists and chemists seem to think that they alone are the ones who should rule the universe. Should the future elite of the state really consist, above all, in a body of thousands of specialized technical experts who would be able to control the use of atomic energy? Should philosophy be replaced by technical science or technocracy? This kind of presumption was apparent in the well-known collective letter by Einstein and his colleagues, in which they warned the world of the danger of an atomic war and insisted on the so-called coexistence, since "we possess the means of destroying the world". Mortal human understanding has neither created the world nor will it destroy it. Man is bound to fulfil his duties to God and to his native country regardless of whether the world is threatened by an atomic war or not, for it is not the physical but the spiritual and eternal life which determines man's true being. And man's duty to his native country must not be set against his duty to God.

The fact that Spain five years ago first decided to arrange annual congresses of the intellectual and political elite of Europe, who, on the strength of their recognition of national characteristics and national independence, are endeavouring to unite Europe in the spirit of Christian ethics, as the first step towards a world union, represents a valuable contribution to the furtherance of a closer Christian and national union of Europe. Such a group of prominent European personalities, who have meanwhile, thanks to the congresses held, become well acquainted with one another, now exists and represents an important factor in the anti-Bolshevist fight for the positive aims of a heroic, national and social Europe, which is so multifarious as regards its national aspect, yet so homogeneous from the intellectual and spiritual point of view. Europe is where the fight is being fought for the European character and spirit — for the freedom of the creative individual, for the recognition of human dignity, for national characteristics, for the heroic moral principles of the individual, and for Christian culture, the heart of which is man's creative ego.

The members of the congress in the Escorial, in their endeavours to bring about the union of Europe, are, however, well aware of the fact that Europe is neither bounded by the Oder nor the Vistula. And they are furthermore aware of the fact that little success can be hoped for from Strasbourg — in view of its adjustment to constantly changing international constellations, to the status quo of an "amputated" Europe (which includes the elimination of so ancient a European cultural nation as Spain), and to socialist, liberal, conservative and other contradictory party formulas. As long as the present spirit prevails, as long as an exclusively egoistic attitude predominates instead of a joint effort, and as long as economic interests only are the decisive factor instead of the nobler aims of a human mission, all the projects for a European community, though they may be drawn up with the best of intentions, will be bound to dwindle away into comparative insignificance. In view of the dreadful Muscovite menace to the existence and character of Europe, what significance can the fixing of tomato prices possibly have — which, according to the statement made by the Italian Ambassador, Ugo Sola, was the reason why certain Italian and French negotiations were broken off! There is not a single European problem which can be solved integrally as long as one tries to solve it in one half of Europe, whilst the other half continues to be the object of Eurasian Muscovite extermination. In any case, there is no large-scale problem to be solved as long as a Russian imperium continues to exist, which includes about 800 million people in its sphere of influence.

The European Centre of Documentation and Information deserves the greatest credit and praise for always including the burning questions of international politics on its agenda and, as for instance at the 1955 Congress, for its frank and comprehensive discussion of the problem of so-called coexistence (in which connection its resolutions were in complete agreement with the fundamental principles of our anti-Bolshevist fight for freedom). Such resolutions have, of course, at present only a theoretical value; but they are nevertheless of considerable significance, inasmuch as the members of the congress who approve them in this way pledge themselves morally to act accordingly and to do their utmost to influence the governments of their respective countries in this direction.

Jaroslav Stetzko.

Bolshevism Rotten to the Core

The fact that the Communist ideology is the symptom of a degeneration that is an open contradiction to all human feeling, is hardly likely to be doubted by anyone who is at all familiar with the fundamental laws of moral values.

The following brief survey serves to show the economic, social and political consequences which result from the Communist system, by reason of its entirely false and misguided ideology.

Lenin, by prognosticating in his "Theory of Crises" that "the capitalistic world" would be shaken by economic crises to such an extent that these crises would "before long" develop into a total crisis of the capitalistic system, was unwittingly throwing a boomerang that has recoiled on the economic system he himself founded. For we are completely justified in saying that greater crises than those caused by Communist centralized planning are to be found nowhere else in the whole world.

One of the main reasons for this state of affairs is the predatory exploitation and exhausting of human labour for the purpose of fulfilling the exorbitantly high quotas fixed. As a natural consequence, the health of the population deteriorates and the birth-rate decreases more and more. The serious shortage of agricultural workers, as a result of these factors and owing to the forcible deportation of rural labour to industrial areas, led to a grave agrarian crisis which was aggravated still more by opposition on the part of the farmers against the kolchos system.

In other economic sectors, too, there is a serious shortage of human labour, since so many persons have been sent to cultivate new regions in Kazak-

Forced Labour as an Instrument of Political Coercion

The International Commission against Concentration Camp Practices, the Special Investigating Commission on Political Repression in Continental China, which has met in Brussels this year, after having heard the plaintiffs, after having examined documents, legal texts, regulations and administrative measures of the Peking Government, comments of official authorities and speeches and judgments delivered by authorities of the People's Republic of China filed by the plaintiffs, the prosecution and the legal investigator, has rendered the following decisions which may be formulated in short as follows: Though the regulation of 1950 and the law of 1954 recognize, in principle, the right of the accused to defend himself or to have counsel, no provision has been made for the application of this principle in any penal rule.

At the time of the seizure of power in 1949, that is, five years before the publication of the first "regulations on reform through labour", which their author, Lo Jui-ching, Minister of Public Security, declared to have been modelled on the Soviet corrective labour code, forced labour appeared as a penal instrument universally applied for the purpose of political coercion.

It is applied to all offenders and particularly to the political offenders who are classified as counter-revolutionary criminals. It is applied in all regions of continental China. It is the sanction of all the campaigns of repression that accompany structural reforms: the land reform, the struggle against corruption and waste, the repression of economic offences, the disciplining of intellectuals, the persecution of Christianity, Buddhism and sects, the policy of establishing agricultural production co-operatives, the cleavages within the Party, etc. The prisoner's obligation being to work results from either the sentence itself or from the alternative that he is allowed, that is, either to engage in fully productive work, or not to be granted freedom, or, in the most serious cases, from a death sentence with reprieve for two years, the execution of which depends upon the authorities' evaluation of his work.

It extends beyond the camps and prisons to persons placed under surveillance.

In the prisons and camps, the prisoner-manpower is organized into reform-through-labour corps, units that are set up in military fashion, sub-divided and placed under the direction of the troops of the people's police.

The Economic Importance of Forced Labour

The prisoner-manpower is employed in public works for the benefit of the state in fundamental sectors of the economy: hydraulic work, strategic

stan, to build power stations in Siberia and mines on the Kola Peninsula, to prospect for nickel and coal in the Arctic region, and to erect thousands of new industrial plants.

The serious shortage of labour in the U.S.S.R. has, in its turn, led to a grave wage crisis. As a rule, twice the standard rate has to be paid in order to tempt the workers to stay on. Otherwise they engage in illicit work which is much better paid, a fact which the regime, since it has got into such an economic muddle, is powerless to prevent.

A wage inflation of this kind and a chronic scarcity of vital commodities at exorbitant prices naturally leads to an ever-increasing financial crisis. The rouble is losing its purchasing power and the currency is no longer stable. The transport crisis, due to the fact that there is a shortage of trains and that old-fashioned steam-engines are still used, the spare parts and repairs crisis, and, above all, the housing crisis, which has become a serious and disturbing factor as far as the domestic policy of the U.S.S.R. is concerned, all these crises complete the picture, the final result of which will be economic deadlocks, one crisis after another, and utter chaos.

The idea of "catching up to" or possibly "overtaking" the West is thus merely a wild flight of fancy on the part of the Soviet Union. It is not the West which is undergoing a "process of decomposition", as the snobbish economists of the Kremlin would like to believe, but the "Messianic" Soviet, allegedly predestined to "liberate the peoples", which is dropping behind the Western world more and more, from year to year. And neither rattling sabres nor insinuating smiles will remedy this situation.

work, agriculture (state farms), communications, mining, lumbering, etc. The law expressly provides for the coordination of this work with the national production plane.

Arbitrary Procedure in Arrest and Detention

Prosecution and sentencing of counter-revolutionary criminals, that is, political offenders, was undertaken and carried out even before any offence and any penalty was defined by law. Political offence, which is defined very broadly in the commentaries and texts, appears to be established as soon as an individual is considered by the authorities to be an adversary. The arrested person, who is referred to as "the guilty person", is not presumed to be innocent. He is turned over to the police, to the examining-magistrate and to the judges without any guarantee of the rights of defence.

The accused person receives, on this basis of extorted confessions, a sentence that has been drafted, without his being present, by judges who are responsible to the political assemblies and removable by the authorities.

Conditions of Detention and Labour

In prison and in the various corrective labour institutions the food is generally insufficient, housing and clothing are inadequate. The lack of ventilation and hygiene and the absence of medical care seem to be rather general. Prisoners work up to fourteen hours a day, and though work quotas may not be fixed in advance, they depend on a veritable competition among the workers, who are virtually threatened with deprivation of any advantages or even with having their penalty increased if their output does not attain a maximum. Certain punishments which are imposed at the places of detention, such as partial or total deprivation of food, absence of sleep, handcuffing or the wearing of foot-chains, do not interrupt the work of the prisoner which must be carried out at all events.

The "reform of thought" within the framework of re-education through labour is one of the most prominent and probably most original features of the system of political repression applied in continental China.

It is not only a penal institution. It has also been practised, since the seizure of power by the Chinese Communist Party, in all spheres, on all levels of social life and in all institutions.

The aim of this system is to efface the personality of the individual subjected to it and to substitute a new personality which is in conformity with the ideology and interests of the government.

"Reform of thought" consists of "indoctrination" and "re-education" sessions which are held daily, and often several times a day, outside of normal working hours, which are very exhausting. After proving that he has assimilated the doctrine that he has been taught, the prisoner is requested, in oral and written questionings, to carry out a complete self-criticism on all the details of his past life, including those that are extremely private and insignificant.

This entire procedure is accompanied by a degrading pressure, which involves, on the one hand, the promise of milder treatment or reduction of penalty, and, on the other, the threat of prolongation of sentence, which, in fact, is often carried out.

Later, the prisoner must show proof of his ideological transformation by denouncing supposed criminals who are guilty of having endangered the interests of the government. Within the framework of the cell, he is used by the penitentiary administration, from the beginning of his detention, to urge his fellow-prisoners to do likewise. In short, morally broken by degrading confessions and odious denunciations that extend even to members of his family, the prisoner reaches the point of losing his own personality and convincing himself that he has committed imaginary crimes which he has been led to confess. Plunged into a state of permanent terror, subjugated to veritable emotional torture, he becomes, not a new man, but a sub-man, a man who has been humiliated and crushed.

From Behind the Iron Curtain



According to a report received from Athens, revolts have broken out in Bulgaria, namely in the garrisons at Filipopol, Dimitroffgrad, and Warny, near to the Greek frontier. Two hundred persons are said to have been killed.

A SENSELESS ECONOMIC POLICY

The Bulgarian government by the grace of Moscow has so far failed to find employment for all the workers who have been thrown out of work as a result of the mechanization of agriculture, the reorganization of certain branches of industry, and the natural increase in population.

Under the pressure of circumstances the Bulgarian Ministerial Council recently issued a decree to combat unemployment, according to which the number of jobs available is to be increased by the expansion of Bulgaria's industrial production. The opinion seems to be that this can, to some extent, be achieved by the collecting of waste-products (animal hair, bristles, horns, etc.). The Ministerial Council informed the Ministry of Home Trade that it would be held responsible for seeing to it that the large number of goods available, as a result of the measures decreed, "were actually marketed". The Bulgarian Ministry of the Interior was also instructed to withdraw 1,580 convicts from work in the mines, in order to make a corresponding number of jobs available. The agricultural workers who were forcibly assigned to jobs in factories and in various industries are now to be dismissed again, but there is little likelihood of their being able to resume their former occupation. The Ministerial Council made a further suggestion, to the effect that half-time work should be introduced in all firms and factories "wherever possible", a state of affairs which is hardly likely to be conducive to the notorious "plan fulfilment".



At Moscow's instructions purges have been carried out as regards the government and the Communist Party leaders in the Byelorussian Soviet Republic. The First Party Secretary has been dismissed from office, and various personnel changes have taken place as far as other leading Party and government posts are concerned. There seems to be every indication that these events in Byelorussia are closely connected with the activity of the underground movement, which has recently increased very considerably and cannot be checked in the vast forests and swamps of Byelorussia. The Soviet Ambassador to the USA, Zarubin, objected to a violation of the territorial rights of the Byelorussian Soviet Republic by American planes, which, it was alleged, were sighted over six different towns in Byelorussia in the course of one week, at the beginning of July. Could it be that Moscow was trying to divert the attention of the free world from events in Byelorussia by this statement, or did American planes actually fly over the country in order to support or observe the insurgents?

PRO-UNDERGROUND FARMERS EXPROPRIATED

In Western Byelorussia the Soviet government has decided to liquidate remote farms and has already partly carried out this plan. These measures are applied in the case of farms which are situated three to five kilometres away from the villages in which the kolchozes are located.

According to the "Pravda", 6,000 such farms are to be liquidated in the district of Molodetchnensky alone. Hundreds of these farms have already been liquidated.

There can only be one reason for these measures; namely, that the Soviet government would like to

do away with all the remote farms which have been providing the insurgents with food and shelter, so as to prevent the Byelorussian underground movement from obtaining supplies.



HUNGARY

PROLETARIAN "ARISTOCRACY"

"Irodalmy Isig", the organ of the Hungarian Authors' Association, express its surprise at the fact that the Hungarian functionaries of the Communist Party "are more aristocratic than the Habsburgs". By way of proof, the paper points out that the children of the "prominent" men of the Communist Party are educated privately so as not to come into contact with the "common people", whereas even the children of Archduke Joseph in pre-war days attended an ordinary state school. In addition, the Party functionaries consider it beneath their dignity to do their shopping in the shops used by the working class, and there are high-class, well stocked shops available for their exclusive use. What does it matter if the "subjects" of these upstarts are obliged to queue up for hours on end in front of shops, in which the words "not in stock" play the chief part.

And this way of thinking on the part of the Party functionaries even extends to questions of hygiene! At the holiday resorts on the Plattensee these strange "representatives of the workers" bathe in barbed-wire enclosures which are guarded by the police, — apparently in order to protect themselves against the "love of the people".

Since time immemorial, however, pride has always gone before a fall!



POLAND

UNDERGROUND RESISTANCE CAUSING TROUBLE

It is reported from Warsaw that the activity of the Polish resistance groups has recently increased very considerably.

Whereas the Polish newspapers were so far obliged to hush up the activity of the partisans, it is indicative of the increased activity of the resistance movement that the same papers are now continually publishing reports about the attacks carried out by underground groups and about the alleged starting-points of these attacks. In this connection they mention the districts of Lublin and Bialystok, the southern region of East Prussia, and the dense forests in the Carpathians.

All attempts to deal with this problem effectively by arresting persons in sympathy with the members of the underground movement, have proved futile. As a last resort, the method of publishing sentences passed on members of the resistance movement, who were captured whilst fighting, has now been adopted.

STARVATION, HARDSHIPS AND MISERY

According to the "Trybuna Opolska", serious riots expected in the densely industrialized area of Oppeln, as a result of the Poznan riots, were "prevented" in time by the Polish government.

The reasons which the "Trybuna Opolska" sees itself obliged to give for the ever-increasing discontent in evidence among the workers and inhabitants of the "largest distressed area" of Poland, are "considerable irritation at the lack of adequate supplies of foodstuffs and consumption goods, at the housing shortage which has made itself felt for some time now, at the extremely hard working conditions, and at the poor standard of living".

Incidentally, when it appeared as though riots might break out in Oppeln, the Minister of Home Trade, Minor, was instructed to go to Oppeln with a government commission in order to organize "relief measures for the distressed areas".

The above-mentioned Bolshevik paper then becomes more emphatic and mentions the "scandalous practices of various industrial enterprises (which have, of course, been nationalized. — The Editor.) which disregard the legal regulations for the protection of the workers", "breach of contract with employees", and the fact that "the trade unions occupy themselves with all sorts of matters, industrial competitions, fulfilment of plans, and various working methods, but not with the question of protecting the interests of the workers".

The Communist "Workers' Paradise" must indeed be in a sorry plight, if high-ranking Ministers of state are obliged to be on the spot personally in order to pour oil on the troubled waters of indignation!



RUMANIA

ANOTHER ADMISSION OF INCOMPETENCE

The former Minister of Railways, Diaconescu, has been removed from office by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Roumania on account of "unsatisfactory progress in bringing in this year's harvest".

This is not the first time in the U.S.S.R. and in the latter's satellite countries that grain supplies have been left to rot in loading stations for months on end, until they were not fit for human consumption, as a result of incompetence on the part of the persons responsible for the transport system.

Despite the fact that he was found wanting, Diaconescu has managed to grab another little job, namely as "deputy" Minister of Railways. We can but ask, which of the top Communist wirepullers is also to blame for Diaconescu's "unsatisfactory progress", seeing that he is treated with such care, contrary to the usual Bolshevik methods!



SLOVAKIA

HUSAK IN PRISON AGAIN

The well-known Slovak Communist leader, Dr. Gustav Husak, who some years ago was put in prison as a "bourgeois nationalist" deviationist because he aimed to set up a Slovak state within the Communist regime, was released this year as a result of the "new course". But he did not enjoy Communist freedom for long. Soon after his release he was once more sent to prison for having intended filing a motion for prosecution against Siroky, the Prime Minister of the Prague government. It was Siroky who had him arrested and sentenced some years ago. Husak was obviously fairly firmly convinced of the justness of the present rulers in Moscow, but apparently he took not only the Communist "self-determination right" of the nations, but also the new "socialist laws" proclaimed by Khrushchev, too seriously.

BUREAUCRATIZATION STEADILY INCREASING

The longer Communist dictatorship rules supreme in Slovakia, the more the bureaucratization of the country continues to increase. The state and Party authorities and, in fact, administrative departments of every kind are overfilled with officials and office employees. A comparatively insignificant, but nevertheless typical example of this state of affairs is quoted in the main Party organ in Slovakia, the "Pravda", Bratislava, of July 3, 1956:

"In Poprad, there are 9 different administrative departments in the station. Even reports to the effect that someone is unfit for work have to be submitted to the heads of all nine departments. Each departmental head has a staff consisting of a work supervisor, a wage supervisor, an administrative supervisor, a supervisor of the book-keeping department, etc. From the point of utility and economy it would be expedient to merge many of these departments into a single one. The same applies to other spheres of work; what could be done by one person is usually done by nine."

ABSENTEEISM

According to the Bratislava "Pravda", absenteeism on the part of workers during the first five months of this year has resulted in a loss to Slovak industry amounting to more than the average monthly production of the entire textile industry in Slovakia.

SHOT WHILST FLEEING

Four Hungarians from Budapest, who were trying to flee to Austria via Slovakia, on the evening of August 19th jumped into the River Danube, out of a boat, near to the Slovak-Austrian frontier. Three of them were shot by Communist frontier guards, whilst trying to flee. The fourth man succeeded in reaching Austria.

RAKOSI IN SLOVAKIA

Matyas Rakosi, the former Communist dictator of Hungary, is recuperating from his political fall in Slovakia, namely in the Tatra Mountains.



GEORGIA

COMMUNIST SELF-ACCUSATIONS IN GEORGIA

For some time now the Georgian Communists no longer find favour in the eyes of the Muscovite rulers. On the contrary, the latter regard them with considerable distrust. At the beginning of August, Moscow sent a Russian, P. W. Kovanov, to Tiflis to assume office as "Second" Secretary of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party.

Moscow can thus keep a constant check on the Georgian Communist Party through its own Russian emissary.

As was reported in the Georgian Party organ, "Kommunisti", No. 184, of August 9, 1956, the plenum of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party convened from August 6th to 8th. On this occasion, the First Secretary, W. P. Mshavanadse, gave a report on "The Errors and Faults in the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party".

In their leading articles the Party organs, "Kommunisti" and "Sarja Wostoka", of August 11, 1956, report on the resolutions passed by the plenum of the Central Committee. It is stressed that the Party and the Georgian Republic suffered considerable damage as a result of the Stalin personality cult and the criminal activity of Beria.

"In a treacherous and insidious manner Beria and his hangers-on destroyed the best cadres of the Party, outstanding representatives of the intelligentsia of the Republic (some of whom are mentioned by name), and thousands of trustworthy workers, kolchos farmers, and intellectuals".

But no mention is made of the fact that, since Beria's liquidation, terrorism continues unabated in Georgia and the Georgian Communist Party is constantly being purged by Moscow.

After Beria's downfall the Party secretaries, Mgeladse and Merzkulava, and the Ministers of State, Baramia, Tchiaureli, Tsulukidse, and Bakradse, were liquidated.

The Soviet press and radio subsequently reported that 3,000 Party functionaries had been dismissed from office in Georgia. Shortly afterwards, the Ministers of State, Rapava, Ruchadse, and Tseretheli, and five high-ranking functionaries were sentenced to death by a Moscow court martial and shot.

Thousands of young persons of both sexes were deported to Siberia and elsewhere for the purpose of working there. And not one of the thousands of persons who were deported by Beria has ever been released and sent back home again.

The comments on the "errors and faults" of the Party's activity which these leading articles contain are highly significant.

It is also stressed in these articles that the Party organizations "are not conducting a decisive fight against the phenomena of bourgeois nationalist ideology". And "they do not make any effort to exercise any influence on the system of higher education".

They "pay no heed to the multi-national character of the population, nor do they bother about a training in the spirit of friendship between the nations". — "They do not devote their time to the young Communists, to the schoolchildren or to the students and the ideological training of these young people is left to the latter's discretion."

Georgia is, in other words, in a state of "bourgeois nationalist" political ferment, and P. W. Kovanov, who has been sent to Georgia by Moscow as the "Second Party Secretary" of the Georgian Communist Party, has been instructed to put an end to this state of affairs. But the Muscovite rulers will never succeed in suppressing the national spirit and will of the Georgians. Ekhadieli.

HOLIDAY BRIGADES

On July 2nd of this year, the pupils of the vocational schools and of the eleven-grade schools (primary and secondary school combined) were assigned to working brigades for the duration of the summer holidays. The purpose of these brigades was allegedly to give the pupils a chance "to recover" from town-life by doing agricultural work and to instil a "love of village-life" into them. Similar campaigns were also carried out in past years under the Communist regime.



THE CRUMBLING PROPAGANDA FACADE

It is generally known by now that foreign visitors to the so-called Soviet Republics are misled in a subtle manner as to the true conditions which prevail there. And any doubts in this respect have now been dispelled by the Uzbekistan paper, "Pravda Wostoka", which, forced by necessity rather than by its own inclination, has published an account of a complaint which it received from a woman-member of the Communist Party, Comrade Kurbanova, who four years ago was promoted to the rank of brigadier. According to the above-mentioned paper, this model Bolshevik complained that she had been obliged to go and see the kolchos president, Tadzhibajev, at least ten times before the urgent repairs at the camp were carried out. After the repairs had eventually been dealt with at long last, she begged him in vain, for two years, to supply the camp with the necessary furniture, children's cots, and cooking utensils.

It is pointed out that Tadzhibajev could afford to behave as he did, since the kolchos camp in question was located at a considerable distance away from the main road. The methods applied in the case of the external camps, round which gullible foreigners are conducted on a tour of inspection, are quite different. On such occasions, music from radios or radiograms resounds throughout the camp, whilst in the kindergarten clean and well-cared for children are to be seen in snow-white beds. The entire camp appears to be extremely tidy, spotless, and comfortable. After such a tour of inspection the visitors are always most enthusiastic and full of admiration and praise for the "marvellous achievements" and the standard of living of the kolchos farmers.

As soon as the visitors have departed, however, and there is no danger of another party of visitors arriving in the immediate future, the camp assumes a very different aspect. The spotless cots are no longer used. The children sleep in a barn or a stable. And radios, radiograms, tables and chairs are carefully put away and locked up, to be produced again next time visitors are expected.



BIG REVOLT IN KYIV

The report published in the "Times" about a big revolt in the Ukrainian capital has been indirectly corroborated by the Soviet press. As was stated in the "Times", large-scale riots broke out in the Ukrainian capital on May 25, 1956, the thirty-first anniversary of the assassination of the commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Army, Symon Petlura, by a Soviet agent in Paris. Students and workers marched through the streets of Kyiv, shouting "Down with Russian colonialism in Ukraine".

The Soviet press denied the report in a somewhat peculiar manner. The "Pravda" of July 10, 1956, published an article by the Soviet humorist of Ukrainian origin, Ostap Wychnia, which bore the caption "translated from the Ukrainian language" and in which the "Times" was ridiculed for having made a "howler" in publishing such a report.

The "Pravda Ukrainy", a paper published in Ukraine in the Russian language, corroborated the fact that large crowds assembled in Kyiv on May 25, 1956, by reporting as follows: "Large crowds were to be observed on that day at the State Circus, where Hungarian artistes gave a performance"; "At various stations in Kyiv crowds gave the members of the Komsomol who were leaving for Donbas a big send-off"; "... pupils leaving for the summer holidays" . . . etc. But the "Pravda Ukrainy" failed to account for the fact that all this, strange

to say, happened on one and the same day which was neither a Sunday nor a general holiday.

The most obvious corroboration of the fact that riots broke out in Kyiv was provided by the paper, "Radianska Ukraina", of July 26, 1956, which reported as follows: "The Kyiv municipal committee of the Communist Party held a general meeting (the date of this meeting is not mentioned by the "Radianska Ukraina") at which the question of raising the standard of living of the population from the material and cultural point of view was discussed. . . The population is to receive an additional 40 thousand cwts of meat and 2 thousand cwts of poultry, and further resolutions have also been passed as regards the improvement of the standard of living. . ."

In view of what happened in East Berlin and Poznan, we know only too well that tanks in the first place mow down the demonstrators after riots and that resolutions are then passed as regards the "improvement of the standard of living and

additional food allowances to the population". In any case, it would be a sad blow to the prestige of the "Socialist Model State" to admit that riots had broken out in the Soviet Union "proper", too.

IVAN FRANKO'S SON MURDERED

According to a reliable source of information, Peter Franko, son of the Ukrainian writer, Ivan Franko, has been executed.

The Soviets are holding big celebrations this year to mark the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Ivan Franko, whose works they have falsified in the usual manner. Peter Franko was a member of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., until people suddenly began to notice that the Soviets no longer mentioned his name as one of the descendants of the writer. Investigations revealed that Peter Franko had been seen in certain Soviet concentration camps as a prisoner and that he has meanwhile been murdered.

BOOK - REVIEWS

The Red Domination in Spain. The General Cause (Causa General). Notes for the Spanish History 1936-1939. Madrid, 1953. 406 pp.

The origin and the purpose of this monumental reference work on the history of the Spanish Civil War is described and defined in the introductory "Explanatory Note" as follows: "The General Cause or Mass Lawsuit established as a result of the Decree of April 26th, 1940, and ratified by that of June 19th, 1943, assigns to the Attorney-General's office the eminent and delicate mission of exposing — for the information of the public authorities and for historical records — by means of a just and minute investigation, the most outstanding facts about the reasons, the range and the demonstration of criminal activities on the part of the subversive elements who in 1936 openly attacked the very existence and the essential principles of their country. . ."

The comprehensive thoroughness with which this task has been carried out, after years of careful and detailed compilation, can best be seen from the manner in which this vast material has been dealt with according to subjects; and for this reason we should like to give the following brief summary of the subjects dealt with:

- 1) Murder of Calvo Sotelo (July 13, 1936).
- 2) Juridical murder of José Antonio Primo de Rivera (November 20, 1936).
- 3) Anarchic terror (that is to say, the mass application of the lynch law).
- 4) The chekas (with a detailed subsection, "Special reference to certain official chekas").
- 5) Religious persecution.
- 6) The assassinations in the Model Prison in Madrid on August 23, 1936.
- 7) Prisons and assassination of prisoners en masse.
- 8) Police terror.
- 9) Manifestations of Soviet influence (mainly referring to the "liquidation" of the Trotskyan P.O.U.M. — "Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista"); this chapter is fairly meagre, since the Soviet Bolsheviks, when they fled from Spain, left hardly any documents on their secret or semi-secret activity behind. It has, nevertheless, been ascertained that the Red D.E.D.I.D.E. ("Departamento Especial de Información del Estado") in Madrid "commenced its activities in 1937 under the tutelage of Soviet agents who were constant visitors to the San Lorenzo Prison, where they directed the cross-examination of prisoners, from whom they tried to force revelations by the employment of every kind of violence". In Valencia, too, the "cheka" institutions of the D.E.D.I.D.E. "were conducted by Russian agents, male as well as female".

10) The Red Army, — with a brief but informative subsection, "Nature and Character of the International Brigades", which gives logical reasons for the inference that "in the International Brigades, as in the Popular Front, the democratic concentration was a mere blind. Their real and only substance was Communism. The International Brigades were Communism in arms on Iberian soil, attempting to secure a strategic key position on both military and political terrain".

11) Red Justice (dealing with the organization and the grim activity of the so-called "Special Tribunals of the People").

12) The Marxist government and the national

patrimony, — dealing with the systematic robbery of private, public and state property, which "appears to have possessed a double intention: that of ruining Spain, so that the (national) Government called upon to rule the country after its victory should find itself face to face with insuperable difficulties; and secondly, a sense of self-preservation on the part of the political chiefs in regard to their own private future, which inclined them to ensure for themselves an exile free from hardship, notwithstanding the fact that this would mean misery and suffering for millions of Spanish people of all tendencies".

13) Other aspects of red life (moral corruption and disintegration of family and social ties).

Each chapter (or its subsection) is followed up by a sound "documental and photographic supplement"; the photographs are not particularly numerous, but they are extremely well-chosen. All the documents (with the exception of those printed officially in the Red press) are reproduced both as photostats and in the English translation.

Despite the extensive scope of this work, it cannot, of course, claim to have exhausted its subject completely; for, in this respect, one must bear in mind the fact that "the crimes committed by the Popular Front in that part of Spain under its domination were so numerous that the duly investigated cases of assassination reach the astounding figure of 85,940, not including the casualties and victims caused directly by the war"! Nevertheless, the book contains such a wealth of authentic material that all conscientious readers will be bound to agree unreservedly with the following conclusion:

"The civil war waged in Spain between the years of 1936 and 1939 brought to light the criminal character of a political régime which claimed to be the defender of Liberty and proclaimed its respect for the inherent rights of every human being".

The technical get-up of the book is excellent. There are, however, certain errors in the transcription of Slav proper names; for instance, on p. 278 the name of the Soviet Consul General in Madrid is given as *Owscentko* and on the plate preceding p. 287 as *Owscentko*, whereas actually it should be *Owsienko*. V. D.

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