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Edward M. O'Connor:

American Political Realism And The Russian Empire

Our entire national life is today plagued with the disease of conformity. In the space of a few years the herd instinct has all but obliterated the role of the individualist—the demand is today to be like everyone else lest you stand aside from the herd. We are driven to not only look alike but to think and act alike. This dangerous trend toward sameness will, if not treated to shock and challenge, soon make us into the “faceless mass” which the communist agitators and other demagogues find ideal for manipulation and control.

This era of conformity has some very strange characteristics. Here are some of them:

(1) Our people on the whole want everything given to them in capsule form. This applies to knowledge as well as medicine and food.

(2) A new species of “experts” has grown up, most of them self-proclaimed, who are in charge of manufacturing the “thought capsule”.

(3) These “thought capsules” are then offered to the public through all media of mass communications.

Thus we have arrived at a position where a few experts are doing all the thinking on critical issues for large segments of our population. Those who think for themselves and express their ideas lay themselves open to being called wrong by a large body of opinion or to the odious charge of being an “odd ball.” It matters not whether the large body of opinion moulded by the so-called experts is correct; but what does seem to matter is that this opinion is challenged by someone who has not been properly established as an expert. The fear of being called wrong by this false criterion of judgement has discouraged dissent, originality of thought and indeed accuracy of information and individual judgements thereon.

In no field of endeavor is this curse of conformity so apparent as in the field of international political affairs. A group of “hot-house” experts has been nurtured who see the international problems of our times through a mirror of their own making.

This mirror reflects nothing more than what they want to see and builds a make-believe world arena upon which they manufacture their thought capsules for the unsuspecting American public. This is especially true with respect to current public opinion on the Russians, their present empire and their plans for a world empire.

Russian Myths Propagated

As evidence of this unhappy state of affairs I invite your attention to these following examples:

(1) In the public mind Russia is most times equated with the Soviet Union. Few Americans know that Russia is only one of the many nations which make up the Soviet Union. One seldom hears reference made to the Russian

Federated Soviet Socialist Republic in which the majority of the people are Russians but which also contains several other large and important geographical areas of non-Russian peoples. Less frequently do we hear reference to the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union, their history, or their aspirations for national independence.

(2) We constantly hear the people of the Soviet Union referred to as Russians. This despite the fact that the Russians are the minority people of the Soviet Union. Moreover, the non-Russian people of the Soviet Union who comprise the majority of the population resent being called Russians, and we can only alienate them by use of such offensive reference.

(3) We hear the Soviet Union referred to—as a nation, whereas in reality it is an empire made up of many different nations which have suffered the loss of their national independence at the hands of the Russian imperialists during the past forty years.

(4) More lately we hear the people of the Soviet Union called the Soviet people. This abstract and meaningless term has turned the entire population of the Soviet Union into a faceless and inanimate mass. The end result is profound confusion in the public mind on a critical subject which is in reality so simple that it should be common knowledge.

(5) Just a few years ago one of the self-proclaimed experts, writing for a leading weekly pictorial, coined the high-sounding phrase of “Homo Sovieticus”. No doubt he sought to impress his readers with scholarly verbiage, without any knowledge of the violence he was doing to the truth or the absurdity of his conclusion. He made the bold statement that the Russians had erected a new human species called the “Soviet man.” It is true that the Russians have been attempting to create such a new species of man, that is, a man who would be devoid of all human feeling, insensitive to the heritage of his forefathers, lacking the normal desires and hopes which distinguish man from the animal, and unconstrained by the natural law which has guided the behavior of man since the beginning of time. This would mean turning man into an automaton, responsive only to the will of the Kremlin. The Russian leaders have not been successful in this effort nor will they ever be, because no man or group of men have the power or capability of altering the basic nature of man. Mr. Khrushchev knows this to be a fact much more than the crop of head shrinkers who are posing as experts on what they call Soviet affairs.

(6) A derivative of the false notion of “Homo Sovieticus” is the ridiculous claim to a Soviet society—a term used to describe the state of life behind the Russian Iron Curtain. This, of course, would intend to include the people

of the so-called satellite nations as well as the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union. The term Society assumes a well established way of life in which the vast majority of the people comprising it believe in and willfully support its tenets. The facts are that no more than 5 per cent of the people of the non-Russian nations behind the Iron Curtain believe in, no less than support, the alien way of life which has been imposed upon them. Even this figure appears extravagant if we look back upon the recent Hungarian Freedom Revolution. In these circumstances we find that a very large number of the new ruling class, included within the 5 per cent factor, deserted the regime and joined in the national liberation effort. Thus the allusion of a Soviet society was shattered beyond repair.

I have used these examples of loose and wishful thinking as a means of demonstrating what most of the so-called experts see in the mirror of their own creation and to underscore what lies at the base of our failure to adopt a realistic and positive policy toward the worldwide threat of Russian Communist imperialism. It is a truism in every field of human endeavor that unless the basic elements of a problem are defined and understood there is no possibility of arriving at a solution to the problem. This is precisely the case with respect to the historic Russian problem so far as the American people in general are concerned, and to a surprisingly large extent is also true in circles responsible for our foreign policy.

Turning to the international scene, I should like to examine with you our position with respect to a political force which is reshaping the world order. I refer to nationalism—that is, the movement of large numbers of homogeneous people toward nationhood or national independence.

Era of Nationalism

Since the end of World War II we have witnessed many nations of South East Asia, South Asia, and Africa throw off the status of colonies and establish their national independence. The United States was the first to take firm and positive steps to accord with the natural aspirations of people, which has come with the political awakening in vast areas of the world. In the case of the Philippines we declared our intention to help that nation realize its aspirations for national independence before World War II was over. Immediately following the war, this goal was realized in an orderly and mutually satisfactory manner. There can be no doubt that our action in this case provided a powerful stimulus for the national liberation movements throughout Asia and Africa. In taking this course of action we acted in accord with our honored belief in the right of all people to national self-determination.

American Political Realism And The Russian Empire

(Continued from page 1)

Now some twelve years after the independence of the Philippines we see that the old colonialism of Asia has passed into history. The old colonialism of Africa is slowly but surely following a similar course as the colonial or metropolitan powers are faced with the aspirations of politically awakened people and nations. All thinking men hope that the necessary changes will be made in an orderly and just manner, but the march of human events tells us these changes cannot be avoided.

In the course of these developments in the free world the Russian leaders have been forced to use unique tactics in order to accommodate their plans to the driving force of nationalism. They learned long ago that Communism as an ideological appeal could not compete successfully with the related power of nationalism. The two are diametrically opposed in both philosophy and purpose. In Asia and Africa they have attempted to infiltrate and take over the national liberation movements. No one can deny that they have enjoyed some success. Viet Nam is a case in point. There an old line Comintern agent, Ho Chi-Minh, moved in on the liberation movement and then plunged that country into a bloody war. Aided and abetted by the Russians and Chinese Communists, he has managed to divide that nation and hold control over its northern region. Elsewhere, the Russians have worked from the inside of newly independent governments, retarding their natural development, causing disruption and confusion, all pointed toward their eventual take over of power in these countries. Where their efforts have been recognized and rebuffed they have resorted to neutralizing those nations—that is, divorcing them from the cause of human justice and the stream of progress.

In the former colonial areas as well as those areas of the free world still in colonial or dependent status, the Russian Communists and their followers pose as anti-imperialists, anti-colonialists. They loudly claim to be defenders of the rights of nations to self-government. To say that their efforts have not been successful is to flirt with disaster. They have in fact deluded large numbers of people in Asia and Africa who are not Communists or sympathizers, on this score. At the same time, they give equal attention to branding the U.S. as an imperial and colonial power in all these areas—where such words carry a curse and the deepest feelings of hate. In this, unfortunately, they have also enjoyed success. This Russian propaganda campaign has been carried throughout Latin America—where one hears the frequent cry of "Yankee Imperialism." In Europe the Russian theme is "Yankee economic imperialism and exploitation." On all fronts and in all areas of the world, no matter how remote, the Kremlin propaganda machine paints the Russians as defenders of the national independence movement and the United States as a colonial power, exploiter of other nations and economic imperialists.

The Only Remaining Colonial Power

In factual contrast the record shows that the only imperial power left in the world is the Russian, and their empire of today extends well beyond the dreams of Czar Peter.

In the face of these hard facts we still seem, as a nation, to be unwilling or unable to see the realities of life behind the Russian Iron Curtain. We fail to see this vast area of the world with hundreds of million people involved as a Russian Empire—which in fact it is.

(1) We fail to see the Russians and their historical attachment to dreams of a world empire as the cement and outward driving force of the Empire.

(2) We fail to see the precise parallels between life within that empire under the Russian Czars and life under the new Russian elite class.

(3) We have failed to learn that the corrupt reign of the Russian Czars was brought to an end by the national independence movements which spread like wildfire throughout the empire during the period 1917-1920. The public mind has been led to believe that the Bolsheviks were responsible for the collapse of the empire.

(4) Slowly but surely, we seem to be closing our minds to the aspirations of the people of the satellite nations as we are misguided with the notion of national Communism and the theory of political evolution, which is now offered as a tonic for the conscience of inaction.

(5) We have closed our minds to the age-long struggles of the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union for their national independence—a struggle which today occupies the major attention of the schemers in the Kremlin.

(6) We seem to be completely unaware that the most powerful political force within the modern-day Russian empire is not Communism but Nationalism and represents the great masses of people who, like all mankind, want to be free and independent in their national life and affairs. Communism represents nothing more than the small elite class, the new Russian aristocracy.

(7) We are inhibited in our thinking and actions by the strange notion that if we merely suggest the injustice of a modern-day Russian empire we will offend the Russian people. We owe nothing more to the Russian people than we owe to all the other people of the world. From the national interest point of view our history as a nation tells us we owe more to the Poles, the Hungarians, the Byelorussians. These were the people who contributed to the building of our nation and whose sons and daughters today will stand loyally in its defense.

(8) We have been unwilling, to date, to extend our support for the principle of national self-determination to the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union. By this failure we have deprived our foreign policy of the dynamic driving force which would put it in tune with the aspirations of all the people of the world.

(9) Strangest of all, we have not hesitated to announce our support for the right of the people and nations in the free world to national self-determination. Only a few weeks ago, President Eisenhower wisely extended this public recognition to all nations of the Near and Middle East. It is time that this same public recognition was extended to the mature and friendly non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union.

So, my friends, it is important that we, as a nation, must discard the self-made mirrors of the new crop of Soviet experts, if we are to see the Russians, their present empire and their drive for world empire with the realism our present danger demands. You can serve the course of justice among nations and peace by being a non-conformist on this vital issue and a dissenter wherever and whenever you encounter the Soviet expert.

Global Resistance

ADDRESS DELIVERED

by Admiral Penna Botto

President of the "Interamerican Confederation for the Defense of the Continent", and the Chairman of the "Brazilian Anti-Communist Crusade", on the 14th August 1958 at the 4th Plenary Congress of the International Council of Christian Churches

Mr. Chairman, Rev. Fathers, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Well, I am certainly deeply grateful to your Chairman for kindly allowing me to say a few words to this distinguished gathering, to this conspicuous audience. I will not trespass very long on your time; just long enough to let you know about the *World Anti-Communist Congress*, the first of its kind, that is being convened for October 1958. I know that your Agenda includes discussions, lectures and debates on Communism, and that is what brought me here.

I think the calling-out of the *World Congress* is to be considered a remarkable enterprise, an outstanding event. Why? Because it represents, at last, the unification of all anti-Communist forces, which forces have been, up to now, widely scattered at random all over the world; and which will be in the future, should our Congress be successful, mustered together and thrust against the real enemy, meaning: — *International Communism!*

What is *International Communism*? — It is the huge world-wide organization directed by the rascals sitting behind the dismal walls of the Kremlin, in Moscow, which organization acts aggressively aiming at enslaving all free Nations to the vile Communist rule and imposing on them the cruel Bolshevik yoke!

In Latin-America we started by fighting singly, I mean every country by itself. The results were not encouraging. Then we decided to get together and fight together: hence the "Interamerican Confederation".

This change in strategy brought promising results but, even it did not meet our purposes. It was easy to see why this happened. It was because we did not meet the Communist challenge, which is *global*, with an equally *global* resistance.

We reached the conclusion, therefore, that it was necessary to act on a higher level, the *International* level.

How can that be done? Through an *Anti-Communist World League*, and as a preliminary step towards this goal we are convening a *World Anti-Communist Congress*.

With that objective in sight I went to Taipei (Formosa Island, in Free China), in October 1957, duly authorized by the "Interamerican Confederation", to meet Mr. Ku Cheng-kang, President of the "Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League". We drafted together the so-called *Taipei Declaration*, laying the foundations for the *World Congress*.

In due time you will receive cordial invitations to attend that Congress, to take place, so we expect, in Stanbul, Turkey.

To be sure, I am a Catholic, but in the *World Congress* we like to have all those who are 100% anti-Communists, regardless of their religious beliefs.

Now, before I leave the floor, I should like to answer a question which was put to me yesterday evening, by your Chairman. He asked me if *Religion* in Brazil was free from marxist infiltration.

I am sorry to answer that it isn't, and by that I mean that there are in Brazil a good many naive "Catholics" who are, at the same time, "Communists", no matter how absurd that may sound!

It is a serious situation, claiming for urgent counteraction. The same has occurred, though, in many other countries, in Latin-America and in Europe.

It is easy to explain the paradox. Bolshevik *agents* go to the poor people and tell them that Communism will solve all their problems and ask them to become Communists. They promptly object: "impossible, because we are Catholics!"

Thereupon the sordid and treacherous *agents* assure them that there is no antagonism whatsoever between Christianity and Communism . . . You see, so the *agents* tell them: "JESUS CHRIST was a Communist"!!

I shall make no more comments on that because we are going to have the privilege, within a few minutes, to hear your prominent guest-speaker of to-night, Mr. J. B. Matthews, whose lecture deals precisely with: "CHRIST and Communism".

The German Problem

Adenauer or Garibaldi?

Free elections or revolution? A plebiscite on paper, or a plebiscite of bloodshed? Ollenhauer's and Ulbricht's delegations at a round-table together, or armed masses in the streets of Berlin?

As far as their political initiative on the anti-Bolshevik front is concerned, the governments of the Western Major Powers have got into a blind alley. Almost every week Moscow puts forward new propositions, which in essence always remain the same, and Mr. Eisenhower, Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Adenauer hasten to express their attitude to them; their political opponents in the free world, however, never tire of stressing the "necessity" of new counter-propositions, again and again, — either on the strength of the so-called Rapacki-plan, or on the strength of the possibility of conducting direct negotiations with the Pankow government.

On the other hand, however, it is an absolute certainty that Moscow does not intend to accept any compromise on the German problem. Germany's unification is only acceptable to Russia provided that the whole of Germany becomes a satellite of Russia; and for this reason the Russians are not likely to sanction free elections or any other formula which might make any regime other than the Communist one possible in the united Germany. Nor are the Russians likely to accept the idea of a neutralization of the united, free Germany, since a people numbering more than 70 million is bound to abandon its neutrality sooner or later; Germany is not Austria, let alone Switzerland. Moscow will thus do its utmost to uphold the status quo, and all the propositions of a union which it puts forward or inspires have one and the same aim, — namely, to disseminate propaganda, to mislead those who are naive, and to spread defeatism and confusion. The possible withdrawal of Russian troops from East Germany, provided that the American and British troops were withdrawn from West Germany at the same time, would be no risk for Moscow, but, on the contrary, solely an advantage; for, in the event of an open revolt against Ulbricht and Grotewohl, Soviet tanks from Poland would enter Berlin within a few hours' time, — "at the invitation of the legal government of a sovereign state" (as has already been the case in Budapest); on the other hand, however, the withdrawal of the American troops would cause a psychological shock, the far-reaching effects of which cannot be estimated, not only to Germany, but also to the entire West European world. Such a step would also cause considerable disappointment and, above all, arouse a feeling of distrust towards the USA amongst the nations subjugated by Russia, and in this way the status quo would be strengthened still further.

Excluding the possibility of a third world war, there is, therefore, no genuine way of bringing about the reunification of Germany, save by means of a revolution, or, to be more precise, by a revolutionary war of liberation; for the reunification of Germany means the liberation of the Soviet Zone of Germany and its incorporation in the Federal Republic of Germany. It is true that in principle Mr. Adenauer's formula of "free elections" is flawless, but, under the given circumstances, it is not feasible and, in fact, utopian. It is absolutely impossible for Moscow to make any concessions whatever in this direction, — both for ideological and also for political reasons. What a disgrace it would be for the idea of Communism as such, if the suppressed majority of

the population in the so-called "German Democratic Republic" were to opt for "capitalism" (which is what would undoubtedly happen in the event of free elections there, as the Kremlin knows only too well). On the other hand, it goes without saying that a shifting of the Iron Curtain eastwards would create a favourable psychological situation for anti-Russian revolts in Poland, Hungary and Ukraine, etc. Not to mention the strategic and economic results of the liberation of the Soviet Zone of Germany.

In no case and under no circumstances will the Russians agree to free elections. The fact that they recently made the problem of Berlin a current one again, is merely a diversion manoeuvre, and their peculiar "ultimatum" merely a piece of bluffing. And it would not result in a war. It is a propaganda trick, which relies on the naivety and ignorance of its victims, in particular, of the Afro-Asian peoples, who have not the least inkling of the Party career of an Ulbricht or a Pieck in Soviet Russia and so far have failed to realize that any Communist party (apart from the Russian one) is not a party of the nation in question, by whose name it calls itself, but a party of Soviet Russian imperialism, which it serves.

In the present Berlin crisis a strong American "no", together with a threat of armed intervention would make Krushchev smart.

And thus the whole affair would blow over. Not negotiations but violence is the only prescription for Russia.

The only genuine way to achieving a reunification of Germany lies in the liberation of the Soviet Zone of Germany, by means of universal support (armed support, too) for a possible revolt by the Germans in the Soviet Zone, — by means of support on the part of the Western Major Powers, including the Federal Republic of Germany. Any other plan in this respect is merely self-deception. The reunification of Germany had a good chance to materialize in June, 1953, when the non-Russian soldiers of the Soviet Army, in particular, the Ukrainians, and the German soldiers of Ulbricht and Grotewohl refused to fire on the insurgent German workers. On that occasion, the American divisions should have hastened to their aid, instead of which, however, they waited, inactive, for the revolutionary masses to bleed to death. But the USA failed completely, — just as they failed later on as regards Poznan and Budapest and, previously, as regards the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). If the Berlin uprising of June, 1953, were to be repeated, is the free world prepared not to fail this time? And if not, — what, then, is the sense of the whole psychological war?

But are the masses of the nations subjugated by Russia also prepared to resort to an armed revolt? No, not under the present conditions behind the Iron Curtain and, above all, not, in view of the present policy of the Western Powers. But the time is near for a wave of wrath to break forth on the part of the people, for the striving for national freedom and independence and social freedom and justice cannot be crushed for ever. And in view of this approaching hour, the national revolutionary forces of the subjugated peoples should already have a co-ordinated and synchronized plan and act accordingly.

There can be no denying the fact that the German Chancellor, Adenauer, has contributed enormously to the reconstruction of Germany, and that he is expanding the armed fighting

forces of the free Germany in the right way, and is right in holding them in readiness as a trump-card for all negotiations; but it is essential that there should be concord between the fighting forces of the free Germany and the insurgent Germans of the Soviet Zone, and this is a task which will require new forces. Germany will need a German Garibaldi, who will have to achieve what the German Cavour failed to accomplish . . . And yet, the personalities of Cavour and Garibaldi remain inseparable in the history of Italy.

But nowadays the regionally limited liberation of any one nation from the Russian yoke is a sheer impossibility. Just as the problem of Berlin cannot be solved without the liberation of the Soviet Zone of Germany, so, too, the German reunification in freedom cannot be achieved without the permanent liberation of other nations who have been deprived of their freedom by Moscow, and without the disintegration of the Russian imperium as such. Either the liberation of all these nations is achieved by the united efforts of all, or else the entire world which is still free will be inundated by the dark and sinister Russian element. Without a free Warsaw, Budapest, Sofia, Pressburg etc., there can be no free East Berlin; without a free Kyiv, Minsk, Tiflis or Tashkent, the present satellite states will sink to the level of "national" republics of the U.S.S.R. (as has already happened in the case of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania). There is no indication that Chancellor Adenauer is aware of this fact. And herein lies the tragedy and the impracticability of all the plans cherished by the Western Powers regarding the reunification of Germany and the anti-Communist fight in general.

Hardly anyone in the West believed in the possibility of mass revolts in Berlin, Poznan, Budapest, in the Soviet concentration camps in Vorkuta, Norylsk, Mordovia, etc., and in Tibet and various West Chinese territories, — until they actually happened. Tomorrow further revolts will take place. Only a statesman who, in his action, takes heed not only of the present, but also and, above all, of the morrow, will have a lasting influence on the history of his people.

Z. K.

70,000 Ukrainians live in Prussia

The "Ostpreussisch-Blatt" reported that over 70,000 Ukrainians are living in Prussia, where they were deported by the Polish communist government after World War II. It says:

"The Ukrainians in East Prussia continue to insist on their right to return to their homes . . . in the southern and eastern provinces of Poland. This is plainly stated in the Polish newspaper, "Warmja i Mazury", which appears in Allenstein (Olsztyn). In this newspaper appeared an article on the 'Ukrainian question,' saying that about 70,000 Ukrainians are now living in East Prussia, who were deported forcibly in the first post-war years and were settled in the districts of Braunsberg, Prussian Holland, Rosenberg, Angenberg and Rastenburg. The Polish newspaper states that these 70,000 Ukrainians have not lost 'the sense that they are mistreated' and they continue to feel that their being there is temporary. Therefore, they do not take good care of their homesteads and recklessly spend loans which were given to them to help their adjustment. They repeatedly underscore that Prussia is not their fatherland and complain about the climate, to which they are not accustomed . . ."

V. Kosyk (Free China)

Vague And Confused Terminology

It is an established fact that the convention of the APACL Conference last year was a positive step and that it gives us great satisfaction to be able to cooperate with so splendid an anti-Communist organization of the Asian peoples as the APACL. My impression of the Conference as a whole was favourable, for I observed throughout the Conference a strong anti-Communist attitude on the part of the members and a firm determination to combat the great evil of mankind — Communism. And I am sure that most of the resolutions adopted on this occasion will contribute to the success of the fight against Communism in Asia.

At the same time, however, I should like to mention the fact that I noticed a certain inadequacy and various contradictions in the adopted resolutions and in the declaration.

For instance, I consider the statement that there is a "Communist bloc of nations" behind the Iron Curtain, erroneous. The respective statement in the declaration reads as follows: "1) It has been exposed to a series of internal upheavals and crises and its weaknesses have been revealed; 2) it has taken advantage of the launching of the Sputniks; and 3) it is concentrating its efforts on Asia in its relentless programme for world conquest."

Supposing that a "bloc of Communist nations" does exist, it must be taken for granted that all the peoples that are enslaved by Communism and by Red Russian imperialism must be partisans of Communism; hence, they are not enslaved and are supporting Communism. I do not think it is necessary to prove that these peoples are neither supporting Communism nor Russian imperialism and, therefore, are in no way responsible for the policy of the "Communist bloc". This bloc has been formed not by the peoples, but by the Communist governments. Would it not be more appropriate to use the term: a bloc that is controlled by Moscow? It is these Communist regimes which have undergone many internal upheavals, — not the enslaved nations. And it is these Communist governments and, above all, the Russian Communist government in Moscow that have taken advantage of the launching of the Sputniks, — not the subjugated peoples. It is not the enslaved peoples within the so-called Soviet Union and in the satellite states, but Communist Russia that has made use of the Communist governments in the various countries and has concentrated its efforts on world conquest.

Another error, in my opinion, is the vague assertion made on several occasions during the APACL Conference with regard to "Communist aggression". Can one talk about "Communist aggression", "democratic aggression", "liberal aggression" or "socialist aggression"? Whereas Moscow makes use of a precise terminology in its propaganda campaign against the free world, the free organizations and governments apparently cannot pluck up courage to use an equally precise terminology. Why should we camouflage Russian imperialism or any other form of imperialism by designating it as "Communist aggression"?

The third error is the statement that there is only an international Communism. We do not wish to deny the existence of an international Communism; but it is quite obvious, on the other hand, that Communism itself and the Communist governments have become an instrument of Red Russian imperialism. Anyone who denies the existence of Red Russian imperialism is falsely interpreting the present world situation. We must bear in mind the fact, for instance, that Communism in Hungary, after the Hungarian revolution in 1956, was restored by Moscow and not by the Hungarian, American or French Communists.

In my opinion, the vague and confused terminology that was used in the resolutions and the declaration of the APACL Conference does not arise from a failure to comprehend the question at issue, but merely from the fear of offending Russia by accusing her of imperialism. This fear on the part of the free anti-Communist organizations and institutions results in various contradictions in their struggle against Russian Communist aggression.

I noticed one of such contradictions during the APACL Conference. The second resolution adopted on this occasion reads as follows: ". . . APACL

recognizes that at the present moment Communist imperialism is the only arch-enemy of the peoples of Asia . . ." But how is this statement compatible with the third resolution (point 5), which reads as follows: "We realize that the Communist organizations in any country are Moscow's loyal slaves and instruments and are all engaged in the betrayal of their own country . . ."

If all the Communist organizations (and I take it that the Communist governments are also Communist organizations) are slaves of Moscow, then surely it is illogical to affirm that the arch-enemy of mankind is only a vague "Communist imperialism" and not Communism and Russian imperialism. If the Communists are the servants of Moscow, then the arch-enemy is not the Communists but Moscow, as the centre of world Communism and of the Communist bloc. With the destruction of this centre, the Communist puppet governments will cease to be a danger to the free world and they will, in fact, disappear for good once their head — Red Moscow — has been annihilated. The example of Hungary shows that, had it not been for Moscow's military intervention, Communism in Hungary would not have survived the Hungarian revolution. And this holds good for all other countries both within and outside the Soviet Union.

For this reason it is necessary to study this centre in order to be able to undermine it and finally defeat it. This study, however, cannot be confined to the assertion that Moscow is merely the centre of international Communism. This is only partly true and only a fraction of the real situation. In Moscow, the centre of Communism, American or French Communists, for instance, have no dictatorial power together with the Russian Communist rulers. According to a survey made by the French journalist, H. Duvel, 95 per cent of the members of the central apparatus of the Com-

munist Party of the Soviet Union — which apparatus is, in fact, the ruling power of the Soviet Union and of international Communism — are Russians; in other words, only 5 per cent of the members of the central apparatus of the Soviet Union are non-Russians. We should, however, like to stress that these 5 per cent non-Russians are at the same time Russian chauvinists and imperialists like the Russians. Such is the true political aspect of Moscow, the centre of international Communism.

Nor must we overlook the fact that it is Moscow that has re-introduced all the Tsarist imperialistic traditions, including the insignia of the former Tsarist army, which are now used in the Red Army. Moreover, in the Soviet Union all national sentiments and all forms of nationalism, with the exception of *Russian nationalism*, are strictly prohibited and ruthlessly persecuted. The Russification and colonization of the non-Russian countries of the Soviet Union and of the satellite countries are being carried out as vigorously as was the case under the Tsars.

If the free anti-Communist organizations and the free governments refuse to realize this fact, they are purposely shutting their eyes to it and to the true situation in general. And if that is so, then there can be little hope of the struggle for truth, peace and justice and for the freedom of the peoples proceeding successfully.

I should also like to take the liberty of pointing out that the term "Soviet imperialism", which was used in the resolutions adopted by the APACL Conference, is incorrect. The term "Soviet Union" is used to designate an empire in which many peoples and nations, who have nothing in common with the imperialism of Moscow, are enslaved. All the subjugated non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union have been subjected to Russian colonization and were the first victims of Russian Communist

(Continued on page 6)



AF ABN Demonstration against Mikoyan in New York

Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky:

The National Question In Communist Theory And Practice

(Conclusion)

Titoism versus Stalinism

Stalin, by his personal dictatorship which lasted for twenty-five years, has become the personification of Communist autocracy and centralism, and also — even though he himself was not a Russian — the personification of Russian aims. Since not only the feelings of the enslaved peoples, but also their vital interests were affected by the subjugation system of Stalinism, it was natural that their opposition against it increased. And since the incorporation of Southeast and Central Europe in the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union, this opposition has naturally extended to these territories, too.

Titoism is a natural reaction of national consciousness to the measures of Russian colonialism. It is an expression of the wish of the Communists of other countries to be regarded as equal partners of the Russian Communists. The question at issue is the ambition of the non-Russian Communist leaders to be equal partners of the Soviet rulers. The fundamental principles of Titoism are based on the natural striving of the peoples for independence. All the talk about following one's own course in building up socialism is merely an expression of the wish to be free from colonial exploitation by Moscow. The so-called national Communists would like to defend themselves against Moscow's pressure by preserving the Communist dictatorship. The Communist theoretical arguments which were later sought and propounded aimed to give this fact an ideological basis. Just as Stalin became the representative of Russian domination over the other peoples, so, too, has Tito become the interpreter of the desire of the satellites of Moscow for their greater independence. The Kremlin, on the other hand, by stressing the necessity of preserving the unity of the proletariat, would in keeping with proletarian internationalism, like to put an end to the claims of the peoples to the same rights as those enjoyed by the Russians, and to their independence aims.

There can, of course, be no doubt about the fact that Tito is a convinced Communist. He, too, is most anxious that the dictatorship of the proletariat should be extended, but he regards the application of Russian expansion and imperialistic methods as the obstacle in the expansion of Communism and the introduction of the dictatorship of the proletariat in additional countries. Only when the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer identical with Muscovite imperialism, can one hope for further successes in the respect. The relaxation of Moscow's domination in the Communist countries of Central Europe is, in Tito's opinion, the precondition for the peaceful introduction of the dictatorship of the proletariat in additional countries, without Moscow's method of resorting to force. It is thus obvious that Tito does not regard so-called national Communism as a retreat on the part of Communism, but rather as the precondition for its advance. And for this reason, the hopes cherished by the east in this respect were unfounded.

The concessions obtained by the Polish Communists were due to the fact that Moscow yielded in this case, since the Kremlin despots had a guarantee, in the determination of the Polish Communist leaders to preserve the Oder-Neisse Line and in the occupation of part of Germany, that Warsaw can never take the course pursued by Tito.

Although the Communist Party of the Soviet Union condemns Stalin's methods, the Kremlin has no intention of annulling the results of this policy in the Danube territories. According to the Leninist theory, that would be most illogical. On the contrary, — by means of the coexistence offensive, introduced along with the condemnation of Stalin, Khrushchev would like to trick the West into approving of the situation created by Stalin in Central Europe. The Kremlin would like to ensure that the present status quo should be regarded as the starting-point for a peaceful coexistence.

These aims on the part of Moscow have found the desired partner in the West. George F. Kennan affirms that in time the Communist regime, in view of public opinion, will be liberalized, and that the enslaved peoples will gradually gain a greater independence. This idea, which is accepted as authoritative not only by the Americans, but also by the other Western powers, is fundamentally wrong. It is a question of a course in foreign policy which has contributed, to a decisive extent, to turning Moscow into a factor which threatens the freedom and the peace of the whole world. To accept this idea is to adopt an attitude which will guarantee Moscow this possibility in the future, too. As seen from the point of view of the Kremlin despots, such an attitude is the most ideal one that their opponents could have, for it implies the idea of capitulation before the Kremlin rulers. And I think I am not exaggerating in affirming that those who advocate and support this point of view have failed to comprehend the dynamic character and the religious fanaticisms of Communism, as well as the joint game of the Communists and the Russian imperialists for the purpose of ruling the whole world completely. These partners have no intention whatever of granting the decadent bourgeoisie any concessions; or else — and this is very likely — they will resort to arguments in which they themselves do not believe.

This policy, which by deluding the enslaved peoples with promises of freedom and independence, has delivered them up to the worst kind of tyranny and has, in fact, helped to enslave them, is doing its utmost to keep them in a permanent state of slavery. It is a case of confirming the treachery committed in Yalta against the peoples of Central and Southeast Europe.

All these diplomats and politicians were extremely consternated at the fact that the spontaneous Hungarian revolution provided obvious proof that the population behind the Iron Curtain, with but few exceptions, not only oppose Russian imperialism, but also every form of Communist regime.

Nikita Khrushchev himself gave all the supporters of this policy a drastic answer when he told the representatives of the "New York Times" in Moscow, on May 10, that if the release of the East European countries and the reunification of Germany were put to the Soviets as conditions, then "it might be 200 years" before they would be prepared to negotiate on these questions.

It is extremely regrettable that the West at present refuses, on the aforesaid grounds, to support the fight for freedom of the peoples enslaved by Russia and obstinately clings to the Yalta policy. The main reason for this attitude is that the West wishes to have a factor of equilibrium in the Soviet imperium against Germany, which is rising to importance again. The West continues to pursue

this catastrophic policy despite the fact that the Federal Republic of Germany has given adequate proof and every possible guarantee that it has no intention of pursuing imperialistic aims, but, on the contrary, wishes to belong to the united Europe as an active and peaceful member. And, incidentally, the West has in this respect overlooked one extremely important point: namely the far-reaching political changes and technical progress which have taken place in the world during the past twenty years. In view of the comparatively small territory of Germany, on the one hand, and her economic dependence in the raw material bases of the world, on the other hand, it is not likely — even if one takes into account the reputed industriousness, the amazing achievements and the outstanding organizing ability of the Germans — that the Federal Republic of Germany or the Germany of the future will be a menace to the freedom and security of the world.

Accordingly, one must politically and morally condemn the policy which sacrifices the freedom of many peoples to Russian imperialism and supports the preservation of this imperialism by means of diplomatic intrigues. Why should millions of people be forced to endure a life of misery and privations because of a policy which is dictated by hatred or unfounded fears?

This brings me to the end of my remarks and, in conclusion, I should like to summarize the following points:

It is true that the Kremlin has succeeded in abusing the national idea for the furtherance of its own aims, but the Communists have not been able to destroy national feelings or to solve the national question. The spontaneous revolution in Hungary is obvious proof of this fact. It is perfectly evident that national feelings have been abused not merely in the interests of the expansion of the dictatorship of Communism, but also to the advantage of Russian imperialism as well as the imperialism of other peoples, as for instance the Czechs, Chinese, Poles, Serbs, etc.

The fact should be constantly borne in mind that Moscow has even surpassed the qualities of Janus, for it has not two, but many faces. In the free world it poses as the champion of the right of self-determination of the peoples and of their independence; at home, however, it enslaves numerous nations with ruthless brutality. In the free world it behaves as if it were the protector of poor, suffering humanity; behind the Iron Curtain, however, it respects neither the rights nor the freedoms of its population.

From the psychological point of view, I can understand why the peoples living in the free world have no idea of the hardships which the peoples behind the Iron Curtain are forced to endure. They understand the fight for freedom of these enslaved peoples as little as a person who is well-fed can understand the feelings of someone who is starving. But all the same, we hope that the time will come when, after all the disappointments that we have suffered, we shall find sympathy and understanding for the fight for freedom of our peoples, — at least as much sympathy and understanding as the 600 million people in Asia and Africa have found in their fight for freedom and independence. And we sincerely hope that this will really be the case, for all the free peoples will be threatened by the despots of Moscow as long as the Soviet imperium continues to exist.

The Political Philosophy of the President of Nationalist Vietnam

The political activity of the President of Nationalist (South) Vietnam, *Ngo Dinh-Diem*, who in the course of a few years (since 1954) has brought his country order and progress, after it had been swept by guerilla warfare for ten years and had been reduced to a state of lawlessness and confusion internally, has naturally been the subject of numerous articles in the Western press; but practically no mention whatever has been made by the said press of his ideology. And yet there can be no doubt that the fact that nationalist Free Vietnam — like Free China (Formosa), South Korea and the Philippines — is today one of the most progressive and ably ruled of the former colonial territories in the whole of Asia (with the exception of certain Mediterranean states), is to a very considerable extent due to the triumph of the ideas and principles of President Ngo Dinh-Diem, for his government has from the outset and without any significant deviation adhered to his own definite philosophical and political doctrine.

This omission on the part of the Western press has to some extent been made good by the publication in Vietnam of a brochure in English entitled "President Ngo Dinh-Diem's Political Philosophy" (Special Edition published by the Review Horizons, Saigon). Although the account given by the author — who, for some reason incomprehensible to the European reader, has omitted his name from the title-page, but then adds his signature *Phuc Thien* at the end of the text — is not entirely free of errors and tendentiousness (we shall refer to this later), he has for the most part quoted Ngo Dinh-Diem's own words, his speeches, messages and interviews, and we in turn shall also cite him in this connection.

The unreserved postulate of the ethical principle, in particular with regard to political practice, is, above all, characteristic of Diem's philosophical outlook on life and the world in general. He himself has clearly formulated his standpoint in this respect in a political interview: "Our

approach is an ethical one. Communism is evil, so we reject it." And he adds: "If an ideology is false, we do not put it on the same level as others. Hence we do not accept neutralism as a doctrine." This point of view is also decisive for his attitude towards Nasser's Pan-Arabism and similar Sovietophil movements, which describe themselves as nationalist: "President Ngo Dinh-Diem equally rejects extreme nationalism because it is negative* and is prone to become the instrument of Communism."

The highest ethical principle — as applied to human, not illusory conditions — is formulated by Ngo Dinh-Diem as follows: "We affirm our faith in the absolute value of the human person, whose destiny is grander than time." From this fundamental principle there naturally follow certain concrete political tasks which are in keeping with the historical conditions of our day. In Ngo Dinh-Diem's opinion, there are today three big world problems: 1) Communist expansion, 2) the nationalist awakening of the Afro-Asian countries, 3) the consciousness of the Afro-Asian masses of their poverty. "These three different problems are but three different aspects of a fundamental problem: the furtherance of human progress in freedom."

It is fairly obvious that this formulation, as regards its last two points, is to an excessive degree adjusted to specifically East Asian interests, namely with a clear tendency to regard not only Europe, but also the Americas as something comparatively stable and not as a decisive factor for the further development of the historical world process. The erroneousness of this viewpoint is perfectly evident, as is also its source, — the extreme passivity and, in some respects, futility of American, British and French foreign policy during the first decade after the war, as a result of which policy Vietnam in particular (and the whole of Indo-China) suffered a serious blow, inasmuch as the disastrous first Geneva Conference (1954) brought about the partition of Vietnam and the surrender of the northern half of the country to the Communist Vietnam, the satellite of Red China. Diem's conception — namely, that a decision could not come from the American and European West — is thus understandable from the psychological point of view, but it is, nevertheless, erroneous.

And what is even more doubtful is the first point of the above-mentioned formulation, "Communist expansion". The expansion cannot be regarded as a thing apart from the existence of Communism, nor can it be detached from the latter in the abstract sense, for it is not an expansion of the alleged "international" Communism, but of Bolshevik Russia (or rather, of its semi-satellite, Red China); Diem thus makes the same mistake as the Americans do, who want to combat "Communist expansion", without, however, combatting the power that actually is responsible for and carries on this expansion and, incidentally, cannot refrain from carrying it on. This is precisely the same attitude that was adopted by the medical profession prior to the 19th century, when it sought to combat symptoms rather than the illness itself.

There is, however, reason to hope that Diem's conception of "Communist expansion", on the one hand, and of the task of the American and European West in the fight against this expansion, on the other, has undergone a certain change in the course of the past two years, since the publication of the above-mentioned brochure, — namely, in connection with the practical activity of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) and the mutual relations which exist between this organization and the ABN.

It goes without saying that Ngo Dinh-Diem in his home policy does not support absolute individualism, since the tasks which he sets the state are so far-reaching that only a state with a very strong government and with an all-embracing social control can solve them. This applies above all to the economic sector: "In addition to the negative liberties of a political nature, it is recognized that the human person has positive freedoms, a number of freedoms of an economic and social

nature." In view of the present standard of Vietnam's economic development, "economic freedom", that is to say, the safeguarding of labour and the subsistence level, can only be achieved by a very drastic planned economy. Ngo Dinh-Diem sets the state an even greater task in the intellectual sphere. A large-scale campaign is to eradicate the results of the corruption which flourished under French colonial rule and is to include every sphere of intellectual and social life, in order that the ethical re-education of the entire nation may be realized within several years' time: "The main concern of President Ngo Dinh-Diem therefore is to destroy the sources of demoralization, however powerful, before getting down to the problem of endowing Vietnam with a democratic apparatus in the Western sense of the word."

We have already referred to the fact that the author of the above-mentioned brochure shows a certain tendentiousness which is hardly in keeping with the President's own views. Whereas Ngo Dinh-Diem, for instance, quite definitely stresses that "independence does not mean xenophobia", the author of the brochure feels compelled to mention that Diem comes of an old Catholic family of mandarins and that his elder brother, Mgr. Ngo Dinh-Thuc, is a Catholic bishop; but nowhere else in the brochure do we find any other reference to Catholicism (or to Christianity, at all) in Vietnam. The author does, however, stress that "like Japan, Korea, and China, Vietnam is an Asiatic country, strongly marked by Confucian philosophy." This may be correct, but whether precisely Japan is "strongly marked" by Confucianism, seems somewhat doubtful to us; it is, however, correct that there is a very strong Catholic minority in Vietnam, namely in the rural districts. It is, of course, easy to affirm nowadays, as the author does, that "all the humbug about the civilizing role of colonialism has now been torn to shreds", — but without French colonial rule there would probably not have been a very numerous Catholic community in Vietnam, in fact, perhaps none at all; and the political significance of the Catholic community can be seen from the following figures: of the 900,000 refugees who, in the course of a single year, 1954-1955, fled from North Vietnam because they dreaded and hated the Communist regime there and settled in South Vietnam, 75 per cent were farmers and 85 per cent were Catholics.

The extremely powerful and beneficial influence of the Catholic Church in Vietnam is thus, undoubtedly, one of the best factors which have remained of French colonial rule; and the personality and philosophy of President Ngo Dinh-Diem can hardly be rightly understood and assessed if one does not take this important factor into consideration. V. D.

10.5 Million Ukrainians live Outside Ukraine

More than ten and a half million Ukrainians — or close to 25 per cent of the total Ukrainian population — live outside the borders of Ukraine.

Of this number, some 7,800,000 are settled in Asia and 1,700,000 in America and Australia. In Eastern Europe there are roughly 1,300,000 and in Central and Western Europe about 500,000.

The statistics were released by Dr. Volodymyr Kubyovych, general secretary of the Shevchenko Scientific Society.

Dr. Kubyovych pointed out that his figures — based on a personal study — were approximate, since most countries do not record specific data concerning the country of origin or native language of their citizens, either native-born or naturalized.

The Ukrainian scholar in his lecture urged the establishment of an institute for scientific study of the world's Ukrainian population.

The largest aggregation of Ukrainians outside the USSR — one and a half million persons — is found in the United States, Dr. Kubyovych said.

Canada follows with 450,000, then Argentina and Brazil with 120,000 each.

Ukrainian emigration in other countries was broken down as follows: France — 50,000, England — 25,000, Australia and New Zealand — 25,000, Paraguay — 7,000, Uruguay — 5,000, Belgium — 3,000, Venezuela — 2,000, and other countries — 3,000.

Dr. Kubyovych estimates there are some 200,000 Ukrainians in Poland, 200,000 in Czechoslovakia, 20,000 in Germany and 5,000 in Austria.

Vague and Confused Terminology

(Continued from page 4)

imperialism (see: Report of Select Committee on Communist Aggression, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, 1954). All these peoples are struggling against Communism and Russian imperialism for the national independence of their countries. How, therefore, can one possibly assert that the peoples who are enslaved not only in the political but also in the social sphere of their life are the bearers of Russian imperialism! And why are we afraid of using the term "Russian Communist imperialism"? It is time all those who are interested in the problems concerning the Soviet Union realized this truth.

The French political commentator, Raymond Aron, recently explained why Red Russia achieved such great successes after World War II. He stressed the fact that the free world was not well enough acquainted with the Soviet Union, and added that the Soviet Union and Stalinism seemed to be a distant reality to the free world and were, therefore, not very interesting. That was one of the reasons why Roosevelt believed in the friendship of the Big Three. Neither Roosevelt nor Churchill could foresee that all the countries that were "liberated" by Red Moscow would become Communist.

Does the free world nowadays know more about the Soviet Union than it did in former times? I think not, — because a few months ago, the "United Press" agency tried to convince us that 130 million Russians had voted in the Soviet Union. How can there be 130 million Russians in the Soviet Union? This mystery can be explained by the fact that the "United Press" regards all the other peoples of the Soviet Union as Russians, — the Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Ukrainians, Georgians, Turkestanians, Byelorussians, and many others. And this means, in other words, that the Soviet Union continues to be a "distant reality of little interest" to many people in the free world.

Such organizations as the APACL should make it their duty to inform the free world about the real and concrete situation in the Communist countries of the Soviet Union. V. Kosyk

* That is, precisely in the ethical sense — V. D.

T. Godlewsky

Former Senator of the Polish Republic and Vice-Chairman of the National Polish Council Abroad

The Evolution of the Modern Soviet State

Conjectures about the Soviets continue to occupy the columns of the world's press, and are the subject of numerous scientific works, as well as political, parliamentary and social debates on a grand scale. All sorts of opinions are given, according to the writer's ideological attitude, from left to extreme right. One would think that this subject, in the course of nearly 40 years, would have been totally exhausted, especially when thousands of ex-combatants from various armies, writers and scientists were able, during and after the last war, to leave the "Soviet Paradise" and acquaint the world with the true facts.

The latest Soviet "thaw policy" and wooing of the West through religious, scientific, cultural, trade and sports delegations, as well as the recent Soviet economic infiltration which followed the deaths of Stalin and Beria, aim at disarming the West morally and militarily, and indicate that Moscow has decided to act, not through fear and terror as hitherto, but through more subtle methods adapted each time to the conditions and situations existing in the world.

The indisputably great results which Russia has achieved in building the present Soviet empire are being constantly re-presented to the world and help to blind people to the real aims of Russia, and to make them forget all her so recent and so terrible past. The colossal power which Russia now wields in the world is so fascinating to many that they are willing to forget, nay, to excuse everything. They seem unable to see through this clever Russian propaganda, and let themselves be influenced by it, and in so doing they let themselves be harnessed to it.

It is not only the communists or socialists who now write and talk about the benefits of the "thaw" and the alleged new reforms for the nations of the Soviet bloc. The great possibilities in the fields of progress, peace, co-existence and collaboration with the Kremlin are all too constantly being pointed out by politicians from the opposite camp,— by such people as Professor Kennan, Sir Stephen King-Hall, Dean Collins, Mr. Bevan, the "Red Dean", Bertrand Russell, and a great many other intellectuals. Their logic in so doing is based upon a historical fact, namely that every revolution in the past had its own limited orbit in time and space, and upon reaching its peak would diminish in power and intensity and fall back on methods less drastic and less bloody, as it was with the French Revolution, which, until the Soviet experiment, had been considered the bloodiest in the world.

Such reasoning as applied to Russia has one fault: it overlooks or ignores Russia's quite specific historical background. Ugro-Finnic tribes lived on the rivers Volga, Moskva, Kama and Oka, and were subjugated, between the 7th and 11th centuries, by some Slavonic tribes. This region was later to become the Duchy of Moscow — the cradle of Russia. Her geographical position, her climate, her close proximity to the East, her vast forests and snow-covered spaces have all done their share in shaping an entirely different type of man with a different mode of thinking.

In Russia the land had always belonged to *boyars*, to the Church, to dukes and tsars, to the State. The peasant has always been a slave to one or the other, whether in times of Ivan Kalita, 1325-1341, Ivan the Terrible, 1533-1584, Peter I, 1689-1725, or Catherine I, 1762-1796, — up to the land reform of Tsar Alexander II, 1861. The peasant has always been a beast of burden, a serf only to be exploited by his masters. The many peasants' revolts which from time to time took place, such as the revolt of Stenka Razin 1670-71, or Pugachov 1773-74, did not change the peasant's lot. During the Tartar supremacy, which lasted from 1238-1480, Russia was "mongolised", but the taxes were collected by the dukes for and in the name of the conquerors, and they all helped willingly in punishing those peasants who tried to resist. One must admit that the Tartar system was almost an ideal system, where the conqueror could and did reach furthest limits of the country with the help of the Russians themselves. After freeing themselves (1480) from the Tartar yoke, the same

system was used for centuries, as one most convenient to the "Kazna" (treasury), where the landowner was to all intents and purposes also a government official.

But the landowners were not at pains to treat the peasants as individuals. On the contrary, throughout the centuries it was the "Mir" (the rural aldermen) who were responsible for a village or a hamlet and their way of life (collective responsibility). The land was divided every few years according to the death-rate and increase in individual families. It was cut up into ever smaller pieces. Nobody cared about improvements, since the land would soon pass into other hands and so any effort to improve it would be wasted. Throughout Russia, with but few exceptions, the most primitive land system of crop rotation, with fallowing every 3 years, was used and in many regions it prevails to this day. The peasant who never owned anything but was exploited by everybody had to seek salvation elsewhere by escaping to Ukraine or Cossack lands, where life was incomparably easier and personal freedom greater.

The peasant working on his master's land, in spite of the constant reminder of the whip on his back, did not try to work more or better than he absolutely had to and his motto was: "Kol ne

Prof. Durcansky in the USA

The President of the Peoples' Council of the ABN, Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky, former Foreign Minister of the Slovak Republic, left Munich by plane on February 3rd for New York. He is planning to stay in the USA for some time, in order to engage in political activity in connection with the ABN and propagate the principles of this organization. Prof. Durcansky intends, above all, to inform the US public about the present situation in Slovakia and to endeavour to arouse the sympathy and understanding of leading US political circles for the ceaseless fight for freedom of the Slovak nation.

doyem, to uzhe dosplu", which means roughly: "I may not have enough to eat, but neither do I work too much, because I can sleep a lot".

In 1861 Tsar Alexander II introduced a reform which expropriated the big landowners (partly), whose lands were then mortgaged and sold to the peasants, but not individually. The land was sold to the village community under collective responsibility, on fifty years' mortgage.

The place of the former landowners, who were often people with some education and experience and who looked after their lands and, in a way, after the peasants and their profits, was now taken by the peasants, not individually, but as a collective, and the control was in the hands of illiterate aldermen who used it according to their own viewpoint, and were practically not bound by any laws.

If a peasant wanted to become an artisan or a worker in a town, he could only do so by escaping from the clutches of the "Mir", or else by bribing, or paying a yearly "Obrok", i. e. a certain sum to the said "Mir", and so get a permit to do so. There was no way for more able individuals to get ahead, since their neighbours' envy would find ways and means to drag them down again to their own level.

In his excellent book "Zemlya, Obshchina i Trud" (Land, Community and Labour), St. Petersburg, 1902, A. Nikolsky says authoritatively: *Common ownership will become terribly dangerous when the Mir — Community — gets to know its own power and starts making use of it in all directions*. The author wonders at the enthusiasm of the Capital (Petersburg) and Senate "for rural collective, as that may bring dreadful consequences in the future." He then points out that "in this abnormal, corrupted, passive community which atrophies the will, energy, abilities and initiative, there forms a soul-destroying serfdom." According to Nikolsky, the rural collective is especially cruel in the treatment of its poorer and weaker members, of the widows, the orphans and the aged. Old people in Russia have a very hard life and do not enjoy any rights or respect among their fellow villagers.

In the period between the agrarian reform of

1861 and the 1917 Revolution, barely a little over 8 per cent of the smallholders out of a total of over 15 million peasant families in the central districts of Russia were able to become independent on their own individual smallholdings. The minor revolution of 1905, the food riots in the Volga region and finally the work of Minister Stolypin, directed at organising and modernising the rural councils, the transference of responsibility from the group to the individual owner as being the true supplier and owner, hastened action by the authorities and promised an improvement in the agricultural structure.

But whereas Poland, the Baltic regions, Ukraine, the Caucasus, Turkestan and even Siberia were organised on the basis of individual ownership, the Central Russian countryside groaned under the burden imposed by landlords, wealthy peasant innkeepers and moneylenders, who were even then known as the "Kulaks" — fists — and the lawlessness of the "Mir". The peasant of Central Russia literally possessed only his own axe with which to cut somebody else's "stolen" timber. The deforestation of Russia was a disaster bringing gales or droughts, particularly in the south-eastern regions, reducing the productivity and fertility of the soil. Now the Russians are forced, and at great expense, to carry out the reforestation.

After the reforms of 1861 the peasant deserters from the countryside were not too energetically hunted down, so that even without permit they began to move into the towns "en masse", to take up employment in industry, on the railways and in the docks or trades. These people were extremely hardworking and gifted, and they were thus lost to their villages.

The hard core of the reactionary landowners and the radical left, — each from different motives, energetically opposed the work and reforms of Minister Stolypin, for which he paid with his life, being assassinated by an agent of the Tsar's Secret Police, a certain Bogrov, at the Opera in Kyiv in 1912.

At the outbreak of the first world war, the Russian countryside was disorganised, backward and poor, but already in the process of developing into smallholdings with some facilities for obtaining restricted credit in the Agricultural Bank, with individual mortgage rights and reformed Rural Councils.

The severe climate, the colossal expanse of steppes, the lack of hills and forests and the long winter in sordid conditions of life in groups, favoured the shaping of despotic characters, hard, ruthless, often cruel, given to drunkenness, hooliganism, corruption, respecting force and only force, and loving idleness and violence. But in spite of the fact that many Russians were extremely coarse characters, they nevertheless had great capabilities.

The disgraceful mismanagement under the Tsars, the inability to fully utilise the natural resources of this huge land and its human potential, corruption at the top and complete military unpreparedness, resulted in a series of defeats at the front during the first World War, and, finally, the Revolution of 1917. The Revolution broke out against a backcloth of heavy slaughter at the front and starvation in the Capital and larger towns of Russia. The German Staff in 1917 cleverly made use of Russian refugees — political refugees — with Lenin and Trotsky at their head, by transferring them to Russia in order to help the Revolution to spread, and to bring about the end of the war on the Eastern front.

Lenin and Trotsky were able to take advantage of the universal dissatisfaction, tiredness and hunger, and of Russia's heavy losses in manpower. Very quickly the Eastern front ceased to exist and the Army, even before the signing of the armistice in 1918, as a result of the propaganda by Lenin and Trotsky, deserted "en masse" and left for their villages and home towns. The Germans were triumphant. I myself was a witness when, during one of the meetings which were regularly held by Lenin and Trotsky in front of the Krzesinska Palace in St. Petersburg, Trotsky declaimed from the balcony that the standards of the Russian Revolution would be set up all over the world, whilst Lenin promised to destroy the whole order and structure of the capitalist world. Their ideas were fascinating and the crowds increased with every hour and grew with every day, as they delivered their speeches without any objections from the terrified authorities and police, alternately during several weeks throughout the day and far into the night. I was so impressed by their enthusiasm for world

destruction that after the meeting, whilst being shaved at the hairdresser's I described to him with indignation their aims and slogans. It turned out that the young barber was already a supporter of these firebrands, and such was his anger that there was so great a difference of opinion between us that, in fear of having my throat cut, I left hurriedly with only half my face shaved.

Professor Jan Kochanowski in his treatise "Poland in the Light of her own and Foreign Psychology", Czestochowa, 1925, — writes that "national psychology is the true source of actions, particularly collective ones, which contribute to the shaping of historical facts." Hence this psychology, this almost nomadic form of life of the Muscovite, his backwardness, his primitiveness, the communal way of life of the Russian countryside, the lack of individual rights, collective form of ownership among 90 per cent of the rural population, were exploited by Lenin and Trotsky.

In spite of tsarist reforms, the land was mostly the common property of the rural community and continued to be divided up every few years in accordance with the death rate and the birth rate into strips and patches. *This ancient native collective — "Communism", particularly in Central Russia, became the basis for the work of the Bolsheviks. Into fertile soil of practical collectivisation of the Russian countryside Lenin transplanted the already antiquated theory of Marx and Engels, broadening it by force to cover the whole of Russia and all the towns, economic spheres, not only of the villages. The early slogan "Land and Freedom", which had as its aim the break-up of the military front and the withdrawal of the peasants to the land, was replaced by another slogan "everything belongs to the people", which means the factories, the railways, the towns — in fact everything. The front was already in ruins and Lenin could begin to destroy capitalism as he had been prophesying in his speeches from the beginning.*

Collectivisation even in the tsars' time had always blossomed in the vast expanses of Russia and in a practical way amongst the peasant masses, who did not know any other ways of life, but Lenin gave it the Marx and Engels hallmark, extended it to the towns which represented only about 15 per cent of the population, and this appeared very attractive to the peasants at the time, because they did not realise that they were jumping out of the frying pan (the tsarist regime) into the fire (the Bolshevik regime). Their new leaders were nothing more than vampires, draining the resources of the workers and the land.

Modern Communism is a super-caricature of old capitalism, enforced by the N.K.V.D., party members and Soviet bureaucracy. They are the shareholders in a scheme where the workers labour for their oppressors only and obtain nothing for themselves.

Professor Kochanowski says that the substance of Russia, i. e. the psychological quality of its people is completely different from our Western psychology. Russian psychology is that of a herd in contrast to the European psychology.

Peter I (1689-1725) wanted to steer Russia in her ideology and actions towards the West and with this in mind, he built St. Petersburg. In fact he started the Russian "Urge to the West", claiming the territories belonging to the Western neighbours of his state.

The meaning of "everything belongs to the people" (Lenin's slogan) could be seen during reciprocal visits between workers of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. When the Americans were hosts to Soviet workers in Detroit, one of the Russians asked "whose are those thousands of cars outside the factory?" The reply was "they belong to workers employed here". They asked again "and to whom does the factory belong?" — "The factory belongs to Ford" was the reply. When later the American delegation of workers visited Soviet factories and saw several cars outside one of them, one of the Americans asked "whose are those few cars?" — "They belong to the directors of the factory". — "And to whom does the factory belong?" — "The factory belongs to us, the workers" — came the answer . . .

A famous Finnish physician, Dr. Runibergen, writes how during the initial stages of the Revolution (1918) a seriously wounded Soviet sailor lying in a Helsinki hospital quite calmly said "It is painful that one has to kill, and endanger one's own life, but nonetheless all officers must die, in spite of the fact that perhaps half of them are

brave and good men, in fact, several of them are the best of men." — "Then why do you kill them?" asked the doctor. "If we don't, then we shall not be equal. Even if they are the best of people, they will, however, always remain different from us. This cannot be counterbalanced in any other way but by death".

The whole threat of Bolshevism lies in the extremely close connection of the thesis and antithesis of the civilised world.

Therefore not only the economic interests of the world, but also the future of its culture demand that the Soviet Union should be divided up into its component ethnical parts — several national republics, and that they should get assistance so that the wastes between Europe and Asia could be ploughed up to enable the culture of the civilised world to take root there.

Bolshevism in ethnical Russia came as a *normal evolution and not as a psychopathological phenomenon* and herein lies the danger to the world. Today we know that the barbaric methods of the Soviets caused the depopulation of the U.S.S.R. as a whole.

The free Russian publication "The Sentinel" (1956) states that as a result of persecutions, collectivisation, deportations and famine in many regions and especially in Ukraine, the birth-rate in the U.S.S.R. fell from about 2,00,000 to barely 300,000 in the thirties, which now becomes apparent during the call-up for the armed forces and recruitment of workers into industry. Although the Army in Soviet Russia is used for carrying out physical labour unconnected with military needs, Khrushchev was forced to "release" as many as 60 divisions on condition that the soldiers would go as "volunteers" to work on the virgin lands of Kazakhstan . . . For the maintenance of her large numbers of troops Russia relies on the annual call-up of men. The factories, however, also need large numbers of men for Russia's ever increasing economic and mainly heavy industry programme. The population of the country has been decimated by some 50-60 millions through famines and purges. But the N.K.V.D., which is the political and economic police force, must supply the labour camps with a sufficient quantity of slave labour, obtained through mass arrests on trivial charges. The Soviet N.K.V.D. need a force of 15-20 million for their industry which is manned by unpaid slave labourers. Upon this system of exploitation Russia bases her economy and ensures that she remains stable with regard to both the internal and external Communist regime.

After the death of Stalin, instead of one scapegoat, — two were found, — Stalin and Beria, whom the Kremlin boys liquidated in order to divert attention and to gain time, Khrushchev and Bulganin have not yielded nor forsaken in the slightest degree the principles of Lenin: the nomads found good pasture and the community has started its work anew, but did not change its legal forms.

Khrushchev reaches out for new conquests and wants to master the Middle East and to seize the oil fields. This would be a death sentence for the West. Americans were deluded by Moscow that it wants co-existence and cooperation.

The tragic riots in Poznan are the best proof of what the "thaw" and democratisation of satellite governments really are. Khrushchev blamed everything on the Americans, got drunk and abused the French for their "imperialism", but the tanks went into action on the streets of Budapest, too, against starved, overworked but peaceful workers requesting freedom and bread. Nagy and Gen. Maletier have been murdered at Moscow's orders and this means a return to the old methods of Stalin and Beria.

The West must at least wake up and understand that waiting will not help as time is on the side of Soviet Russia. We must not put much confidence in Khrushchev, who, when he was High Commissar of Ukraine, caused a terrible artificial famine, during which millions of Ukrainians lost their lives or were deported to Siberian labour camps.

Sporadic abuse by anti-Communists will achieve nothing. They are well-meaning but of no importance. The people who know what Communism is, today have no say in the matter. But the important Western people, even without any knowledge of the language, spirit and history of Russia, amongst whom will be found professors, industrialists, financiers, so-called intellectuals and

clergy, travel to Russia in order to see what Russia wants them to see . . . The Soviets are masters of propaganda — and Stalin's "Iron Whip" forced all his subjects to work efficiently for Communism.

In spite of insurrections in Poland and Hungary, the West pretends to be blind and indifferent, but Moscow has gained a footing in the Middle East, is threatening to cut off oil supplies and is creeping deeper and deeper into Africa and stirring up the coloured people against the West.

The West does not take any advantages of its possibilities in Soviet Russia, yet how many possibilities there have been when Russians, even since the death of Stalin, have been shooting down American and British aircraft over Germany, when riots for liberation broke out in the Caucasus, in Siberian labour camps, in Ukraine, Turkestan, and, finally, in Germany (East), Poland and Hungary, during which the West found itself unable to be of assistance in averting atrocities.

We must not forget that Siberia, to which for years all opponents of the regime have been banished and to which whole racial groups have been deported, is today inhabited by millions of irreconcilable enemies of Communism and Bolshevism, even if we only take into account the concentration camps. The population of Siberia is made up of Ukrainians, Poles, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Roumanians and Hungarians, and these amount to many millions too. Nor must we overlook the hatred of the millions of the Moslem faith. And yet the Bolsheviks have transferred their strategic industry to Siberia and have carelessly harnessed their enemies in centres which are today most important to the Soviet regime. Collective farming and agriculture is a complete failure in the U.S.S.R. Khrushchev is reforming it very rigidly, but the harm done already can not be remedied in a brief period of time. Years and years would be needed together with a change of the utopian system. Hence the need for the Soviet Union's breathing space.

One must not forget history and it is necessary to know it well. In the Revolution of 1917, Poland and the Baltic states fought for their freedom and regained their independence. Ukraine, Caucasus and Turkestan also fought, but in vain. Even today, however these countries have not renounced their freedom, but merely await a chance to regain it. Why then should the West not support these aspirations and so destroy the colossus from inside?

The indoctrination of youth and technical education permits the Bolsheviks to make long-term plans and develop a large-scale military industry. This, together with the time factor, which Soviet propaganda has always put to such good use, has enabled them to lead the world in the field of interplanetary travel, as is illustrated by their unique success with their "Sputniks".

"Mir", Obchtchina, the Russian "collective community", has changed into "Soviets" or "Councils", and they, as Nikolsky prophesied, have already started making use of their power in all directions and spheres, which means that they now aim to dominate the whole world, and not only the Soviet Union.

When the Bolsheviks occupied Vilno and started looting the town and deporting the population, I happened to meet a Russian soldier of about 40 years of age, who, after a few minutes' conversation, answered a question I put to him concerning the present conditions in Russia. I was interested as I already knew the country well. "If you don't know," he said, "I will tell you.— The land belongs to the country. The forests belong to the state. The money belongs to the commissars. The factories belong to us, but the goods belong to the state. The cars belong to the bureaucracy. Your wife is everybody's wife. The children don't know who their father is. We have no freedom of speech, thought or religion, — nothing is our own. But try and guess what is the one thing we shall always possess, and of which no one will deprive us. — Poverty, misery and humiliation, — these are all we can call our own. As you did not come to us, we are coming to you. If the West will not come to us, then we must go to the West".

People brought up in the spirit of Communism-Leninism are not of this planet and will reason in exactly the same way as the sailor in the Helsinki hospital: that is, that one must destroy half the population of the world in order that "equality" may reign, and that all the people of this earth should be treated by the Bolsheviks like termites, deprived of their individuality and soul.

I. W. (U.S.A.)

Tacit Agreement Between Two Russian Imperialistic Camps

Much of importance still remains to be said about the Conference in Mexico City, where on March 20, 1958, representatives from 65 nations assembled in order to determine the fundamental political principles for an Anti-Communist World Congress. For the first time, the representatives of the Asian peoples and of the peoples of Western Europe and North and South America met the representatives of the peoples subjugated by Russia (of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, the ABN) for the purpose of co-ordinating the political platform of their fight against Communism. On this occasion regional and local ideological obstacles were overcome, — namely, certain preconceived opinions about the true character of the imminent Russian Bolshevik aggression, which supporters of the so-called "greater territory policy" try to cover up with the delusive vision of international Communism. Since the defensive fight of the non-Communist world has been mainly based on the said preconceived opinions, it has been forced to surrender various important positions during the past years; and this is hardly surprising, since a defensive fight in which the headquarters of the enemy — namely, Moscow itself, — are avoided and spared cannot lead to victory. And in view of the strategic preconditions of the "greater territory policy" pursued so far, an anti-Communist offensive was out of the question. Russia has attacked human freedom and has deprived countless peoples of the latter by armed force; the plan of defensive strategy adopted hitherto, however, only aimed to protect this freedom against so-called international Communism, which is nothing but a camouflaged form of Russian imperialism. And in this respect the fact is sufficiently well known that Russia's aggressive world policy by no means started with the Bolsheviks; the latter are merely realizing the old imperial idea of Russian Messianism, by camouflaging their imperialism with the illusory idea of international Communism.

In his letter to the Slavophil Maykov, *Dostoevsky* in 1868 already made the following remarks, which are so very applicable to Russia's present world policy: "A great regeneration of the whole world is being prepared by the Russian idea (which, as you rightly say, is inseparably connected with orthodoxy), and will be realized in the course of a century, — this is my firm belief. But in order that this great task be achieved, it is necessary that the political privilege and precedence of the great Russian people (that is, the Muscovites, — I. V.) over the entire Slav world should be definitely and incontestably consummated (and our liberalism fanatics preach the disintegration of Russia into allied states)⁴⁾.

Dostoevsky was not the only person who pondered on the "great regeneration of the world" by the Muscovite element; this way of thinking was the imperial credo of almost all the leading thinkers and politicians of Russia and, in fact, of all the leading men of the government of the imperium. The Bolsheviks are merely realizing — and, so far, skilfully, — this demonic Messianism; and the Western politicians, who confine the defence of human freedom to an abstract fight against abstract international Communism, allow the present Bolshevik infiltration in the sub-tropical countries of Asia and Africa to gain ground unhindered. The world conflict today is above all taking place on the Asian and African continents, where the ideas of national, state independence predominate amongst peoples who hitherto or until a short time ago were under Western tutelage, where the waves of the national liberation movements have gained more momentum than the guardians of these peoples had foreseen. Against these territories, which were hitherto or until a short time ago protectorates or mandates, the aggression of Soviet Russian imperialism, which has infiltrated there in the guise of international Communism, is directed, and the corporate "defenders" of the West for certain reasons want the Messianist character of this Russian deployment to be noticed.

At the Mexico Conference the character of this deployment and the headquarters from which it is conducted were for the first time exposed by a proclamation on an international level. It was

clearly and definitely stated in the resolutions adopted during the Conference: "Since international Communism is an instrument of Russian imperialism, the struggle against international Communism includes the struggle against Russian imperialism". For the first time in history, the whole world has been unreservedly and plainly told that it is Russia that is attacking the free world, is causing the latter to be attacked and is directing this attack. It is of the greatest importance that the Asian and African peoples, in making themselves independent of colonial tutelage, should also realize that modern Russian colonialism is ready to penetrate and, in fact, has already partly pene-

trated into their living space and is far more dangerous than their former guardians were.

Naturally, this fact cannot be recognized automatically. Considerable efforts were needed at the Mexico Conference, too, in order to convince the anti-Communists of Asia, who so far were more concerned with the fight against the allegedly international Communism, that Asia, where they so far felt themselves secure, is in danger of being conquered by the Red Russian imperium.

Prior to the Mexico Conference, various regional anti-Communist congresses were held in South America, Asia and Europe. And at all these congresses the representatives of the Russian imperia-

The Question Of The Polish-Byelorussian Frontier

A Reader's Letter to the Editor of the Periodical "Der Europäische Osten" ("The European East"), Munich

It was with considerable interest that I read the article "Problems of Neighbours" by St. Sopicki, which appeared in No. 7 of your periodical. It is very decent of Mr. Sopicki to admit openly that every person has a right to his native country. He professes to have Christian moral principles, but his wishes are not quite "Christian".

As a Byelorussian I should like to express my opinion on the statements made by Mr. Sopicki. Mr. Sopicki deplors the loss of the former Eastern territories of Poland and writes: "For this reason the elimination of the so-called Curzon Line is part of the programme of all the Polish parties". To the average German reader, who as a rule has little knowledge of this subject, such an aim on the part of the Poles seems to be very desirable; Polish political pressure would be shifted eastwards and in such a situation the Poles would perhaps be prepared to grant the Germans certain concessions in the question of the Oder-Neisse Line. As a result of Polish propaganda, the West to a considerable extent has adopted the erroneous opinion that Poland, by ceding the territory east of the Curzon Line to the Soviet Union, was deprived of territory that had always been her own. In this case, however, it is a question of purely Byelorussian territory — former northeast Poland — which as a result of the Treaty of Riga between the USSR and Poland in 1921 was divided up between these two states. The Byelorussian Democratic Republic (Declaration of Independence on March 25, 1918), which had been set up on the ruins of the tsarist empire, was thus destroyed by these two states.

The Curzon Line is not a creation of the enemies of Poland. It was proposed as the demarcation line of the Polish eastern frontier in 1919. It runs eastwards of the former frontier between Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the old Lithuanian-Byelorussian state. The former frontier — it was also a linguistic frontier — between Byelorussia and Poland was located as follows: along the East Prussian Pisa, then along the Narev eastwards as far as the confluence of the Narev and the Bobr, from here overland as far as the town of Malkinia on the Bug and then southwards along the Bug. Although the Grand Duchy of Lithuania had formed a federation with Poland at the end of the 14th century, the Poles were not allowed to acquire landed property in the Grand Duchy either by purchase or as a present. This was forbidden according to the Statute of Lithuania as a measure to prevent Polish infiltration. It was only after 1569, that is after the Union with Poland, that this law was relaxed, so that the Poles through the medium of the Catholic Church and by means of cultural influence could polonize the Byelorussian upper class. Polish influence, however, was limited to a few hundred big landowners.

The Council of the Allies in Versailles in 1919 entrusted the French diplomat, Cambon, the head of the Polish Executive Committee, with the task of determining the eastern frontier of Poland. Much to the surprise of some Western politicians, the members of the Executive Committee affirmed at that time that the territory settled by Poland extended as far as the Augustow-Bialystok-Bug line! The Polish delegation at the Peace Confe-

rence, however, demanded that the Dnieper should be fixed as the demarcation line of Poland's eastern frontier. Although France wanted a "powerful" Poland as a pro-French "fist" against Germany in those days, Poland was urged to content herself with the so-called Curzon Line, — Lord Curzon, British Foreign Secretary, confirmed this demarcation line. It was only in the war against the Soviet Union that Poland seized part of Byelorussia (97,000 square kilometres with a population of 3,9 million). The Soviet Union even set up a Byelorussian Soviet Republic, in order to claim the rest of Byelorussia later on. It was only from 1919 onwards that the Poles had a chance to settle in West Byelorussia. They came to West Byelorussia as settlers, teachers, Catholic priests and officials. In 1939, however, the number of Poles there only amounted to 260,000.

It is therefore not surprising that the Western powers had no misgivings about assigning East Poland to the Soviet Union at the Yalta Conference. In fact, it was none other than the British Foreign Secretary who *already in 1919 affirmed that the former East Poland was not genuinely Polish territory*. Stalin even corrected the Curzon Line in favour of Poland and moved it eastwards of the demarcation line fixed by Cambon. In the East, Poland lost *no* ethnically Polish territories; on the contrary, she even gained a few Byelorussian areas, — Bialystok, Augustow and Suwalki.

In order to keep Poland constantly tied to the Soviet or Russian apron-strings, Stalin presented her with the German territories in the East. The Kremlin rulers were of the opinion that Poland, for fear of losing these territories to Germany again, must always seek support in the Soviet Union. For this reason the Polish Communists received strict orders from Moscow to make the German territories "Polish" as quickly as possible.

In any case, the territories east of the Curzon Line cannot be regarded as Polish, since the Poles never lived there as farmers or as a people as a whole; this question is dealt with in the standard work on Byelorussia in German, "Byelorussia" by Eugen Freiherr von Engelhardt, and as regards the recent history of these territories much informative material is to be found in the "Belorussian Review" (No. 3), published by the Institute for Research on the Soviet Union, Munich.

The Western press would therefore be doing wrong, were it to support the conviction of the Poles that they had actually been deprived of part of the original Poland. Gentlemen like Mr. Sopicki are champions of Polish expansion eastwards; they are advocates of the subjugation of the Byelorussian, Ukrainian and Lithuanian territories in East Europe. The same gentlemen who nowadays condemn Hitler, in his day adopted his methods and built a concentration camp in Bereza Kartuska, mainly for the educated classes of the minorities living in Poland at that time, which amounted to no less than 7 million Ukrainians, 3 million Byelorussians, 3 million Jews, and 1.2 million Germans, etc.

An understanding between Germany and Poland is a burning question. But such an understanding must not be reached at the expense of other peoples.

Wladimir Sienko.

⁴⁾ Quoted from N. Lossky: "Dostoyevskiy i yego khristianskoye miroponimaniye" ("Dostoevsky and His Christian Philosophy of the World").

Tacit Agreement Between Russian Imperialist Camps (Continued from page 9)

list and Fascist emigrants, banded together as the organization of the "National Workers' Union" ("Natsional'no-Trudovoy Soyuz", abbreviated to NTS and also called "Solidarists"), played a considerable part. By making use of the absence or the former "unpopularity" of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations to their own advantage, at these congresses, they endeavoured on such occasions to show the "Soviet people" as an alleged uniform whole and the Russians as such (that is, the Muscovites, thanks to whose Messianist ideas the world is to be "regenerated") as the first victims and greatest opponents of Communism, — which, incidentally, is likewise done by the entire Russian anti-Communist emigrant press, which in this point agrees entirely with the "Solidarists", quite regardless of all its other political differences of opinion with the latter. Furthermore, the "Solidarists", at the said congresses, presented the Soviet Russian conquest of the national states that regained their independence by revolutionary means when the Russian imperium collapsed in 1917-1918 (namely, Ukraine, Byelorussia, the three Caucasian states and Turkestan) as something that was a matter of course and in keeping with the wish of the peoples concerned. There was no question of any right to liberate themselves from Russian tutelage or of a restoration of the state existence of the peoples subjugated by Russia at various periods; all the "Solidarists" talked about, the whole time, was the struggle against the Communist regime.

The first attack was made on this imperialistic scheme of the NTS (which, incidentally, enjoys considerable financial support on the part of certain advocates of the "greater territory policy" and of certain "experts" on Soviet affairs) by the President of the Central Committee of the ABN, *Jaroslav Stetzko*, at the Saigon Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL, March-April, 1957), when he raised a sharp and successful protest against the fact that the NTS, which is fighting not so much against Bolshevism, but, rather, for the preservation of an "indivisible" Russian imperium, should "represent" the peoples subjugated by this same Russian imperium. Actually, the principles of the programme of the NTS were explicitly formulated at the Hague "Congress for the Rights and Freedom of Russia", convened by this organization in the spring of 1957; on this occasion, Prof. *Samarin* in a report written by himself and issued by the executive committee of the Congress stated as follows: "I have become such a consistent 'counter-revolutionary' that I am opposed to the overthrow of the Soviets by revolutionary means. Of the various destructive results of such an overthrow, the dismemberment of Russia, the cessation of her rapid industrial progress and many other consequences undesirable for the population of Russia would be inevitable."

These and other comments were published in the official organ of the NTS, "Posev" ("The Seed"), about the fundamental political attitude of the said "reformist" minded Congress, at which the adjustment of Russian anti-Bolshevism to the alleged reform policy in the Bolshevik imperium thus reached its climax. The "evolution for the better" within the Red Russian imperium was acknowledged by the elite of the Russian imperialist emigrants at the Hague Congress, in order to give ideological support to the tottering structure of the imperium and to prevent as far as possible the inevitable dismemberment of the Russian imperium by national anti-Bolshevik and anti-Russian revolutions. A tacit agreement was thus reached, — an agreement between the two Russian imperialistic minded camps on either side of the Iron Curtain, directed against all the peoples ever subjugated by Russia; the imperialist tactics of the Russian Communists and the anti-Communists were co-ordinated in the form of a programme. Of course, this was not set down in any records or declarations, but was silently agreed upon. The Russian anti-Communists will continue to inveigh against the atrocities of Bolshevism and to glorify the Russian people, "God's chosen ones amongst the peoples", but they explicitly renounce the use of active means of conducting the fight: "The time has come for one to cease confusing the poor Russian people with the assertion that it will only find its salvation from Communism in a revolution", — so writes the most widely read press organ of the Russian emigrants, the paper "Novoye Russkoye Slovo" ("The New Russian Word"), of June 16, 1957. Sound and reliable financial means — and,

naturally, not those of the NTS could undoubtedly be made available for such a campaign.

Thereupon, the NTS convened an anti-Communist congress in Frankfurt-on-Main, which was attended by over 200 representatives from various countries of the free world. This campaign was organized on a large scale. The representatives of the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent — its President, Admiral C. Penna Botto, and its Secretary-General, Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens, also attended this Congress. The ABN used this opportunity of the presence of these two gentlemen in West Germany to reach an agreement with them regarding its co-operation with the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent, similar to the agreement concluded between the ABN and the APACL in 1955. These two agreements have thwarted the plans of the Russian anti-Bolshevik imperialists, inasmuch as the present Asian and South American initiators of an anti-Communist world congress have now realized what the imperialist forces of the Russian emigrants are occupying themselves with: they are not concerned with the freedom of the peoples in their struggle against the alleged international Communism, but, in the first place, with the interests of the Russian imperium, which for centuries has been subjugating countless peoples and forcing imperialist ideas on them. And the political principle of "non-predetermination", which the Russian emigrants are constantly trying to force on the subjugated non-Russian peoples, was thought out as part of the plan to preserve the Russian "prison of peoples".

This plan, however, has now been frustrated by the participation of the organization representing the peoples subjugated by Russia, namely the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, in the preparations for the convention of the anti-Communist world congress. After the NTS had convinced itself that it would not be able to assert its imperialist intentions in the Anti-Communist World League which is to be formed, because of the opposition of the national forces of the peoples subjugated by Russia, it first of all tried to torpedo the Mexico Conference; after this attempt failed, the NTS refused to take part in the Conference on the grounds that it was not in a position to send its representatives to the Conference owing to lack of financial means, — which seems to be a most peculiar excuse if one recalls that all the travelling expenses of the 200 or more representatives of various countries who attended the above-mentioned Frankfurt Congress were paid by the NTS. It was obviously not a question of financial means, but of the basic programme which the Mexico Conference was to work out for the forthcoming world congress.

At the said Conference itself, the question as to against whom the anti-Communist world union should conduct its fight — whether against abstract "international" Communism or against the Communism planned and directed by Moscow, gave rise to discussions, in the course of which the representatives of the Asian peoples to a certain extent looked to the representatives of North America, who, to begin with, avoided defining the fight against Russian imperialism. But the theories of the ABN, to the effect that a fight against Communism without fighting Russian imperialism as the instigator, leader and organizer of world Communism is unthinkable, were accepted by the Conference with a very large majority of votes, the delegates of Central and South America supporting these theories without reservation. The resolutions adopted at the Conference stress the fact that the Anti-Communist World League, which is to be founded at the forthcoming "World Congress for Freedom and Liberation", will set itself the task of destroying Communism and Russian imperialism by fighting "for the restoration of national independent states in the ethnic territories of the peoples enslaved by Russia at any period in the past in Eastern and Central Europe and in Asia."

It is perfectly evident that this positive definition of the aims of the fight will be a strong mobilizing factor for the subjugated peoples, for so far in the anti-Communist fight of the free world such positive factors were, for certain reasons, nearly always ignored in silence, — a fact which facilitated Soviet aggression. Once these resolutions have not only been approved of by the forthcoming congress, but have also been proclaimed to the peoples behind the Iron Curtain, the artificially preserved equilibrium of the Commu-

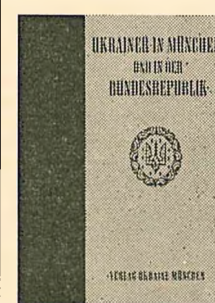
nist and anti-Communist forces, which is based on intimidation and tyranny, will no doubt undergo a rapid change in favour of freedom. But many difficulties and obstacles will have to be overcome, if this is really to be achieved.

In any case, however, the Mexico Conference already represents a very important stage in political activity on the path to victory of the idea of freedom for nations and for individuals. The resolutions adopted at this Conference refute all the ridiculous talk about "non-predetermination", that is about the alleged dependence of the state will of the peoples subjugated by Russia on the results of future plebiscites, a fact which would only be of advantage to the supporters of a "uniform and indivisible" Russia. These same resolutions also refute all the talk about the alleged "peaceful metamorphosis" of Bolshevik imperialism, which in the opinion of naive evolutionists might lead to the liberation of the peoples enslaved by Russia. Even if there have from time to time been certain tactically necessitated relaxations in Bolshevik centralism, they were only introduced for the purpose of subsequently tightening the reins in the Kremlin (and, correspondingly, in Peking, too) still more. All hopes of a peaceful evolution of the Bolshevik imperium, which allegedly might lead to a liberation of the countries subjugated by Russia since 1939, are not only naive, but also dangerous, since they are in keeping with the plans of the imperialistic Russian element, whatever its colour and wherever it is located, whether on this side of or behind the Iron Curtain.

On the other hand, however, there can be no doubt about the fact that the political decisions of the Mexico Conference will also lead to a temporary activation of the Russian imperialist emigrants against the anti-Russian liberation movement; for a political blow is usually followed by a counter-blow. If the freedom-loving forces of the free world intend to support the fight for the state liberation of the subjugated nations, then both the possibility and the duty rest with them of supporting the formation of the fighting world front for freedom and liberation of the peoples, which is to be definitely organized and proclaimed at the forthcoming world congress. And those political forces amongst the representatives of the subjugated nations who advocate the independence of their peoples, but adjust their own practices more or less to the watchword of "non-predetermination", still have an opportunity to join the genuine fight for independence, if they do not want Moscow to use their at least partial "non-predetermination" attitude to advantage in its fight against the hated revolutionary nationalism of the peoples that it has subjugated. The following comments appeared in the February issue of the Lviv (Lemberg) Soviet journal, "Zhovten" ("October"):

"In the so-called American Committee (that is, in the American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism — I. V.) . . . Russian 'white' supporters of 'non-predetermination', who do not recognize the existence of the Ukrainian state, play the leading part. In their opinion, the question still remains to be 'determined', — apparently not until they themselves have assumed power. It is not hard to guess how the question will then be determined; suffice it to say that they all regard Ukraine as part of Russia and the Ukrainian language as a distorted version of Russian."

It is, therefore, high time that the emigrant politicians who claim that they represent the subjugated peoples severed all their connections with the Russian imperialists.



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ABN In Australia Calls To Wake Up

On 26th of October, 1958, Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in Australia organised a Concert-Meeting in Sydney.

The meeting was addressed by Dr. L. Megay, President of the ABN-Australia and the Council of Hungarian Associations in N.S.W.,

Mr. A. Olechnik, Treasurer of the ABN and General Secretary of the Byelorussian Associations of Australia, Hon. W. J. Aston M. P. (Liberal Party),

Mr. J. T. Kane, General Secretary of the Democratic Labour Party.

The concert was given by the Rumanian Choir, Hungarian Dance Group, Ukrainian solist Miss Betka, Ukrainian Dance Group and Croatian Quintet.

During the meeting the following leaflets were distributed:

Reminder to the Free World

In its propaganda Moscow always refers to the Western Democracies as "Aggressors, Warmongers, Imperialists, or Colonialists".

In reality:

BRITAIN has given complete independence to India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Malaya and Ghana since the end of World War II.

FRANCE has given independence to Syria, Lebanon, Tunisia and Morocco.

The UNITED STATES has given independence to the Philippines.

And let us look at the record of the Soviet Union, the peace-preaching, blood-draining true Aggressor, Imperialist and Colonialist.

First of all, Russia is the only country that emerged from the second World War with its territories enlarged.

Russia also is the only country that since the war has turned free and independent countries into colonies, exploiting them with unparalleled ruthlessness.

Russia has started this unique record between the two world wars with the destruction of the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Turkestanian, Caucasian and other states, followed by the subjugation of OUTER MONGOLIA.

Since the war the Kremlin has crushed liberty in the following European countries: ALBANIA, BOHEMIA, BULGARIA, CROATIA, ESTONIA, EAST GERMANY, HUNGARY, LATVIA, LITHUANIA, POLAND, RUMANIA, and SLOVAKIA.

Only a handful of people in each of these countries ever wanted Communism. The heads of these States are now all Communists with Russian citizenship and training, taking their orders from Moscow.

Whilst the Western Democracies were dismembering themselves after the last war, Soviet-Russia was busily consolidating her territorial gains, and parts of FINLAND, the whole of the three Baltic States, EAST PRUSSIA, BUKOWINA, BESSARABIA and SOUTH SAKHALIN were incorporated into the USSR.

In Asia CHINA, NORTH KOREA, INDO-CHINA and TIBET have been seized by aggression.

Thus Russia stands condemned as the most absolute colonial Power in the world today.

Since the end of World War II, Communist imperialism has captured and enslaved over 100 000 000 people in Europe, and about 500 000 000 in our half of the world.

The Hungarians wanted to regain their freedom and independence through a daring uprising in 1956, and the flames of freedom have been most ruthlessly quenched by the Russians, who like to masquerade as champions of the oppressed and colonised people.

The difference between Communist propaganda slogans and practice is more than striking.

Communism changes its policy according to the requirements in order to utilise the latest situation, but never gives up its goal to capture the whole world and to compel all people into one single World State. This State is to be a one-party State. No opposition to it will be allowed. This will be the State of the inferior men.

Where it is in power, Communism maintains itself by Secret Police, Armed Forces, Spies, Execution

squads, and Concentration Camps by the hundreds.

It has to be realised at last that the Western World has gone too far with its policy of co-existence and appeasement to preserve peace, and has almost reached the point of no return.

Believe us, the rulers of the Kremlin know the date and time, precisely calculated, when they can and will say to the decadent Western World and its leaders that that is the end of it; there will be no more Summit meetings, conferences and co-existence any longer. You have two choices, atom death or unconditional surrender, meaning eternal physical and mental slavery.

We still do hope that a Christian revival and a Crusade for Freedom will shake up the sleeping, indifferent free World five minutes before Zero hour to turn the tide threatening us with engulfment.

Freedom and Slavery just cannot co-exist for long.

There will not be real peace and prosperity in the world as long as Communism exists.

Wake up before it is too late.

In the A.B.N. we stand for the freedom and liberation of all countries subjugated by the Russian Bolsheviks and for the re-establishment of the independent states of each enslaved nation.

Join and support us in our struggle for victory over Communism, the greatest evil the world has ever known.

FREEDOM FOR INDIVIDUALS!

FREEDOM FOR NATIONS!

**ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS
IN AUSTRALIA**

15th Anniversary of ABN in Winnipeg

On Sunday, December 14, 1958, the Manitoba branch of ABN celebrated the 15th anniversary of the first conference of the peoples subjugated by Moscow, at which the ABN was founded. This celebration was held in Winnipeg, in the large "Prosvita" Hall, which, on this occasion, was packed with an audience consisting of Ukrainians and representatives of the other nations that are members of the ABN. The platform was decorated with the emblem of the ABN and the 23 flags of the member-nations. The programme was divided into two parts, — a political rally and an international concert.

The rally was opened by P. Semen Izyk, the President of the Manitoba branch, with a speech in Ukrainian and English. The chairman was H. Theodor Blossmanis, a Latvian and President of the "Baltic Federation".

An address was then delivered in English by Senator Basyl Wal of the province of Manitoba.

Messages of greeting, including one from Ambassador Steynes, were read by H. Daf Roblin. Short speeches were also held by representatives of various national groups and member-nations of the ABN, namely by H. J. Weskebes (Hungary), H. Huzko (Byelorussia), H. Anniko (Estonia), H. Rener (Slovakia), H. Januschka (Lithuania), H. T. Blossmanis (Latvia), and P. I. Parkasewytsch (Ukraine).

During the concert which constituted the second half of the celebrations, songs were sung by two choirs — a men's choir and a mixed choir, — con-

ducted by H. Basyl Kardasch and accompanied by Mrs. Kysilevska. Mrs. Rener of Slovakia sang two solos and a group of Latvian students performed two Latvian national dances.

The ABN celebrations in Winnipeg were a big success and numerous favourable reports on the occasion were published in the Ukrainian and English press.

Russian Liers

Two Cases Out Of Millions

The Russians tell lies on every possible occasion, as W.S-ko shows us.

A geography book used in the 6th form in secondary schools contains a passage which reads as follows: "More than half the members of the families in the USA are obliged to work extremely hard in order to earn enough money to live, but, even so, they are very badly off. Meat is a luxury for them. They wear old clothes, which are patched and darned all over . . . these poor Americans live in miserable dwellings, where the rain leaks through onto them. For years many of them have been out of work."

The Russian author, Ambassador Polovy, was asked in the USA whether it was true that the well-known Russian writer of Jewish origin, Kvitko, had been arrested. Polovy calmly affirmed that he was living in the same house as Kvitko and that the latter was doing well and was in good health, etc. It later transpired that Kvitko was already arrested two years ago and murdered.



Celebration of ABN 15th Anniversary in Canada.

Mohamed Achmed Mosler

Imam of the Berlin Mosque

AFRICA — The Fate of Mankind

(Discussions Article-Editor)

If in the year 1925 one had told or prophesied to an educated Chinese or to an authority on China that a quarter of a century later China would be Communist and under the control of world Communism, he would merely have shaken his head in disbelief, in answer to such a prophecy. In the course of time, however, the Orient and China were so inundated with Western civilization, which the sons of the native capitalists and feudal lords brought with them into the country from the universities, that the people could no longer stand aloof, unmoved, from the problems of our modern age.

The decisive role in this respect was played by traditional Russian imperialism, whose *tool* is world Communism.

Since 80 per cent of the Oriental peoples are terribly poor, it was and is understandable that, once they had been caught up in the treadmill of the modern spirit of the world, they became Communists, incidentally, much to their misfortune. During the comparatively few years that Communism has ruled in China, 25 million persons have so far either been murdered or have died in concentration camps. The majority of these persons were the fathers and sons who originally brought the spirit of the West to China and thus made the infiltration of Communist ideas possible. What has been happening in China for the past ten years, will, in the near future, with the systematic support of Russia, also happen in the entire Orient.

Islam, the Sheet-Anchor of the Orient

The Turkish and Persian feudal lords, the capitalistic Arabian kings and rulers, the sheiks of the Orient, who send their sons and children into modern civilization, in order to then spread the latter in their countries, namely in the lower classes from above, are all in this way contributing towards their own ruin. As soon as modern civilization gains a footing among the poorer classes in the Orient, Islamic culture will be destroyed and the days of the Oriental rulers will be numbered. Nor will the West be able to preserve the present rulers of the Orient from this fate, just as little as the Christian Churches, and the nationalism of Kemal Atatürk or of Colonel Abdel Nasser or of Bourghiba can do so.

It is only the ideology and civilization of Islam which nowadays and in the future can put up a resistance against Communism in the Oriental world and in Africa. But since the Near East has already been permeated and infected too much by modern times, it no longer plays a very important part in the serious calculations of the Communist world conspirators. Thus, we are today confronted by the fact that *thousands of Africans, who in the near future are to open the offensive in Africa, are at present being trained at 157 different centres and schools in Russia. The next aim of world Communism is the conquest of Africa, which is to be completed by 1980. After this, South America will be conquered, whereupon Communism will slam the doors to the remnant of Europe and to the USA with a loud crash.*

If by this time the Islamic Orient has not succeeded in putting into practice the international Moslem manifesto which was proclaimed in 1955, Communism will most certainly — in passing, as it were, — also grab the remaining Asian and Oriental countries, such as India, Pakistan, etc., where even today the labourer is still forced to work all day for the paltry sum of 30 ch to 1 Mlz.

And this will then be the hour of the world revolution.

Africa, the Needle on the Scales

The same power which exercises its rule over the peoples of Africa, will one day rule the world, — whether directly or indirectly remains to be seen.

I, as a Moslem, can only hope that the young forces of the peoples of Africa will turn to Islam; but for this to happen the leadership of Islam today would have to pass into other hands. The

Sunnites, who at present are officially regarded as the rulers of Islam, are too weak and too liberal to be able to save Africa from Communism. This fact can be seen most clearly from events in Tunisia; for the last remnant of Islam, the Islamic law "Shariah" which the French still allowed to exist in Tunisia, has been destroyed by the "Sunnite" Bourghiba by a stroke of the pen. Those who want to force European civilization on the African peoples and think that by doing so, they can then save the latter from Communism, are and will always be fantasists. And this also applies to Nasser and to all liberal modernists. Liberalism is the surest way to Communist rule in these countries.

The number of Africans trained in the political and in the Koran schools, who are to spread Communism and its ideology in various forms in Africa, so far already amount to as many as 15,000. Conditions in North Africa, racial segregation in the Union of South Africa and the arrogant attitude of the whites in general in Africa, are factors which help these emissaries. To judge from its

E. Ekhadieli

The Threats Of The "Former" Russians

A congress of Russian organizations was recently held in America which was not without a certain comic touch.

As the members of these organizations themselves profess, they all belong to an era long since past and are *former* tsarist cadets, officers, members of the White Army in the years 1918/19, etc.

Thus, they are persons who were driven out of their country not by foreign occupation forces, but by their own fellow-countrymen, — persons who long, long ago, were already relegated to the archives of history and have fallen into complete oblivion. Incidentally, they describe themselves as *American citizens* of Russian origin.

The Russian people in 1917 overthrew the regime upheld by these persons and set up the Russian Communist imperium with its brutal terrorist regime.

The Russian people in 1917 overthrew the regime upheld by these persons and set up the Russian Communist imperium with its brutal terrorist regime.

This new Russian imperium in its turn, as in former times, violated our peoples, destroyed their national states and subjugated and enslaved them.

The said "American citizens" have now convened in order to support the idea of the preservation of this Russian colonial empire before the whole world and to warn America against attacking the existence of this empire of the Russians.

The Russian ultra-chauvinistic paper "Nowoe Russkoe Slovo" ("The New Russian Word"), which appears in New York, in its edition of August 14, 1958, published the resolutions reached at the said congress. And the members of the congress had the effrontery to address these resolutions to President Eisenhower. With typically Russian insolence and boasting in the Khrushchev style, these resolutions set out to remind the Americans that Catherine II on three occasions refused the request made by George III of England, namely that Russian troops should be sent to help the English against the American colonies which the latter had lost, and that in 1863 Tsar Alexander II saved the USA from losing the Southern States by sending the Russian fleet there.

Of course, no mention is made of the fact that on one occasion the Russians tried to penetrate into the American continent, that they landed there and seized certain territories, until they were eventually evicted.

The said "American citizens" then have the audacity to utter the following threat: "The Rus-

entire behaviour, Communism means for Islam not merely some political party, but a religion without God, if one wants to put it this way. A philosophy of life and a "religion" which will receive all the material, ideological and military aid from Russia which they need.

Prospects and Conclusions

The Christian Churches are likewise involved in the fight for Africa and to a considerable extent can rely on help from the West. Isolated and obliged to rely solely on its own forces and on the possibilities of Africa, Islam today stands in the fight for Africa, without any foreign help, as both a religion and a political party. There can be no doubt about the fact that if, within the next twenty years, Islam does not succeed in asserting itself decisively, then Communism will have nothing to fear there. The future of Islam, however, lies in Africa, not in Turkey and not in the Arabian Orient. But woe to the West if the watchwords of a world revolution should one day be fought for in Africa, as is today the case in Asia! And woe to Islam in that case, for its last citadel is now Africa! The fiery signs of the Orient all too clearly point to the significance of Africa in the further fate of mankind, and in this connection it is, of course, obvious that the days of colonialism in Africa are numbered. And this is where the lever can be very advantageously applied against Russian imperialism.

sian people are patriotic and nationalist, a fact which was clearly proved in World War II. As long as the policy of the USA is determined by a trend to dismemberment, the Russian people, apart from their hatred of Communism, can believe in the USA and, in the event of an armed conflict with the West, they will be forced willy-nilly to support the Soviet government".

Thus, they themselves admit that the Russians have no intention whatever of recognizing the right of self-determination of the peoples ruled by Russia. Incidentally, we have stressed the fact again and again that the Russians at home and abroad are agreed on this point and that the men in power in Moscow know only too well that the Russians in exile represent their cause in the West.

During the last war, P. Miljukov, the big Russian democrat, a member of Kerensky's government and former commander-in-chief of General Denikin's White Army, issued an appeal to all Russians in exile to fight on Stalin's side, since, so it was affirmed in this appeal, Stalin was conducting the war for the Russian empire.

The "American citizens" of Russian origin are now appealing for support for Khrushchev! And they issue the following warning to the President of the USA:

"Such activity on the part of the USA as supporting the separatist emigrant groups on their territory and broadcast propaganda for separatism, which propaganda is financed by the American government, serve as the best support for the Communists in the Soviet Union".

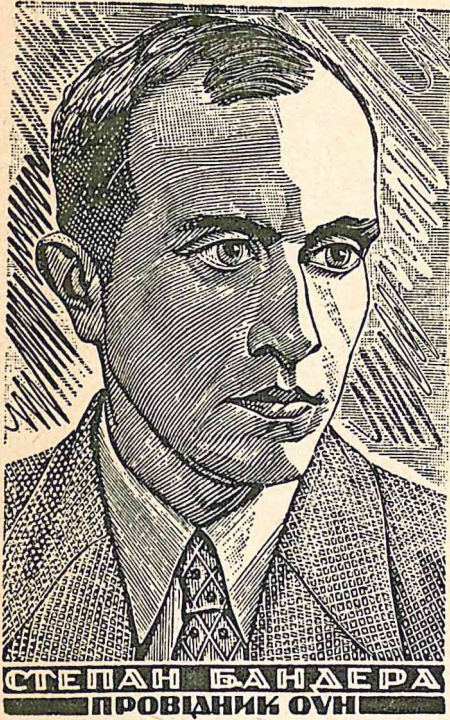
And, in conclusion, they affirm that "as loyal citizens of the USA" (sic!) they consider it their duty to draw the attention of the President to the fact that the policy of the USA with regard to the Russian question must be changed and that separatist propaganda must be abandoned for good.

The Americans are thus told that they must refuse to concede to our peoples and nations the rights which are based on the universally acknowledged principles of human and national rights. In other words, America is to cast aside her historical traditions and principles. Such a preposterous demand can only come from Russian minds and from such senile and passé creatures as the "American citizens" of Russian origin.

As we already pointed out, these persons belong to the past; they are, as it were, merely lookers-on in life, and no one is in a position to stop the rising up of nations and the course of history. The colonial empires have been destroyed, or rather, disintegrated. The only one that still remains is the Russian imperium, and its decay, too, is inevitable.

Their Life For Their Country

Stephan Bandera



Stephan Bandera, the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), this year celebrates his 50th birthday.

Stephan Bandera has devoted his whole life to his Ukrainian nation and to the latter's fight for freedom and independence. As a result of his political activity and fight so far, he has gained great popularity amongst his fellow-countrymen and considerable esteem and also many friends amongst the people of other nations. His popularity and the esteem which he enjoys are not everyday phenomena in political life, for Stephan Bandera is a politician who does not strive to gain personal popularity, nor is he particularly eager to make a public appearance; on the contrary, in this respect he is of a retiring nature. And in this way, he undoubtedly stresses the conspiratory character of the Ukrainian national liberation policy in his subjugated native country.

As a revolutionary and politician, Stephan Bandera is not only a leading personality of the Ukrainian nation, but also a sincere friend of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. He is an uncompromising opponent of Communism and of Russian imperialism in every form. He gives proof of his sympathy and understanding of the cause of freedom of all subjugated peoples by his deeds.

Stephan Bandera is a great Ukrainian patriot, a fighter for freedom and a loyal friend of the peoples languishing in the fetters of Communist tyranny. For this reason he is feared and hated by the Red rulers of the Kremlin and by their henchmen in the Western world.

We send him our sincerest congratulations on the anniversary of his 50th birthday and wish him every success in his work and in his fight against our common enemy.

Professor M. Tseretheli

A great Georgian people's national tribune and scientist 80 years old.

Prof. M. Tseretheli is one of the most outstanding figures of Georgia.

At the turn of the century, Tseretheli was studying at the Uyoio university. There he came into contact with the political organisations of Ukraine and other peoples. His storm and stress period began. He plunged spontaneously into illegal political insurgent activity. In the great hall of the Kyiv university the young student held a sensational and excellent speech against Russian despotism. He was arrested and expelled. Further studies were prohibited.

After he had been likewise expelled in Paris in 1901, owing to his political activity, he eagerly continued his studies in Switzerland and London.

He also collaborated with the newspaper "Georgia. After the outbreak of the revolution in 1905,

Tseretheli returned home on his own account and became one of the heads of the revolution.

In 1907 this enthusiastic fighter for the interests of his people submitted, together with other politicians, a petition to the civilized world, to the Congress of World Peace in the Hague. In that petition the apparent breach of treaty on Russia's part was stigmatized and the violation of Georgia described. It culminated in the entreaty to the world to support that tormented people in its just claim to the re-establishment of its sovereignty.

The principle idea of his political persuasion was, that the title of a people to its freedom was a law of nature, and that there was no free man if the people was not free itself. With this idea, however, the free world had to be made historically acquainted. Therefore Tseretheli resolved to devote himself entirely to that science. He chose Assyriology and ancient oriental history for his subject.

His scientific works were published in English by the Royal Oriental Society and by the Scientific Academy in Heidelberg and others.

After the outbreak of the first world war, he rushed to Berlin to constitute the Georgian National Liberation Committee, together with other national fighters.

In 1916, a congress of peoples deprived of their rights took place in Lausanne. Georgia was represented by M. Tseretheli. With his speech, he attracted the attention of the international public.

In May 1918, the independence of Georgia was proclaimed. Tseretheli became a member of a diplomatic delegation, which was sent to Berlin.

Prince Niko Nakashidze

In January this year, Prince Niko Nakashidze, the Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the ABN, celebrated his 60th birthday.

We should like to take this opportunity of



expressing our sincerest congratulations to this Georgian patriot, our greatly esteemed friend and fellow-fighter, for whom we have the highest respect and admiration. As our loyal friend, colleague and fellow-fighter in the ABN, Prince Nakashidze enjoys the greatest esteem on our part for his fine personal qualities, his outstanding ability, his uncompromising political attitude, his work, and, above all, his sincere friendship towards all the peoples subjugated by Moscow. He constantly shows a profound and genuine sympathy for all subjugated peoples in press articles and in the many lectures and public speeches which he frequently holds.

On the occasion of his 60th birthday, we wish Prince Nakashidze the best of success in his work and in the fight for our common aims, coupled with the sincere hope that he will, above all, soon see his beloved Georgian fatherland liberated from enslavement.

After the defeat of Germany Tseretheli went to Sweden in order to take up connections with the Entente in his capacity as Georgian ambassador. When Georgia was de facto recognized by the great powers (and soon also de jure) he returned home in order to devote himself to further scientific activity at the university. He was appointed professor in ordinary for ancient oriental history and Assyriology.

After the Soviet occupation of Georgia, Tseretheli was forced again to go abroad. He resumed his scientific work as a professor at the Brussels university and afterwards at the Berlin university.

Fate followed him mercilessly. His only son, the scientist Othar Tseretheli, has been missing since the war. Tseretheli has now been living in Munich for some years. Still unbroken and alert in mind, he has the consolation of his scientific research and he continues to publish his research works in the French scientific "Journal d'Assyriologie", yearning, as ever, for the liberation of his severely afflicted native country.

A Letter to Ku Cheng-kang, President of APACLROC

Dear Sir,

It gives me great pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter, which is a source of inspiration, just as are all your speeches and articles, which we read with great enthusiasm in various publications. We should like to express our admiration and gratitude to you for the outstanding success which you have achieved in the struggle against Russia and all the Red Communist conspirators.

May I be permitted to add that the liberation of 22,000 Chinese and Koreans from the Russian and Red Chinese prison of nations is the result of a war in which we Turks of Turkey also have some share of honour. In this historic war of independence against the insidious enemies of humanity, we shed our blood courageously. The Epic of Kunuri, as you will no doubt remember, is characterized by the heroic fight of our Turkish soldiers, the "Memetjik", as we call them in our native language. And such heroism on the part of all those of us who are brother-nations will continue until the freedom of mankind is secured against the satanic machinations of the Bolsheviks, until human civilization and moral values are delivered from this cancerous growth, which must be removed by a surgical (military) operation, or else it will destroy human society as a whole. The unscrupulous Russians know no moral values and only bow down before brute force and violence.

It is thus obvious what we must do: we shall give effective support, both morally and materially, to the great national liberation movements of the nations subjugated behind that grim frontier known as the Iron Curtain. I am convinced that the Chinese mainland will be liberated from Communism in the near future, for the time is ripe for this. In the meantime, the general uprising of all the subjugated nations will result in the collapse of all Communist regimes in Russia and elsewhere. The death-knell of Communism has been rung. It is now time the free world acted more effectively.

In addition to the people of the Chinese mainland, 40,000,000 Turks, as well as other fellow-nations, such as the great Ukrainian nation, the heroic Hungarian nation and others, are also enslaved and tyrannized by ruthless Russian and Red Chinese colonialism. Their liberation from these chains of slavery, the like of which human history has never seen before, depends upon our support and aid from this side of the Iron Curtain for those behind it, who are, to a great extent, organized for a general uprising, since they have learnt a lesson from the heroism of the Hungarian revolution.

There can be no alternative to the liberation of mankind from this Communist pestilence, — and no policy of fear or of retreat. The sacrifices which we shall have to make, must be made soon, otherwise the entire human civilization will be destroyed. George Kennan's theory of Communist self-destruction, or any theory of coexistence is bound to prove disastrous to the free world in every respect. For "a house divided against itself cannot stand"!

With hearty wishes for every success in your work, I am,

Yours very sincerely,
Dr. Arin Engin
(Member of the Turkish Historical Society, Turkish Academy).

From Behind the Iron Curtain

BYELORUSSIA

It is worth-while mentioning that today, after forty years of Sovietization and Russification, the Byelorussian people are successfully resisting the Communist doctrine. Of all the states behind the "Iron Curtain" and even among the so-called Soviet Republics, the Byelorussian S.S.R. has the smallest number of Communists.

According to the Soviet newspaper "Pravda", dated 15th January 1959, there are only 187 thousand members of the Communist Party of the Byelorussian S.S.R. (for about 10 million population) or less than 2 per cent.

Taking into account, however, that at least three quarters of the members consist of officials — Muscovite Russians — the actual number of Communist Byelorussians amounts to less than a meagre half per cent.

The resistance of the Byelorussian people to godless Russian Communism is an inspiration to all freedom-loving people and a constant source of fear for their oppressors. Their struggle for freedom deserves the sympathy and full support of the entire free world.

GEORGIA

On October 29, 1958, a Polish delegation, consisting of Gomulka, Cyrankiewicz and other Red Polish notables, arrived in the Georgian capital, Tiflis. In order to give these "worthy guests" a fitting welcome, all the enterprises in Tiflis were instructed to appoint a delegation, which was then extolled in the Soviet Russian press as a "delegation of the workers". At a meeting the Polish delegation made a speech in which examples from the history of the great "friendship" between Poland and Georgia were cited, even though there has never been such a friendship in the history of these two peoples.

HUNGARY

The Budapest Shipbuilding Company has built a new steamship, the "Kremenez", for the U.S.S.R. This vessel, which made its maiden-trip to the Ukrainian Black Sea port, Odessa, on October 29, 1958, will ply between the harbours of the Danube and those of the Near East.

UNITED NATIONS ISSUE WARNING — CENSURE REGIME IN HUNGARY

("Merkur" of Dec. 12, 1958)

On December 11, 1958, the U.N. plenum took part in a debate on Hungary. A resolution was passed, requesting the Soviet Union and the Hungarian regime to cease their subjugation of the Hungarian people.

RUMANIA

THE DEATH-SENTENCE IN ROUMANIA

("Svoboda", No. 221/58)

An alteration has been introduced in the penal laws in Rumania. Anyone who has any connection with "public enemies" is now liable to receive the death-sentence.

TURKISTAN

According to reports in the Red Russian press, a decade of Kirgiz culture was celebrated in the U.S.S.R., the achievements of which during the Red Russian enslavement of Kirgiz were depicted in various performances given at the Moscow theatres.

In the middle of November, 1958, the Western press reported that the court martial of the North Caucasian military district had sentenced a large number of Kalmucks to death. Neither the Soviet Russian news agency TASS nor the Moscow central press has denied these reports.

*

As was reported in the journal "Partijnaja Ziznj" ("Party Life"), No. 19, 1958, which is also the official press organ of the Central Committee of the Party, serious cases of embezzlement were recently discovered in the editorial department of the Kirgiz Republic periodical "Kirgisiston Chakikati". The editor of this periodical, his deputy and other members of the editorial staff had been paid sums of money for articles which they had never written. In three months alone, in 1958, over 300,000 roubles were paid out in this way to members of the editorial department.

*

In connection with the new decade of Kirgiz culture in the Soviet Union in 1958, the so-called national choirs and theatrical groups of Kirgiz gave performances in Moscow. A display of the Kirgiz national forms of horsemanship (likewise dedicated to the decade of Kirgiz literature and art) was also held on the big Moscow race-course.

*

In view of the fact that the gathering in of the cotton harvest in Uzbekistan was not carried out satisfactorily, the Central Committee of the Party mobilized 300,000 workers, employees, students, school-children and members of the Komsomol for this purpose. The papers, however, publish no reports as to whether the entire cotton harvest was brought in or not. On the other hand, however, the local press reports that in 1958 not only collective workers, but also the members of the regional Party committee, the secretaries of the district committees, writers, and scientists, etc., numbering 400,000 persons, were roped in to help with the maize harvest in the Don region.

The World Peace Council decided to celebrate the 1,100th anniversary of the birth of the Tadjik poet, Abu Abulo Rudaki. In this connection big rallies of Party and other official notables were held in Stalinabad, at which writers from Red China, India, Afghanistan and Pakistan were also present. A museum for history and ethnology, called after Rudaki, was opened in the town of Pendzhikent.

KALMUCK "AUTONOMOUS" REPUBLIC

The Kalmuck autonomous territory was recently changed into a Kalmuck Autonomous Republic within the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (R.S.F.S.R.). On October 19, 1958, the first elections to the Supreme Soviet were already held in the Kalmuck A.S.S.R. The Kalmuck A.S.S.R. existed until 1944, that is until it was liquidated on account of "collaboration with the Germans". The population of Kalmuck was subjected to repressive measures and deported. The "Pravda" reports that persons of various nationalities were now elected to the Supreme Soviet and mentions the fact that amongst the persons elected there was also a Kalmuck general of the reserves, Oka Gorodovikov.

UKRAINE

PAPERS "IN TWO LANGUAGES" IN UKRAINE

True conditions as regards freedom and the satellite states and the consistent methods used by Russian imperialism in every sphere of life can be seen from the papers which appear in Ukraine. In its edition of November 18, 1958, the Ukrainian periodical "Ameryka" writes as follows: "The most important and biggest papers in Ukraine are published either in Russian or in Russian and Ukrainian. All scientific papers are only published in Russian. The "Pravda Ukrainy", for instance, is an example of how this "Pravda" (Truth) is observed; although it appears in Ukraine, it belies its own title and is only published in Russian. The "Robitnytscha Gaseta" ("Workers' Gazette") is published in both languages, the "Kolhospe Selo"

("Kolkhoz Village News") in both languages, the weekly "Junyi Leninetz" ("Lenin Boy") only in Russian, the social political paper "Kommunist Ukrainy" ("Ukrainian Communist") in both languages, whilst the "Ukrainian Mathematical Journal" and "Uhol Ukrainy" ("Ukrainian Coal") only appear in Russian."

The Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia

The lively activity of the Ukrainian emigrants on this side of the Iron Curtain and their achievements in the field of national culture are forcing the Soviet Russian occupant to mention various questions, to publish certain articles and works and to allow certain problems to be discussed which he would prefer to conceal completely from the Ukrainian people; for a separate and individual field of Ukrainian research and learning, of Ukrainian art and Ukrainian literature, may also lead to the political independence of the Ukrainian nation. The creative activity of the Ukrainian cultural elite in exile is nevertheless evoking certain reactions in the Bolshevik camp; the questions which are raised by these emigrants must be answered in some way or other by the Bolsheviks, and though the latter's answers are nothing but lies and propagandist tricks, they nevertheless show up the Russification experiments in Soviet Ukraine in a most unfavourable light.

A few examples suffice to illustrate this fact: the publication by emigrant circles of O. Povstenko's monograph on St. Sophia's Cathedral in Kyiv and V. Sichynsk's History of Ukrainian Architecture have prompted the Bolshevik occupant to print a compiled "Survey of the History of Architecture in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic"; and the further publication of the "Encyclopedia of Ukraine" ("Entsyklopediya Ukrainoznavstva" compiled by the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Sarcelles (near Paris) has now evoked a decision on the part of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the government of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic to publish a "Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia" in 16 volumes; the official motives of the Party and the government for this step are explained by I. Pidoplichko, a vice-editor of the entire undertaking, in the periodical "Soviet Education" ("Rad'ans'ka Osvita", 1958, No. 37). In this article it is affirmed that the first volume of the said encyclopedia will appear in 1959 and a further five volumes every year; every volume is to contain about 600 pages of text and 400 illustrations, as well as 40 pictorial supplements, half of which are to be maps and illustrations in colour; the total number of articles is to amount to about 70,000.

At the same time, the above-mentioned article also reveals the intentions of the actual managers of this undertaking: "Particularly thorough articles are to be devoted to the principal questions of Marxist-Leninist science and learning, as well as to the most important theoretical problems of science and technics, to the exposure of manifestations of bourgeois ideology, revisionism and, above all, bourgeois nationalism . . . In the "Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia" an appropriate space will be devoted to information about the history of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, of the Communist Party in Ukraine . . . as well as in other countries of the world. A good deal of space will be devoted to the superior people of Ukraine — to the workers of the Communist Party, of the Soviet State and of the Soviet Army . . . in addition, detailed information will be given on the achievements of the Ukrainian people in the system of socialist construction . . . on the brotherly union with the Russian people and with all the peoples of our fatherland, on the common fight against tsarism and foreign invaders, and on the entire and many-sided history of Ukraine, which for many years was falsified and distorted by the bourgeois nationalists and other forgers of history".*

It is thus obvious that the purpose of the "Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia" is something quite different from the purpose of a normal encyclopedia; it is merely to be a textbook for Bolshevik propaganda and for combatting the powerful ideology and philosophy of Ukrainian nationalism, which is asserting itself in every sphere of Ukrainian national life and which cannot be crushed and defeated either by the Soviet Russian terrorist regime or by the propagandist lies of those who are the actual forgers of Ukrainian history.

*) The italics are ours.

Death of Prof. S. Yovanovich

At the middle of December, Professor Slobodan Yovanovich died in a London nursing home. He was born on 21st November, 1869, in the town Novi Sad, north of Belgrade. His father was a writer and Minister of the Serbian Government in Belgrade.

Yovanovich, on finishing school, attended the University of Geneva and in 1897 was appointed a Secretary at the Serbian Foreign Ministry, a position which he held until 1905, when he became a Professor of Belgrade University and a member of the Academy of Science.

During his lifetime, Professor Yovanovich wrote a large number of political and University books of primary importance, such as: — "Laws in Practice"; "English Parliamentarianism"; "Machiavellianism"; "Principles for the Organisation of a State"; "The Napoleonic Political Epoch"; "Totalitarianism" and many others. He wrote in many languages, but usually in Serbian, English, French and German.

The death of Professor Yovanovich is certainly a very great loss to the Serbian nation and to Science. He was a genius and, at the same time, a most kindly courteous gentleman.

Alex. Perishich, Jr.

20th Anniversary of Founding of Slovak Republic

March 14th is the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Slovak Republic. To mark this occasion, the Slovak Liraction Committee and other Slovak refugee and emigrant organizations will hold celebrations all over the free world to manifest the will to freedom of the subjugated Slovak people and their loyalty to the cause of their national state independence. The President of the Executive Committee of the Slovak Liberation Committee, Prof. Ferdinand Durcansky, will deliver an address at a big rally to be held in New York on this occasion. On the eve of Slovakia's Independence Day, the German Slovak Society in Munich will hold a big celebration rally, in which other organizations interested in the cause of Slovakia will also participate.

Communist Youth Indoctrination

On October 27, 1958, the Central Committee of the Communist Youth organization, "Komsomol", held a big rally of Moscow's youth on the Red Square in that city. The purpose of this rally was to prepare the celebrations to be held to mark the 40th anniversary of the Komsomol in the Soviet Union. Although Khrushchev attended the rally, he did not on this occasion make a speech. But in all probability he will deliver an address at the anniversary celebrations.

On behalf of the Soviet Russian youth, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol, Semytchasy, swore an oath before the Central Committee of the Party in which the following points were stressed in particular:

a) The Komsomol organization will always loyally help the Party.

b) The Communist Youth organization will always loyally obey all the orders and appeals of the Party, above all, as regards the sending of young persons to the vast expanses of Asia and Siberia for the purpose of erecting new buildings there.

c) The Komsomol will always train the youth in the spirit of Communist ethics.

The entire youth of the non-Russian peoples subjugated by Moscow will be forced to approve of this oath of October 29, 1958.

Khrushchev's Economic Measures

During a visit to the district of Stavropol, which was awarded the Lenin Order, Khrushchev declared in a speech that the 21st Extraordinary Party Congress would issue such unbelievable economic directives for the development of the Soviet Russian economic system during the next seven years that the entire world, on learning of these directives, would be extremely surprised and alarmed. These measures, so Khrushchev affirmed, were absolutely unthinkable in the capitalistic world.

In particular, Khrushchev stressed the fact that the addiction to alcohol had assumed alarming proportions in the U.S.S.R. and pointed out that a law was to be passed, to the effect that in future no person visiting an inn would be allowed to drink more than one glass of alcohol.

Soviet Press Drive

The state publishing office of the U.S.S.R. has instructed its branches in all the allegedly independent Soviet Republics to see to it that every family buys one Russian paper and one or two Russian periodicals regularly. To this end, a new campaign began throughout the entire U.S.S.R. which aims to get new subscribers for Russian periodicals, — by compulsion, if necessary. This campaign is being carried out by the special agents of the Soviet Russian state publishing office.

Lenin Film in Red China

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, the Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to Red China, P. F. Judin, presented the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Red China with a new colour-film, "Vladimir Iljitch Lenin". The Red Chinese Foreign Minister assured Judin that this film would play a very important educational part

in propagating the Communist ideology amongst the Chinese masses.

Khrushchev's Picture of Future

On November 1, 1958, a reception was held in the Kremlin for the trainees who completed their courses at the military academies in 1958. The main speaker on this occasion was Khrushchev, who gave those present a future picture of Communist society in the U.S.S.R. within the next fifteen years. He intentionally stressed the fact that by 1970-75 the capitalistic system would have been destroyed by peaceful means. At the same time, however, he exhorted all those present who belonged to the military profession to constantly bear in mind that one must always be prepared for the eventuality of a third world war.

Molotov Rumours

Rumours are at present circulating in Moscow to the effect that Molotov will allegedly be returning to Moscow from Mongolia in order to assume his former leading post in the Russian Communist Party once more. The reason for these rumours is the fact that Mao Tse-tung has allegedly interceded with Khrushchev for Molotov. It has likewise been ascertained that Suslov, who disappeared after the victory of the Khrushchev supporters in the Communist Party, has recently begun to play a decisive part again in the Central Committee of the Party.

Erich Koch Trial

Apart from a few insignificant comments, the Red Russian press makes practically no mention at all of the trial of the former Nazi Commissar of Ukraine, Erich Koch, which will be brought to a close in Warsaw within the next few days. The "Radjanska Ukrayina" is the only paper which, from time to time, has brought short reports on the trial, without however mentioning the atrocities committed by Koch in Ukraine. It has, on the other hand, however, stressed all the crimes which Koch committed in Poland.

Red Army Needs More Ideological Training

At the beginning of November, 1958, the political administration of the Soviet Russian army once again expressed its alarm at the big regression in the ideological Communist training of the Soviet Russian soldiers. In order to emphasize this factor and to speed up the ideological and educational work, the political administrations of all the military districts are now organizing advisory courses for instructors and political workers. According to the orders issued during such courses, the soldiers are to be trained ideologically and politically in such a way that they loyally and successfully defend the state even under the "Communism" propagated by Khrushchev.

Wanted for Murder Anastas Mikoyan Bolshevik's No. 2 Criminal

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Killing a man makes one a murderer and all the civilized world punishes and detests a murderer, but we allow murderers of millions to talk freely and we allow them to sit at the same table with us.

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THINK!

Published by: Independent Hungarian Freedom-fighters Organization.

(Leaflets distributed in USA during Mikoyan Visit.)

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In CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

A cultural agreement between Czechoslovakia and the United Arab Republic was recently signed in Cairo. It provides for the exchange of professors and students between the two countries and also for an increase in the number of Czechoslovak scholarships granted to Arab students who are to study at universities in Czechoslovakia.

Another cultural agreement has also been made with China. It intensifies the already existing relations between Czechoslovakia and China still further.

Ladislav Brabec has been appointed Minister of Home Trade. Krajcir, who held this post so far, has now been appointed Minister of Foreign Trade in place of Richard Dvorak, who has been appointed Czechoslovak Ambassador to Moscow.

A Czechoslovak government delegation visited the Albanian government delegation, which, together with the Czechoslovak government, issued a communiqué in support of the Soviet plan to suggest peace treaty terms to Germany.

According to official statistics, 1,050 agricultural cooperatives were founded throughout Czechoslovakia last year. This brings the total number of cooperatives there up to 12,140, with a total cultivated area of 4,289,618 hectares.

BOOK - REVIEWS

Massimo Salvadori: *Fibel des Weltkommunismus*. Munich, Isar Verlag, 1957. 142 pp.

This German edition of the work by Massimo Salvadori entitled "The Rise of Modern Communism", "A Brief History of the Communist Movement in the 20th Century" (New York, Henry Holt and Co., Inc.), which appeared in 1952, would have done better to remain true to the original title of the book, since the latter was not only mainly intended to be historical, but also retains its lasting value precisely because it is a brief, but nevertheless clear and relatively trustworthy account of the history of Bolshevism inside and outside the U.S.S.R. The author, an Englishman of Italian descent, who for some time held an appointment at Smith College (Massachusetts) as a well-known sociologist of liberal trend, possesses an outstanding talent for sifting historical material objectively and presenting it in short, precise formulas; and a "supplement" specially compiled for the German edition, which deals with the events of the years 1952 to 1957 (up to the middle of June), as it were recifies the far too optimistic outlook which the author held and published at the time of the Korean War (his assertion, for instance, regarding the fundamental immunity of the Moslem and Buddhist countries of Asia against Communist propaganda has meanwhile proved to be a very dangerous exaggeration).

But since, in the opinion of the author, Bolshevism is nothing but a radical variety of international Communism, his account of the Communist "philosophy of the world" remains a dead scheme, and the actual main springs of militant Soviet Communism — namely the Russian imperialistic ones lie beyond his range of vision. As soon as he begins to talk about national affairs, he lapses into strange inconsistencies; on page 81, for instance, he admits that "the fact that of several million prisoners-of-war, about 200,000 Ukrainians and 80,000 Moslems from the Caucasus and from the Soviet region of Central Asia were prepared to fight on the German side", was taken as an indication that the unity of the Soviet Union was not as great as had been assumed at the end of the 1920's." This is a correct conclusion, but the author does not know how to use it and promptly retracts it when he says: "At the end of the war, however, there was no indication that the internal structure of the Soviet Union had been weakened**" or that the authority of its leaders had become questionable****. And what is more, — on the same page the author affirms: "Not everyone in the Union was pleased(!) at the course which socialism had taken, but the official line continued to remain the line of the nation." — Which nation? Does he by any chance mean the "Soviet" nation? And if he means the overwhelming majority of the Russian nation (which actually seems to have preferred the continuance of Stalin's terrorism and autocratic rule to any forcible upheaval of the Soviet Bolshevik status quo), how does the author visualize the mutual relations between the Russian nation, on the

*) The author seems to be unaware of the fact that thousands of persons from the Baltic states, Ukrainians, Cossacks and others, fought voluntarily on the German side against the Russians without ever having been prisoners-of-war!

***) "In 1946 measures were taken — so the author affirms on the same page — to stifle the obvious flaring up of nationalism anew in Ukraine"; the author thus only knows as much about the armed fight of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) as the Soviets published.

****) Which "leaders"? There was only one leader, — Stalin, whose "authority" — within the Party, too, — was based on obvious despotism.

one hand, and the rest of the nations in the Soviet Union, on the other? He does not visualize them at all, since he is convinced that they are of no importance for the character and history of Bolshevism.

It is fairly evident that a work written from such a point of view is no doubt capable of sharply criticizing "Communism as such" as an ideological doctrine and mentality, but incapable of producing a dynamic means to combat the historically real Bolshevism. "Temporizing" is apparently the acme of wisdom, according to the author:

"As regards its position in world politics, we have seen that the Communist movement at the end of 1950 exercised an unchallenged sway over part of the Eastern hemisphere. There are over 750 million persons living in this region. If it is true — and certain events which we have experienced seem to corroborate this — that the forces of an internal opposition are not strong enough to do away with a powerful and capable dictatorship, then, in view of the fact that there is no external pressure, it must be assumed that Communism will remain the dominating political power in this region. It will probably only begin to flag when it has lost its dynamic energy, but this, as we have seen, presupposes a process which is not likely to happen in the near future" (p. 121).

The author even manages to obstruct his own way to understanding the nature of the right means with which to fight Bolshevism, that is to say, Soviet Russian imperialism. For he says: "Under the present circumstances it is difficult to foresee whether the totalitarian form of government of the Communist regime of the democratic form of government of the English-speaking world will suffer a defeat" (p. 122). But why the "English-speaking world"? Because "on the strength of the high standard of their cultural, economic and political development, the leading role falls to the English-speaking countries in the endeavour to prevent the advance of Communism beyond the region in which it has asserted itself, thanks to the chaotic conditions which World War II created" (p. 122).

Pride goes before a fall! During the past five years the foreign political fight of the USA and Great Britain against Communism has, indeed, not won many laurels, — on the contrary, these two powers have made themselves more ridiculous than all the rest of the larger states of the Western world, save perhaps with the exception of the French Republic. But precisely in this latter state one can, since May, 1958, talk of a promising national political revival, of which there is no trace whatever in the two above-mentioned big English-speaking democracies, where the self-complacent arrogance of the Pharisee prevails and still ascribes the "advance of Communism" to the "chaotic conditions which World War II created", without realizing or wanting to admit that in the first place Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam are responsible for these "chaotic conditions"; and, in the second place, the neither glorious nor far-sighted abandonment of the anti-Communist forces in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Poland, and, subsequently, in Czechoslovakia, China (with the exception of Formosa), Tibet and Egypt****), and, more recently, in East Berlin, Poland, Hungary, Indonesia and Iraq. Certainly fine evidence regarding the "high standard of political development"!

It is true that the USA and Great Britain on account of their material superiority represent the two main pillars of the anti-Communist fight of the free world — but by no means on account of their foreign policy, which has proved a failure on practically every occasion; and some states, such as Spain and Portugal, which have refused to advertize themselves as "democratic constitutions", have in this respect stood the test far better. And when the author affirms that "Communism has achieved the least successes" in the English-speaking world, he is, on the one hand, overlooking all the German-speaking democracies — the Federal Republic of Germany, Austria, Switzerland — where Communist influence, at least in public life, is equally insignificant, and, on the other hand, is forgetting the powerful infiltration of the Communists and their henchmen in the key positions of American public life under President Roosevelt and, partly, also under President Truman. It is hard to believe that in this respect everything is as it should be under President Eisenhower.

The decisive error, however, lies not so much in the lack of willingness on the part of the Anglo-Saxon democracies to assume the leadership in the anti-Communist fight, but rather in the aim which they have set themselves: "to prevent the advance of Communism beyond the region in which it has asserted itself (since 1939 — V. D.)"; that is to say, a purely defensive and limited aim, but nevertheless a process which, in the long run, is hopeless. A decisive victory over Communism can only be won if one strikes a deadly blow at its concrete substance, — Russian imperialism; and this can only be achieved with the help of the "Soviet", i. e. the non-Russian peoples subjugated by Russia, namely all of them, those forcibly incorporated in the Russian imperium both after 1939 and before 1914. If one ignores this possibility, the most consistent "ideological" criticism of Communism remains abstract and, in the practical sense, sterile, as the work under review most strikingly shows.

We should, however, like to point out that this work,

****) We are referring to the overthrow of General Nequib by the Sovietophil Nasser.

in its treatment of a number of individual problems, has a certain current interest and may indeed have a certain propagandist value, namely by reason of the sharp criticism which the author expresses on the theories of "peaceful coexistence" and the possible "liberalization" of the Soviet regime. V. D.

*

Hendrik van Bergh: *Die Rote Springflut. Sowjetrusslands Weg ins Herz Europas* (Red Spring Tide. Soviet Russia's Way into the Heart of Europe). Isar Verlag, Munich, 1958. 528 pp.

This book gives an account of the imperialistic expansion of the U.S.S.R. in East and Central Europe since 1939. The actual intention of the author, as he himself explains, was "to write down the story of how, in the Stalinist era, fifteen nations, either wholly or partly, were forcibly subjected to Soviet rule", and precisely in this connection to show that "the recognition of the Soviet policy of 'peaceful coexistence' represented the tacit toleration of the successes of the Stalinist war policy", that "the Western Powers by recognizing this policy admitted their own policy of inaction and constant advance payments", and that "the 'peace at any price' attitude would inevitably lead to slavery or to another world war" (p. 8).

So far, so good. But we should also like to take into account the faults of this book, which are numerous and, to some extent, serious.

From the formal point of view, the author would have been quite entitled to disregard completely the national policy and the national struggles in this connection in the European states now enslaved by the Soviet Union, such as they existed prior to 1939, since these questions are beyond his subject (though, of course, much of what happened after 1939 would in that case remain incomprehensible); the author, however, only deals with these questions when it happens to suit him. He discusses in detail the internal national tensions in Czechoslovakia during the pre-war period (incidentally, he ignores the Carpatho-Ukrainians completely in this respect), but, on the other hand, only hints at the national tensions in Yugoslavia (to the disadvantage of the Slovenes and Croats), and makes no mention whatever of those in Poland and Roumania. The author, moreover, does not appear to have heard of the term "West Ukraine", for he constantly refers only to "East Poland", — which surely indicates that he is even more anti-Ukrainian than the Poles themselves!

Naturally, the author was partly obliged to rely on sources which he was not in a position to check. This is particularly noticeable in the chapter on Bulgaria.

In addition to various excellent sources, of which we should in particular like to mention the "Special Reports of the Select Committee on Communist Aggression of the 83rd American Congress" (Washington, 1955), which are comparatively little used in Western Europe, the author also delves into such dark sources as the "Revelations" of Russian "White" imperialists belonging to the notorious "Solidarists, Union" (NTS) and other secret Fascist organizations of the Russian emigrants. And the opinions which they express are, naturally, in complete conformity with the interests or the prestige of Soviet Russia. Thus, the former Soviet Russian Major G. Klimov, for instance, affirms that the defeat of the Red Army in 1941 was not a defeat, but a "systematically" carried out retreat, in order to entice the German armies into the "immeasurable vastness of the country" and in this way "annihilate" them (p. 415). But, unfortunately, he does not say whether the many thousands of Red Army soldiers who were captured during these operations, allowed themselves to be taken prisoner in accordance with instructions from the Kremlin! Incidentally, this legend about the "systematic retreat" is by no means a new revelation.

To quote another example: the former Soviet Russian secret agent, N. Khokhlov, affirms (in 1957) that Soviet Russia will very soon detach itself from Communism "of its own accord" and, to support his argument, refers to the "will" of the Russian people(!).

And what part did the "will" of the Russian people play during the Russian Communist massacre in Budapest? Either it approved of the latter, or else it was just as powerless as it was under Stalin.

And all this the author takes for gospel-truth and goes so far as to describe it as "an interesting insight" and "explanations worthy of notice"! — It is true that the book has a certain value as a comprehensive compilation of material and documents, but it should only be read and used with considerable reservation. V. D.

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For Moscow The World War Is Not Over!

(DW) — When Khrushchev terminated the status of Berlin many persons failed to realize that it was a question neither of the fate of the German capital, nor of Germany's future alone. It was not until the Soviet peace proposal for Germany was put forward, accompanied by a large-scale offensive in the war of nerves against the West, that it became plain to all that, with the thrust towards Berlin, the countries of the North Atlantic Pact, in fact, received notice of the termination of the entire coexistence on the former terms. By now, it is evident to everyone that the thrust of Moscow's new political offensive is directed far beyond Berlin and that Moscow's next aim is to shift the Iron Curtain from the Oder-Neisse to at least as far as the Rhine.

In this respect it is interesting to note which methods Soviet policy uses in order to carry out this new thrust — the most massive one since the end of the war. In order to achieve a permanent sterilization of Germany as a factor of European politics and to partition it for good, Khrushchev calls up the spirit of Yalta and Potsdam, just as though nothing at all had happened in the fourteen years since the end of the war, and pleads for a restoration of idyllic relations to the Western allies, just as in the days of the war coalition against Hitler. That there is nowadays neither a Hitler nor a German danger, but, rather, that world aggression in an intensified and hitherto unheard-of potency is represented by the Soviet bloc, teeming with armaments, and is an acute and deadly danger for the entire free world, — all this Khrushchev simply dismisses by grossly falsifying facts and circumstances.

Since he is, however, aware of the lack of conviction of his theories, the new "conciliatory" dictator in the Kremlin seeks to safeguard the success of his thrust against the

defense positions of the West by even more concrete means. And in this respect it is not difficult to see through the strategy and tactics of his psychological offensive. Even before the Berlin ultimatum was issued, the Kremlin could not for a moment have been in any doubt as to the reaction to be expected on the part of the Western allies. On the contrary, — Khrushchev's aim and intention was that the Western allies in Berlin should categorically reject his plan and should even make Berlin a *casus belli*. In other words, the Berlin ultimatum was intended to create the spectre of another world war, in the not entirely unfounded hope that the Western politicians, would, as the fatal ultimate date of May 27th approached, become afraid of their own courage and would accordingly be prepared to accept any concession in the settlement of the German question. Thus, the Berlin ultimatum was merely intended as the cardinal point, which is to have the effect of a time-bomb and of the sword of Damocles on Moscow's partner at the forthcoming negotiations.

And it was with this aspect in mind that Mikoyan undertook his notorious trip to the USA, in order to create the atmosphere for a Russian-American world partnership policy, in the sense of a perpetuation of the status quo. And it was in the framework of equally daring aims that the British Prime Minister Macmillan was lured into paying a visit to Moscow, on the one hand, in order to obtain London's consent to the permanent partition of Germany and the permanent deprivation of its power, and, on the other hand, to concede British foreign policy a chance to play a leading part and in this way to stir up an unpleasant feeling of rivalry in the Western camp.

Whatever the Soviet tactics may be and whatever the individual reactions of the West may be, there is one fundamental aspect which, in view of the fact that the front-lines of world politics are now on the move, one must bear in mind, — namely, that for Moscow the second world war is not yet over! It is still being conducted with all the means available, no longer and in no way only against the remnant of Germany, in the form of the Federal Republic which is growing in strength, but, in effect, precisely against the Soviet Western allies of yesterday, whose economic and military power is the real obstacle on the path of the unchangeable aims of world Communism. From this point of view, the so-called "German problem" and Germany are in reality only the first barrier, which is now to be pulled down at the cheap price of the hypocritical assurances of friendship of the kind that were made in Teheran and Potsdam. Tomorrow, however, — and tomorrow in the development of world politics may be a decade or two — it will inevitably be the turn of the chief "capitalist" and "imperialist" enemies.

(Continued on page 2)

A. Mykulyn

Congress of the Russian Communist Party

The Russian Bolshevik press published the political resolution of the 21st Congress, the speech held by Khrushchev and a report of the entire proceedings of the Congress; all this can be considered from three different aspects, — the economic and military, political and ideological aspects. From the economic and military aspect, the dominating point in Khrushchev's Seven-Year Plan, which was accepted, is the fact that he intends to make the U.S.S.R. the leading industrial country of the world, in order to establish new economic and military relations as far as Moscow's power is concerned . . . "For if the Soviet Union becomes the leading industrial state of the world, if the Chinese People's Republic becomes a powerful industrial state and if all the socialist countries together produce more than half the total industrial world production, international relations will undergo a fundamental change," — so Khrushchev affirmed in his speech. "The new proportional relations of power will be so very convincing that even the most obstinate imperialist will be bound to realize the hopelessness of his aims to start a war against the socialist camp." If we understand the tenor of this statement by Khrushchev rightly, we undoubtedly come to the conclusion that the leading Party circles of Russian imperialism, whilst disguising the Seven-Year Plan as a "peaceful course" and "coexistence" of the two worlds, have reached the decision to prepare the final military clash with the Western and so-called capitalist world, if not during the Seven-Year Plan, then, at least, in the course of a fifteen-year plan.

There is nothing new in this for the Red Russian imperialists, for the economic aim to catch up with the leading capitalist states of the West and to overtake them, was already expressed by Stalin. And Lenin in his day wrote as follows: "The existence of a strong economic and powerful military Soviet state is a rock, against which in the not too distant future all the forces of the bourgeois capitalist world will be dashed to pieces." Like Lenin and Stalin, Khrushchev regards the U.S.S.R. not as end in itself in building up a new order of society, the so-called Communist order of society, but as a military, economic, political and ideological citadel for new aggressions. The shifting of important industrial centres to the east of the Soviet Union is economically favourable, inasmuch as this region contains huge deposits of industrial raw materials and inexhaustible reserves of natural power. Moscow is endeavouring to solve the problem of labour centres by reorganizing the educational system, automatizing and mechanizing the production processes, and by deporting the non-Russian population. From the ideological point of view, such an intermingling of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. is absolutely necessary as far as the Russians are concerned, for in this way they intend to create one Soviet people. They intend to exterminate all national feeling on the part of the non-Russian peoples and finally instil into the latter the feeling of a vast living-space and the feeling of internationalism. And this will no doubt play an extremely important part in future military aggression, for it will be mainly the younger generation who in that case will be fighting. For this reason, too, the Russian language is to be introduced as compulsory in all schools during their reorganization. From the strategical point of view, the shifting of the industrial centres eastwards brings Moscow nearer to Red China, North Korea and

From the Contents

	Page
Jaroslav Stetzko	
United States of America and the Liberation Policy	3
Prof Dr. Andrija Ilic	
National Communism A Contradiction in Itself	5
W. Tsitsichvili	
Russia Strives for World Domination	6
Dr. Baymirza Hayit	
Russia and the Orient	7
Prof. Dr. V. Derzhavyn	
Moral Principles Before Tactics	9
A. Furman	
Vorkuta In Central Europe	10
Z. Sahan	
The Communist System — A Virtual Prison	14

Congress of the Russian Communist Party

(Continued from page 1)

North Vietnam, as well as to the colonial and non-colonial countries of Asia. According to Russian calculations, this ought to enable the Russians to carry out an attack against the free West from Asia and Africa. In any case, the new industrial centres in the east will enable the Soviet Union to develop and build up a huge military potential within a very short time. From the political point of view, the Russian imperialists intend to consolidate the Party power and the Soviet order in the U.S.S.R. still more in the course of the Seven-Year Plan and to go over from so-called socialism to Communism. At the 21st Congress, Khrushchev in his speech expressed two new theoretical principles in addition to his general theory regarding the building up of socialism and Communism. This applies not only to the U.S.S.R., but also to the other countries. Stalin affirmed that one could build up socialism completely, but that one could not bring this process to a definite end, since the possibility of an intervention must always be taken into account. Khrushchev affirmed that socialism in the U.S.S.R. has already grown and developed to such an extent that the possibility of capitalism being restored appears to be out of the question. Thus, the process of building up socialism in the Soviet Union has also been definitely completed; "and this means," so Khrushchev added, "that one can already begin to build up Communism, or," as he put it, "to build up a material and technical basis in order to develop the building up of Communism."

According to Marx, one cannot build up Communism in a country, for this would involve the dying out of the state. Khrushchev has "explained" this theory and affirms: "Communism demands the consolidation of the state system, for the very reason that the U.S.S.R. is not a single socialist state, but is surrounded by its satellite states, and hence a transition to Communism must be effected simultaneously in the entire socialist camp."

For the purpose of setting up an extended imaginary democracy, the Congress decided that part of the functions of the state leadership should gradually be transferred to those social bourgeois organizations which are, however, only headed by Party members of the U.S.S.R.

Moscow stated on the day of the Congress that the number of Party members amounted to 8,239,000, that is to say, 24 persons of the Soviet Russian population to every Party control functionary.

The political analysis of the speeches held during the 21st Party Congress and the proceedings of the Congress itself corroborate the fact that the Khrushchev clique in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has finally emerged as victor. As far as Khrushchev is concern-

For Moscow The World War Is Not Over!

(Continued from page 1)

To recognize this situation in world politics in all its far-reaching aspects is, for the West, identical with continuing a policy of superior strength unwaveringly; and, in doing so, Soviet aggression must not be conceded a single step further, but — what is still more important — the psychological, economic and moral preconditions for the existence of Bolshevik tyranny over one-third of mankind must be definitely eliminated. This, in turn, is only possible by means of an active liberation policy in determined and firm solidarity with the subjugated peoples, so that mankind may, if possible, be spared an atomic war and so that the free world may not in the near future use up its forces for defense systems and be obliged to go on living, day in, day out, under the shadow of new aggressions. Otherwise, the witches' cauldron of the Russian Bolshevik world empire will continue, to an ever-increasing degree, to be a source of imminent danger to the free peoples of the world.

ed, a personal cult is gradually becoming apparent, which reminds one of Stalin's day, — a cult in which the main figure is "a theoretician in the process of building up Communism and defeating capitalism." The 21st Congress was a corroboration of the dictatorship of Khrushchev both within the Party and also in the entire Soviet Union (U.S.S.R.). Although Khrushchev's dictatorship is of an entirely different type to the dictatorship of Stalin, Khrushchev is nevertheless authorized to decide all Party and state questions both as regards foreign policy and also home policy.

The discussions at the Congress were attended by 171 delegates, of whom only 86, however, made speeches. Nineteen persons who took part in the discussions, incidentally, very sharply criticized Malenkov's anti-Party group. Every effort was made to prove that Khrushchev was a new Leninist theoretician in the process of building up the Communist order of society and foreign policy. But it is futile for mankind to hope that Moscow in carrying out the Seven-Year Plan will adopt the "peaceful course" that it has announced. This "peaceful course" was already announced at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party, but, as is well known, Moscow in the course of the year 1958 on two occasions very nearly brought the whole world to the brink of war, — during events in the Near East and on Formosa. At the present moment, the most burning question is the Berlin problem and the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany.

Even though Khrushchev affirmed at the 21st Congress that, in the field of international relations, the "Leninist principle of the coexistence of countries with different social systems" would be consistently adhered to, Khrushchev's Seven-Year Plan was, nevertheless, only introduced in order to gain the "maximum of time." And if this really happens, Moscow will dictate its terms to the peace-loving world; and it goes without saying that if these terms are turned down, Russian propaganda will make out that this is an attempt on the part of the imperialists to involve the world in the chaos and horror of a third world war.

Incidentally, the usual standard threats were expressed at the 21st Party Congress, namely in the speech held by Marshal Malinovsky, who emphasized and boasted about the latest equipment of the Soviet Russian army. He stressed that the capitalist aggressors could be destroyed by merely pressing a button and assured the Russian Communist Party and Khrushchev personally that the supreme military oligarchy of the Soviet Russian forces would explicitly obey all the aggressive orders issued by the Russian imperialists.

"The Communists serving in the Army and the entire body of the fighting forces of the Soviet Union", so Malinovsky added, "are extremely grateful to the Central Committee and to Comrade Khrushchev personally for having exposed the true aims of the former Minister of Defence, Marshal Zhukov, who wanted to separate the Army from the Party. In this way, the Central Committee and Comrade Khrushchev frustrated the insidious plans of the new Bonaparte." With this statement Malinovsky corroborated the existence of a conspiracy — headed by Zhukov — in the army against the Central Committee. At the 21st Congress considerable attention was devoted to the fierce ideological struggle of the West against Russian Bolshevism and against "world Communism." Whereas the military economic potential of the Seven-Year Plan suggested by Khrushchev is to increase the productivity of the labour efficiency of the workers to at least 60 per cent, in the field of the ideological fight with the West, the struggle against bourgeois influences is, in accordance with the said resolution of the 21st Congress, to be intensified still more and the entire Communist propaganda is to be given a definitely aggressive character. The increasing of the productivity of the labour efficiency of the workers to 60 per cent is by no means an aim to satisfy the vital needs of the Soviet Russian population or to improve their standard of living. Indeed, in this connection Khrushchev said quite openly: "This does not by any means refer to bourgeois needs or to all the exaggerated wishes of every individual, for a person cannot eat more bread than his organism can digest".

The purpose of the increasing of the productivity of the labour efficiency to 60 per cent is to be able to "help" the economically undeveloped countries without incurring any expense (in the form of presents under the cloak of humanism), namely at the cost of the production of surplus values in the cheap production process, and in this way, by dumping on the world market, to put a stop to the economic influence of the West.

And the Russian ideological fight against the West is to serve the same purpose. On the strength of the speeches held at the 21st Congress, one can draw the conclusion that the "coexistence" with which Moscow is trying to deceive the West, in view of the aggressive ideological struggle of two hostile worlds, is not likely to last long. The ideological propaganda in this respect is, in practice, never confined to sound and objective discussion. Vagueness and confusion, lies, misrepresentation of facts, invented assertions and demagoguery . . . such is the tenor of the ideological fight of the Russian Bolsheviks, which has as its aim the disintegration of the Western world and the aggravation of animosities amongst the peoples of the West. The ideological fight of imperialist Moscow can in no way be brought into line with the Russian "peaceful course" and "coexistence." For how can one, for instance, achieve any agreement between the latter and the following statement by Khrushchev: "We and the leading circles of the capitalist countries have entirely different views and an entirely different philosophy of life and the world in general. We shall never abandon our views and content ourselves with the hope that our class enemies, too, will change their ideology." Thus, Khrushchev is already announcing in advance an extremely fierce ideological fight against the West, — incidentally, at the time of the so-called "peaceful coexistence." Hence the statement made by the present president of the committee for the preservation of the state security of the Soviet Union was by no means without significance, namely the assertion that "the sharpness of the proletarian sword, which is personified by the state security service of the U.S.S.R., is directed against the agencies which capitalist countries smuggle into the U.S.S.R." And this is not merely official phraseology, for in keeping with the new criminal code of the Soviet Union, the following crimes are severely punished: high treason, espionage, flight abroad, refusal to return from abroad, every form of agitation and propaganda (ideological fight). This is hardly surprising, since the Russian imperialists have intentionally aggravated the problem of West Berlin, for it has become a dangerous and, in fact, the most important position for them on the front of the ideological fight of the West against Moscow and its satellite states. Unfortunately, the free world fails to estimate rightly the power of its own ideological weapons in the fight against Russian imperialism and the Fifth Column of the Communist parties. The free world neglects the development of these weapons to perfection and overlooks the fact that the question of "who against whom?" can only be solved in the ideological fight.

Is there a Soviet citizen?

President Eisenhower, seeking one word to cover citizens of the Soviet Union, has braved the criticism of purists and adopted the term "Soviets". Many leading Americans have followed his lead, and to-day Webster's International Dictionary has given the term its stamp of approval.

The problem is that there is no one word which can be accurately used when referring to a Soviet citizen. Strictly the term "Russian" may not be used unless the reference is to the dominant Russian nationality; Ukrainians, Uzbeks and Armenians, for example, are not Russians.

The Russian language has no single word to describe "Soviet" citizens of the Soviet Union.

To the Russian ear, calling a person a "Soviet" would sound ridiculous. As it appears in "Soviet Union", the word means "council" or "advisory body".

Daily Telegraph, February 2nd 1959.

United States of America and the Liberation Policy*

Every empire has its Achilles' heel which is its nationalities problem. The Russian empire is by far the most cruel and most barbarous empire which has ever existed in the world. If the most vulnerable spot of every empire is its subjugated nations, then it follows that the Free World's policy should attempt to win to its side the nations enslaved by Russia. The liberation policy should not be confined merely to those nations enslaved by Russia during and after the Second World War and neglect such nations as Ukraine, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, North Caucasus and other non-Russian nations enslaved in the USSR prior to 1939. We are living in an age characterized by the collapse of empires and by the victory in the world of the national idea, the idea of the national state as the principle of a world order built on new foundations. It is therefore illogical to favor the disintegration of the British, French or Dutch empires, which, after all, have given a lot which was useful for the peoples under their rule, and, at the same time, to defend the integrity of the Russian empire, be it only within the 1939 borders. There is no doubt that Ukraine, Georgia or Turkestan is incomparably more suited for existence as a national independent state than is Ghana or Lebanon. Ukraine, Georgia and Turkestan possess some thousand years of cultural and historical traditions of national existence.

United States foreign policy should be a policy of liberation which would clearly and unmistakably raise the problem of the disintegration of the Russian empire as such and the restoration of the national independence of all the nations subjugated in it, i. e., not only the so-called satellite countries but also those included within the USSR.

Moral and ideological positions are decisive in this struggle between the Russian communist bloc and the Free World. The conflict in Lebanon was the best illustration. At a press conference devoted to this question, President Eisenhower declared that he supported the idea of nationalism with regard to the Arab countries. This idea is equally valid for the subjugated nations behind the Iron Curtain, especially those in the USSR. In order to defeat Bolshevism, which is a synthesis of Russian imperialism and communism, it is necessary to raise and to support, in practical policy, the idea of national liberation of all nations including those within the USSR, and not merely the satellites. The present-day struggle is a struggle for the highest values of mankind against the forces of ruin and destruction, in short, of Christianity or, in a wider sense, of religion against atheism. It is the struggle of the national idea which is realized in the form of a national independent state against the world imperialist idea which is defended by Russia in the form of the world USSR. It is the struggle of the idea of man's freedom against totalitarian slavery, of the idea of social justice against the greatest injustice which mankind has ever known. Victory cannot be won by ideas of compromise but only by absolute ideas, equally obligatory for all. If the United States attacks Russian imperialism in Poland or in Hungary while, at the same time, defending it (i. e. anti-moral oppression) in Ukraine or Turkestan, then Russia's position will remain unassailable. A crime is always a crime. The murder of ten people is just as much a murder as is the murder of twenty people. The enslavement of ten nations is equally as debasing morally as is the enslavement of twenty nations. We live in the age of ideological wars. Ideas and not money make policy. The most recent example can be found in the Arab world. Communism, as an ideological and socio-political system, must be opposed by antipodal and not by similar systems.

National liberation revolutions of the nations enslaved within the USSR and in the satellite countries, carried out simultaneously and in a coordinated manner, are the only alternative to an atomic world war. This is possible provided that the concept envisaging the disintegration of the Russian empire and the restoration of the independent national states of Ukraine, Turkestan, Georgia, Byelorussia and other countries subjugated within the USSR and in the satellite countries is adopted

and supported. Likewise, an all-round program of practical assistance, including military aid, for the national liberation organizations behind the Iron Curtain is a necessity.

Psychological warfare should be carried out on the part of the West in common with representatives of national liberation movements which are active beyond the Iron Curtain. In no case are these representatives former collaborators with Bolshevism nor are they supporters of the idea of "one and indivisible Russia" so far as the nations enslaved within the USSR and in the so-called satellite countries are concerned. The contents of the psychological warfare which concerns their own nations must be determined by national representatives of

The Ninth Anniversary of a Hero's Death



General Taras Chuprynka

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

He was one of the founders of the A.B.N. in the underground movement in 1943.

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

these nations rather than by American circles. These representatives should be treated as contracting parties and not as paid agents.

"The American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism" must be basically reorganized so far as its political tendencies and its personnel are concerned. The idea of non-predetermination must be abandoned altogether. The nations enslaved within the USSR have already long since made their self-determination by a plebiscite of blood in the struggle against Russia of every color. Neither India, nor Pakistan, nor Indonesia, nor even Ghana for that matter, has ever carried out a plebiscite on the question of whether or not it wanted to be independent. The United States, too, made its self-determination, not by a paper plebiscite, but by means of revolution and a liberational war under the leadership of George Washington. Ukraine, Georgia or Turkestan formed their independent states when Russia was not yet in existence, when, in the regions where Moscow and Petrograd stand today, only wolves were howling. "The American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism" should fully accept the political platform of the ABN in its actions. As regards the nations enslaved by Russia, this Committee (ACLB) should cooperate with political liberation organizations which will become

its partners and not merely receive its orders. "Radio Liberation" must adopt a political program aimed at the disintegration of the Russian empire into independent democratic states and must stop propagating the idea of "non-predetermination". It is certainly most curious that the United States should support the disintegration of the British or the French empire and that the American press should attack English or French imperialism while, at the same time, defending Russian imperialism which is a hundred times worse than these former, for neither England nor France has its conscience blackened by murder (such as the murder of seven million Ukrainians in 1933 by means of a carefully planned and organized famine of terrible proportions) and neither France nor England keeps twenty million prisoners in concentration camps.

"The Voice of America" should base its attitude on the principle stated by President Eisenhower that the United States supports nationalism, that is, the independence of all peoples including the nations beyond the Iron Curtain inside the USSR, and it should conduct its propagandistic activities in the spirit of the disintegration of the Russian empire. Liberational nationalism cannot be ignored by anyone. Sooner or later the United States will have to accept this idea and to support it with regard to the nations enslaved within the USSR as they are now somewhat belatedly doing with regard to the Afro-Asian complex. The difference is that it can now be done voluntarily in order to take the initiative into one's own hands, while later it may have to be done under pressure from Russia and will redound to Russian credit exactly as, at the present moment, certain Asian and African nations, having a faulty knowledge of Russian intentions, consider that they owe the gaining of their national independence (for example, the Arab peoples) to Russia. The Russian ideological and political propaganda harrage as regards the independence of the Ukrainian SSR or of the Byelorussian SSR is met with the idea of "non-predetermination" on the part of the USA. Such a position is completely untenable. The United States would do better to demand *real* independence and to point out the fiction of the "independence" of the Ukrainian SSR at present. In today's situation, the USA has taken a step backward from the Russian position and it can, therefore, not hope to win trust among the nations which are enslaved within the USSR. By lending support to some of the former Bolshevist collaborators from the satellite states, who, together with the Russian occupiers, have, in their time, liquidated anti-Russian and anti-communist resistance movements in their countries, American policy has brought disappointment to the popular masses, for the enslaved peoples do not want to have Marxism or national communism in their countries. They yearn for the complete liquidation of communism and Marxism altogether.

It is strange that at a time when Moscow is intensifying her Russification course in Ukraine, there are attempts on the part of the "Voice of America" to curtail its broadcasts in the non-Russian languages of the USSR, instead of improving their contents in the sense of propagating the concept of the disintegration of the Russian empire. It is important to note that no armed revolutionary activities occurred on the Russian ethnographic territory during or after the Second World War. On the other hand, insurgent troops of a nationalist complexion existed in Ukraine (the Ukrainian Insurgent Army) and in some other non-Russian countries. It is self-evident that Bolshevism will be destroyed not by Russians, but rather by non-Russians. Communism did not attain power in the non-Russian countries by means of a communist revolution organized by the internal forces of those nations; it was imposed by Russian bayonets. Such was the case in Ukraine, Poland, Hungary, Georgia, Turkestan, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Byelorussia etc.

"We are as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and behold, we live; as chastened, and not killed". II. Corinthians, VI, 9.

* From the speech delivered at a meeting organized by AF ABN in Buffalo, U.S.A. in Sommer, 1958.

The United States is not able to give the Russians more than they were given by Stalin, i. e. domination over a considerable part of the world. The attitude which may be formulated as "give and take" in the sense of preserving the Russian empire within the narrower 1939 frontiers offers nothing to the Russians, nor does it solve their problems. Bolshevism can be combated openly only from positions which defend universal freedom and national independence for all nations and individuals, including Ukrainians, Georgians, Turkestanians, Byelorussians, Russians etc. One can either propagate justice and freedom integrally and universally for all the nations enslaved by Russia, or not do so, but one cannot propagate "a little justice" and "a little freedom," or favor it for some nations while denying it to others, discriminating between nations which lost their independence before or after the arbitrary date of 1939 and denying it to those nations which were deprived of their independence in 1920 when Russia crushed the independent existence of the nations which are now enslaved within the USSR.

A co-ordination of the activities of the national liberation revolutionary organizations of the nations enslaved behind the Iron Curtain, through their representatives in exile, with the liberation activities of the Free World, in the political and military sense, is a necessity. Likewise, universal support, by the United States, of revolutionary organizations behind the Iron Curtain, including technical and financial support, is required. There is a need for a center for the co-ordination of the activities of the appropriate organs of the Free World with the national liberation organs of the nations subjugated by Russia and by communism.

It is necessary that persons occupying different political positions from those voiced by the "American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism" be enabled to conduct the anti-communist action. There is no doubt that the effectiveness of anti-Bolshevist action would soon be demonstrated if it were carried out along principles which differ from those thus far followed. The policy of liberation must not be adapted from time to time to the tactical moves of the Department of State, nor should it be considered to be a mere instrument for exerting pressure on Russia. Freedom can not be an object of play and bargain.

It is indispensable for the A.B.N. to have at its disposal radio broadcasting stations which would be directed by members of the A.B.N. in the spirit of its political conception.

The A.B.N. should be enabled to create missions in countries neighboring on the USSR in order to carry out activities aiming at ideological, moral, political and other penetration into the entire Russo-communist sphere of influence. This also concerns countries adjacent to the Russian communist empire, including Red China. The A.B.N. has already established a mission in Formosa, from which it broadcasts to Siberia. Similar missions in Korea, Vietnam, Turkey, Afghanistan, Pakistan, East Berlin, etc., are equally necessary. The Russian communist sphere of domination must be penetrated from every direction, by means of broadcasts, the dropping of leaflets, etc. There are concentration camps in Siberia and the Soviet Army in the Far East consists, for the most part, of non-Russians. The population in Siberia is hostile to the Russian regime. Psychological preparation should be begun now for the execution, in case of an armed conflict, of insurgent activities in Siberia and the mobilization of the prisoners and their inclusion in national units. Practically, this can be done through the A.B.N. missions in Formosa, Korea, etc. Similarly, an appropriate action ought to be conducted among the emigrants from the countries enslaved within the USSR, now in Australia.

A particularly important activity is the penetration by revolutionary elements from the countries adjacent to the Bolshevik sphere of influence with the purpose of strengthening activities inside the enslaved countries.

The policy of co-existence must be abandoned. Diplomatic, cultural, economic and other relations with Russia and the communist bloc ought to be broken. No "summit" conferences should be held, for the aim of Russia in such conferences will always be to obtain recognition of the *status quo* of enslavement. Such a recognition can only demobilize and undermine the confidence of the enslaved nations in relation to the United States. The *status quo* is regarded by the Russians as merely a stepping-stone to further conquests.

II

Russia cannot now start a war in the Middle East for the following reasons:

The enslaved Moslem peoples in the USSR would rise against such a war, for they know that Russia does not defend their fellow coreligionists but, rather, deceives them in order to enslave them.

The oil deposits of the USSR, situated in the Caucasus area as well as in Rumania, are in the vicinity as are the resources of Ukraine and Turkestan. Strategically it is a most inconvenient position for Russia. America can easily deprive Russia of these treasures without the use of atomic bombs.

The mountainous regions of the Caucasus are excellently suited to insurgent activity. Soviet army concentrations would be dispersed by people escaping into the mountains as well as being harassed by local partisans.

Russia does not want to risk a world war now, inasmuch as she hopes to win great success by the strategy thus far employed which prepares the ground for a further penetration into Africa, the bridgehead facing America. After strengthening her influence there, and taking into account the well-known situation in Latin America, Russia will attempt to isolate the United States, thereby attempting to reduce the last fortress of the Free World to the territory of the United States and Canada, which fortress she would assail at the appropriate moment. According to Lenin, the way to Paris leads through Peking and Delhi. Through the Middle East, the isolation of the United States is approached. Russia's global strategy must be confronted with a global answer. In view of this, the fictitious independence of the countries dominated by Russia or propagated for those which she intends to enslave must acquire *real* forms in the policy of the USA, and not the formula of "non-predetermination."

The situation in the Middle East can not be solved as a local problem. A universal solution has to be found. And it must be an offensive solution.

The United States should bring to the fore the offensive idea of real independence for the nations now enslaved in the USSR and, generally, in the communist sphere of influence, as well as to confront this fiction with reality on every occasion. The demand for the granting of independence to the Moslem countries of the Middle East or Africa should be met with the demand for the granting of independence to the Moslem countries enslaved within the USSR. In a wider sense, the demand for the granting of independence to the dependent countries on this side of the Iron Curtain must be met with the demand for the real independence of the peoples beyond the Iron Curtain, including those within the USSR. For instance, the demand for the withdrawal of troops from Lebanon and Jordan should be countered with a demand for the withdrawal of Russian armies from Turkestan, Azerbaijan, Ukraine, Poland or Hungary.

The Asian and African peoples cannot trust the United States, for when Russia talks about the independence of the Ukrainian or of the Byelorussian SSR, the USA talk only about "non-predetermination" and support the Russian chauvinist imperialist organization, NTS, and its project of a new Russian empire. Russia talks about the independence of Ukraine as a member of the United Nations. The United States do not seem to deny the Russian statement that Ukraine is independent as they do not raise the demand for the real independence of Ukraine. As a matter of fact, they seem to believe that Ukraine and White Ruthenia are parts of Russia.

Why do not the United States demand, thus answering Russian blackmail tactics, why Moslem Azerbaijan or Turkestan does not have its delegates in the United Nations? Where is Lithuania, Latvia or Estonia?

Why do not the USA place under discussion the question of the attributes of independence of the Ukrainian SSR or of the Byelorussian SSR? Why do not the USA ask where are the armed forces of these states, where are their free elections, where are their diplomatic representatives, and why has the withdrawal of Russian troops from these "independent" nations not taken place? Why do not the United States raise the question of the implementation of paragraph 17 of the Stalin Constitution which provides for a "free" secession of Ukraine or Georgia or other republics from the Soviet Union?

Why should the withdrawal of Russian troops

from the countries occupied by the Russians not be dealt with in conjunction with the Russian demand for the withdrawal of Western troops from the countries where such troops have been stationed for completely different reasons?

Why should not the following questions be posed to Russia:

American and British troops have come on the invitation of legal governments and will withdraw immediately if the Russians will withdraw their troops from Turkestan, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Lithuania or Ukraine?

Is Russia willing to deal with Moslem Azerbaijan as the USA will with Lebanon?

Why are there no representatives of the Moslem republic of Uzbekistan and of other Moslem republics in the United Nations?

According to the Soviet Constitution, Azerbaijan, and Uzbekistan, for instance, are independent republics, somewhat like the members of the British Commonwealth such as India. But how can states be considered independent if they do not have their own army, their own diplomatic representatives, their own governments independent in their decisions, their own monetary systems, etc., but are, rather, subjected to the dictates of the Russian metropolis, Moscow?

Why not ask the delegates of the Ukrainian SSR and of the Belorussian SSR who determines their foreign policy, the Moscow government or the "freely elected" Ukrainian parliament? Where is this parliament? The fictitious "sovereignty" of the delegations of the Ukrainian SSR or of the Byelorussian SSR or of Hungary and Bulgaria should be compared with the delegations of the Arab countries. The fictitious "sovereignty" of the nations enslaved in the USSR and in the so-called satellite countries should be exposed while *real* sovereignty should be striven for.

In the Moslem countries enslaved by Russia, as well as in all the other non-Russian countries, the communists achieved power not because they were supported by the population of those countries, which, to be quite certain, rejects communism, but by means of armed violence of the Russian armies which have occupied our countries.

The role of communism as an instrument of Russian imperialism must be explained. This explanation will be readily understood in the Asian and African world.

To quote an example: the Western empires came there with the slogans of democracy, but behind these slogans, from the point of view of those peoples, stood Western colonialism. Behind Russian communism stands new Russian colonialism.

The United States should, above all, support the tendencies toward independence, but should also support anti-feudalism and should not stake its policy on the feudal lords, the exploiters of their own populations in Asia and Africa.

III

Activities devoted to explaining the organic union between communism and Russian colonialism should be carried out in Asia and Africa by the *victims* of Russia, in the first place by the representatives of the nations enslaved in the USSR and in the satellite countries. They will be more readily believed by the said Asian and African peoples than will Western anti-communists owing to the bitter experience of colonialism. Therefore, radio stations should be placed at the disposal of these representatives and the opportunity should be given to them to publish, in the languages of the local populations, works about the real essence of communism and the aims of Russian policy. They should be given the opportunity to convene anti-communist international conferences in these countries and to arrange lecture tours by former prisoners of Soviet concentration camps, former insurgents, witnesses of the communist-organized famine in Ukraine in 1933, etc. All this is necessary and possible. But an activity of this kind cannot be carried out in isolation. No representative of a nation enslaved in the USSR will undertake such an action if he has no right to speak through "The Voice of America" or "Radio Liberation" about the independence of his country. For the first questions, suggested to the Arabs by Moscow's fifth columns, would be in such cases: Does the United States recognize the right of Turkestan, Azerbaijan, Georgia or Ukraine to independence, and does it offer the opportunity to propagate this right? A truthful answer would compromise the entire action, and the USA as well. How can the United States be sincere in favoring the indep-

(Continued on page 12)

Prof. Dr. Andrija Ilić (Great Britain)

National Communism A Contradiction In Itself

My personal connections with the ABN go back as far as the end of 1945, when, at the house of a Ukrainian in Slovakia's capital Bratislava, I made the acquaintance of an officer of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), who first told me about all the principles for which the ABN stands and fights, namely freedom for nations and freedom for individuals.

The ABN was founded on November 15, 1943, in Ukraine, at a time when this country was occupied by both the German and Russian armies. The first members of this freedom-loving revolutionary organization were the nations enslaved by Moscow in Europe and Asia; after the war, the organization was augmented by the membership of numerous other nations outside the Soviet borders, and today it numbers 22 European and Asian nations.

Nowadays, there are, indeed, very few people who have any doubts as to the mortal danger which Communism represents to humanity, but the free world has as yet no clear idea of how to stop this ever-spreading Communist menace. Certainly not by maintaining the status quo and believing in "coexistence," for Communism has only one ultimate aim, namely world domination. The existence of the ABN is clear proof that the status quo is not possible, and what many people in the West regard as Russia is not Russia at all, but an artificial, arbitrary and imperialist state structure under Moscow, composed of several enslaved peoples, who were deprived of their freedom and state independence by force or by trickery. They are kept in slavery only by brute force and violence, by executions and concentration camps. Hence, this status can never be recognized or maintained permanently.

A few years ago, we heard a great deal about the so-called "coexistence" of Communism and the free world. The "coexistence" which Communism offers the free world would be of the same kind which exists today in all the states of the Communist orbit, namely, the coexistence of Communist tyranny and the deprivation of the freedom and human rights of those peoples who should be free and independent. The Communist offer of "coexistence" to the free world is thus a bait which must be resolutely refused in the highest interests of mankind.

There are two powerful means of combating Communism and bringing about its downfall. Firstly, the moral and psychological rearmament of all the nations that are still free, and, secondly, moral and material aid for the liberation movements of the enslaved peoples. In the first place, a complete unity of the free world must be established, in the form of one united front against tyrannous Communism. It must be clearly realized by everyone that the world conflict of today is a conflict of two ideologies, — the ideology of Communist despotism and the ideology of democratic freedom. Since we know that Communism is determined to conquer the world by every means available, including the means of force, the free world must immediately set about preparing its self-defense correctly and efficiently. The free world should, above all, get rid of the Communist parties which represent treacherous fifth columns of Communism, for, in the event of war, these will be a greater menace to the freedom of the world than the Red armies in the front lines themselves. This is, unfortunately, all too true, and, hence, the objection that the prohibition of the Communist parties by the democratic governments of the West would be an undemocratic act, is ill-advised.

The Communists resort to various tactics to prevent the unity of the free world, since this unity represents the greatest danger to their power, as was, indeed, already pointed out by Lenin. In our day, the Communists have succeeded in making public opinion in many parts of the world believe that nationalism is opposed to democracy, although we know that nationalism was born of the great French Revolution and that the roots of modern democracy lie in nationalism. The principles of the ABN, — freedom for nations, freedom for individuals — which are professed by its 22 nationalist members, are democratic principles par excellence and reject everything that would not be in conformity with democracy. Nevertheless, thanks to Communist propaganda, there are still many people

who erroneously believe that nationalism is identical with Fascism or Nazism. The fundamental principles of our liberation movements are self-determination, freedom and independence within the ethnical and historical boundaries of the individual peoples.

On the other hand, however, Moscow supports the pseudo-nationalism of Nasser, who, under the pretext of an Arab unity, is endeavouring to destroy the independence of all the Arab countries, and whose Pan-Arabism is comparable to the Russian tsarist and Communist Pan-Slavism. Moscow's propaganda is full of anti-colonial slogans, but at a time when Great Britain is conceding state independence to a number of Asian and African peoples, the Russian Red Army brutally crushes the uprising of the Hungarian people for the freedom and independence of their thousand-year old state.

The most dangerous of all Communist tactics is, perhaps, the Communist ruse regarding so-called "national Communism", which started in 1948 with the expulsion of Yugoslav Communist dictator Tito from the Cominform. "National Communism" is a contradiction in itself, since Communism, because it is international, cannot be national. Moreover, Tito is the head of a multi-national artificial state, and there is no such thing as a "Yugoslav" people, since "Yugoslavia" is populated by the Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrins and Macedonians and the Albanian, Hungarian and German minorities, all of whom are subjugated by the Belgrade government. The conception "Yugoslav" nationality is as nonsensical as is that of "Soviet" nationality. In any case, "Yugoslavia" is a smaller edition, as it were, of the Soviet Union. We must always bear in mind that there is only one unique world Communism under the supreme leadership of Moscow, a fact which was confirmed by all the Communist leaders on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution in Moscow. Personal quarrels or the appearance or disappearance of different Communist bosses do not mean the undermining or division of the unique Communist ideal and its aims. As far as we know, Voroshilov was the only one of the old Bolshevik team of the 1917 Revolution to survive; the others were either liquidated or expelled from the Communist Party. Today, there can be no doubt about the fact that Tito, since 1948, has played a game in the interests of world Communism. He played an important part in strengthening Nehru in his pro-Communist neutralization and in promoting Nasserism. Furthermore, we are firmly convinced that he was responsible for the death of the leaders of the Hungarian revolution of 1956. We must bear in mind that he approved of



DR. JOSEF TISO

President of the Slovak Republic before the Communist Peoples Tribunal in Bratislava, February, 1947.

the atrocities of the Red Army against the Hungarian freedom fighters and then offered Nagy and other leaders of the Hungarian revolution political asylum, in order to hand them over to the Russians to be punished for going too far in their "national Communism." It is a lie that Tito was offended because the Russians did not observe the safe-conduct for the unfortunate prisoners in his Budapest embassy, for Tito as an experienced and trusted agent of Moscow knew very well that the Russians would not keep their word.

Bearing in mind all the tactics of the Communists, all the free peoples must thus unite, as soon as possible, to form one anti-Communist front, regardless of racial, national and religious differences, since all races, all nations and all religions are threatened by the same mortal danger, — godless and barbarous Communist tyranny.

The enslaved peoples are already united in their suffering and their will to rid themselves of Communist tyranny and restore their freedom and national independence. Two years ago, during the Hungarian revolution, it became evident to the whole world that the Communist tyrants are not capable of creating a paradise on earth and that their Red empire is, in fact, an even worse hell than the one depicted in Dante's "Divine Comedy." The heroic Hungarian fight for freedom shook the entire Communist empire in its foundations. Indeed, it was a powerful warning to all the Communist tyrants that they cannot crush the sacred right of the enslaved peoples to freedom and independence. To the free world, which is now strengthening its ranks for self-defense against the Communist world-conquest plans, it was an important sign where to look for the most valuable and most effective allies. Certainly not to such brutal Communist dictators as Joseph Broz Tito and Mao Tse-Tung, or to those, who, with so-called appeasement and neutralism, are helping world Communism to achieve its ultimate aim, but to the enslaved peoples, who are the most trustworthy allies the West could have. These peoples have in the free world their legal national representatives of their liberation movements, whose leaders are experienced anti-Communist fighters and honest persons who, for decades, have devoted their work and their lives to the cause of freedom of their peoples. The ABN represents a powerful alliance of these liberation movements, and it is up to the responsible factors of the free world to recognize and help this alliance morally and materially.

Moscow is doing its utmost to undermine the freedom and lawful order of the peoples who are still free by helping its Communist hirelings in every possible way. It is imperative that the West should help the liberation movements of the enslaved peoples without delay, since these movements alone can keep alive the will to resistance of these peoples, who, when the opportunity presents itself, will rise up as one man for the freedom and independence of their countries.

The ABN stands for all the principles of a true democracy: for freedom, peace and prosperity. We are of the opinion that there cannot be lasting peace without lasting freedom for all peoples. We are therefore determined to liberate our native countries, for we are convinced that without freedom and independence for our countries our peoples cannot lead a happy life.

The ABN is active in every part of the world; in our native countries it collaborates with our underground movements, whilst in the free world it is preparing our freedom fighters for the struggle of tomorrow.

To mark this occasion of the 15th anniversary of the ABN, we send our warmest greetings to our brothers in our enslaved countries, with the assurance that we have not forgotten them and shall be with them in the hour of the general uprising.

Against the despotic ideal of a Communist world revolution, the ABN opposes its ideal of an anti-Communist world league, and against Communist materialist internationalism, the ABN opposes the idea of national freedom and independence and peaceful cooperation of all freedom-loving peoples. We are firmly convinced that our ideas will finally triumph, for they are based on divine and human laws.

Russia Strives for World Domination

Such is the aim of all the Russians, whatever their ethnical origin or their colour.

On August 27, 1957, Valerian Zorin, during a session of the United Nations Organization, dealt the Western Powers a blow with his "niet," which was even more violent and emphatic than the ones expressed by Vyacheslav Molotov. Yet the latter was removed from office, inasmuch as he was an obstacle to the "reconciliation" between two conflicting regimes of an incompatible character, — namely, Communist and capitalist.

He accused the Western Powers of abusing public opinion all over the world, though he himself was abusing their credulity; and he reproached them with deceiving the peoples in question as regards what would put an end to the armaments race.

"The Western Powers, who enslave others, have increased the production of all their armaments and, in particular, the production of the means of mass destruction," he said, on this occasion.

Meanwhile, the Russians are vaunting their power and threatening the free world with destruction.

On the same day that Zorin made his statement, Radio Moscow began broadcasting it, but the programme was suddenly interrupted and listeners were asked to ignore what they had just heard.

What were the reasons for this "technical incident," and why was Zorin not removed from office? Abused and confused, the Western Powers appeared to ignore the fact that the words uttered by Zorin and his "niet" were not in keeping with the shouts of "Long live!" uttered at the "Festival of Youth," in honour of universal friendship, that his words were a contradiction of the Russian policy of appeasement and that the statements of Radio Moscow were likewise not in keeping with the sending of "means of mass destruction"—submarines, aeroplanes, etc.—to Syria, Egypt and elsewhere. And this, incidentally, on the day that Moscow officially announced that an "attempt to launch an inter-continental rocket had been crowned with spectacular success."

The new Russian strategy since the assassination of Beria, who was accused, quite rightly, of having wanted this "appeasement" (called "easing of tension" in his day), for which his assassins, after having got rid of him, took the responsibility, and, above all, after the "de-Stalinization," has no longer been based on direct military means, as in Korea or Indo-China.

The Russians, after having suppressed all the non-Russians who had acceded to power, with the exception of Mikoyan, whom Khrushchev calls "My Armenian, my carpet-merchant . . .", showed themselves to be even more ruthless than these non-Russians (Stalin, Baguirov, Beria, and others), in Hungary, for example, and once again adopted the sly, traditional Russian method.

The new masters of the U.S.S.R. prefer economic, political, scientific, artistic and ideological penetration; subversion, infiltration in the form of "carpet-merchants" and bargainers, no longer taking into account the "Communists," but misleading the Christians and progressives, exploiting international or internal differences, and provoking small wars or local revolts. Using their personal ambitions to advantage, they instigate plots, organize coups d'état and everywhere install men whom they have succeeded in Russifying (in Iraq, for instance, recently). It is this traditionally Russian policy, which, in the evident withdrawal everywhere, has nothing in common with Communism, that the West must oppose. It is the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, all of whom alike are victims of Russian oppression,—all these peoples classified at present under one and the same category, namely "Soviet"—whom the West must support and help to restore their national independent states, and not their oppressors, the Russians. Otherwise, after Syria and Iraq, further regions of the free world will be absorbed behind the Iron Curtain, and this Curtain will eventually be transferred to the shores of the Atlantic.

Communism, in the meaning which is given to it in the West, does not exist in the U.S.S.R.

In 1957, when Zorin said "niet," Moscow was selling gold, buying dollars and, through the agency of men of straw, was exchanging them for shares in the biggest American armament concerns and petrol companies. Is this Communism? Definitely not!

Mikoyan, incidentally, is the person who is in charge of these deals.

Christianity was the official religion in Russia. And the tsars, from Peter the "Great" onwards, were its incarnation. The assassination of the last of the tsars, Nicholas II, deprived the Orthodox Russian (Russian only) Church of its head. "Communism" replaced "Christianism," and the First Secretary of the Communist Party became the supreme head of the new religion. This, however, only applies to the "Russian people," who must not be confused with the Russian emigrants, whom this people drove out of the country.

The "Russian people," born as slaves and deprived of their own elite, need a master. They have no past; their history is characterized by discontinuity, by interruptions caused by the change of masters. The history of the non-Russian peoples, on the other hand,—the Ukrainians, Georgians and other peoples, is characterized by continuity. These peoples each long to be their own masters, each in their own country, and they are inspired by their historical past.

Nationalism is a movement whose progress cannot be arrested. This movement only exists in the countries incorporated into the U.S.S.R. by force. The "Russian people," the "mass of the moujiks"—a huge but inert mass, owe their emancipation to the regime installed by the victorious Bolsheviks. The non-Russian peoples have gained an advantage from this regime for their national rebirth, without either accepting Communism as a religion, or becoming Communists in the Russian sense.

Khrushchev only wants to achieve one thing: namely, to go to America, to call a "summit" conference there, in order to give this conference legal sanction and in this way legitimate the power which he usurps in the 15 Republics of the U.S.S.R. and the various satellite states, and thus set himself up as head of the government of the Russian world empire, which is the dream of all the Russians (whether "white" or "red").

Obsessed by a superiority complex, the Russians, after having launched a Russian moon-rocket to show that they are the absolute rulers not only of our earth, to which they have brought suffering and unhappiness, but also of the entire universe, are triumphing in every sphere of life,—art, science, music, dancing, politics, diplomacy, literature, journalism, etc.

Taking advantage of this hysteria, Khrushchev sent his Armenian, a horn dealer, to Washington in order to pave the way for his own trip and to lay down the "carpet" between Moscow and Washington, the capitals of the "two most powerful states in the history of the world."

What is going on in the world, on this earth? It is in the interview which King Hussein of Jordan granted to Scott Gibbons and in the Russian project of a peace treaty with Germany, that we find the answer:

"Russia is making rapid progress in Iraq. Her economic offensive there has begun, and the Russians are making sure of their advantage . . . There is a grave danger of Russia seizing Syria before the end of 1959 . . . Consider the danger which would threaten the free world if Russia, which already dominates Egypt and Syria economically, were also to transform Iraq into a satellite! This country would then be the wedge thrust in by the Russians between Iran and Turkey and, at the same time, would be a veritable bridge-head set up in the heart of the Arab world."

Nasser has realized that the Communists are nothing but the agents of Russian imperialism, and, accordingly, he has them put into prison. But what about the Western Powers? Why do they not imitate him, or, at least, listen to the advice of the Hungarian, Ukrainian and other refugees?

Are the Western Powers so blind that they do not realize that all these plans and manoeuvres, which they obstinately call "Soviet" or "Communist," only take into account the interests of Russian impe-

rialism and the expansion of Russian—not "Soviet"—influence in every sphere and in every country.

These manoeuvres only aim to ensure to the Russians complete freedom of action, whilst at the same time allowing them to cast the responsibility onto others.

The Western Powers would do better to discriminate between the Hungarians, the Ukrainians and the Georgians, instead of confusing them all under ambiguous designations, thus facilitating the criminal action of the Russian imperialists of every colour.

When Russia becomes dangerous and aggressive, the only thing to do is to impede her way.

It is by the disintegration of the U.S.S.R. that one would be able to establish peace in the world, but not by supporting the adherents of "centralization" or federalist principles in the Russian sense. The Western Powers must help the subjugated peoples to dismember the U.S.S.R., instead of helping the subjugators to preserve the unity of this artificially and forcibly created Union.

W. Tsitsichvili (Paris)

A Letter to "ABN Correspondence"

It is interesting to note that 70 per cent of the refugees from Yugoslavia who ask for political asylum in Bavaria are Croats. Indeed, at the present time, there seems to be a small migration from Croatia in progress. Young and old alike are fleeing from the Communist paradise which calls itself Yugoslavia and claims to have a socialist regime.

Thousands of Croats are fleeing to Austria, Germany and Italy because they feel that their freedom and their life is threatened and because they never know whether they will live to see another dawn, or whether they will be "swallowed up by the night", — an expression used by Tito's partisans for the victims whom they drag out of their beds at night and liquidate! These facts are corroborated by refugees from Croatia.

What is now going on in Yugoslavia, thirteen years after the occupation of Croatia by the hordes of the Communist occupant Tito?

Since May, 1945, nothing has changed in Titoist Yugoslavia, in spite of the boastful talk of the Belgrade Tito-Communist regime about "the people" (which "people"?) being content and happy! There is no such thing as a "Yugoslav people". The term is nothing but a falsehood. In so-called Yugoslavia there are the peoples of the Croats, the Macedonians, the Albanians, the Slovenes and the Serbs. All these peoples, in particular the Croats, Macedonians and Albanians, are subjugated, enslaved and crushed with unparalleled terrorism by the Communist regime. One only needs to admit openly that one belongs to the Croat, Macedonian, or Albanian people, to be immediately regarded as a suspect and threatened with loss of freedom or with death. The graves of the anti-Communist fighters who were killed in action have been destroyed; there is nothing left to remind one of the brave heroes who gave their life for the cause of freedom, — a freedom which Communism does not recognize, since it only recognizes the so-called "new Communist elite", slave-drivers and enslaved peoples, subjugated by most ruthless terrorist methods.

It is time the West realized at last that a so-called "Yugoslavia", whether a monarchy or a Communist state, is nothing but a prison for the peoples of that territory which Russian imperialist policy has chosen as the starting-point for its conquest of Constantinople, in keeping with the testament of Peter I. It was only for this purpose that Yugoslavia was founded, — in 1919 as a so-called kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which, at the dictate of the Serb King Alexander, in 1929 called itself "Yugoslavia".

Even today, Titoist Yugoslavia is still nothing more than the exponent of the same Russian imperialist policy in this territory. And this fact should be realized at last by the West, not only in order to give the peoples of this territory their freedom, in keeping with the right of self-determination of the peoples, but also that the West may defend and protect its own freedom!

General V. S.

"Soviet patriotism" is not common to all peoples in the area of the U.S.S.R. It is merely a variant of specifically Russian chauvinism!

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

Russia and the Orient

Russia's rise to a Major Power was closely connected with the classical Russian policy regarding the Orient. In the course of the last 400 years, Russia had extended her sway as far as the Japanese coast, a fact which enabled her to conduct an intensive Oriental policy. The conquest of Turkestan by the end of the 19th century made it possible for her to assert herself as an Asiatic power. In this way she reached the frontiers of Iran, Afghanistan and India and managed to hedge in China on two sides, namely from the Far East and from Turkestan. By seizing Turkestan, she was able to become acquainted with the mentality and character of the Islamic Oriental peoples and to use this country as the basis for her policy towards the Orient. Soviet Russia took over the long-established tradition of the tsarist policy towards the Orient. Indeed, the experiences with the Oriental peoples, which had been gained in the course of the conquest of the European and Asiatic peoples by tsarist Russia, were taken over by Soviet Russia as a legacy which, by means of modern methods and measures, it was able to expand and use in the future.

What were the aims on which the classical Oriental policy of Russia actually concentrated? In the struggle between the two rivals, England and Russia, to gain possession of the countries of the Orient, Russia's aim was to emerge as victor. By 1909 the rivalry between these two powers appeared to have ended, as a result of a so-called Pamir Agreement between them, in which their exact spheres of interest in Central Asia were defined. Their rivalry, it is true, came to a standstill, but a reconciliation between them in Asia was never achieved. During the years 1918 to 1920, their temporary compromise regarding control of the Oriental countries collapsed. The Bolsheviks set up the watchword of the liberation of the Oriental peoples from British imperialism. England, for her part, endeavoured to hold up the Bolshevik danger by means of interventions in the Russian empire and entered Caucasasia and Turkestan. British troops in Caucasasia were to hold up Russia's infiltration into the Near East and, by way of Turkestan, were to prevent the extension of the Bolshevik revolution to India. When England, however, came to the conclusion that Soviet Russia was not, after all, such a great danger to her sphere of influence, she withdrew from Caucasasia and Turkestan. And this step was actually the beginning of the tragedy of the West in the Orient, for in this way Russia found an opportunity to prepare the way for future clashes in the Orient, from the South Mediterranean coast to Japan and the insular countries of the Pacific Ocean. Soviet Russia succeeded in emerging as victor from the Russian and English rivalry.

But this success did not satisfy Russia as far as her policy of expansion in the Orient was concerned; and her Oriental policy now assumed an offensive character. It was for this reason that the Turkestanian territories which Russia had seized had to be fortified. Accordingly, from 1918 to 1924, every effort was made and every means available was used to combat a national uprising in Turkestan. It was not until 1935, however, that Soviet Russia was able to announce that the national uprising there, which the Soviets called "Basmachi," that is bandits' movement, and which, however, under this designation, attained world-wide fame, was ended.

In 1924, Turkestan was partitioned into five Soviet Republics, namely the Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirgiz, Turkmen and Tadzhik Republics. In this way Russia divided the Turkish and Moslem population of Turkestan, in order to enforce her despotic policy and regime on a people who had so far been united and capable of acting independently. Soviet Russia acted in accordance with the ancient Roman principle of divide and rule and made out of one people five peoples and nations, out of one Turkish language five languages, out of one territorial frontier five frontiers, out of one historical development five different historical processes, and out of one culture five cultures. There was only one thing which Soviet Russia could not achieve, and that was to make out of one Islam a five-fold Islam, for it could not split up Islam into various bits and pieces. On the other hand, however, Rus-

sia, with her atheist Communist views, almost succeeded in destroying Islam.

As a future starting-point for her policy towards the Orient, Russia turned Turkestan into a kind of bastion. Turkestan was industrialized. And today, next to Japan, it is probably one of the largest industrial countries in Asia. At the same time, Turkestan also served as a raw materials source of the Soviet Union. In this way, Russia consolidated both her political and her economic power there. More than 4 million Russian Red colonists were sent to Turkestan, or the tsarist colonists there were reinforced with additional contingents of settlers. Practically 70 per cent of the state and party apparatus was transferred to the Russians, and the latter became the lords and masters of the country according to tsarist Russian pattern. As far as all military matters were concerned, Moscow entrusted the Russians with complete authority. Russian culture, which was introduced under the pretext that it was international, proletarian, Communist and Soviet, was to predominate.

In order to consolidate Russian power in the form of the Soviets and Communism, the Turkestanian national intelligentsia was rounded up to help. But when the latter developed into a resistance force, it was crushed, and the old national intelligentsia, as well as the Islamic clergy were exterminated. An attempt was now made to train a new, national intelligentsia that was to be loyal to the Soviet regime, but most of the members of this intelligentsia were unable to follow the directives laid down by Moscow. They wavered between the nationalism of Turkestan and the Soviet regime. After they had been trained in special Soviet schools, they came to the conclusion that Moscow was dealing with the Turkestanian people in a way which differed completely from the promises made in its numerous watchwords. This newly created Soviet national intelligentsia was profoundly moved by the miserable existence of the Turkestanian people and, for the most part, became a bitter enemy of Russia. On the other hand, however, one cannot deny that Russia succeeded in curbing the intelligentsia of Turkestan. This was achieved by the entire apparatus of the security organs, the Communist Party, the Komsomol, the trade unions, the Russians who held positions in state, party and economic life, and, finally, if necessary, by the Russian military forces stationed in Turkestan.

Once Russia was of the opinion that she had extended her power in Turkestan to the fullest possible extent, as was actually the case, she commenced an ideological offensive in the Orient. Turkestan now became the gateway of Russia to the Orient, for its geographical position in the heart of Asia and as a neighbour of Iran, Afghanistan, India, Pakistan, China and Mongolia supplied all the preconditions for this role. In addition, Russia also made use of the cultural and religious ties which existed between Turkestan and the other countries of the Orient. Turkestan is a country that is not only known as a land of culture in Asia, but it is also regarded as a citadel of Islam, and for this reason it enjoys considerable esteem and prestige in all the Islamic countries. The Russians, therefore, set up a definite principle as regards the use of Turkestan in their Oriental policy.

The Russian Conception of the Role of Turkestan in the Orient

As early as 1919 the Soviet government already adopted the following standpoint as regards the significance of Turkestan:

"Turkestan is of colossal political importance for the liberation of the Near and Far East. In the history of the world Turkestan has played a part as the gateway of Asia to Europe. And now Turkestan is destined to be the gateway of Europe to Asia. From Soviet Russia, that is from the present centre of the world revolution, and via Turkestan the idea of the socialist and political liberation of the working masses of the Orient, who have endured so much suffering at the hands of native and foreign slave-drivers, is to infiltrate into Asia" (Zin'Nacional'nostej, No. 20, of June 1, 1919, p. 1).

In addition, Moscow also expressed the following opinions on this subject:

"The Republic of Turkestan occupies the foremost position as regards the preparation of the

revolutionary movement in Asia. Turkestan is the vanguard of Communism in Asia."

"From the political point of view, Turkestan is extremely important for us. When the germs of our revolution come into direct contact with the hungry and subjugated Orient, then the soil here is very favourable for their growth."

"Turkestan is a realm of flowers, from which the bees of the neighbouring countries can obtain their food. We must set up a model Soviet Republic in Turkestan and then we shall soon be able to achieve success in the Orient."

"Turkestan was and will be the basis on which other countries of Asia will become familiar with the revolutionary idea. To assume anything other than this, is a fundamental historical error."

"To resort to agitatory campaigns in the name of the Communist Party of Russia with regard to the affairs of the Orient, is to become a victim of one's own ideas and of failure. Our enemies are trying to make the peoples of the Orient believe that we are Russian imperialists of the old type and the old days. An approach to the peoples of the Orient can only be effected through the Communists of the Oriental peoples (in particular of Caucasasia and Turkestan), or through the Moslems."

Both Lenin and Stalin were constantly aware of the fact that a Soviet power in Turkestan would have a direct influence on the countries of the Orient. And it was for this reason that Lenin affirmed that the establishing of Russia's power in Turkestan was of colossal historical importance in influencing millions of persons in Asia. Stalin stressed that Turkestan was of considerable significance for the liberation of the Orient. Thus there are numerous Russian conceptions of the role of Turkestan in the Orient. To what extent are these theoretical preconditions actually practicable? The following measures on the part of the Soviet government in recent times serve to answer this question:

1) Russia has succeeded — via Turkestan — in setting up Communist rule in China. When the Communist movement began to become evident in China, Russia concentrated all her auxiliary measures, in the first place, on Turkestan. The tsarist aim to conquer East Turkestan via China was abandoned. Under the pretext of bringing help for Communism in China, however, East Turkestan (Sinkiang) was completely Sovietized. Today, East Turkestan is nominally regarded as Chinese, but actually the Russians rule there, for the government apparatus is entirely in the hands of persons who have been trained in Russia. It is thus hardly surprising that Russia has succeeded in introducing the Russian script in East Turkestan, just as was the case in Turkestan, which is occupied by Russia, in 1941.

2) Turkestan became the training centre for Communist propagandists for Asia and Africa. From 1930 onwards, there was a Communist university here for the working classes of the Orient, where thousands of Communist functionaries, chosen from among the ranks of the Oriental peoples, were trained. They all returned to their native countries with a thorough training in the ideology of Communism and most of them then became active promoters of Communism there, whilst the rest waited for a favourable opportunity. These trained functionaries from among the ranks of the Oriental peoples were also obliged to conform to the directives issued by Moscow. For this reason they said very little about Communism, but, on the other hand, openly fostered the friendship between their peoples and Russia.

3) Turkestan became the centre for research and study of the Orient. As early as 1919, a military academy for Oriental studies was founded in Tashkent, and here officers were to become acquainted with the special methods of warfare in the Orient. Later, this institute changed its name several times, but its aim always remained the same. Today, its purpose is fulfilled by the extra-Soviet Orient department of the military district of Turkestan. In 1957, a college for Oriental studies was founded in Tashkent, and there are now over a thousand students studying there. It is quite possible that this is one of the largest colleges of its kind in the world, where experts for and on the Orient are trained.

Russia and the Orient (Cont. from page 7)

4) For political reasons, the name Turkestan, that is the land of the Turks, was abolished. But in 1942, the name Turkestan was introduced once more for military and political reasons, since the Soviets intended to combine three factors under this name, Afghanistan, Iran and East Turkestan, for there are numerous Turks living there, and Russia lays claim to the latter, if not openly, then at least by degrees ideologically, for these Turks, so Moscow alleges, are part of the present peoples of the Soviet republics. Actually, Russia's military power in Turkestan represents a direct threat to the neighbouring countries. Moscow itself makes no attempt to conceal the fact that the soldiers of this military district are equipped with modern weapons. In the event of a military clash in the Near East, Turkestan would serve as an initial base. And this fact is evident from the alleged Soviet manoeuvres during the revolution in Iraq in July, 1958.

5) Turkestan became a shopwindow for the countries of the Orient. During the years 1956 to 1958, for instance, over 200 delegations from all the countries of Asia and Africa came to Turkestan. They were given lists of statistics and were shown illusory innovations and improvements. In particular, they visited the Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan. Most of them were greatly taken by the Soviet achievements and, on their return to their native countries, gave enthusiastic accounts of the happy life of the Turkestanians. Knowingly or unknowingly, they became the propagandists of the Soviets in the Orient. Moscow had thought out this move very well. But not one of the delegations had a chance to get into direct contact with the population. Specially selected Soviet propagandists demonstrated what Soviet life was like in Turkestan. Very few of the delegations from foreign countries discovered the motives of this Soviet game. Thus, a Pakistani clerical delegation in 1957, on returning to its native country, wrote that there was neither national nor religious freedom in Turkestan. Thereupon the Russians very promptly replied through another member of the same delegation, who affirmed that the person who had written the report was a liar. When an American judge toured Turkestan in his capacity as a journalist, he wrote that the Soviet power in Turkestan was a product of colonialism. Thereupon the "Pravda" promptly took action and, in an article entitled "Judge Douglas Up Before Judge Douglas," gave him a sharp answer. But such foreign criticism as this is of little avail in the face of all the reports in favour of Russia and the Soviet regime.

6) In 1956 the Soviet government formed a Soviet Committee of Solidarity of the Asian countries. Of the 20 members of the executive committee, thirteen are Turkestanians. As president of this committee Moscow appointed the Turkestanian poet, Mirza Tursun Zade. He has played an active part in Soviet Oriental propaganda since 1947, and his poems, the "Indian Ballad" and the "Voice of Asia," have been translated into almost all the languages of the Orient. By the agency of this committee and the Turkestanians who are members of it, the Soviet government aims to extend its influence in the Orient. This committee, incidentally, has on various occasions addressed itself to the public opinion of the Orient and has tried to propagate the Soviet point of view. The last occasion on which it tried to assert itself was in the question of American intervention in the Lebanon and British intervention in the Transjordan.

7) Moscow has succeeded in assuming a role in the matter of the solidarity aims of the peoples of Asia and Africa. In December 1957, for instance, it sent a strong delegation under the leadership of the Turkestanian Scharaf Rashid, who is the president of the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan and also a poet, to the Asian-African Solidarity Conference in Cairo. This Turkestanian proclaimed from the platform of the Conference: "Friends and Brothers! Hold up your heads! The rule of slavery is coming to an end! The fresh wind of freedom and independence is scattering the dirty dust of colonial slavery! The sun of freedom is already shining on the path of the peoples. The example of the peoples of Central Asia (Turkestan) and of Caucasia completely exposes the lies of the ideologists of colonialism, who talk about the inability of the peoples of the Orient to develop and progress independently."

This statement was made in the name of the

Soviet government. And once again it shows us that the Soviet attitude of 1917 has remained unchanged. In those days Lenin and Stalin addressed themselves to the Oriental peoples as follows: "Establish your national life freely and unhindered . . . Moslems of the Orient! Persians, Turks, Arabs and Indians! Overthrow the bandits and slave-drivers of your countries . . . Our banners bring liberation to the subjugated peoples of the world."

It is only the accent which has changed. Nowadays, no one in the Orient thinks about the true nature of liberation through the Soviet Russians. No one has realized what exactly the Soviet Russians mean when they proclaim their watchwords of alleged freedom. In any case, Moscow has once again succeeded in letting a representative of the colonial people speak to the free peoples of the Orient. By using the Communists from among the ranks of the Oriental peoples, Soviet Russia has succeeded in asserting itself unnoticed and in disguising its own colonialism. For this purpose the Turkestanian Abdul Rashid was appointed representative of the Soviet Union in the permanent council of the solidarity of the Asian and African countries at the Cairo Conference.

8) In December 1957, Khrushchev appointed the Turkestanian Nuritdin Mughtidin one of the secretaries of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This man is also the president of the foreign political executive committee of the national council of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union. Moscow entrusted him with the task of coordinating and activating the Communist ideological activity in the countries of the Orient. Moscow could not have made a better choice in this respect, for he knows the Orient well and, moreover, comes of a Moslem family. When President Nasser visited the Soviet Union, he acted as his escort there. And Nasser also invited him to visit his country. In September 1958, he visited Cairo and Damascus. The atheist, Mughtidin, and the sincere Moslem, Nasser, met once more. On this occasion Mughtidin acted as a negotiator between the Soviet government and the United Arab Republic. What went on behind closed doors, what promises were made and what negotiations were carried on, we do not know. We only know that Mughtidin used this trip for propagandist purposes and endeavoured, wherever he appeared, to rouse the enthusiasm of the population for the Soviet Union. But Mughtidin was obliged to accept a personal defeat, for in Cairo and Damascus no one regarded him as a Turkestanian or Moslem, but as a Russian. And, incidentally, everyone was surprised that a Russian like Mughtidin knew the rhythm of the Moslem prayer so well and was able to pronounce the words assalamu alaykum (peace be with you) like an Arab.

9) Turkestan also became a centre of radiation for the Soviet Russian Islam policy in the Orient. Moscow entrusted the Turkestanian Siyauddin Babachan with the task of conducting Soviet propaganda with the help of Islam. And he actually organized an effective propaganda of the Soviet Union by using Islam. He constantly speaks in the name of the Moslems of Turkestan, for Moscow appointed him the head of Islam in that country. He himself is a convinced Communist. He knows Islam very well. And he speaks Arabian like an Arab. Whilst he silently tolerates the Soviet Russian fight against Islam, he poses outside the Soviet Union as the defender of Islam. And numerous Soviet propagandists and diplomatic representatives of the Soviet Union in the Islamic countries help him in his activity. Thus, the embassy of the Soviet Union in Cairo, for instance, published a book entitled "How Do The Moslems In The Soviet Union Live?", in which the happy life of the orthodox and the freedom of Islam in the Soviet Union are stressed. The government paper in Cairo, "Al-Gumburiya," even pointed out that this book would serve to refute the American propaganda about Islam in the Soviet Union.

10) Moscow also used Turkestan to influence the Orient in cultural and spiritual respect. Thus, a film festival of the Asian and African countries was held from August 20th to September 3rd, 1958. At the beginning of October, the conference of Asian and African writers was held in Tashkent. On such occasions in particular, Moscow lets the Turkestanians tell the Arabs that both peoples have been closely bound to each other culturally, through Islam, for more than 1200 years. The non-Moslem peoples are told that their common geographical position in one continent gives them a

feeling of affinity. And all this is done in the name of Turkestan.

It is thus evident that Turkestan has in the hands of the Russians become one of the most powerful and, indeed, decisive means of Moscow's Oriental policy, as the above-mentioned examples partly show. And it is in this way that Russia intends to achieve her classical aims in the Orient.

(To be continued)

What Plans have the Major Powers?

It is deplorable that a great many politicians are not aware of imminent dangers and also of the fact that all nations in Central and



Southern Europe form one group, not simply because they share a part of the same continent, but, what is more, because they share the inheritance of a distinct civilization.

The historical unity of Western society is due to the fact that the culture of nations along the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, from Spain to the Crimea, grew into the Greco-Latin world of the Roman Empire, which later extended its culture with the Christian civilization northwards to the Rhine, the Danube, the Dnieper and to the shores of the Baltic Sea, Scandinavian countries, Iceland, etc.

In our time, in the presence of the greatest threat to the human race from godless Communism, defence of Christianity and Western culture calls on all free men and women for uttermost vigilance and activity. Apathy is no longer tolerable; indifferentism is our suicide; everybody has to join the crusade, otherwise we and our civilization are condemned to death.

What plans the Major Powers and the United Nations have to stop further Red aggression, to prevent infiltration and subversion of free nations, to promote the cause of liberation of subjugated peoples, can scarcely be answered at present, but one thing is certain that mass liquidation of free citizens and mass deportation to Russian labour camps is unquestionably a denial of the fundamental rights and freedoms granted to mankind by the UN Charter.

Thus, as a result of unfavourable conjunctures for us, like aggressiveness of Communism and concessions of the Anglo-Saxons, the liberation of subjugated peoples has to be taken over by voluntary national organizations, like the ABN.

Their task is grandiose and involves gigantic efforts. However, they are overcoming all dif-

(Continued on page 9)

Moral Principles Before Tactics

The documents of the Fourth Annual Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (held in Bangkok from April 26th to 30th, 1958), which have been made available to the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), show that the work achieved by the members of the APACL in the period of time which has elapsed since the previous Conference — and also including the Fourth Conference, too—represents a considerable victory in our anti-Communist and anti-Bolshevik fight. On the other hand, however, after studying the said documents more closely, we feel bound to voice certain doubts as to the conception which the APACL and its individual members have of the actual character of the enemy, namely whether the Communism which calls itself international is for the most part a temporary form and outward camouflage of Russian (at present Soviet Russian) imperialism (which is, incidentally, the conviction of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations), or whether Communist imperialism, as regards its internal character, is really international and has nothing in common with the mentality of the Russian or, rather, Soviet Russian people, but, on the contrary, can and is to be overthrown precisely with the help of the Russian people (which is what the majority of the public in the West would like to believe). It is obvious that the anti-Communist strategy and tactics of the APACL must to a very considerable extent depend on the solution of this question; but, unfortunately, we are obliged to ascertain that precisely in this respect it is impossible to discover any uniformity or any clear conception in the documents of the Bangkok Conference, or even the courage to draw logical and practical conclusions from a clear and definite conception.

It is true that the Address delivered by the Delegation of APACLROC contains several statements to the effect that different violent actions are carried out by the Chinese Communists "under the direction of the Soviet imperialists", and in this connection it is pointed out most convincingly that "the Chinese Communist regime has introduced on the Chinese mainland the so-called socialist transformation, which was in effect Russification of the Chinese mainland"—and, in any case, what connection at all is there between a form of Communism that is more or less international and Russification! The "international Communist aggression" is, fundamentally and very rightly, identified with the "Soviet imperialist aggressive designs;" and the opinion expressed by Prof. Dr. F. Durčansky in his report on the Conference (published in the "ABN-Correspondence", No. 7/8, 1958), to the effect that "it is perfectly obvious that the Communist organizations all over the world are merely the tools of Moscow, and that all the Communist regimes and satellites are only the means of Soviet Russian imperialism and its Chinese creatures," tallies with the views expressed in the Address in question. Furthermore, it also seems to be in keeping with the opinion held by the Delegation of Turkey, which mentions the "tremendous success for Soviet Russia" on the Cairo Conference, as well as the fact that "Russia, that did not take part in the Bandung Conference, has become an Afro-Asian power, with interests in the Middle East," and that "Cyprus . . .

What Plans have the Major Powers?

difficulties and deserve our unconditional support. We ought to back them up, have unshaken hopes, never despair and firmly believe in the final victory of Western culture.

Therefore, on this anniversary it is proper for us to reaffirm our dedication to the principles which call for liberty and self-determination, the principles for which the A.B.N., its leaders and partisans have been fighting for 15 years.

At the same time, let us repeat our solemn declaration that we actually want the enslaved nations to be free and independent, and that we are ready to make unrestricted sacrifices for their release from Bolshevik tyranny.

Dr. V. Gyls,
Consul General of Lithuania
(Canada).

is considered fertile ground for Russian interests, as 50% of the Greek Cypriot population is Communist." The delegations of *Malaya and Burma*, too, describe "Soviet Russia" and "Red China" as the main pillar and support of Communist imperialism, and the *Indonesian* Delegation reproaches the Indonesian Communists with being "slaves of the imperialism from Moscow."

This would appear to prove the fact that, as Prof. Dr. Durčansky points out in his above-mentioned report, "the people of Asia are well aware that the so-called world revolution is merely another name for world-conquest," namely for a Soviet Russian world-conquest, and that the entirely different attitude of the rest of the delegations at the Conference is not so much due to a lack of information on the Russian character of the allegedly international Communist imperialism, as rather to an intentional decision to pass over this Russian character in silence and, if possible, to ignore the national problem in the Soviet Russian (as well as in the former tsarist Russian) imperium. One is prepared to fight a form of Communism which is not defined in precise terms, as the Delegation of *Thailand* affirms, or one designates this Communism as "international" and "reactionary" as does the *Vietnamese* Delegation, for instance, or one even goes so far as to define Communism as a "state religion," as does the *Korean* Delegation, for example, which evidently refuses to realize that a "state religion" needs a state, and not a Utopian international state, but one which definitely exists in reality and thus has a definite nationality, namely Russia; or one gives voice to peculiar contradictions, as does the Delegation of *Ryukyu*, for instance, which accuses Soviet Russia of an "active aggressive design in Asia" and, at the same time, talks about the "aggression by the Communist International," without being able to make up its mind as to which of these views is the right one, or the Delegation from *Australia*, which invents the abstruse terminology,—"Communist imperialism or, as it may rightly be called, Communistic colonialism": is an international colonialism at all conceivable?

The clear and precise formula of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, namely that our fight is directed against Communism and Russian imperialism, since the former is for the most part nothing more than the present form of existence of the latter, is, unfortunately, expressed nowhere in the documents of the Conference.

Is it a question of terminology? No, the consequences of such an ideological vagueness and psychic indecision involve more than terminology. It is hopeless to fight an enemy whom one is unable to or does not venture to name. As long as one refuses to recognize Soviet Russian imperialism in so-called Communist imperialism, one continues on the wrong course; in this case one holds the opinion that one should, in the first place, fight the Communist doctrine instead of the persons who ruthlessly and unscrupulously exploit this doctrine for their own claims to power, that is to say a nation which actually exists, namely the Soviet Russians. Nor does it suffice to talk about Soviet Russian imperialism, without recognizing in it Russian imperialism as such; for if one assumes that the Russian state only became imperialistic after 1917, then one negates the national and state rights of the non-Russian peoples of the former tsarist empire and regards them as "Soviet" peoples, as the Soviet Russians do, or as "Russian" peoples (i. e. to a decisive extent already Russified), as the Russian anti-Communist emigrants endeavour to suggest, whereas the said non-Russian peoples are actually far more anti-Soviet minded than the Russians themselves (the Russian anti-Communist emigrants, too, by no means excepted) and do not consider themselves to be "Russian" peoples any more than the Indians prior to World War II or the Irish prior to the Great War considered themselves to be a "British" people. They are national-minded and will continue to become more and more so, in spite of decades or centuries of compulsory Russification; it is true that the Russians have succeeded in completely or almost completely exterminating numerous smaller nations that have been hardly dealt with by fate and history, such as the Crimean Tatars, the Kalmucks and various Ugro-Finnic and Turkish peoples in the Volga territory and in Si-

beria; but those peoples that have put up a resistance have, in the course of the national subjugation to which they have been subjected, been steeled mentally; it is only the questionable elements of a people from the moral point of view that allow themselves to be not only externally denationalized, that is to say Russified, and what a nation loses in quantity in this respect, it gains in quality.

This also applies in the case of the Slavic, that is the Slav-speaking nations amongst those subjugated by Russia, namely the Ukrainians, Byelorussians (White Ruthenians) and Cossacks. There can be no denying the fact that the national animosity of these three "Slavic" peoples towards the Russians—an animosity which from the historical point of view was more than justified—has in the course of the forty years of Soviet Russian Bolshevik rule turned to fierce hatred against Russia as such—as was only too evident from their anti-Muscovite attitude during World War II.

This fact should be stressed in particular, since even such a far-sighted and prudent statesman as President *Chiang-Kai-shek* in his capital work "Soviet Russia in China" (written in 1956) tends to classify Russians and "Slavs" as one and the same people, just as the average Russian nowadays regards all Chinese, Koreans and Japanese as "yellow slit-eyes" and nothing more. And what about the non-Slavic peoples amongst the nations colonized by Moscow and subjugated by the Russians! That the 12 million North Caucasians, Georgians, Azerbaijanians and Armenians in Caucasia are as little Russian and are as unlikely ever to become "Soviet Russian peoples" as are the 5-6 million Turkish Idel-Uralians (Volga Tatars and Bashkirs) or the 16 million Turkestanians, is perfectly obvious. Why are the national political rights of these colonial peoples, who, incidentally, are the natural allies of the APACL (the Azerbaijanians, Tatars, Bashkirs and Turkestanians are, after all, genuinely Asiatic peoples!), systematically ignored at the conferences of the APACL? Is the APACL prepared to take the responsibility upon itself, if, in the event of a future war in *Asia*, these Asiatic and, in principle, anti-Soviet minded peoples should nevertheless fight on the side of the Soviets, as was already the case in World War II, namely for precisely the same reason,—because of the complete lack of understanding and indifference of the anti-Communist free world as regards the most sacred rights and most vital interests of these peoples?

The main theory of the ABN,—namely, that the peoples' prison of the U.S.S.R. cannot be burst asunder without the co-ordinated and armed resistance, actively supported by external forces, of all the nations subjugated by Moscow against Russian tyranny, is surely sufficiently well known to the Presidium of the APACL, and if the latter prefers to ignore this theory in complete silence, then it must no doubt have important tactical reasons for doing so, and in that case it would probably be pointless to discuss these reasons here. But all three of the leading statesmen of our day—President Chiang Kai-shek, President Ngo Dinh Diem and President Syngman Rhee (and as the fourth I should like to add the German Federal Chancellor Konrad Adenauer) stress that in politics, too, moral principles should come before tactics. One frequently hears the national Chinese, the national Vietnamese and, recently, the national Indonesians, too, complain that they receive very little support from the West in their anti-Communist fight. This accusation is quite correct. But have the said peoples the moral right to reproach others, when they themselves treat their Asian brothers who are languishing under Moscow's yoke in the same indifferent way or even worse? And, indeed, is there any difference between the indifferent attitude of the APACL towards the national anti-Soviet fight of the Turkestanians, Caucasians etc., and the indifferent attitude of the West towards the heroic Hungarian revolution?

There are sacred human rights which no political tactics can evade or ignore, and one of these rights is the right of every people to national state independence.

Dr. Volodymyr Derzhavyn,
Professor at the Ukrainian Free University
in Munich.

A. Furman

Vorkuta In Central Europe

Joachimstal — the largest Uranium Colony of Bolshevism

One of the main reasons for the Hungarian revolution in October 1956 was the uranium agreement between Russia and Hungary. Similar agreements, incidentally, exist between Russia and all the Russian satellite countries which have uranium deposits, for it was precisely uranium that prompted the Russian imperialists to take so lively an interest in Central Europe after World War II. Czech and East German uranium, together with the experience and knowledge of deported German atomic research scholars, led to the first Russian atomic bomb, which, to the surprise and horror of the West, was already tried out in 1949. In 1945 the Western Allies had probably never thought about all the consequences which the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans, the transfer of the Sudetenland to the newly created state of Czecho-Slovakia and the handing over of the Joachimstal uranium mines to the Russians might have!

These former Sudeten German mines were not in the hands of the Russians from the start. On the strength of Germany's reparations, Russia after World War II received the big and highly modern distillation works near Brüx, where petrol was produced from coal. But as there were no experienced technical experts available at that time, the distillation plant was not used to the full capacity and the works rapidly deteriorated. The social democratic Czech government at that time, under President Benes, regarded this deterioration of its most modern works with considerable anxiety and finally succeeded in getting this concern returned to Czecho-Slovakia as a "present" from Russia. In return, the "liberator" conceded the right to obtain uranium from the Joachimstal mines and to prospect for further uranium deposits in the entire state territory of Czecho-Slovakia.

The Russians carried on the prospecting of uranium with their usual ruthless thoroughness and spared neither time nor means. In order to control and supervise the uranium areas more effectively, the latter were declared prohibited areas, which might not be entered without a special permit. All the persons living there, who were not employed in the mines, were forcibly resettled to other regions. The Russians are the sole lords and masters in these areas.

The apparently harmless name "Jachymovsky doly" does not in the least indicate what the true nature of this firm is. With the setting up of this concern, an entirely new chapter in the existence of the whole Czecho-Slovak Republic began. As a result of the sudden increase in the mining of uranium, Czecho-Slovakia now became completely servile to Russia, for uranium was and is of enormous political and military importance for the Russian imperialists.

From the very outset, the mining of uranium ore, which only occurs very rarely, was a question of obtaining the necessary human labour. In order to get sufficient workers for the mines, contingents of German resettlers were already sent there in 1946 and 1947. In addition, German prisoners-of-war were also forced to work in the mines. From 1948 onwards, it was no longer any problem at all to obtain miners. A knowledge of mining was not necessary; all that was needed was sufficient slave labour. The state courts of justice, which were set up after the Communist putsch of 1947, also had the function of labour exchanges, inasmuch as they saw to it that regular and adequate "reinforcements" were provided for the death-camps of the uranium mines. It was an open secret that the labour market and the entire economic system of the Czecho-Slovak Republic had to adapt themselves to the requirements of the "Jachymovsky doly".

The prohibited areas have become a Czech Vorkuta, the place to which all political opponents are exiled. Criminal and political prisoners work here side by side with civilians who have been forcibly deported. And it is here that the anti-Communist intelligentsia and the Communist idealists meet. The latter are but few in number; they are of little significance compared to the overwhelming majority of those who are opposed to the regime. The civilian workers employed in the mines usually

choose this kind of work out of pecuniary greed and love of adventure. Advertising agencies all over Czecho-Slovakia describe the advantages of this kind of employment in the rosiest colours. A certain proportion of the miners also consists of persons who report for work in the mines in order to evade the possibility of being arrested. What a satanic plan: the political opponents of the regime provide the material basis for the power and the further existence of Communism! An extremely cunningly thought-out system forces millions of persons, of whom more than half are prisoners, to engage in the dangerous task of mining uranium. If they refuse to do so, one resorts to "old and well-tried" measures against them, on Muscovite lines, and their families are accordingly doomed to extermination.

The supervision and control of the "Jachymovsky doly" rest with the STB (secret state police). The SNB (police and gendarmerie) and the militia only have the function of an auxiliary service in this connection. They guard the plant, check identity papers and permits, and keep an eye on the prisoners. But the ultimate power of authority and decision rests with the Russians. They are the dictators in this case, for uranium means world power. A technical engineer and a political manager, both of whom enjoy equal rights, are in charge of each pit. Both of them are always Russians. The Russians are not allowed to have any personal contact at all with the Czechs. Inter-marriage between Russians and Czechs is prohibited, and Russians and Czechs never live in the same house.

As far as the Russian control staff is concerned, the state frontiers between East Germany and Czecho-Slovakia, which normally are strongly guarded, are non-existent. The uranium mines on the East German side are connected with the Joachimstal mines by subterranean passages. Incidentally, German prisoners-of-war made use of this fact in 1947, and escaped.

It is a well-known fact that Russia and Czecho-Slovakia have a secret uranium agreement, but no

details at all are known in the West. It is, however, an established fact that there is a special department in the Prague government for dealing with all the problems that may arise out of this agreement. It is typical of the tense situation that, in answer to some attack on the part of oppositional forces, the former President Zapotocky affirmed shortly before his death in 1957 that the agreement on the exploitation of the uranium mines had been signed not by a Communist, but by the bourgeois Foreign Minister Ripka!

In pre-war Czecho-Slovakia there was many a heated parliamentary debate on the question of the so-called "Joachimstal disease." This is a kind of lung cancer, which is caused by strong radioactive rays and soon results in death. In those days, only a few hundred miners were threatened by this dreadful disease. By now, however, thousands of persons are exposed to this danger, and so far not the least precautionary measures have been taken in this respect. Civilian workers do at least have a chance to choose their place and time of work. But the prisoners are forced to work everywhere, under all sorts of conditions and as long as the Russians demand. Cases are known to exist in which prisoners are forced to work underground in two and three shifts successively, without a meal, because they have not been able to fulfil the quota.

The most dreadful conditions prevail in the so-called "death tower" of Ostrov. This is the most dangerous place of work in the entire uranium region. Here, the uranium ore dust in the air is so thick that one can hardly see one's own hand. This dust settles on the lungs and slowly destroys the tissue. Groups of prisoners who were formerly active anti-Communist fighters are intentionally assigned to work in this "death tower" and left there until they themselves are doomed to die. In this way, the authorities kill two birds with one stone. After the departure of the German prisoners-of-war in 1955, Catholic priests were the victims chosen to carry out this deadly work. Although, on the one hand, there is this intentional destruction of human life in the Czecho-Slovak Republic, on the other hand, this same Republic files a petition with the UNO to carry out research on the effects of radio-active rays!

The mines of the "Jachymovsky doly", which might have been a treasury for the state, have

(Continued on page 11)

The Ideological Political Resistance of Ukrainian Underground

(Conclusion)

The Ukrainian liberation movements OUN and UPA brought about the setting up of a large-scale front as represented by those nations suppressed by Bolshevism and Nazism when they called the "First Conference of the Suppressed Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia" on November 21 and November 22, 1943. At this conference it was decided that "a united front of the suppressed nations must be set up in order to ensure a speedy and sure victory for the national revolutions". "For this reason the Conference considers it to be absolutely essential that a joint committee of the nations of Eastern Europe and Asia be set up, which committee shall co-ordinate all the national forces of these peoples, shall work out a united course, that is to say a single strategy, to be adopted in this battle against the mutual enemy, and shall, at the appropriate time, give the signal for a simultaneous revolution on the part of all the suppressed nations" . . . "The newly-founded social order in Eastern Europe and Asia will exclude every form of imperialism and will safeguard the freedom of development of every nation. This new order must be based on the system of independent states for each nation on its own ethnographical territory. The rebellion of the masses is necessary to guarantee the victory of a national revolution." "Only a national revolution on the part of each of the suppressed nations can put an end to war and bring a lasting peace to the world."

In order to mobilize this united front, UPA units carried out various incursions (as for instance into Caucasia under Commander Lys, in 1949; into Slovakia, and into Roumania from June 15th to August 1, 1949, under Commander Chmara; into Poland, White Ruthenia, Lithuania, Prussia, etc. — UHVR Information Service, March, 1950, p. 12/13 . . . The acceptance of the significance of the ABN

as a "united conception of the fight for freedom" — UPA Chronicles, October, 1947, p. 8, and "The ABN is now a leading political organ of co-ordination for the suppressed nations in the anti-Bolshevist struggle" . . . "The organization and the tactics of the OUN in the fight for an independent Ukraine are undoubtedly right", 1950.

In this connection P. Poltawa in his "Conception of an Independent Ukraine" (p. 57) defends the conception of the ABN. The same point is stressed in the article, "Who are the Banderiwzi" (p. 20), where the author stresses the agreement of the aims of the ABN with the struggle waged by the suppressed nations and says: "The revolutionary and progressive elements of Ukraine, White Ruthenia, the Baltic states, and Caucasia have joined forces in the manner suggested by us and have formed an anti-Bolshevist bloc which will wage a united war against Bolshevism".

A special pamphlet entitled "Our Watchword 'Freedom of Nations and Freedom of Individuals' — the most progressive watchword in the world" (1952) describes the aims of the ABN in detail. In this pamphlet it is emphasized that "Our faith in the victory of the watchwords 'Freedom of Nations and Freedom of the Individual' strengthens the activity of the ABN . . . The ABN is preparing to set up a united front of the nations in the fight against ruthless Moscow imperialism, a fight which will destroy the Moscow empire, namely the USSR".

I have described some of the main principles on which the Ukrainian resistance movement is based in this short article. The fact that the ceaseless struggle of the organized Ukrainian liberation movement still continues is proof of the strength of resistance on the part of the masses. S. S.

Fourth Anti-Communist Congress of American Continent

At the Fourth Anti-Communist Congress of the American Continent, which was held in Antigua Guatemala, in October, 1958, the following resolutions were passed unanimously:

1) In the name of the free conscience of the continent to condemn and draw the attention of the statesmen, the men of learning and the leaders of public opinion to the terrible reality of Soviet Russia's imperialist expansion, which is being conducted by the Kremlin conspirators, which, prompted by Russia's desire to conquer the whole world, has been carried out since the days of Ivan the Terrible, Peter I, Catherine II, Lenin and Stalin, and by N. Khrushchev today, and which is a threat to the civilization and freedom of the whole world.

2) To condemn the atrocious and criminal campaigns of conquest, subjugation and aggression which are being conducted by Russian imperialism, for the purpose of infiltration, penetration, subjection and subjugation of the peoples.

3) To proclaim our determined solidarity and genuine support for the fight for freedom of the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism, to fight with all means for their liberation, independence and freedom in their ethnographical territories, in order to make it possible for them to use all the privileges which international law and the solidarity of their free fellow-peoples guarantee them.

4) To solemnly give expression to our solidarity with the fight for freedom of the peoples subjugated by Soviet Russian imperialism and to help them by using all the means available to the free peoples in the rest of the world.

5) To join in the solemn declaration of the U.S.-Congress, of July 2, 1958, regarding the celebration of the "National Days of Independence" of the subjugated peoples.

6) To explicitly and definitely reject every form of coexistence policy and every recognition of the status quo, which allows Russian imperialism, in violation of every right, to maintain its rule over the subjugated countries and peoples.

7) To emphasize, as an urgent necessity, the postulate of the restoration of the internationally lawful sovereignty of the subjugated peoples, — namely, by the disintegration of the Russian imperium for the purpose of restoring the national states in their ethnographical territories, completely independent of Moscow.

8) To recommend the immediate severance of diplomatic relations on the part of all the states of the free world with Russia and the Communist bloc of satellite countries or with any allegedly independent states which are controlled by Russia.

9) To give definite and effective support to all the national liberation movements in the countries behind the Iron Curtain.

10) To recommend all the free states of the world to declare all Communist parties existing in their territories illegal, since these parties are the agents of Soviet Russian imperialism.

11) To inform the world, whenever and wherever possible, of the text of these resolutions, so that the free peoples become convinced in their minds and conscience that it is imperative to counteract Soviet subjugation in the countries of those parts of the world which are still free, in order to ensure that the free peoples are not forced to endure the suffering and hardships to which the peoples subjugated by Russia have been subjected.

The Committee

President Dr. Salvador Mendoza,
Mexico
Referendary Dr. Francisko Buitrago
Martinez, Nicaragua
Member Eduardo Alfonso Figeac,
El Salvador
Member Contador Miguel Angel Rubinec,
Argentina
Member Victor Alegria, Cuba
Secretary Dr. Carlos E. Simons,
Guatemala.

Ukrainian Flag Hoisted On Government Buildings in USA

To mark the 41st anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of Ukraine, the Ukrainian national flag was hoisted on the government buildings in the USA on January 22, 1959.

Speeches were also made on this occasion by leading men of various states of the USA. The Governor of New Jersey, Robert B. Meyner, held a speech in which he appealed to his fellow-citizens to remember this day and stressed the reasons why it should be regarded as a memorable anniversary. Governor Abraham Ribikoff of Connecticut, Governor James P. Devere of Maryland, Governor M. W. De Salle of Ohio, Governor G. David L. Lawrence of Pennsylvania, the Mayor of New York City, Mr. Robert Wagner, and various other prominent personalities also delivered addresses in which they emphasized the importance of this anniversary.

The day's Congress session in both Houses opened with a prayer for Ukraine to mark this occasion.

Russian Educational System According to Khrushchev's "Theories"

In its edition of December 16, 1958, the "Pravda" reports that Khrushchev stated that in Russia all the peoples could decide in which language their children were to be educated at school. This is, of course, merely propaganda, for, actually, everyone who wants to be a "good citizen" is obliged to "choose" the Russian language. And another interesting point, — Khrushchev also stated that all children over fourteen were to work more than half their school-hours in the kolkhozes in order to become acquainted with work at an early age. Actually, this has already been partly carried out in the case of children over twelve, but they are now to be assigned to the "brigades" and they will continue to work in the "brigades" irregularly. Since it has not sufficed to send the women to work in the mines, in order to realize Khrushchev's plans, new projects and methods are now being thought out.

Red Defeat Seen Through Aid to Rebels

The "Cleveland Plain Dealer" of February 15, 1959, published together with a picture of Prof. F. Durcansky, the following article under the headline:

Red Defeat Seen Through Aid to Rebels.

With the aid of the Free World, a "disintegration" of the Soviet empire is a definite possibility within a short time.

If the Western nations change their present policy of living with the status quo and give support to insurrection groups behind the Iron Curtain, the peoples will liberate themselves.

Durcansky, who lives in Munich, Germany, is speaker of the Assembly of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations. He is in Cleveland to meet with an American coordinating committee of the nations under the Communist yoke.

With moral, financial and political support the people under Russian domination would start a campaign of "passive resistance". However, Dr. Durcansky pointed out that such a program must be coordinated to involve at least most of these nations at the same time. If such a plan could be worked out within the 17 nations represented in A.B.N.-Organization, the Russians would be unable to divert their forces adequately and a defeat such as in Hungary would be averted, he said.

Durcansky said he felt the Russians were bluffing in their threats to Berlin. He called the Soviet policy "a policy of arrogance." In the 14 years of "peace," he noted, this policy has gained Russia more than they obtained as a result of World War II.

Durcansky, former professor of International Law of the University-Bratislava, is also chairman of the Executive Council of the Slovak Liberation Committee. He and Joseph C. Trubinsky of Cleveland, vice president of the Slovak Liberation Committee in the United States, agreed that Russian proposals for an independent Slovak Republic "are phony."

In our previous issue we informed our readers that Prof. Dr. F. Durcansky, the Chairman of the Peoples' Council of the A.B.N., is now on a visit to the U.S.A. On February 14th he gave a press conference in Cleveland.

The "Cleveland Plain Dealer", of February 12, wrote as follows under the headline "West Should help Rebels in Soviet Domain":

"As Russia organizes the dissatisfied people in the free world, so must the free world organize the dissatisfied peoples now living behind the Iron Curtain."

Congress of the "Liberación Europea"

On December 16, 1958, the annual congress of the anti-Communist organization "Liberación Europea" was held in Buenos Aires.

After reports had been read, discussions held and the new executive committee of the organization had been elected, the congress passed a resolution demanding the destruction of the centres of Communism. The resolution also demanded the disintegration of the Russian imperium into individual national states in their ethnical territory, as for instance Ukraine, Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, North Caucasia, Turkestan, etc., and the liberation of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania; further, the partition of so-called Czecho-Slovakia into an independent Slovak and an independent Czech state, and the partition of so-called Yugoslavia into free national states of its peoples, namely the Croats, Slovenes, etc. In addition, the resolution appealed to the Organization of the United Nations to urgently request the Communist rulers to abolish all the concentration camps and slave labour camps in their sphere of influence and to release all political prisoners. In conclusion, the congress demanded that the free world should request Moscow, Prague and Belgrade to withdraw their forces from the territories which they have occupied and should grant the enslaved peoples freedom and independence.

Vorkuta In Central Europe

(Continued from page 10)

within a short time become a slave colony of Russian Bolshevik imperialism. The Czech youth, which has suffered a hard fate and has matured before its time, sees no reason to be proud of the political achievement of its fathers, and is now seeking a new course. Whether this course will lead, cannot as yet be foreseen, but those of us who have ourselves been in this dreadful cauldron (Vorkuta, Karaganda, Kingir, Norylsk and the numerous other Bolshevik slave colonies) know what bitter feelings and ferment are at work in the hearts of such a subjugated and humiliated youth.

"Daily Telegraph" on Soviet Union

The "Daily Telegraph" in its edition of 30. 12. 1958 published the following article "Potential Foes Among 6m. Under Arms":

After the initial depression which must strike the West after the recent N.A.T.O. report that the Soviet Union and its satellites have more than 6m. men under arms—and this in time of peace—some comfort may be derived from the fact that, of the populations supplying these staggering totals of troops, only some 80m. are Russian, as against 200m. or more peoples of non-Russian nationality.

It is these 80m. exclusively who menace the West. The subjugated nations within the Soviet sphere have nothing but goodwill towards the democracies; although they do wish the latter would assist their struggles for national liberty with policies rather more effective than the mere lip-service of "freedom" broadcasts.

That the West has nothing to fear, and everything to gain, by a more positive attitude towards national aspirations within the Soviet bloc was amply proved in 1941, when Russia was drawn into the war. In the first four months of hostilities more than 3,600,000 Red Army officers and men surrendered without firing a shot—a figure confirmed at the Nuremberg Trials.

These men were non-Russians—Ukrainians, Georgians, Byelo-Russians, Cossacks, &c.—who believed that they would be given a chance to fight for the freedom of their own homelands. By Hitler's decision, however, this excellent fighting material wasted away in the concentration camps—a decision which the German military leaders (Braunhirsch, Guderian, Kesselring and others) were bitterly to regret, for purely selfish reasons, later in the war.

Again, during the Hungarian revolt in 1956, non-Russian troops had to be withdrawn as unreliable after many of them—mainly Ukrainians—went over to the insurgents with their arms and tanks.

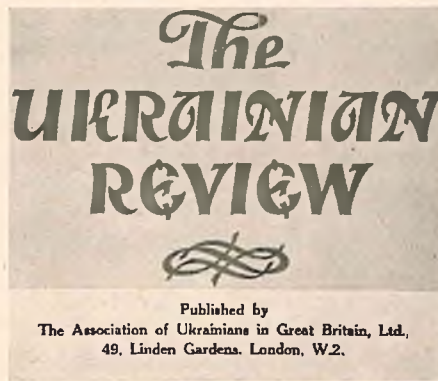
It is a great mistake to imagine that the Soviet Union is a monolithic structure composed entirely of Russians rigidly loyal to the Kremlin. The overwhelming majority of Khrushchev's subjects are not Russians; they detest the Russian imperialism which has shackled their countries and plundered their economic resources; and if war involving Russia should come, they will strike hard for their freedom.

That is why Khrushchev will threaten and bluster against the West, but will never give the fatal

command to the Red Army — any more than Stalin would have done had he not been forced into war.

Russia, it is certain, possesses the most modern armaments; but it is with the men behind them that the West should concern itself. Vast numbers of them are prepared, in the event of war, to turn their weapons against their Russian oppressors — on the understanding that they will not be abandoned as the Hungarians were.

They require effective guarantees, not pious resolutions, and the statement of these guarantees should be the corner-stone of Western policy—if the West is really determined to halt Russian imperialism and preserve its own civilisation.



And on January 1, 1959, the "Daily Telegraph" writes:

It simply must be recognised universally that the so-called Soviet Union is not a monolithic national State, but a terrible prison of many nations in which Russian (Muscovite) people are absolute masters.

Although almost every Russian would certainly fight to the last if he came to blows with the "imperialist hyenas," Mr. Anthony Cavendish and the whole of Britain should know that this will not be the case as regards the nations subjugated by Russia. For whereas the first will defend their imperialistic conquests of vast territories and economic and strategic goods, the latter will regard such war as an opportunity to cast away the Russian yoke, to rebuild their national States and to live in peace with the rest of the free world.

But the free world must not shatter the hopes of its actual and potential allies behind the Iron Curtain by ignoring their aims and aspirations.

There would never be another world war if British public opinion could persuade the Russian people to free the subjugated nations. For without Ukraine, Georgia, Byelo-Russia, Turkestan, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Hungary, Poland and the rest, Russia proper will not constitute a significant economic and military power.

Baltic Federation

Martynas Anysas, Doctor of Law, Chairman of the Baltic Federation in Canada, former consul of Lithuania and the counsellor in the office of the governor of the territory of Klaipeda, has prepared a project of the Constitution of the Federation of the Baltic States.

The aim of the Federation is clearly defined in the preamble which reads: "United in their common desire to preserve their independence, to defend their countries against their common enemies in the East and in the West, to consolidate and to improve the public and private economy, destroyed during the Soviet occupation, to protect their religion and to develop their culture and national character, the independent Baltic States Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania establish the Federation of the Baltic States".

The three Baltic States shall establish, for a period of ten years, a union for the purposes of foreign policy, finances, defense, justice, culture and communications. The three Baltic States shall continue to be sovereign independent states, every state shall keep its national government, parliament, and governmental apparatus. The member States shall be free to receive and to accredit the diplomatic and consular representatives of foreign countries.

The English language shall be the official common language of the Baltic Federation.

The federal parliament shall be composed of representatives of the national parliaments of the member states. Every member state shall send to the federal parliament twenty representatives of its own national parliament.

The federal parliament shall elect its chairman with a majority of four fifths, for one year.

The chairman of the federal parliament shall not exercise the functions of the head of state.

Tension in Shanghai

Tension and crisis seem to be mounting in Shanghai, the biggest city in Communist-held China. Daily arrests have been made since mid-December and reportedly as many as 1,000 people were nabbed in one night by Red police.

Speculation on what is happening in this traditional seat of revolution may be premature, but reasons for the increased tempo of the terror reign can be advanced on the basis of the Communists' own reports. For one thing, there are severe shortages of foods and consumer goods in Shanghai, Peiping, and other major cities.

"Peiping Review" recently revealed that the Red regime is mobilizing every conceivable means of transport in a massive effort to alleviate the shortage. In Hunan Province alone, for instance, 3,000,000 persons were mobilized to move urgently needed foods and other consumer goods to urban centers.

In the case of Shanghai, however, hunger is only one more symptom of unrest and dissatisfaction. Shanghai has always been more cosmopolitan and its residents less tractable than the general population. Shanghai's intellectuals have been a special problem for the Communists in this respect. The problem was dramatized by the Red decision not to push the people's communes in Shanghai yet.

But while hunger is but another item in a long list of the Shanghai citizen's complaints, it may be the fuse that touches off the explosion.

To All Enslaved Peoples

Committee of Civic Organizations of Republic of China in Support of Struggle for Freedom Behind the Iron Curtain

To All Enslaved Peoples Behind the Iron Curtain

Dear Friends:

While we are celebrating the fifth anniversary of the "Freedom Day" in Taipei and other parts of the free world, our hearts are with you. Not for a single moment have we forgotten you who have lost freedom and are suffering under the Communist enslavement. Your fortitude and heroic struggle against Communist tyranny have won the deep admiration of all freedom-loving peoples the world over. On behalf of the people of the Republic of China, we wish to convey to you our sincere respects.

Five years ago, to-day was the day on which over 22,000 anti-Communist Chinese and Korean POWs in Korea won their freedom. It was also the day on which people behind the Iron Curtain wrote a glorious page in world history. In the past five years, enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain in different parts of the world stirred up a wave of anti-Communist movements, among which the anti-Communist movement in Poland, the anti-Communist revolutionary movement in Hungary and the anti-Communist movement following the "Hundred Flowers" campaign and the anti-Communist movement against the People's Commune on the mainland are particularly noteworthy. They have rocked the very foundation of the totalitarian rule of the Communist bloc of nations. The ever growing recognition of the Communist intrigue on the part of the free world and the mounting solidarity of the anti-Communist forces are factors which augur well for the cause of anti-Communism and presage the early downfall of the Communist bloc.

At a time when the situation on both sides of the Iron Curtain is favorable to the anti-Communist cause, we wish, in addition to extending to you our respects, to assure you that the people of the Republic of China will spare no effort to give their full support to your heroic struggle against Communism. Let us join hands, and with our joint forces break through the Iron Curtains in the West and East.

United States of America and the Liberation Policy (Continued from page 4)

endence of the countries dependent on England or France, both of these countries being allies of the USA, if the USA does not favor independence for the peoples enslaved in the USSR, which is the enemy of America? No Arab will be able to understand this.

Provided certain conditions are met, these explanatory actions in the Middle East could be undertaken by the A.B.N. These conditions are that the latter be given the opportunity to propagate its ideas behind the Iron Curtain without hinderance and with the aid of broadcasting stations organized by the USA and that, in general, the ideas of the A.B.N. should be taken into account in the entire psychological campaign on the part of the United States. So far, the ideas of the A.B.N. have found no access to influence this campaign in the direction which seems to us to be the only one which may lead to the victory of the Free World (examples: "Voice of America", "Radio Liberation", "Free Europe", ACLB, etc.). Such an action cannot be carried out separately, limited to the Middle Eastern countries.

Such a propagandistic action should be carried out universally beyond the Iron Curtain, too. Its contents should be identical as regards the aims of the anti-Bolshevist struggle. One cannot very well talk about "non-predetermination" in relation to Ukraine while propagating "independence" for Iraq at the same time.

To be sure, there would never have been any Russian pressure in this area if the Black Sea had been blocked to Russia by an independent Ukrainian state and if the Caucasus and Turkestan were independent.

Juroslaw Stetzko

From Behind the Iron Curtain

CROATIA

On February 22, 1959, the annual general assembly of the "Society of the United Croats in Germany" was held in Munich.

This Croat society, which includes over 90 per cent of all the Croats living in the Federal Republic of Germany, has been in existence there for several years and has numerous branches throughout the German Federal Republic.

How greatly interested the Croat emigrants living in Germany are in their national affinity and unity, can be seen from their huge participation in the general assembly of their society. Many of them came to Munich from hundreds of miles away, in order to be present on this occasion. And the huge hall in Munich, in which the assembly was held, was crowded.

The meeting went off without a hitch and in a most disciplined manner. All the resolutions were adopted unanimously. Considerable applause was to be heard when a vote of thanks was moved for all the commendable work done by the retiring executive committee. A new executive committee was then elected.

All the members of the "Society of the United Croats in Germany" belong to the "Croat Liberation Movement", just as more than 90 per of the Croat emigrants living in the free world and of the Croats living in their enslaved native country also belong to this movement.

The assembly closed in a fitting way with the singing of the Croat national anthem "Lijepa Nasa Domovina".

HUNGARY

Radio Budapest reported recently that the oil pipeline between Roumania and Hungary had now been completed both on Hungarian (131 kilometres) as well as on Roumanian territory. As from January 1, 1959, 200 million cubic metres of oil per year are to be conveyed from Roumania to Hungary by means of this pipeline.

A mass rally was held recently in the Erkel Theatre in Budapest to mark the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Hungarian Communist Party.

In spite of the fact that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from West Hungary was announced some time ago by the paper "Nepszabadsag", there are still large units of the Red Army stationed in Szombathely. Very considerable numbers are also stationed in the Soviet tank garrison there. Incidentally, last autumn, more and more Russian families moved from the provinces to Szombathely (West Hungary). There are also large Russian forces stationed in Debrecin.

According to the latest statistics, the total population of Hungary at present numbers 9,868,000. The fact that the total population figure prior to the Hungarian fight for freedom, namely at the end of 1955, that is, 3 years ago, was 9,861,000, shows how many people Hungary has lost through emigration to other countries, through the defeat of the revolution and various other consequences of the latter.

The Kádár-Münch regime has already expressed its affinity with the former Hungarian Republic and its leader, Bela Kun. A year ago, Kun's widow and his daughter were brought back to Hungary from Soviet exile. Parts of his estate have also been brought back to Hungary and are now to form part of a "Kun Museum". This cult of the head of the first Hungarian Communist Republic, which is being carried on by the present rulers of Hungary, can be regarded as characteristic of the trend of the present regime there.

Pope John XXIII granted Cardinal Mindszenty his papal blessing by telegram. The Cardinal, as is known, was unable to travel to Rome to take part in the election of the Pope.

On the Hungarian frontier, near to Zahony, watchdogs on long chains with expanding links have now been posted along the barbed-wire fences. They can pursue persons trying to get across the frontier for several hundred meters. These dogs and the ones used by the guards act as a hermetic seal to the Hungarian-Soviet frontier, so that barriers are no longer necessary there.

According to a statement issued by the Social Welfare and Health Department of the Hungarian parliament, alcoholism is assuming more and more serious proportions in Hungary.

At a congress of the trades union organization of the textile industry, complaints were raised to the effect that the prohibitive regulation regarding overtime is not observed.

In 1958, in the month of July, alone, about 3,000 "industrial enemies" were put into internment camps in Hungary.

Several thousand children, whose parents fled from Hungary after the revolution there, are now being re-registered. It is to be feared that these children, most of whom are living with relatives, will be put into state homes and brought up there in the Communist spirit.

In accordance with a decree issued by the Hungarian government, the so-called "social courts", which ceased to exist during the national revolution, are to be introduced once more in concerns with over 300 employees.

Over a third of the lawyers in Hungary have been struck off the judicial list because they were regarded as politically untrustworthy.

Certain Hungarian newspapers complain about the fact that the Hungarians even refuse to accept Communist propaganda publications gratis.

According to Radio Budapest and Radio Moscow, 98 per cent of the Hungarian population voted for the Popular Front on November 19, 1958. Prior to, during and after the elections, 9 Russian divisions were stationed in Hungary.

RUMANIA

THE NEW BUDGET IN THE ROUMANIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

"The representative body of the people" in the Bucharest Communist regime has approved the Budget submitted by Minister of Finance Aurel Vijoli for the current year. The revenue amounts to 51 833,0 million and the expenditure to 51 033,0 million. The advisers on the Budget and the delegates, who spoke during the debate which was held after the Budget had been passed, ascertained "enthusiastically" that there was a surplus of 800 million. It is difficult to check this surplus sum, since neither the law, nor the "exposé of the motives", nor the speeches held by the various speakers give any explanation at all as to the source of this sum. For this reason, there are serious doubts as to the figures submitted. And these doubts would appear to be intensified by the statement which was made by Al. Barladeanu, one of the deputies of the president of the ministerial council, during the said session. Barladeanu affirmed that there were still many deficiencies in the economy of the Roumanian People's Republic, since many branches of production had not been rationalized and "material and financial funds" were being wasted in a senseless way. The fact that this statement is based on the

actual truth can be seen from the columns of the Communist daily papers, which constantly mention the theft of state property and demand most insistently that the thieves should be punished. That the situation in this respect really is serious, can be seen from the fact that sentences passed on persons guilty of stealing state property became more severe in the course of the past year; but even though the death sentence was applied in numerous cases, the number of criminals does not appear to have decreased.

Another aspect of the Budget, which deserves to be mentioned as particularly interesting, is the source of the revenue. 47 212,5 million are derived from state industrial concerns and organizations. Only 4 620,5 million are obtained from taxes and fees which are paid by the population. Although this point appears to speak in favour of the much-praised Communist economy, which "supplies" these millions, the real situation is quite different and can, in fact, be described as grim. Is the citizen really spared the burden of taxation? Not at all! The Roumanians have been deprived of all property and of every possibility to acquire any. Their only income is their wage, which is so small that it cannot be taxed very high. And that is the reason why the item "taxes and fees to be paid by the population" is so small.

RUSSIAN AID

In an interview which he granted the Communist Czecho-Slovak periodical, "Hospodarke Noviny", Petre BORILA, the vice-president of the ministerial council of the Roumanian People's Republic, discussed the economic development of Roumania during the past ten years of Communist rule. He affirmed that Russia had constantly furthered the development of Roumanian economy by supplying the country with machines, engineering plans and, in particular, with long-term loans at low rates of interest. He added that Russian aid had been received in all branches of economy and industry and that it was still a most important factor.

In reality, of course, this "Russian aid" is nothing but a Soviet investment which enables the Muscovite rulers to direct and control the entire Roumanian economy of today. Indeed, there is not a single economic sector in which "Soviet control" is not in evidence. Annual reports have to be submitted to Moscow on the capacity and rate of production. This is done by the Minister of Foreign Trade, who for this purpose travels to the Soviet capital regularly every year at the end of November (after the harvest has been brought in and handed over). The goods produced are offered first of all to the Muscovite buyer, at 1938 prices. It is only after the goods that Russia needs have been obtained, that the Kremlin gives Roumania "permission" to sell the rest of her products to the other satellite countries or to the countries of the West.

REDUCTION OF THE COST PRICE

The most significant campaign which the Party and the government are at present conducting is concerned with the increase of production and the reduction of the cost price. These two factors are the theme of the leading articles in the press and of the speeches made by ministers of state. The last of such speeches was held by Minister of Finance Vijoli on January 20th this year. After praising the achievements realized during the past year, he affirmed that they could be repeated and, what is more, increased this year. He refused to admit that many of these reductions in the cost price are not effective, but are merely the result of cheating in calculations. In this connection Vijoli then quoted the case of an industrial concern in Grosswardein, which managed to work out the following possibility of reducing the cost price in the production plan drawn up and submitted to the ministry in 1958: the management of the concern augmented the wage fund by 228 000 Lei more than were actually needed to pay the employees. By means of this sum or part of it, it could then reduce the cost price resulting from the drafted plan, whenever necessary; no efforts were needed to do so, and it was not necessary to use any sums of money which were assigned to cover the actual needs of the concern. The reduction in the cost price was effected by a sum of money which was put down for a fictitious purpose. There was, however, a big scandal when the control organs ascertained that the director of the concern had

regarded this sum as a justifiable reserve and had already used, or, rather, wasted half of it during the first quarter of 1958.

SLAVE LABOUR

The Chinese communities have apparently set the Roumanian People's Republic an example.

On January 15, 1959, Radio Bucharest, for instance, reported that "the citizens are enthusiastically taking part in the work of constructing and modernizing the highways". It was pointed out that in the region of Bucharest alone, 200 kilometres of roads and highways were modernized and restored during 1958, and that this involved 1 169 000 working days with shovels and 800 000 working days with vehicles. Incidentally, all this work was achieved by means of slave labour. This camouflaged slave labour was introduced on the strength of a decree issued by the ministerial council last spring. In accordance with this decree, farmers are compelled to pay a certain sum annually, which goes towards a special fund reserved for road-building. If they are not in a position to pay this sum, they are forced to pay it off in the form of work. In certain cases, even those who have paid the sum in question are forced to work.

It was further reported by Radio Bucharest that the engineers of the Roumanian People's Republic have discovered a new method of building roads in areas where there are no bricks, cement, etc. to be had. In these districts the roads are made of "stabilized earth".



The Communists are planning to increase industrial production in Slovakia by 12.2 per cent this year. The greatest increase is to be effected in the engineering industry, where, according to the Communist plan, production is to be increased by 22.8 per cent.

In November, 1958, representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church from the Soviet Union visited the East Slovakian town of Preschov for the purpose of persuading the Catholic population to go over to the Orthodox Church.

Shortly before Christmas 1958, a conference of atomic experts from the territories of the so-called Czecho-Slovakia took place in the capital of Slovakia.

On December 10 and 11th, 1958, an all-Slovakian conference of inventors and innovators was held in Bratislava.

In December, 1958, a Hungarian Communist Party and government delegation, as well as a delegation of Polish kolkhoz workers visited Slovakia. In January this year, delegations of Danish and Albanian Communists also visited Slovakia.

At the beginning of January this year, an exhibition called "Soviet Books" was opened in Bratislava.

Model Farm for Volunteers

A Special Report from Red China

("Mercur" of Dec. 12, 1958)

There are thousands living behind high barbed-wire fences — in fact, over 25,000 women and a large number of old persons — but they are not guarded very closely as they would, in any case, not be able to go on living even if they were to escape. Without ration cards and without a permit to move from one place to another, life is impossible in a police state. These "volunteers" are interned here for such offences as the following: an old man of 63 failed to report the fact that he was suffering from an infectious disease, a woman was sentenced to five years for having accepted sick pay without having an urgent reason for doing so, an eighteen-year old girl for having stolen a fountain-pen, and a "capitalist" was sentenced for having tried to smuggle some of his money out of the country. He is now forced to work standing in water up to his knees, even in cold weather, and is hoping to be released, even though he may be shot at any moment. All the internees affirm that they will never, in all their life, repeat their "crimes" and that they would rather murder their own mother . . .

The special correspondent Louis Barcata was, of course, shown a model camp . . .

Z. Sahan (Buffalo, U.S.A.)

The Communist System — A Virtual Prison!

The continuing danger of war in the world today arises mainly from the fact that millions of people in a great many nations are unable to live in the conditions of freedom as decreed by the will of God and the laws of free and upright men, and are denied the enjoyment of political and human rights that elsewhere are taken for granted.

These millions of people in all these nations are being oppressed by another alien people, who mercilessly exploit the fruit of their labor and the rich harvest of their earth. The unfortunate people are forced to live under a system of government, which refuses them the right to the pursuit and preservation of their own culture and heritage, which moreover refuses to recognise that such heritage exists; a system that insults and suppresses their ingrown loyalty to their own religious practices and traditions, and forbids any activity that could (and would) lead to the establishment of true democracy.

In quite the worst position today are those millions of people who, by force or coercion, have been annexed to the Soviet Russian empire. The various ethnic groups, such as the Wolga Germans, Crimea Tartars, Ingushs, Chechenians and other have been either completely annihilated or else been forcefully transferred to the cold and barren regions of the Siberian north, where sooner or later their fate is death.

Another group of peoples is made up of such subjugated non-Russian nations as the Lithuanians, Estonians, Latvians, Ukrainians, White Ruthenians, Turkestanians, Armenians, Azerbaijanians, North Caucasians and Georgians. These nations declared their independence on the conclusion of the first world war and the subsequent collapse of the Russian Czarist Empire. At various times thereafter and following a well known, diabolical pattern, the Soviet Russian state by aggression or coercion destroyed their independence and put their people into a state of abject colonial subjugation. Today they are officially a part of the U.S.S.R. Two of these nations, White Ruthenia and Ukraine have their own delegates at the United Nations in New York, purporting to present the views of their countries. However these delegates are in no way the true representatives of their people, but are merely instruments of the oppressor. In the third and last category belong the so-called satellite nations, who to all appearances present a picture of complete independence to the world. They have their own governments, armies and all the other attributes of sovereignty. Their governments are in fact, however, mere puppets and the political and economic life in these countries is completely under the control and direction of the Russian communist state and party apparatus.

While in Europe the execution of this work is in the hands of Soviet Russia, the same type of subversive aggression is being carried out in Asia by the Communist Chinese Government with the same goal in mind.

Owing to this policy of the communist aggressors several monolithic states became their particularly unfortunate victims and were artificially divided, causing such monstrosities as East-Germany, North-Korea and North-Vietnam to be created. Their very existence is an anathema. These countries are intended to be the spring board for further communist conquests and as of now form the nucleus of a new and purely communistic world.

To lull the mistrust and watchfulness of the free peoples the Communist aggressors make use of well thought out and finely chiselled methods, which have been designed to disarm these peoples completely, not just in the physical sense of the word, but — and this is far more significant and dangerous — to also break their moral strength, their resistance to an alien way of life and a set of values that are utterly opposed to these peoples' inherent sense of right and justice.

To this end the Kremlin has set in motion a propaganda machine more powerful than any the world has yet seen, one which exploits the misinformation and woeful lack of knowledge that exists in the free world about the character and intentions of the communist master planners. We will quote to you the way in which this communist propaganda machine corrupts the facts. They would have the world believe that:

1) The Soviet Union is a state in which every kind

of pressure has been removed from all those living therein.

- 2) Each nation and each ethnic group within the Soviet fold enjoys the guaranteed right to their own development within their national character.
- 3) The communist system represents the peak of human achievement.
- 4) All people enjoy the right to complete freedom of religious beliefs.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

At the same time, all the while propagating these lies to their unsuspecting listeners, the Communists exploit for their own ends all the difficulties of social, religious and racial problems that unfortunately do exist in the non-Communist countries of the world. They instigate social conflict and amplify the hate of one people for another. The purpose of all this is to put the free countries at loggerheads with each other, to weaken their resistance and so enable the Communist minorities in these countries to seize power and control over the affairs of these states.

This lying propaganda is ceaselessly poured into the ears of the world, while at all time within their own borders a never-easing pressure is exercised over all peoples, who are denied all right to any self-determination. The Communists seize any opportunity to declare their support of democratic principles, whereas in truth all ideas of democracy lose their validity as soon as the Communists have managed to obtain power anywhere.

Communist propaganda constantly calls for close co-existence with the Soviet bloc so as to put them into a position where they can plant their propaganda literature and their agents more successfully in those unsuspecting countries.

There are in the countries of the West many misinformed individuals as well as whole organisations, among whom are intellectuals, priests, men of the arts and letters, merchants and industrialists, who unwittingly have fallen into the Communist propaganda net and who demand of their own governments ever closer cooperation with Soviet Russia, without being aware that by so doing they play directly into the hands of their arch-enemy, who aims to destroy utterly all that these people hold dear.

In contrast to this propaganda, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations raises its united voice in the defense of freedom for all nations and freedom of the individual. We demand the right to complete sovereignty for all peoples and all races within their own territory. Complete independence can be achieved only when people can elect freely their own political leadership and can determine for themselves the system of government under which they wish to live.

To secure this complete independence it is necessary for a nation to have full access to, and control over the natural resources of their own territory. As God has not seen fit to distribute natural resources in equal amounts all over the world and whereas each country has its own, peculiar to itself, each must be granted the right to enter into any economic union or conclude any trade pact on a purely voluntary basis as shall be consistent with the well-being of their own nations.

All this cannot be achieved however, as long as the Soviet Union is in existence, as the communist system constitutes a virtual prison for countless nations and peoples in their present position. The mere fact of the continued existence of the Soviet Union means the existence in the free countries of the dreaded fifth column and with it the threat to the existence of these countries as free states.

Therefore we call upon all individuals and organisations, on all honest and patriotic elements of the free world to join with us in the ranks of the A.B.N. to fight against tyranny and oppression with all the power and strength at our command.

We call for the cessation of all petty quarrels between different social, religious and racial groups of the free world in order that we may conserve our strength for the fight for the survival of democracy.

We call for the active support of those brave men and women behind the Iron Curtain who at the constant risk to their lives fight for the liberty of their countries.

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The Editor,
"A.B.N.-Correspondence".

BOOK-REVIEWS

Dieter Friede:

Das russische Perpetuum mobile

Marienburg-Verlag, Würzburg. 244 pp.

The day before yesterday — the Near East, yesterday — Quemoy, today — Berlin. And tomorrow? Where will the conflagration break out tomorrow? Where will world peace be endangered again tomorrow? This is the anxious question which the world is doomed to ask day in, day out. The world is never at peace, because one state is and remains the source of unrest in the world.

In 1917 the ruling power of Russia was transferred from the tsarist house to the Central Committee, but Russian unrest continued and grew, activated by a world revolution.

In 1956 Stalin was de-Stalinized by Khrushchev, — and since then Khrushchev's threats to the world and Khrushchev's actions all over the world have prevented mankind from being at peace. The Russian shadow, which in all continents darkens the life of the peoples, is denser than it was in Stalin's day.

The imperial-Communist continuity proceeds in such a straight line that Khrushchev is now making for the old tsarist aim, — to extend the hegemony over Europe to world dominion.

Russia has remained Russia, — and yet there is now a new Russian factor, something new not in, but for Russia; she can no longer hide away and take refuge in the vastness of her territory. For the first time, her existence is just as exposed to danger as is the existence of her enemies. This is the subject of a new book on Russia, which is to be published in March, 1959, by the Marienburg-Verlag in Würzburg and which will be of great interest to our readers. Its title is "Das russische perpetuum mobile" ("The Russian Perpetuum Mobile"), and it has been written by Dieter Friede, who has spent thirty years studying Russian history and, what is more, was interned in Russia for eight years, six of which he spent in the slave labour camps of Vorkuta.

The book sets out to prove that Russia's policy has in no way changed since 1917, but, on the contrary, in spite of the change-over from the tsarist house to the Central Committee, has continued both as regards home and abroad along exactly the same lines: at home, slavery, subjugation of non-Russian nations, deportations, slave labour; abroad, expansionism, imperialism, the endeavour to set up a hegemony in Europe and to rule the whole world.

The author then proves that Russia's foreign policy and world policy have become far more aggressive since Stalin's death. This policy is more dangerous as Khrushchevism than it was as Stalinism. But since the West believes Khrushchev's fairytale that Stalinism was the worst form of Bolshevism, it assumes that any other form is

bound to be more harmless and more humane. In the last chapter of the book the author enumerates all that has happened since Stalin's death, that is to say, under Khrushchev: the use of tanks in East Berlin, the first mass murders in the prison camps, the treacherous attack on Budapest, the murder of Nagy and Maleter, the "volunteers" threat in the case of the Suez Canal, the incessant threats against almost all the states of the free world, the constant and systematic stirring up of unrest in the Near East, Quemoy, Berlin, etc.

We are of the opinion that this book, precisely because of the present precarious situation in world politics, has a particularly important and valuable task to fulfil: namely, to give an account of the true nature of Russia and the Russian element. And, indeed, this task is carried out in every single point in a most thorough manner, by producing completely reliable historical material with regard to both the past and the present. Furthermore, the author has, in some of the chapters, substantiated his theories above all with translations from Communist Russian books ("Istorija SSSR", "Economic Geography of the U.S.S.R.", etc.).

The book is dedicated to: "The memory of those, the thousands, ten thousands and hundred thousands, who died in Soviet slavery".

Whilst he was a prisoner in Soviet Russia, the author had to promise his fellow-prisoners of other nationalities again and again that he would tell the whole truth about conditions, if ever he were allowed to return home again. And he has now kept this promise in the truest sense with the publication of his book.

And so that the truth may become known everywhere, above all amongst the statesmen and politicians of the West, who are so fond of cherishing illusions as regards Russia, we recommend this book to the public all over the world. F.

Walter Staugard: Halbinsel Europa. Bedeutungswandel des Abendlandes. (Peninsular Europe. The Changing Importance of the Occident.) Marienburg-Verlag, Würzburg, s. a. 262 pp.

This book by a German private scholar (his special field of study is anthropology, which, however, has little connection with the subject of this book) is devoted to the question as to whether and, if so, under what preconditions, "Europe will degrade itself to the status of an insignificant peninsula, which adjoins the vast territory of Asia." The author bases his arguments on his own system of the history of philosophy, which contains many rather doubtful points, as for instance the assertion that all the highly developed forms of culture of mankind were determined in advance by the climatic changes which occurred after the de-glaciation, that is to say by the geographical conditions of the last Ice Age. That the author is by no means a friend of nationalism, is obvious; for he affirms quite decidedly that "in the new Europe the nations must disappear" (p. 36), and naturally regards the unification of Europe as the only panacea, — an argument which need not be discussed in further detail here. On the other hand, however, it is important to consider the purpose for which, according to the author's views, Europe should be unified:

"As far as this new, stateless Europe, which is not a political construction, but a vital, historical necessity, is concerned, it is immaterial whether and in what form the reunification of Germany can be realized with the ineffective watchwords "In Peace and Freedom" or "The Right to One's Country", or who has a temporary say in the Saarland as to how Trieste should be divided; what is of importance, however, is how one defends oneself against the menacing red and yellow Bloc" (p. 23).

And herein lies the positive quality of the book, namely that the author has quite rightly recognized the extent and also the true nature of the "red and yellow", that is, the so-called Communist danger:

"The Western world does not need to defend itself against Communism, for it is not threatened by it, but against out and out un-Communist, Russian Bolshevism" . . . It cannot be forbidden in the free democracy, in which the West professes to live, to endeavour to achieve social justice by a Communist idea, as long as the latter does not support Russian imperialism . . . But since there would be no Communism** in the non-Russian countries without Russia and her Bolshevism, the Russian element, the element that is servile to Moscow in so-called Communism, must be forbidden, — namely, the Russian quislings, spies, vanguards, collaborators, traitors, after one has made it plain to them that they are working not on behalf of Marx, but on behalf of Russian imperialism . . . The Communists (in the West) are not a party in the democratic sense, but the outposts of Russian imperialism, who, disguised as a party, — . . . do not give their services for social justice, but for Russian despotism . . . From being a Marxist ideology, Communism has become a very successful weapon of Russian imperialism" (p. 54-55).

And from this there follows quite clearly the watchword advocated by the author: "Unification of the

white***) peoples in the West with a front directed against the menacing Russian element, not against the Russian people as such, but against the Russian possibilities to inflict despotism, suffering, terrorism and atrocities of which we disapprove. . . This watchword can render tank squadrons, atomic bombs and a new war unnecessary . . . The question at issue today is not the struggle between socialism and capitalism, but the struggle of heinous state capitalism****) against private capitalism, of the Eastern despotism against the Western way of life, of the Russian element against the non-Russian element" (p. 60-61).

But what actually is "the Russian element"?

We find it difficult to follow the arguments of the author with regard to the genesis of the Russian philosophy of life: in the first place, he applies far too little criticism when referring to Dostoevsky, without taking into consideration that Dostoevsky would not be a literary genius if he were merely to express what the Russian soul really is, and did not try to refashion the same according to his own taste, — that is to say, did not combine "fiction" and "truth"; and, in the second place, the theory of the author in this respect is based on the argument that "for the most part the Russian territory consists of forests, often swamps, and of steppes, both influenced by a continental climate . . . The Russian element only became apparent when the people of the swampy forests and those of the steppes came into close contact" (p. 45). — this argument sounds quite good; but, unfortunately, there are no steppes near the Muscovite (ethnic Russian) territory, — or does the author mean the Ukrainian steppes? Or is it possible that the formation of the Russian national character only goes back as far as the encounter with the Mongol steppe-horsemen of Genghis Khan? But the Muscovite population had no chance at all to come into "close contact" with the Turkish "Golden Horde" ruled by a Mongol dynasty; apart from the taxes levied through the agency of the Grand Duke, the Golden Horde had very little interest in Muscovy.

But what can one expect of the author if he even discovers the "external racial characteristics" of the Russians "pure and unalloyed" in Byelorussian (White Ruthenian) Polissia (p. 46)*****)?

We must therefore not attach too much importance to the anthropological and cultural and philosophical explanations of the author, but instead to his purely political arguments regarding the modern social structure and role of the "Russian element", — arguments with which he actually hits the nail on the head!

"It is not so much the Moscow elite that subjugates enslaves and maltreats the Russian people, as rather the Russian people that makes this despotism, which threatens us, possible and necessary . . . Russian despotism is provoked by the Russian people; they need it and it agrees with them! The danger to the West is the Moscow elite with its aim to extend its power to non-Russian regions which are inhabited by people who do not fulfil the preconditions for Russian despotism, who are not suitable for it and who can only be subjugated by cruel compulsion of the Russian kind" (p. 77-78).

And the author also very rightly assesses the inveterate Russian Messianism, which is not dependent on any social upheavals at all: "Whatever happens, it is advisable to bear in mind that Russian imperialism and Messianism must be regarded as firmly established, however peaceful or rude the tactics may appear to be . . ." (p. 71). "Who knows what kind of an aggregate form a future Russian state may assume and whether the present Bolshevik aggregate form is not a preparation for this? If this future form is one that is opposed to Bolshevism and is a government system which exterminates the latter in the Russian authoritarian way, then in its new guise it will do nothing other than conduct Russia's business for her. And by exterminating Bolshevism, it will in no way undo the latter's expansion of Russian power and Russian domination at the expense of others!" (p. 147-148).

The author in this connection particularly stresses the fact that Russian traditional imperialism is and always has been nothing but colonial exploitation and anti-cultural Russification, — "for Russia is the most ruthless colonial power. Not only the satellite states are forced to bow to her exploiting and enslaving colonial methods, but also all the peoples whom Russia subjugated and incorporated prior to and by means of Bolshevism" (p. 82). And since the author likewise admits that "Moscow has had hundreds of years in which to absorb its old conquests, and yet it has never entirely succeeded in doing so" (p. 176), one might assume that all the

*) We definitely deny that Bolshevism is "out-and-out un-Communist"; but nowadays this fact is perhaps no longer of any significant practical importance.

***) The author means: "no Communism as an actual political danger" — and he is quite right in this.

****) The author does not really trust the "coloured" peoples! But this is better than simply ignoring important racial differences, as is often the case.

*****) So far, incidentally, no Marxist has explained in what way socialism as an economic system must be differentiated from state capitalism.

*****) This, incidentally, is not so very peculiar, inasmuch as the first Slav colonists in the Ugro-Finnish Oka-Volga region undoubtedly were among the ancestors of the Byelorussians, a fact which is clearly proved by the common peculiarities of Russian and Byelorussian phonetics (namely, the so-called "akanye").

hypotheses for the conception of a common anti-Russian front of the free world and of the nations subjugated by Moscow would almost automatically obtrude themselves upon the author's reasoning.

But, unfortunately, this is not the case: in the author's opinion, all the territories occupied by Bolshevism and all the peoples subjugated by it — and East Germany is no exception — have by now "stagnated" to such an extent that nothing positive can be expected from this direction; and in the past, too, he adds, there was no anti-Russian liberation struggle worth mentioning: "The Stalinist unity of volition was not disturbed by the nationalist feelings of individual constituent states, . . . nor by the partisans and fifth columns of other state systems" (p. 69).

The author has no new suggestions at all to make as regards the political practice of the West: "From the historical aspect, it will be essential to prevent the Russian element from advancing any further and to repulse the Western advocates of the Russian element. More cannot be done at present" (p. 84).

Hence, nothing more than a continuation of the Containment Policy introduced under President Truman! — Ex nihilo nihil.

We should in conclusion, however, like to point out that the book under review — in addition to the above-mentioned clear characterization of the Soviet Russian danger for the West — also contains a very apt formulation of the Formosa problem, which is rarely found in Germany (namely on p. 165), and in Part II gives the reader an excellent and objective study of the pro-Communist "development", so far, of the so-called Afro-Asian Bloc of the Bandung states, by referring, above all, to the warning example of Indonesia. V. D.

Edgar Alexander: Europa und der russische Imperialismus. Karl Marx und das europäische Gewissen. Geleitwort von Franz Rodens. Paulus Verlag, Recklinghausen, 1957. pp. 56.

The author of this brochure, a German-American authority on contemporary history, whom one of his American reviewers calls the "greatest living historian of German Catholicism", has become known in circles interested in politics mainly by his monograph "Adenauer und das neue Deutschland (Zur Einführung in die geistig-politische Situation der Gegenwart)". The brochure under review contains two chapters of the new work planned by the author, "Europa und die westliche Welt (Die ethisch-politischen Grundlagen ihrer Einheit)"; these two chapters have one common feature, namely the author's intention that both of them should "do the Germany of today an important service by giving the neutralist circles, too, in the Federal Republic a profounder insight into the ideological, political, historical and sociological problems of Germany's reunification". What is involved in both chapters is thus Russian traditional imperialism in the past and present, with the sole difference that the author advances and expounds certain arguments in the first chapter, whereas in the second chapter he endeavours to substantiate these arguments by corresponding quotations from Karl Marx.

The historical picture of Russian imperialism presented by the author is, on the whole, correct, even though it gives one the impression that he has never heard of the Ukrainians and Byelorussians (White Ruthenians) as separate peoples.

What is more interesting, however, is the author's analysis of the Soviet Russian mentality, which, as he affirms, can be traced to the intellectual and historical development of Russia; and here he often comes fairly close to the truth, namely in the conclusion which he draws: "It is not difficult to recognize the astonishing analogy between the autocratic character, the orthodox arrogance and the claim to world domination of the theocratic Messianism of tsarist Russia and the technocratic Messianism of Communist Russia. The difference lies solely in the ideological motives and aims; the practical result continues to be the same: technocratic Messianism has on principle replaced the religious motive by the social motives of the Marxist doctrine of salvation and now aims to bring about the world domination of Marxist orthodoxy¹⁾ and technocratic imperialism."

As regards the second part of the brochure ("Karl Marx and the European Conscience"), it was, of course, not a bad idea on the part of the author to offer the reader a choice selection from Marx's anti-Russian views, most of which were printed and published during his lifetime (namely in the 1850's), but which were and still are intentionally ignored by all socialist literature. Actually, Karl Marx was anything but a Russophile, and many of his views on Russian history and politics reveal keen discernment on his part. As for instance when he affirms that if the West (including America, which he had already pronounced to be the "youngest, strongest representative of the West" in 1853) does not restrain Russian Pan-Slavism by means of armed force, "it will become necessary in that case for the natural²⁾ frontier of Russia to proceed from Danzig or possibly Stettin to Trieste!"

¹⁾ This only holds good, however, if one identifies "orthodox Marxism" with Leninism. This the author does, but without, however, perceiving anything specifically Russian in Leninism, and thus he goes round in a circle, as it were.

²⁾ This remark, as the context shows, is meant ironically by Marx.

³⁾ It was not that Marx could not find a better designation for the old Kyivan era, but he could not use any expressions that were unknown to the average reader.

("New York Tribune", April 12, 1953), — which is, indeed, a prophetic vision of the "Iron Curtain" of 1945.

Furthermore, the fact should also be stressed that, even though Marx's knowledge of Ukrainian history was very modest, he most definitely opposed all Russian claims to the historical legacy of the principality of Kyiv: "Moscow's cradle stands in the bloody morass of Mongolian slavery and not in the illustrious grandeur of the early Russian epoch"; and modern Russia is nothing but a transformation of this Moscow" ("Free Press", 1854).

Does all this justify the assertion of the author that Marx "showed himself to be an avowed defender of European interests against Russia"? It can no doubt be admitted that "no other political publicist of the 19th century destroyed and refuted the legend of "pro-European" Russia and of peaceful "coexistence" between Russian imperialism and the West more ruthlessly and more convincingly than Karl Marx". But for the author to affirm that Marx "alone was in a position to recognize clearly, with an almost supernatural foresight, the ultimate consequences of the hegemony aims of Russian imperialism as a particularly grave threat to Europe", is obviously an exaggeration.

We do not wish to belittle the value which this brochure, in spite of its faults, may have in the present fight against "neutralism" in the West and, in particular, in the Federal Republic of Germany. But why it should need a special "Preface" by Franz Rodens, is not clear to us. On the one hand, there is in this preface hardly a single idea which is not contained in Dr. Alexander's text; and, on the other hand, it is full of historical errors and incorrect assertions. For instance, it was not Catherine II who "appointed one of her lovers, a general of the hussars, to the office of General Procurator of the Holy Synod", but Paul I who entrusted a general of the cavalry (incidentally, retired) with this important post. Nicholas II was not forced to abdicate in March 1917 by the "liberal socialist Kerensky government", for the simple reason that the Russian so-called "Provisional Government" was only formed after his abdication (and after the abdication of his official successor to the throne, Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovich), whilst the Kerensky government was only formed in April 1917.

And, in conclusion, — quite apart from these individual lapses — it is extremely regrettable that neither Franz Rodens nor Dr. Edgar Alexander has the faintest idea of Ukrainian anti-Russian historical research and literature; they could have spared themselves the trouble of trying to discover America for the second time (and that by faulty methods). V. D.

Die Nationalitätenpolitik Moskaus, Nr. 1 (3), Ukrainische Unabhängige Assoziation der Forscher der sowjetischen Theorie und Praxis bezüglich der nationalen Probleme. (The National Policy of Moscow, No. 1 (3), Independent Ukrainian Association for Research of National Problems in Soviet Theory and Practice), Munich, 1958. 70 pp.

It is well-known that the special feature of the Independent Ukrainian Association for Research lies in the fact that — unlike the Munich Institute for the Study of the History and Culture of the U.S.S.R. — it neither regards the national problem in the U.S.S.R. as a subject which is taboo, nor does it use this question as an excuse for more or less camouflaged propaganda for "all-Russian" imperialism. This principle of national open-mindedness has been faithfully observed by the said Association since its foundation in 1954 and, indeed, with some success, inasmuch as it has expanded its academic and, above all, its publishing activity from year to year, in spite of its very limited material possibilities.

This new volume of the German non-periodical press organ of the Association is comprised for the most part of the following three scientific essays, which also have a current political value, too:

- 1) J. Boyko: "The Crisis in the Theory of the National Problems in the U.S.S.R.";
- 2) Bohdan Botsiurkiv: "The Soviet Russian Religious Policy and the Ukrainian Catholic Church";
- 3) R. Yendyk: "Chernyshevsky as Precursor of Lenin".

In his essay Prof. J. Boyko analyses the attempts undertaken since 1956 — incidentally, by no means numerous or influential — by certain Soviet research scholars of art and culture to revise, with the help of Marxist dialectic, the well-known Bolshevik dogma that the culture of every people should be "national in form, socialist in contents", and to recognize in the "contents" of culture a "national specific", since "the national form is most closely connected with the contents and is determined by the contents".

These aberrations of "dialectical materialistic" scholasticism as such would not be of any particular interest, but the author very rightly stresses the fact that practically all the representatives of this extremely timid "revisionism" in problems pertaining to national culture happen to be Russians, of Russian (Muscovite) nationality, and that it is, above all, a question of also rehabilitating a special (and not merely as regards the "form") Russian "national specific", in addition to the officially postulated and propagated "Soviet" culture (which, in reality, as far as the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. are concerned, merely amounts to de-nationalization and Russification), and, as the author points out, this attempt at rehabilitation does not even take into consideration the extent to which this specific is to be "socialist" in character. In this way, Russian culture in the U.S.S.R. would see its privileged position officially confirmed:

what is merely "national form" in Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Georgian and other "Soviet" culture, would in Russian culture be national form and — at least, partly — national contents, too; and this would be a further step towards consolidating the Russian "cultural" hegemony amongst all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and degrading non-Russian national culture. This can be regarded as a new aberration on the part of Russian chauvinist presumption and arrogance, which adopts an imperialist attitude towards other peoples, but "actually", in its own mind, wants to be consistently "national", too.

This deviation from "orthodox" Leninism is naturally only tolerated by the "Party and Government" in so far as it is applied exclusively to the culture of the Russian "superior nation" and flatters the latter's vanity. The author's assumption that the Russians have begun to be interested in their own "national specific" because they are beginning to regard the Russification of other peoples as a failure or, possibly, as unrealizable, can, in our opinion, not be substantiated by any concrete facts.

B. Botsiurkiv's essay "has as its aim to analyse Soviet Russian policy regarding the Ukrainian Catholic Church on the strength of the general development and trends of Soviet religious policy, and to draw attention to the motives and methods of the liquidation of this ancient and important institution in the West Ukrainian territories". The author has admirably accomplished the task he has set himself, and his treatment of this subject is undoubtedly more thorough than any other work which has been published on the same subject so far; what makes his essay particularly valuable is, on the one hand, a precise documentation (based for the most part on official Soviet sources) and, on the other hand, the "analogy" — excellently explained by the author — "between tsarist and Soviet Russian religious policy in Ukraine and the continuity of Moscow's parallel political and religious imperialism":

"As under the Tsar, so, too, under the Bolsheviks, the national Ukrainian Church was declared unlawful and liquidated. As in the 1830's, so, too, in the 1940's, this religious community was liquidated in the Ukrainian territories. During both periods, the Russian Church was instrumental in centralizing, Russifying and fighting Ukrainian "separatism".

Nikolay Chernyshevsky (1828–1889) was undoubtedly the most outstanding ideologist of the Russian pre-Marxist revolutionaries of the 19th century. Unfortunately he is not well-known enough in the West; and thus Professor R. Yendyk doubly deserves credit both for presenting a general and, on the whole, accurate picture of Chernyshevsky's ideology and carefully enumerating all the points which the latter has in common with Lenin's doctrine and tactics. But the author is certainly going too far in the further conclusions which he draws. The passages quoted are by no means sufficient to justify the author's attempt to detach Lenin (and thus Bolshevism as a whole, too) from Marxism, to make Lenin a direct disciple of Chernyshevsky and to pronounce his dialectical materialism a myth. Though Lenin, as the author himself admits, was not so much a theoretician but, rather, a revolutionary practitioner, one should, in assessing his relationship to Chernyshevsky and other "national enthusiasts" (Narodniki) and terrorists (Narodovoltsy) of the 19th century, take into account, above all, his political attitude in practice towards the direct successors of the Narodovoltsy and also towards the spiritual heirs of Chernyshevsky, — the party of the socialist revolutionaries. But this aspect of the question is, unfortunately, ignored by the author.

It is a great pity that no summaries in English are appended to these German essays. In conclusion, we should like to mention the fact that at the end of the volume in question there are a number of excellent reviews on new German publications dealing with subjects pertaining to the Soviet Union, as well as a comprehensive and informative article entitled "The Nations and the Kremlin" (Comments on Soviet Press Reports of the second half of 1957). V. Derzhavyn

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Quo Vadis Occident?

Some are destroyed in the fight against Moscow and some make a pilgrimage to Moscow

It is entirely erroneous to assume that the West might gain Russian concessions as regards Berlin by negotiations. All negotiations in this respect will decide the failure of the West in advance, for they are bound to lead to concessions on the part of the West. Whatever terms the West may accept with regard to the Berlin question, they will always amount to a concession on the part of the West; for the very fact that negotiations take place, is in itself a concession. The West endeavours to delude itself by affirming that it will not negotiate under pressure of an ultimatum, but it has already accepted this ultimatum; for the date of the conferences in question has been fixed as not later than May 27, which is proof that the negotiations will have to be conducted under pressure of the date mentioned in the ultimatum. What else, then, is this but an attempt on the part of the West to delude itself and also the entire public opinion?

As far as Moscow is concerned, the aim of these negotiations is that the West should recognize and perpetuate the status quo, the present position of the nations subjugated by Moscow, and should make concessions with regard to West Berlin.

Whilst the West is preparing to sit down at the round table with the Bolshevik barbarians, the Chinese Communists are engaged in crushing the revolt in Tibet with the greatest ruthlessness and cruelty, in keeping with the example set by their Russian teachers and masters. Whilst the blood of the fighters for freedom and independence flows, the West keeps silent, just as it did during the Hungarian revolution and during the insurrections of the Ukrainian political internees in the concentration camps of Siberia. And Nehru, well known for his capitulation to Moscow,

declares his non-intervention in the "internal affairs" of Red China, — as though Tibet were not a separate nation which has been subjugated by Communist China. No doubt, a time will come when the Tibetans will declare that they would not like to intervene in the "internal affairs" of India, — namely, when Moscow and Red China set about occupying India. No one who trembles before Moscow, will escape its yoke. Tibet is bleeding to death, but neither President Eisenhower nor Prime Minister Macmillan can think of anything else but empty phrases about the extermination of the heroic Tibetans, since they are both afraid of annoying Mao Tse-tung and, above all, Khrushchov. Under such conditions, time cannot possibly be on the side of the West. Nehru, however, under pressure of his own people, pretends to have a certain amount of sympathy for the Tibetans, but, at the same time, refuses to allow the courageous Dalai Lama to carry on any political activity at all in India.

It is extremely regrettable that Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Selwyn Lloyd are still pursuing Chamberlain's Munich policy, which cannot save Great Britain from a Russian attack, but, on the contrary, is only likely to accelerate such an attack. Incidentally, there is not likely to be a war on the Berlin question, since all the dictators and, still more so, the Moscow dictators are devoting their attention to quite other methods of starting a war; they will start a world war with a surprise attack, and the capitals of the free world will one day unexpectedly crumble to ruins if the West adheres to the capitulation policy.

In the meantime, the Tibetans are sacrificing their lives not only for their own freedom, but also for that of the entire free world, including Britain, too . . . In Carpatho-Ukraine the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the population, courageously relying on their own strength, recently celebrated the 20th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of Carpatho-Ukraine by an armed riot against the Russian occupants. Not far away, in Vienna, however, the Austrian Chancellor Raab, since he fears the U.S.S.R., recently gave permission for an international festival of Communist youth to be held in Vienna in July, 1959, a fact which, naturally, only helps the subversive activity of Bolshevism in the free world still more. The Austrian Chancellor interprets Austria's neutrality as a neutrality in favour of Moscow, for a congress of the anti-Communist youth of the peoples subjugated by Russia, or a congress of the ABN would surely never be permitted in Vienna. This is precisely the kind of "neutrality" which seeks to win favour in the eyes of Khrushchov. But Austria's "neutrality" will not avail it anything once Moscow sets about finally conquering Europe.

In the German Federal Republic, too, certain things seem to have assumed a wrong slant. The Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) has announced its plan for the reunification of Germany, which clearly shows the influence of the so-called Socialist Union Party of Germany (SED), that is of the East German Communists, and represents a capitulation — merely camouflaged externally — to Moscow.

Whilst heroes in Tibet, Hungary or Ukraine are sacrificing their lives for national and social freedom, the USA and the entire free world should reply to Moscow's claims regarding Berlin as follows: they should not waste any discussions on Moscow's aggressive action, but should put the following points on the agenda of discussion and action: the liberation of all the peoples subjugated by Russia, that is to say not only of the so-called satellite countries, but also of the peoples within the U.S.S.R. who have been subjugated, — and in this connection, of course, it must be stressed in the first place that the Soviet Russian troops and administrative authorities must leave all these territories; the demand that the U.S.S.R. should comply with the Atlantic Charter and the Charter of the UN and should fulfil all the other agreements which it has signed and has subsequently violated; full recognition of the validity of the paragraph in the fictitious Constitution of the U.S.S.R. which states that the individual Soviet Republics are entitled to detach themselves from the Soviet Union of their own free will; should the Soviet Union refuse to comply with the above-mentioned demand, — exclusion of the Soviet Union and of all Communist governments from the UN, severance of all diplomatic, cultural and economic relations with the Soviet Union, and the proclamation and actual execution of a blockade against the U.S.S.R. and its satellites (a blockade of the Bosphorus and Skagerrak would be an appropriate measure, though it would, of course, be far too weak).

And, last but not least, the setting up of a policy of liberation, as well as an active and effective support for the national revolutionary anti-Russian and anti-Communist liberation movements, such as Mr. Dulles very courageously tried to effect when first he assumed his office of responsibility in guiding the foreign policy of the USA.

A "summit" conference, on the other hand, would be futile and would only lead to President Eisenhower being compromised, namely if he allowed himself to be persuaded to agree to any concessions at all with regard to the recognition of the status quo for the so-called satellite states (including the East Zone, "German Democratic Republic"), or with regard to West Berlin; for any concession in these matters would pave the way for a further capitulation policy. And Eisenhower is bound

From the Contents

Dr. D. Donzow	Page
Hetman Mazeppa's Dawn and Our Progressive Age	2
Dr. Baymirza Hayit	
Russia and the Orient	3
Admiral Carlos Penna Botto	
Presence of Soviet Russia in UNO Exceedingly Demoralizing	4
Famous Cuban Anti-Communists in Prison	6
Prof. R. Ostrowski	
41st Anniversary of Proclamation of Byelorussian National Republic	9
Memorandum of Byelorussian Congress Committee of America to United Nations	9
V. D.	
An Attack With Unsuitable Means	10

to have to make some concessions or other to the Bolsheviks so that the "summit" conference can take place at all.

Incidentally, there has so far (since 1941) been no single conference at which the Bolsheviks have been the losers, and in most cases, in fact, they have emerged as the winners. Nor is any good likely to come of another conference. It is quite out of the question that Eisenhower (especially not, without Dulles' support) will take it upon himself to affirm at the conference that he has come there to negotiate not about West Berlin, but about the liberation of the East Zone of Germany, of all the so-called satellite countries, as well as of the nations subjugated by Moscow in the U.S.S.R. Nor will Eisenhower venture to declare that the age of empires is over, that it is, therefore, high time that the Russian imperium, too, should be disintegrated, and that, if Soviet Russia is not prepared, through the medium of negotiations, to give back the aforesaid peoples their freedom and independence, he, President Eisenhower, the rightful successor of Washington and Lincoln, does not intend to negotiate any further with slave-traders, since he is of the opinion that, in the event of a Russian refusal, the UN should be reorganized as an anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, excluding the U.S.S.R. and its satellites and replacing them by representatives of the national liberation movements of the above-mentioned peoples, in order to combat and crush Communism and Russian imperialism . . . And in Geneva — or wherever else the conference may be convened — Eisenhower is equally unlikely to proclaim the Great Charter of Freedom and Independence of all the peoples of the earth (including the peoples subjugated in the Soviet Union), in order to set a policy of liberation going and to put an end to the policy of negotiating with mass murderers and never again — neither he nor any other American statesmen — sit down at the round table with tyrants whose hands are stained with the blood of millions of human victims . . . If President Eisenhower had any intention of acting in this manner at the forthcoming conference, we should welcome his participation there as a great and noble deed which would pave the way for a new epoch in the history of the world.

But, unfortunately, it seems fairly certain that matters will proceed in quite a different way in this respect. In all probability the West will take neither the course that we have outlined above, nor Dulles' course, but that of capitulation.

Chamberlain's pilgrimage to Munich did not at the time satisfy the despot concerned, but only made him bolder. Tibet is now bleeding to death for the sake of the freedom of Great Britain and America, too, but they are not doing anything at all in the matter. We, the representatives of the peoples subjugated by Moscow and Communism, not only declare our solidarity with Tibet's national fight for freedom and for its severance from Red China, but also support Tibet's armed liberation campaign by our own fight. We welcome the noble decision of President Chiang Kai-shek to give the Dalai Lama political asylum in Free China, that is in Formosa, and to assist the Tibetans in their endeavours to liberate themselves from the Red Chinese yoke and to restore their own independent state. Tibet is not alone in its fight for freedom; for it is supported in its cause by all the subjugated nations who are fighting for freedom and independence, for the disintegration of the Russian peoples' prison and for the annihilation of Communism throughout the whole world.

Dr. Dmytro Donzov

Hetman Mazepa's Dawn And Our Progressive Age

At the beginning of the 18th century, the Hetman of Ukraine, Ivan Mazepa, boldly tried to realize a grandiose plan, which the leading men of the Occident — both those of his day, as well as those of the 19th and of our century — did not and do not even venture to think of. This plan was: the destruction of the huge imperium which Tsar Peter I, called "the Great" by his slaves, and his father, Tsar Alexius, had begun to build up on the skeleton of the free peoples, — the same vast imperium which today threatens the entire Christian civilization of our continent.

The grandiosity of Mazepa's plan and his own attractive personality have fascinated countless great artists, poets, composers and painters of Europe, particularly in the 19th century, as for instance Lord Byron, Victor Hugo, Vicomte M. de Voguet, Franz Liszt and Horace Vernet; and even the famous Russian writer, Alexander Pushkin, who under Tsar Nicholas I glorified Tsar Peter I and other Russian tyrants and freely gave vent to his hatred of the liberation movements of the peoples subjugated by the Russians, — however black he tried to paint Hetman Mazepa by alleging that he was a "traitor" and a "renegade", was nevertheless obliged to portray him as a tragic figure, as a man of great and far-reaching intentions, who had a magnetic influence on all who came in contact with him.

It is not so very long ago, namely in the days of the French Third Republic, that a picture of the great Hetman, painted by Horace Vernet, adorned one of the walls in the Palais Bourbon in Paris as a symbol of the spirit of freedom, of the freedom of the nations and of the fight for freedom against every form of tyranny. The great Romanticist, Prosper Mérimée, when portraying the figure of the illustrious predecessor of Mazepa, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, who dealt the historical Polish federal state a deadly blow by liberating Ukraine, wrote that Khmelnytsky was the inventor of national wars. And Mazepa followed in his footsteps, for he raised the banner of Ukrainian national freedom against Russia, — long before the French revolution, the Hungarian revolution of 1848, the national revolution of the Italian people against the Habsburgs, the national liberation movements of the Balkan Slavs against the Ottoman Empire, the national revolution of Ireland, long before the national liberation movements which were led on the American continent by Washington and Bolivar . . . And long before the national liberation movements of our day.

After the fatal Swedish and Ukrainian defeat at Poltava — "dread Poltava's day", as Byron writes, — Tsar Peter, impious murderer of his own son, from whom the Bolsheviks have borrowed the idea of publicly abusing and ridiculing ecclesiastical institutions (Peter's "craziest council"), ordered his bishops to excommunicate Mazepa. In spite of this fact — or, perhaps, precisely for this reason, the name and the ideas of Mazepa and his adherents have remained alive in Ukraine up to the present time, as a spiritual torch, a legacy and a guide for future generations. The name of Mazepa, dreaded and hated by all Russians, by "leftists" and "rightists", from the Bolsheviks to the monarchists, has become a banner and a watchword, which even today stirs thousands of freedom fighters against Russian tyranny in Ukraine.

Is this idea of the fight against Russian tyranny alive in the "progressive" West? In the present "progressive" West this question must sound ironical! For a wide gulf separates the West of an Attlee, of a Johnson of Canterbury, of an Eaton, of a Lipman and of a Mendès, with their conception of Russian tyranny, from the conception held by Mazepa and his successors of the 19th and 20th century in Ukraine. According to the ideas formulated by Mazepa's adherents, the Russian people as compared to the Ukrainian people were "not a whit better, but presumptuous and ready to defraud others and to commit injustices and robbery". According to the ideas formulated by their Swedish allies — namely in the manifesto issued by King Charles XII, which was to a large extent probably composed by Ukrainians, the Rus-

sian people and their rulers were depicted as the "implacable enemy of all peoples on the earth, who wishes to subject them to his rule and to impose complete slavery on them" . . . And what view does the West take of the Russian people and their rulers, who have remained exactly the same as they were 250 years ago? Disregarding the few exceptions — such statesmen as, for instance, Dulles, is it not obvious that there are in the West plenty of scholars, scientists, statesmen, writers, financiers, journalists, clergymen and party leaders — all those who mould the opinion of the thoughtless mass — who regard Moscow as a new "city of light", which will bring the light of truth, of a new just order, of new morals and art to the West? Who see gold in filth, who discover the scent of incense in muck, who regard renegades as apostles of the truth, mass murderers and criminals as statesmen worthy of a seat in the UN, and the subjugators of peoples as their liberators? It is indeed a wide gulf that separates the conception held by Mazepa and his adherents of the Russian people from that of the leading men of the "progressive" West of today.

It is incomprehensible why the West, which has produced a Dante, a Shakespeare, a Goethe, a Corneille, should be full of enthusiasm for a Mayakovsky, a Blok or a Pasternak. Why should the West, which has produced a Bach, a Beethoven, a Borntiansky, admire a Stravinsky or a Rimsky-Korsakov?

Or why should the West, which has produced a Richard Coeur-de-Lion, a Jeanne d'Arc, a Karl Martell, a Volodymyr of Kyiv, bow down and pay homage to a Stalin or a Khrushchev? Why should the West, with its shrines of worldwide fame, such as Notre Dame in Paris, St. Peter's in Rome, St. Paul's in London, St. Sophia's in Kyiv, admire the Russian shrine of St. Basil's the Blissful in Moscow, the wild product of that morbid tyrant, Ivan the Terrible, and of the diabolical national genius of Moscow? Why should the statesmen of the West, which has been trained in the spirit of the strict conception of Roman law and Christian ethics, shake the blood-stained hands of such men as Malenkov, Mikoyan and Serov at banquets held in honour of these degenerate murderers, whose code of law is: to rob, kill, defraud, and lie to the advantage of their idol — the Muscovite horde and the hordes of Genghis Khan?

One could raise more such questions, but the fact remains that a new disease is raging both amongst the top-ranking leading men of the West, as well as among the masses who are devoid of culture, — namely, an unthinking and, I might say, an abnormal and amoral adoration of everything that originates from the capital of the country of the most ruthless tyranny that history has ever known, — from Moscow.

In view of this mass madness, it is not surprising that the other fundamental idea which was passed on to the world by Mazepa and his adherents, namely the idea of the destruction of the vast Russian imperium and its disintegration, falls on deaf ears in the West. This idea has been replaced by the idea of living together, namely by the idea of the coexistence of the Christian and still free West with the anti-Christian and despotic Russian element. All those who oppose this "coexistence" actively are branded as "Fascists", "anti-democrats", "anti-pacifists" and "warmongers". What is the result that has been achieved by this policy of "coexistence" and "pacifism"? One of the results achieved is that Russia in the course of the six years from 1939 to 1945 advanced twice as far into the interior of Europe as she did during the years after the first partition of Poland, that is from 1772 to 1939; and this means that Russia in her expansion towards the West has advanced twice as far in six years as she did in the 170 years prior to 1939. A huge success of coexistence . . . for Russia. Another result of this coexistence is the rapid spiritual demobilization of the West, which, having been rocked and lulled to sleep by the magicians of "pacifism", has had its spirit of resistance undermined, a fact which has led to its complete disinclination to stop the

(Continued on Page 11)

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

Russia and the Orient

II

Russia's Classical Aim in the Orient and Her Tactics in this Respect

In order to understand the present policy pursued by Russia with regard to the Orient, we must in the first place consider her aims there. Moscow, for instance, in the years 1919-1919 held the following point of view regarding the Orient, a point of view which has retained its validity up to the present time:

1. Without a revolution in the Orient, the victory of the proletariat in the whole world is impossible.
2. West European imperialism, which has been rejected and broken up by the Orient, will wither away and will die a natural death.
3. The Orient must not for a single moment be forgotten, since it is an inexhaustible source of raw materials and a valuable hinterland for world imperialism.
4. We can rest assured regarding the fate of the socialist revolution in Russia if we win over the peoples of the Orient to our side, or if, at least, we are able to neutralize them.

Naturally, these aims are followed up with further aspirations. As early as 1920, the Soviet Russians were already of the opinion that the only course to be adopted by the Orient was to accept the Soviet system. At the same time, they emphasized that the Orient could only be saved and liberated from the European capitalist rulers by Communism. But this standpoint regarding an absolute salvation of the Orient through the Soviet Russians or through Communism remained pure theory and ineffective. After World War II, the Western powers conceded freedom to more than 500 million persons. The Soviet Russians were obliged to switch over to other tactics at once. They now stress that this was the result of the great socialist revolution in Russia, and this view is also expressed in a book of 417 pages which was published in 1957 and is entitled "The Big October Revolution and the Peoples of the Orient."

With regard to the Orient, Russia is, above all, interested in controlling the strategic line from the Bosphorus, via the Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, to the Pacific. Since Russia has succeeded in bringing numerous countries in Asia under her rule, she is no longer interested so much in conquering this territory, but, rather, in influencing it and changing it by means of an evolutionary movement, which Moscow calls progress and which is to pave the way for a national democratic, that is, so-called socialist revolution and make the free countries of the Orient people's democratic republics.

Up to 1953, Moscow talked about a "liberation" of the Orient. Perhaps it has meanwhile realized that this has only remained a phrase. Now Moscow talks about support for the colonial peoples. According to Moscow's opinion, there are still more than 30 million persons living under colonial conditions. Moscow concentrates its propagandist campaign on Africa, and it talks about a co-existence of the nations of Asia and Africa with the West. After 1956, in place of its former watchwords, it began talking about solidarity, a conception which ranks foremost in Russia's Oriental policy and by means of which she intends to assert herself, directly and openly, within Asia and Africa.

Since the end of World War II, Russia has resorted to various watchwords, such as coexistence, solidarity, peace and freedom, in order to gain control of the Orient. She has posed as the defender of the rights of the Oriental peoples, and, in doing so, has aggravated the differences between these peoples and the Western powers.

Russia has succeeded in winning over various leading personalities of the Orient. Since the Communist parties, in particular in the countries of the Near and Middle East, are too weak and, indeed, are prohibited in practically all the countries there, the Soviet Union cannot use them to represent its point of view. In its advance on the Orient, Moscow has refrained from using the proletarian elements of the population there, and, instead, has cooperated with influential businessmen, politicians, intellectuals and members of the

clergy. Since 1956, in fact, Moscow has even refrained from taking steps against the bourgeois forces of the Orient, that is to say, it no longer makes out that they are conspiring with imperialism. On the other hand, however, it has stressed the differences between the progressive and the reactionary forces and is now trying to play off the former against the latter.

Russia is particularly interested in the countries of the Near East, for it is here that the greatest oil reserves of the world are to be found. And the Soviets' chief aim is to isolate the West from this oil. We can assume that Russia has not so much a direct interest in the oil in the Near East, but, rather, is chiefly interested in seeing that the West is cut off from these oil reserves. And the pre-conditions in this respect are very favourable in the individual countries. Several Arab peoples regard the West with a feeling of alarm and fear. To foster this feeling is, from Moscow's point of view, cheaper and easier than resorting to other methods. Moscow shows a very friendly attitude towards the neighbouring countries,—Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan and India. But by degrees it is trying to train infiltration forces there, which are to go into action in these countries when the time is ripe.

Moscow has also shown a considerable interest in the bourgeois revolutions in the Orient, and it is of the opinion that such revolutions can be regarded as a preliminary stage to socialism. Similarly, the state capitalist development in individual countries of the Orient is reassuring to the Soviets, since they are of the opinion that this is a short cut to the transition to the socialist economic system and that it offers the best possibility for an economic development of the Orient, a fact which was stressed by the head of the World Economics Institute in Moscow, the Armenian, Arsenjan, in Cairo in December 1957.

As regards economic policy, too, Moscow's aims in the Orient are apparent. Whereas America so far only invested 342 million dollars in the Afro-Asian countries, the Russians have advanced credits to the amount of 1.5 milliard dollars. These Soviet credits were bound to achieve a certain effect, and naturally Moscow was, in the first place, more interested in achieving a political rather than a commercial effect. Khrushchov himself said on one occasion: "We carry on trade, in the first place, for a political purpose." And if this is the case, then no one can affirm that the help which the Soviet Union has given so far to the countries capable of economic development and which has been stressed so much in Soviet propaganda is not prompted by some political aim or other. With the Russian rouble, the Russians, too, infiltrated into the Orient, and they intend to obtain a propagandist and ideological success as interest.

Propaganda has always played and still plays a special role in Russia's Oriental policy. Soviet propaganda in the Arabian languages is, for instance, broadcast for twenty-four hours at a stretch from all the East bloc countries. And this propaganda is certainly elastic in scope, even though it consists of lies. Five times a day, Radio Moscow, for example, broadcasts Koran readings. And naturally the Moslems assume that the Soviet Union cannot possibly be anti-Islamic, seeing that Radio Moscow broadcasts the Koran. Countless Soviet culture films, books, papers and periodicals are circulated in the Oriental languages in the Orient. The purpose of Soviet propaganda at present is to make out that the problems and demands of the peoples of the Orient are the problems and demands of the Soviet Union, and vice versa. Soviet propaganda at the moment concentrates on combating American propaganda and American influence in the Orient. The rivalry between England and Russia seems once more to have come to a standstill. On the other hand, however, Soviet propaganda is directed in particular against the Federal Republic of Germany, which, together with America, so it affirms, has been chosen by English imperialist circles to continue their imperialist aims in the Orient. The Soviets stress, above all, that the colonialism of the West must be eradicated completely and that every form of neo-colonialism of the West must be fought.

So far, Moscow has not openly appeared in the Orient under the name of Communism. Indeed, up to the present time, only the words "Russia" or the "Soviet Union" have been used. "We hate the atheism of Russia, but Russia does not consist solely of atheists. For this reason, we do not find it difficult to be friends with Russia," — such is the point of view of a large proportion of Orientals. Others are of the opinion that Communism could never take root in their country, or, rather, that Russia has no desire to attack them. All these views are the result of Soviet propaganda.

Moscow will never relinquish its grasp of the Orient. The endeavours to neutralize the peoples of the Orient are already a gain for Moscow, which in this way can retain its own possessions and positions there. And for this reason, too, the struggle against Russia's advance in the Orient is a constant nervous strain for the West.

Faults and Omissions of the West with regard to Russia's Oriental Policy

In the West one usually acts cool-headedly, sometimes deliberately, reservedly and in keeping with reason. But if one thinks that one cannot protect one's own interests in this way, one acts very impulsively and remains obstinate, too. What prompted the West, after it had, on principle, renounced its colonialism, to take up the problem of the former colonial peoples once more? This question cannot, of course, be answered in a few words. The main cause, however, lies in the fact that the West gave these peoples their freedom and then forgot to concern itself with their vital affairs and to help them to build up their national existence.

What caused the West to be alarmed at the nationalism of the Orient and regard it as the same thing as Communism? This question should be gone into thoroughly. One can, however, safely affirm that nationalism has never anything in common with Communism; and yet the West has almost driven nationalism into the course of Communism. We have probably forgotten that here in the West we were all once nationalists. Even though the feeling of national consciousness only found expression in the case of the Oriental peoples slowly and by degrees and possibly a hundred years later than in Europe, one should not fight this nationalism. The nationalism of the Orient is only an expression of self-assertion. This being so, the West, which was capable of renouncing its classical colonialism, need have no fear of the nationalism of the Orient. The attempt of the West to put this nationalism on a level with Communism and to fight it, however, gave Russia an advantage.

Actually, the West is endeavouring to combat the influence of Communism in the Orient. But do the peoples of the Orient agree with these efforts? In my opinion, they do not, since Communism has so far kept in hiding there. No one there can understand what the purpose of merely one action on the part of the West against Communism is, if, on the other hand, the deafening Russian anti-colonial watchwords are disregarded. What has the West done so far to combat Russian colonialism? Has anyone in the Orient so far publicly stated what is going on in the colonial countries of Russia? Have enlightenment campaigns against Russian colonialism been conducted in the Orient, in order to enable the peoples there to draw a moral? Why are there not more people in the Orient who know about the existence of Russia's colonialism? Why are we annoyed in the West that the Russians are gaining a victory in the Orient, at least from the ideological point of view? Why has the West directed its aims in the Orient merely against Communism and has tried to see in the Russian colonial way of thinking and in the Russian way of acting merely the Soviet character and has overlooked the Russian features? To consider these questions is to consider the causes of the difficult problems of the Orient.

Why the West has resorted to such untactical mass action in the Orient is not clear. In any case, it has omitted to conduct a parallel fight against Communism and against Russian imperialism in the Orient. And from this fact Russia has derived an advantage. Russia is endeavouring to act in the

Presence of Soviet Russia in U.N.O. Exceedingly Demoralizing

Extracts from the welcome-address delivered by Admiral Carlos Penna Botto, Brazilian Navy, President of the "Interamerican Confederation for the Defense of the Continent", at the IV Anti-Communist Congress, held at Antigua, Guatemala, October 1958.

This is the third occasion on which I have had the honor of delivering the Welcome-Address at the opening session of an Anti-Communist Congress. This high privilege was first accorded me in August, 1955, when the Congress sponsored by the "Interamerican Confederation for the Defense of the Continent" met in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and the second was in April of last year, 1957, when the Congress held its annual session at Lima, Peru.

Now I feel my responsibility to an even greater degree as I speak to you, not only because I see before me a Congress which is greatly amplified and extended as compared with those which preceded it, but one which includes delegates from all the Americas, and which is concerned not only with the difficulties of the nations of Latin America, but which is faced with the situation of the Americas — all the Americas; — particularly with Latin America, of course, because she is today endangered by the famous Soviet criminal intervention, an intervention made even worse due to the fact that it is but a reflection of the global situation so unfortunately aggravated by world Communist activity.

We must know our enemy

At the outset, let me say to you it is my belief that it is absolutely necessary that *we know our enemy*, his aims, his methods and his procedures, if we are to be able to wage an effective and efficacious fight against him.

Thus the basic facts about our enemy must be logically established and thoroughly understood.

If we are to be effective Anti-Communists, it is necessary, therefore, that we have exact answers to the following questions:

- a) What is the real and true essence of Communism?
- b) What has been the history of Communism, not only in theory, but in practice as well?

To many of us it seems, on first glance, that these fundamental questions have already been answered; that is to say, that the answers are well known.

Nevertheless I say to you in all seriousness, that such is not the case. The free world, and specially its leaders, seem completely unaware of the truth and terrible significance, not only of what Communism represents, in essence, but also of the perverse and diabolicalness of both the *theory and practice of Communism*.

This is very painful and dramatic. The free world is not convinced yet that behind the dismal walls of the Kremlin there sits a Government of criminals; and therefore keeps on dealing with it as if it were a normal, respectable, law and moral-abiding Government.

To such a Government, that should have been expelled from the "United Nations Organization" as unworthy of belonging to it, was given an outstanding key-position, endowed with the right to use and abuse that decisive tool which is the "veto"!

Russia and the Orient (Continued from page 3)

Orient in accordance with the precepts laid down by Lenin, who said: "We shall use all our strength to bring about a closer relationship and a union with the Mongols, Iranians, Indians and Egyptians, etc., and regard this as our duty and our interest. We shall endeavour to help these peoples in their transition to democracy and socialism". In view of this aim, the West can only undermine and stop the Russian advance in the Orient if the peoples of the East and the West realize that it is in the interests of their own existence as nations to join forces and take action together, and if the West builds up the foundations for the liberation of the peoples subjugated by Russia.

Among the Kremlin criminals there are quite a few who are truly *fanatics*, likely to accomplish any acts of cruelty they deem necessary to reach, in the long run, the utopic so-called "classless society" made up of robots belonging to the "homo sovieticus" type; and there are many others, the majority of those integrating the Presidium, who, while not being *fanatics*, are capable, notwithstanding, of performing similar cruelties, for the sake of personal interest, thirst of power, selfish ambitions, psychoses, neurotic impulses, unbalanced mentality and perversity tendencies.

Comments on the marxist dialectic

Any *employer-manager*, director, industrial boss, etc., who is kind and generous towards his *employees*, is simply hated by the marxist leaders, because, in being kind and generous he pleases people, avoids frictions, lessens class-struggle, and therefore delays the outcome of Communism . . .

Conversely, what we democrats consider an unkind, non-comprehensive, despotic *employer*, who ill-treats his *employees* and does not care at all for their welfare, is viewed, in the light of



marxist dialectic, as a good man, as a useful "fellow-traveller", because he hurts people, stirs up trouble and discontent thereby intensifying class-wrath and helping in bringing about social unrest and revolution.

Stalin and Khrushchov, — the two well-known ruthless tyrants —, in planning and executing the Ukraine famine of 1933-34 that killed six million men, women and children, were, due to that very fact, outstanding *humanitarians*, who removed from the glorious path of Communism, thus clearing the way for the speedy redemption of *humanity*, six million "reactionaries" and hard boiled "enemies of the proletariat" . . .

To sign an agreement, whatever it may be, and break it the following day, is a highly moral procedure if it serves in any way the Communist purpose in its fight against capitalism; and carries with it nobility, uprightness and good sense . . .

That accounts for the numberless treaties, pacts and agreements that have been broken by the Soviet Government, which prompted Senator Eastland, of the United States, to write: —

"Communism is not an evil thing only because it has been controlled by evil men since it first rose to power in 1917.

It is organically evil. You must renounce "bourgeois morality", you must become an evil man before you can become a good Communist. You must be a liar, a cheat, and probably a spy before you can represent a Communist nation in international diplomacy. You must have no more regard for honor when you sign an agreement on

behalf of your country, than a forger does when he puts a name on a check".

(Document 85 — U.S. Senate).

Yet, strange as it may seem, there are still many people who refuse to consider as *criminals* those unspeakable individuals belonging to the Soviet Government and embodying the most dangerous international "societas sceleris" the World has ever seen!

And that Government, I want to say it again, is still, believe it or not, a member of the "United Nations Organization", a very prominent member by the way, with the right to "veto".

Gentlemen, the presence of Soviet Russia in the "U.N.O." is exceedingly demoralizing and undermines any faith the free countries might place in it.

It stands farcical and as a tragic blunder showing, more than anything else, that the Free World lacks truly reliable, brave, forceful and broad-minded statesmen.

State Socialism is what obtains in Soviet Russia, also in Continental China and in the Satellite-countries, and that regime, according to marxists, is but a stage in the direction of *Communism*.

Communism will only be reached in the long-run, so they say, and when that happens the State will wither away, will disappear as unnecessary; — and then the robots of the "homo sovieticus" blend will adjust among themselves perfectly well, in the best of worlds, akin to an earthly paradise, and all abiding to the golden rule: — "each one working according to his capacity and receiving the benefits of industry and agriculture according to his needs".

In the meantime, while that utopic period is not attained, *State Socialism* will proceed unaltered, the all-powerful Government as the exclusive boss of everybody, the State as the single master of the enslaved proletarian masses and as the single owner of the huge "surplus-value" yielded by the gigantic amount of forced labor!

The *Socialist State*, meaning in fact *State Capitalism*, runs counter to the *Democratic State* and cannot co-exist with same.

Any *Democracy* of the Jeffersonian style, that is to say: — "a government of the people, by the people and for the people" —, having as its fundamental tenets *private initiative, free enterprise* and due cognizance of the *dignity of the individual*, is just the opposite to *Socialism*.

Economical socialization brings forth *political socialization* and the simultaneous perishment of all free institutions. It should be recalled that Mr. Shawcross, prominent member of the "Labour Party" of England, said about the taking over by the State of certain enterprises, which decision proved disastrous: — "total socialization of industry by the State is so forsaken an idea as that of bow and arrow; — a people depending entirely on the State is not a people, but a mass".

Soviet citizens of to-day, with the exception of those belonging to the *privileged classes* (which exist very markedly in spite of the often promised *classless society*), under-fed, under-clad, and badly-shod individuals; who, besides, live in sordid collective houses, where single people have an area of 9x9 feet to move about and couples an area of 18x18 feet; who are enslaved and exploited mercilessly by the Big-Boss, the all-powerful State; who are constantly kept under a regime of terror, espionage and betrayal; who, deprived of the up-surgings and inspiring amenities of the spirit, religion and faith, are always depressed, gloomy, sad and taciturn; poor individuals who, half-brutes as they necessarily are bound to be, badly affording to display any affective or sentimental human traits due to the materialist environment imposed on them, but still mysticals as they have been for ages, keep on muttering half-hopeful, half-doomed: "Nichevó"!

That is the gruesome picture of Soviet Russia, after forty-one years of martyrdom.

Ukrainian Flag Hoisted In London

For the first time in the history of London, the Ukrainian flag was hoisted there on January 22nd this year. This was done at the order of the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Johnstone Allen, to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of Ukraine's independence.

300th Anniversary of a Great Victory of the Ukrainians over the Russians

The Battle of Konotop, July 7th to 8th, 1659

Three hundred years ago — in July, 1659, a fierce combat took place between the Russians (at that time called Muscovites) and the betrayed and disillusioned Ukrainians at Konotop, on the ethnographical Ukrainian-Russian frontier. The Ukrainians won the day with a great military victory, which brought the Muscovites heavy losses.

But let us now consider the events which led up to the battle of Konotop. The great Ukrainian revolution of national liberation, which began in 1648, brought about a complete change in the political aspect of Eastern Europe. The decisive victories of the great Ukrainian Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky over the Poles at Zhovti Vody (May 6, 1648), Korsun (May 16, 1648) and Pylavtsi (September 13, 1648) did away with the old idea of the Polish Jagellon dynasty, namely the union of the three peoples — the Poles, the Lithuanians and the Ruthenians (Ukrainians and Byelorussians alike), within one single commonwealth. On the strength of these victories on the part of the Ukrainian forces, a Ukrainian Cossack State was set up, as an heir of the old Kievan Rus empire.

The chief aim of Bohdan Khmelnytsky's activity was to consolidate and expand the newly created Ukrainian state by extending Ukrainian state authority to all the Ukrainian ethnical territories. For this reason, the young Ukrainian state needed powerful support from without. And hence the problem of a Ukrainian-Muscovite military alliance assumed a special significance.

But Ukraine did not succeed in finding a sincere and loyal partner. For six years, Moscow looked on, with passive curiosity, whilst Khmelnytsky's cause, undermined by the Tartars at Zboriv and Berestechko, began to fail, whilst Ukraine was ravaged by its treacherous allies, the Tartars, and by barbarous and inhuman war. Moscow waited until Ukraine was utterly ruined before it stretched out its "exalted arm" to help.

The Ukrainian-Muscovite treaty of alliance was concluded in the Ukrainian town of Pereyaslav on January 8, 1654, and was ratified in March of the same year in Moscow. But Moscow had no intention of observing the Treaty of Pereyaslav and pursued a policy which aimed at the incorporation of Cossack Ukraine, though this was not evident at the start. The most serious blow to the Ukrainian-Muscovite alliance and an indisputable violation of the Pereyaslav agreement was the treaty that was concluded between Moscow and Poland at Vilno in 1656. The Ukrainian envoys, incidentally, were denied admission to the negotiations at Vilno. The effect of the Vilno treaty was that Muscovy and Poland now pursued a common policy directed against Ukraine.

An even more serious violation of the Pereyaslav Treaty was the falsification of the terms of agreement of this treaty by Moscow in 1659. A protest by the Ukrainian government against this falsification proved of no avail. Accordingly, the successor of Bohdan Khmelnytsky — Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky — decided to sever the relations between Ukraine and Moscow and addressed himself to the other European powers in his circular petition "Universal", in which he reproached Moscow with having violated the Treaty of Pereyaslav. To quote but a few passages from this "Universal": "The Tsar has not recognized the election of a new Hetman; he is inciting the Ukrainian soldiers to rebellion and supports the self-elected candidate to the title of Hetman — Barabash. The Russian representative Romodanovsky has unlawfully dismissed certain Ukrainian colonels and has distributed leaflets which attack the Hetman . . . Moscow is trying to stir up a civil war in Ukraine in order to exercise more political influence on the Ukrainian population and army. That is why we are obliged to defend our freedom . . ."

This tension between Ukraine and Moscow in 1658 accelerated the outbreak of a war between Ukraine and Muscovy. The danger of a war between the two partners of the Pereyaslav Treaty was already evident in 1657, but the death of the Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky postponed its outbreak, and it was not until 1658 that the war actually began. Units of the Ukrainian army attacked the troops under the Muscovite commander Sheremetev, which were stationed in the Ukrainian capital Kyiv. Hetman Vyhovsky then proceeded to advance with his army towards Moscow, but the operations of his troops were not crowned with success. The Russians under the command of Romodanovsky now invaded Ukraine and in the vicinity of Lohvytsia joined up with the armies under the command of other Muscovite voivodes, namely, Prince Kurakin and Prince Pozharsky. Thus, the Muscovite forces were now mainly concentrated in this region. In the spring of 1659, Hetman Vyhovsky waited for his new allies, the Tartars, to join forces with him. In the meantime, however, a powerful army, under the command of Prince Trubetskoi, was sent by Moscow to reinforce the Muscovite troops near Konotop, and on May 1, 1659, these troops began to lay siege to Konotop. Two Ukrainian regiments, under the command of Hryhoriy Hulianytsky, were at that time stationed in the town. Trubetskoi concentrated several detachments against Vasyl Zolotarenko, who was advancing with his Cossack troops near Borzna, and also against the Tartar troops that were advancing on the town of Nizhyn. Eventually, the Muscovites succeeded in forcing the Ukrainians and the Tartars to retreat southwards.

But Hetman Vyhovsky with his 20,000 men was meanwhile advancing towards Konotop, together with the Tartar troops, which numbered 30,000 men. These two armies defeated the Muscovites at Shapovalivka and advanced within a close distance of Konotop. The Muscovite troops and the joint Ukrainian and Tartar armies were now only separated from each other by the marshy river Sosnivka. After having carefully studied the theatre of operations, Vyhovsky worked out a detailed plan of action. The main forces, under the command of Stepan Hulianytsky (his brother Hryhoriy was in command of the Ukrainian troops which were being besieged in Konotop itself) remained on the left flank of the front, namely in a large meadow from where they could not be seen by the Muscovites. The Tartar troops were on the right flank near Torhovysia. Vyhovsky himself was to cross the river Sosnivka with very small Ukrainian and Tartar detachments and intentionally withdraw again for the purpose of forcing the Muscovites to cross the river. Subsequently, all the main Ukrainian and Tartar forces were then to attack the Muscovites from both flanks in order to crush them.

The battle began on July 7, 1659. According to plan, Hetman Vyhovsky crossed the Sosnivka and attacked the Muscovites who were besieging Konotop. The Muscovite forces were partly put to rout, but their commanders noticed that the Ukrainian and Tartar forces were only relatively small, and, accordingly, began to pursue them. But as the Hetman withdrew very quickly, operations were then discontinued until next day.

In the early morning hours of July 8, the battle began anew. Pozharsky began to cross the river with 30,000 Muscovites, whilst Trubetskoi continued to lay siege to Konotop alone. Once he had crossed the river with his troops, Pozharsky began to prepare for a decisive attack against Vyhovsky. Intentionally, the latter made no attempt to hinder Pozharsky in these preparations. The Ukrainian Cossacks lying in wait in the meadow now began to dig a long trench, which led to the bridge where the Muscovites had crossed the river. When the trench was completed and the Cossacks were near the bridge, Vyhovsky opened his attack on Pozharsky's troops. As soon as the Muscovites opened fire, Vyhovsky rapidly began to retreat. The Muscovites pursued them into the meadow; when they were a good distance away from the bridge, Hulianytsky ordered his men to destroy it. The Ukrainians now emerged from the

trench and began to attack the Muscovites from the rear. The latter tried in vain to reach the bridge, which by this time had been destroyed. In the meantime, the Cossacks had dammed up the river which was swollen and therefore impassable. The retreating Ukrainians now began to attack the Muscovites directly, whilst the Tartars, too, suddenly carried out a surprise attack on the Muscovites from the left flank. The Muscovites tried to defend themselves, but at this decisive moment Vyhovsky threw in all his forces against the Muscovites. 30,000 Muscovites lost their lives at the battle of Konotop, and Pozharsky himself and thousands of his men were taken prisoner. Indeed, the bulk of the Muscovite cavalry perished at Konotop. In desperation, the Tsar made preparations to leave Moscow. All the Muscovites

Our Solidarity with Tibet

Unable to stand the Chinese Communist oppression and the deprivation of their right to survive, of their religious freedom, national independence and their way of life, the Tibetan people are now engaging in a life and death struggle against the Communists in all parts of Tibet. The uprisings have spread from Lhasa and Gantzu to the neighbouring provinces of Chinghai, Kansu, Szechwan and Sikang. Freedom fighters are not restricted to the Tibetans, but also include the Han, the Moslem and the Mongolian peoples. This shows that not only is the Chinese Communist puppet regime hated by the people of Tibet, but also that uprisings of unprecedented scale are unfolding there.

Failure by the free world to render timely and effective assistance to the Hungarian freedom fighters resulted in the collapse of the Hungarian uprising and in great disappointment to all anti-Communist elements inside and outside the Iron Curtain. Hence, we urgently appeal to all justice- and freedom-loving peoples all over the free world to render positive effective support to the present anti-Communist uprisings in Tibet.

The Tibetans have now come to a crucial period in their struggle for freedom and independence. On the success or failure of their anti-Communist movement rests not only freedom for themselves, but also the prospect of all the Communist- and Russia-enslaved peoples in their fight against Communist totalitarianism and Russian imperialism and for their national freedom and independence. We therefore strongly appeal to the free world to condemn Chinese Communist and Russian atrocities and extend every possible effective support to the Tibetans and to all other peoples subjugated by Communism and Russia, now fighting desperately against Communist and Russian oppression and slavery for freedom and independence.

began to withdraw from Ukraine. Trubetskoi abandoned the siege of Konotop and retreated towards Muscovy.

The battle of Konotop was both an incomparable triumph for the Ukrainian forces and a great defeat for Moscow. This Ukrainian victory over the Russians reminds one of a similar victory gained by the Germans over the Russians during the Great War, namely in the autumn of 1914, when Hindenburg crushed the Russian armies in the Masurian marshes. The Ukrainian victory at Konotop over the Russians came as a great surprise to the rest of Europe.

Unfortunately, however, the Ukrainians could not use this great military success to advantage, since the Crimea and southern Ukraine were at that time being attacked by irresponsible elements. The Ukrainian and Tartar forces were thus obliged to withdraw from Konotop, a fact which saved Moscow from a great military and political catastrophe. But the memory of this Ukrainian victory and of the Muscovite military catastrophe which it caused will continue to be an encouragement to the peoples enslaved by Red Russia, to persist in their struggle for freedom against the Red Russian oppressors.

W. O.

"Soviet patriotism" is not common to all peoples in the area of the U.S.S.R. It is merely a variant of specifically Russian chauvinism!

Fear of a Revolution

The Military Situation in East Germany

One of the slogans used most in Soviet military terminology is the expression "local intestine", which means a military zone in which troops are concentrated. Such a "local intestine" exists in the region between the Elbe and the Oder. The Soviet troops stationed there are far more numerous and stronger than the Soviet Russian troops used in Hungary during the revolution there in 1956. The Soviet forces in East Germany number 30 divisions and these consist of 10 motorized infantry divisions, 10 tank divisions and 10 anti-aircraft divisions, that is a total of 300 000 men.

Up to a short time ago, the Soviet Russian occupation troops only numbered 22 divisions, but since the Berlin ultimatum they have been increased to 30. They are under the command of General M. W. Sakharov and have been completely modernized and equipped to meet the conditions of both conventional and atomic warfare. The air force troops have 1 500 jet-propelled planes, whilst the tank troops are equipped with tanks of the latest T-54 model. According to the latest reports, the Soviet Russian occupation troops are also equipped with atomic weapons, namely mobile rocket projectors, atomic artillery, atomic bombs and medium-range rockets. In addition, there are also large units of the Baltic fleet, under the command of Admiral I. Kharlamov, stationed in the East German ports.

What is the strength of the Ulbricht army? According to a report by the Bonn Ministry of All-German Questions, the so-called National People's Army in October 1957 comprised 110 000 men. In the meantime, however, it has been expanded very considerably and its present strength is estimated at 170 000 men.

The strength of the army is 150 000 men. As regards their organization, the 7 divisions resemble the Soviet type of divisions, but they have old types of weapons and are not as strong in number. Five of these divisions are mechanized infantry divisions, whilst the other two are tank divisions. 15 000 men constitute the air force, which has 350 jet-propelled planes of the old Soviet type. The air force units are garrisoned for the most part in the vicinity of Berlin, along the borders between Saxony and Czecho-Slovakia and between Thuringia and Bavaria. 12 000 men constitute the naval forces, which have a small fleet in the Baltic Sea comprising two destroyers, 5 coastal cruisers and 2 submarines.

The National People's Army has no jet-propelled bombers and no heavy warship units.

In addition to these regular forces, there are also about 210 000 members of the so-called society for sport and technics. These members are given a training in military shooting, as well as in parachuting, mine-laying, bridge demolition and partisan warfare. A further 100 000 men of the East German forces are recruited from the members of the industrial combatant groups and the combatant groups of the agricultural cooperatives (kol-khozes).

The SED has its own combatant groups. Although the SED is a typical mass party which numbers over 2 million members, and although every member is compelled to serve in the combatant groups, only about 100 000 members can be regarded as suitable for military use as loyal and trustworthy troops. In addition, there are also 35 000 men of the auxiliary police, who are equipped with light armoured vehicles and artillery. Thus, the trained troops which Ulbricht has at his disposal number more than 600 000 men.

But this alarming figure is no indication of the actual strength of the East German forces; on the contrary, it is quite inconsistent with their internal, moral fighting strength. The three following examples serve to illustrate this fact: 1) In spite of repeated requests on the part of Ulbricht that the National People's Army should be supplied with Soviet atomic weapons, the supreme command of the Red Army has so far not been able to make up its mind to do so. The atomic weapons stationed in East Germany are *exclusively* in the hands of the Red Army. It is, above all, Marshal Malinovsky who does not trust his East German "allies". Malinovsky and his colleagues are fairly convinced that, in spite of iron discipline, *not*

even half the East German soldiers would be prepared to fight in the event of war! 2) In connection with the constantly increasing number of cases of desertion, espionage and bourgeois influences, all the former army officers have been removed from the high-ranking staff positions in the National People's Army. They have been replaced by young Communist functionaries, who have, however, no military experience whatever. 3) Of the so-called People's Police, a Communist elite unit, on which, together with the Soviet



tanks, Ulbricht relies, *about one battalion a month* deserted to West Germany during the years 1952-1958.

The question obtrudes itself as to what the purpose is of this huge concentration of troops — namely 300 000 men of the Red Army — in the narrow strip between the Elbe and the Oder? Is Moscow planning a military aggression against free Germany? Or is the purpose of this concentration to speed up psychologically the capitulation of West Berlin? A neutralized, de-militarized Berlin, such as Khrushchov has demanded, would be surrounded on all sides by a massive Communist fighting force. Berlin is 200 kilometres away from the Iron Curtain, but only 50 kilometres away from the western frontier of Poland.

The capitulation of Berlin will never be effected by "cold" methods, — on this point the West is more agreed than ever. The only alternative, therefore, would appear to be its incorporation by means of *war*. But a war for Berlin would be bound to lead to another world war. Can Moscow,

in view of the present *internal* balance of power and in view of the latest American successes in the field of rocket research, afford to embark on a third world war? Never! Although the East bloc has a certain superiority as regards land forces, the economic superiority, on the other hand, lies with the West, in particular as regards steel and oil production. And the West is, moreover, definitely superior in strength as regards strategic bombers and naval forces, above all, with respect to aircraft carriers.

Why, then, the mass concentration of troops? A favourite watchword of the Communists is that of "warmongering Adenauer-Germany", where allegedly the "revengists", "militarists" and "neo-fascists" are preparing for a new crusade to the Ural. This, too, is a cunning lie. There is not a single prominent Nazi functionary in any leading position in the West German state. But if one considers Ulbricht's "workers' and peasants' republic", on the other hand, one sees that in the highest party and state positions alone there are as many as 76 former prominent Nazis, including ministers of state, 29 deputies of the so-called People's Chamber, judges, generals, university professors and writers. In the SED faction, for instance, there is a certain Kurt Säuberlich, who was a member of the Hitler Party from 1930 onwards and, later, held a post as SS-Obersturmführer at the Security Service headquarters. The present Minister of the chemical industry, the Minister of Health and the Minister of Engineering were also Nazi functionaries in former days. And the president of the Supreme Court of Justice, Kurt Schumann, was likewise a prominent Nazi. But the man who carries off the palm amongst all these renegades is *Lenin Prize Winner* Professor Thiessen, who today is the president of the research council in the ministerial council and from 1925 onwards belonged to the Nazi Party as one of Hitler's most loyal accomplices! In East Berlin Nazis and Bolsheviks shake blood-stained hands with each other. The danger of a regeneration of fascism thus must be looked for in the East.

There is only *one* reason for the huge concentration of troops between the Elbe and the Oder, and that is: that the *population must be held in check*. Khrushchov is of the opinion that the fact that there is one Communist soldier to every 16 inhabitants in the Soviet Zone is in itself a guarantee that the Ulbricht state will continue to exist. In order to crush a local insurrection or a general revolution at once, he keeps 30 divisions constantly standing by in readiness. The situation in East Germany is unique and certainly provides Russia with much food for thought!

But even so, Ulbricht's death warrant has already been signed. *A. Furman*

Sinister Conspiracy Against The True Cuban Revolution

We demand the release of the first Vice-President of the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent, Salvador Diaz Versón, and of the Secretary-General, Ernesto de la Fé

We have learnt from a reliable anti-Communist source of information in Cuba that the Communists have succeeded in infiltrating into the ranks of the Movement of July 26th. The Communists cunningly joined the revolutionary forces of Fidel Castro in the Maestra mountains and in other districts and tried to pose as the leaders of Castro's revolutionary insurgent movement and to worm their way into certain key positions in the ranks of the forces of President Urrutia's new government. They decided to use the Movement of July 26th for their own destructive cause. Heavily armed, they raided and looted the residence of the well-known Cuban patriot and Secretary-General of the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent and independent journalist, Dr. Ernesto de la Fé, arrested him and put him into the prison "La Cabana", the governor of which is the most ruthless Argentine gangster, Guevara. A mock trial was then held, in which this man, who so courageously opposed Batista and as a protest resigned from his post as Minister of Information during the first year of the Batista regime, was falsely accused and defamed.

The Communists are conspiring against the leader of the revolution, Dr. Fidel Castro Ruz, are causing chaos in the country and upsetting economic life, in order, in this way, to get the whole power in their hands. In a cunning manner they

tried to make out that Ernesto de la Fé is the opponent of Fidel Castro, a fact which de la Fé, though in prison, emphatically denied. Furthermore, de la Fé exposed the Communist agitators who have infiltrated into the Fidel Castro movement.

In addition, the Communists ransacked the office of that courageous anti-Communist, Salvador Diaz Versón, arrested him and put him into the prison "El Principe" in La Habana. They also arrested the leader of the workers and permanent delegate of the Inter-American Confederation, Victor Alegria, as well as the journalist and active member of the Movement of July 26th, Raul Granja, because he is a friend of Ernesto de la Fé.

Leading Cuban anti-Communists and sincere patriots, who derived no advantages from the Batista regime, are now languishing in Cuban prisons. Ernesto de la Fé, Salvador Diaz Versón, Victor Alegria and Raul Granja are consistently and steadfastly fighting the Communist world danger and Russian imperialism, which is seeking to conquer and rule Latin America, too. The Communists are planning to stab the Fidel Castro movement in the back. The government of Cuba declares that it is not Communist, but it must prove this statement by facts. We demand the immediate release and safety of all Cuban anti-Communists.

All anti-Communists of Latin America, be on your guard!

Jaroslaw S. Stetko

Possibility of National Revolutions Behind Iron Curtain

The principle unchanging aim of Russian policy is world conquest. This is the essence of Russian imperialism, especially in its modern form of Communism. Bolshevism is the synthesis of Russian imperialism and Communism. The union of these two phenomena has greatly advanced the cause of Russian aggression. Therefore, one must consider both of these phenomena in order to realize the practical program of the liberation policy towards them, and to counter-attack Russian aggression.

In order to conquer Bolshevism a universal solution to all vital problems must be found. Bolshevism is a menace to the entire world; the resistance which is offered must, therefore, be universal. The countries which are still free must not continue to live in false complacency while our national struggle goes on and our freedom-fighters protect them, or they will themselves be drowned in the near future by the Bolshevik flood, after the champions of our cause have laid down their lives.

In order to justify the millions of victims of the two world wars before God, mankind and history, in order to perceive a deeper significance in the deaths of countless innocent women and children, old and young alike, and in order to escape the depths of despair when pondering on the senselessness of all these sacrifices and self-sacrifices, it is imperative that the fight which is in progress should represent the settling of the last big account with the forces of evil, crime, imperialism, barbarity, and cruel and satanic tyranny, and that this fight should result in a genuinely better, more just and noble life, and should be followed by a permanent peace. This peace must not, however, involve tyranny and misery, but must be a just peace with freedom and equality of rights for all, so that all nations and men may feel that they have been liberated from fear, need, cruelty, national subjugation and social injustice for all time, and all peoples and nations may lead a free, happy and independent life.

This is the higher and deeper meaning of our fight, and it is not concerned with political hatred!

Mankind, today, must be more interested in the ethics of this fight, in its moral aspect, and in its spirituality, than in its political significance, for only then will man's political attitude change and he will cast aside all that is bestial, cruel and inhuman, since he has been created in God's image.

A nation which has been subjugated has a deeper and more sensitive awareness of right and wrong than one which is free. A prisoner longs for freedom more than he does for bread. Once the Western world understands this spiritual attitude and adjusts its way of thinking and its ideals to this attitude, it can rely on the unity of the unwavering front of the free and the subjugated nations.

Communism has become a "religion" of evil and a faith for fanatics who have lost their sense of values, which, however, they believe they are preserving, though in reality they are devoting themselves to false ideals with a zeal worthy of a better cause. For this reason the idea that atomic bombs and military supremacy will suffice to exterminate Bolshevism must be rejected. Bolshevism can still be conquered by the faith and conviction of those who take up the fight against it — a fight which will not remain an empty threat but will be victorious!

Bolshevism destroys all sublime, divine and human values, denies God; kills religion, destroys churches and undermines Christian morals; that is why the anti-Bolshevist revolution for liberation must put God first, and, before anything else, take a stand for the protection of religion, and place human actions on a heroic moral basis. A deepening of religious experience and a revival of religion in practical life will then be a positive result of the new revolution, so that man, even in an age of brutal sadism and barbarism, will be revitalized by an atmosphere of the good and the noble. Persecutions have never been able to wipe out religion, but have only strengthened it, for it is better for religion and the Church to be persecuted than to be mere proteges of a state. Every religion contains elements of martyrdom for the sake of truth.

The most vital problem in the present-day world is that of the enslaved nations and their struggle for independence and democracy. In Asia, in Africa, and in Eastern Europe, many peoples are fighting for freedom and independence. Great empires are disintegrating because of this desire for individual and national freedom. Russia is trying skilfully to use the power of nationalism outside the Iron Curtain against the West. She knows that the nationalism of the peoples inside her empire is her Achilles' heel and her greatest potential enemy. The West will win only after the destruction of the Russian empire and the establishment of independent states of all the peoples at present enslaved by Russia and by Communism. The enslaved nations are the real third force; whichever bloc wins their potential to its side, this bloc will triumph in the end.

Khrushchov the new Tsar

The period of "de-Stalinization" or of the so-called collective leadership is definitely over in Moscow. Authoritarianism or the one-man rule, which is the characteristic traditional trait of the Russian government, is securely in power. In Russian history an unstable period of slightly liberal policies has always followed the death of a dictator-tsar, enabling the next emperor to consolidate all available powers. After this happens the old tyrannical centralized regime returns to its traditional tactics.

After Stalin's death, Khrushchov, the new tsar, had to give illusive concessions to the enslaved nations until he had eradicated all personal rivals for the throne. Having secured absolute control after expelling from Moscow's power center the Malenkov-Molotov group and after liquidating Zhukov's ambitions to leadership, Khrushchov is now proceeding with the removal of all fictitious "liberties"; he even liquidates Bulganin. The trend toward so-called national-communism in the satellite countries is being eradicated and Tito-like concepts of a Communist "bloc" of equals is rejected. Other roads toward socialism are rejected and all Communists are reminded that Moscow is the only "Mecca" of Communism, and there is no other equal to Moscow. Khrushchov's new and fantastic ambition is to neutralize the United States in order to gain freedom of movement for the subjugation of Indonesia, the Arab States, India, Free China and others, as well as for further efforts in the fight with the liberation movements in the countries already subjugated.

The National Liberation Struggle Against Russian Imperialism and Communism Today

When it became obvious to the leading active forces of the national revolutionary movements after World War II that the policy of the USA and of the other Western Major Powers was directed towards a peaceful settlement and was not in the least disposed to consider seriously the question of supporting the national fight for freedom of the nations subjugated by Russia, a change took place in the fighting methods of the said liberation movements. In place of the strategy and tactics of armed insurrection, underground tactics and an underground resistance on a broad front, namely in the political, economic, cultural and religious fields, were adopted and these were supplemented by armed action within certain limits and of a purely defensive nature as in Ukraine. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) concentrated their activity in Ukraine — and similar liberation organizations of other peoples did the same — on the intensification and extension of the fight in all spheres of life and among all social groups in order to combat the enemy in all fields of national life with all the forces available. Underground propaganda, underground publications — political, educational and even literary (including the collected works of the underground poets), journals for youth and for children, — all this is preparing the people for a long-range fight for a long-range goal. Propaganda was dissemina-

ted in the ranks of the Soviet Army in order to undermine the strength and morale of the latter from within, to aggravate its internal conflicts and, finally, to cause it to disintegrate into its national elements. Further features of this underground activity were: resistance against collectivization, economic sabotage and a constant fight for private property for the farmers, support e. g. in Ukraine for the two catacomb churches, the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, for influence on the legal forms of cultural activity, resistance against forcible Russification, moral, psychological and political training and preparation of the masses for an insurrection. In addition, deportations to Siberian concentration camps and to Kazakhstan were used in order to form new resistance centres there, for the purpose of destroying the Soviet Russian peoples' prison and the Communist system from within. The riots of the Ukrainian and other non-Russian prisoners in Norylsk (June 1953), in Vorkuta (July 1953), in Kingir (Kazakhstan, June 1954), in Mordovia (September 1955), and in Taichet (1956) are known to the whole world.

Thus, on principle, the internal contradictions in the Soviet system are utilized to bring about its disintegration, as can be seen from the fact that deportations to Siberia, which was formerly the safest centre of Soviet industry, are now taking an unfavorable turn for Moscow's tyrants, inasmuch as the latter are in this way now helping to undermine Siberia's industry themselves and are making their own strategic position more complicated; but they can see no way out of their difficulties.

Armed political action is now entirely subordinated to expediency, and not as was formerly the case, strategic rather than defensive. The long-range task of this action consists in expanding and protecting the political revolutionary underground organization and the smaller, armed auxiliary units, which, if necessary, could develop into an important political, revolutionary and military force.

Because the revolutionary organizations for national liberation feel that they have been sadly disappointed by the West, they are working systematically on the fulfilment of a plan for a simultaneous and coordinated anti-imperialistic and anti-Communist revolution for national liberation in all countries (and in the concentration camps). Moscow's policy of dispersing the best elements of every non-Russian nation is taking a dangerous turn for Moscow itself; for in the new regions to which they are sent, these rebellious elements are rousing the indifferent and are strengthening the faith of the hesitant; they are the yeast which is helping the national and social resistance to grow and which is systematically guiding it in the right direction.

The idea of a common anti-imperialistic and anti-Communist front of all the subjugated nations is thus assuming a real form — that of a planned, systematic, consistent and continuous preparation of the disintegration of the Bolshevik empire from within and of its partition into independent national states each with a democratic constitution. The ideological, political, psychological and ethical revolution is taking place in all social groups of the peoples subjugated by Russia, and people are becoming more and more aware of the fact that there can be no social revolution without a national political revolution, no freedom for a subjugated nation without self-government, no overthrow of Communism without the collapse of the empire, which at present exists in Communist form for subjugation of the individual, for a universal collectivization of life, for an absolute state omnipotence, for totalitarianism, and through the concomitant, complete enslavement of the individual for the enslavement of the entire nation. The national liberation revolution is the national liberation war of the subjugated peoples against the foreign conqueror — against Russia!

The confidence of the subjugated nations in the West has been sadly shaken since Hungary was abandoned to the Russian tanks. Synchronized and coordinated anti-imperialistic and anti-Communist revolutions for national liberation — such is the con-

Why Disengagement Policy In Europe Should Not Be Accepted By Western Powers

In view of the renewed tension between the Western World and the Soviet Bloc precipitated by the Soviet request to remove the Allied Troops from West Berlin, the necessity of finding ways and means against the constantly growing Moscow aggressiveness became apparent once more.

The conflict between the West and the Soviet Bloc has its own history; and at present, as in the past, Moscow attempts, with increasing pressure, to weaken the Western position by exploiting every opportunity available, with a determination to hasten the downfall of the Western free world.

The Berlin crisis is of particular significance because there is not only a question of the territory alone which may be gained by the U.S.S.R., but that the retreat of the Western powers from Berlin would eliminate the only area in the zone of Soviet influence which is not under the direct control of Moscow.

The Soviet ultimatum to remove the Allied Troops from Berlin stimulated the diplomats of the Western World to seek a solution to this critical situation. Unfortunately, in spite of previous poignant experiences in negotiations with the

U.S.S.R., the Western powers did not formulate their own positive policy either political, ideological or military to countermand the Soviet plans and threats. Furthermore, this Soviet pressure spreads confusion and defeatism, and there are individuals and groups who are trying to steer the policy of the West in such a way as to avoid antagonizing Moscow, with the hope that this method will help prevent war and ensure the peaceful co-existence of the democratic and totalitarian systems.

We could have appreciation only for the efforts of the British Prime Minister Mr. H. Macmillan, but at the same time we cannot overlook, as has been done by some Western diplomatic circles, the impudence of the Kremlin for his efforts. Khrushchov's insolence to the British Prime Minister is obvious and significant; unfortunately nobody wants to profit by this experience.

We understand and appreciate all attempts to preserve peace and to avoid another world war. However, what guarantee do we have that any new concession to Moscow would bring desired results? Past experiences have proved the oppo-

site. The British Prime Minister, Mr. H. Macmillan, has visited Canada and the United States recently, to inform about the details of his talks in Moscow. His task was to get the consent of the Governments of Canada and the United States to a summit conference and, further, to adopt the flexible approach in dealing with Moscow in Europe, particularly to accept the so-called Rapacki plan of military and political disengagement in Central Europe as a basis for negotiations with the U.S.S.R.

Lately, the Minister of External Affairs, Mr. S. Smith, affirmed that NATO Council was studying the Rapacki plan for the neutralization and disarmament in Central Europe. At the same time, he stated that the policy of disengagement is considered by the Canadian Government.

Understandably, anyone who is closely acquainted with Soviet tactics, and who does not underestimate the Soviet threats for the free world, is deeply alarmed, because it is a vital question of life and death for the West and for the cause of freedom.

Doubtlessly, the perspective of a war is terrifying, but, on the other hand, is not the perspective of becoming a victim of the totalitarian system by continuous concessions even more terrifying?

It is obvious that the Berlin crisis must be considered as a part of the entire problem of the relations between the Western world and the Soviet bloc. Moscow's intention is to weaken the Western positions by dividing the Allies, especially by eliminating West Germany as a military power in NATO, removal of American troops from Europe and the isolation of the United States.

Secondly, Moscow aims to consolidate her sphere of influence to strengthen her western border, to liquidate, as Khrushchov said "the cancerous tumour" which is free Berlin, and furthermore to manoeuvre the West in such a political position as to discredit it in the eyes of the subjugated nations.

We want to draw attention to the last point because it is connected with the question of Western policy being channelled into political and military disengagement in Central and Eastern Europe.

What would this policy mean if it was officially accepted?

This would be to acknowledge Moscow's hegemony in Europe for once and finally sanctify Moscow's enslavement of the independent nations of Central and Eastern Europe. Such a concession to Moscow would weaken the West's ideological and political weapon in the struggle with the Soviet aggression and at the same time turn away from us the potential allies who are the nations oppressed by Russia.

The attitude of the Western powers towards the events in Berlin in 1953 and later towards the anti-Russian revolution in Hungary has damaged Western moral authority considerably and greatly diminished the confidence of the enslaved nations behind the Iron Curtain.

With the acceptance of disengagement policy in the events behind the Iron Curtain the West willingly rejects the sympathetic feeling of the oppressed nations.

The necessity of issuing a Declaration of Liberation was pointed out by the Prime Minister of Canada, Right Honourable John O. Diefenbaker. In view of this, we believe that the Canadian Government, which has shown a great understanding of the problems of the nations behind the Iron Curtain, will continue the same policy in order to make the full use of this political and ideological weapon in the struggle with the U.S.S.R. The policy of liberation is the only policy to confront the Soviet aggression and blackmail.

We would like to quote some excerpts from the speech of U.S. Senator Thomas D. Dodd in the U.S. Senate, which in our opinion deserve a careful study.

"There is no peculiar virtue in the concept of flexibility", said he. "To me, flexibility implies compromise and concession. When applied to fundamental principles — right principles — flexibility is not only without virtue; it becomes a vice . . . Have we forgotten the lessons of the Hitler era, with its compromises, concessions and flexibilities?"

"Any artificial accommodation which gives the appearance of agreement without the substance is a dangerous folly that can only disarm us and

Possibility of National Revolutions Behind Iron Curtain (Continued from page 7)

ception of liberation held by the subjugated nations today. To what extent such revolutions can be successful without help from the West is a question the leaders of the West must answer before God and history — and, in this connection, it must be borne in mind that Bolshevism is as great a danger for the West as it is for our nations.

To quote a typical example: the revolutionary detachments for national liberation which in Ukraine waged a two-front war against both Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia, — the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR, the underground government of Ukraine which opposed the Kyiv government), and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), which was founded on the initiative of the UPA in the forests of Ukraine in 1943, during the two-front war, and which united the uncompromising and sovereign organizations of the subjugated nations, are ignored by certain circles in the USA, in spite of the fact that they play a very significant part in the anti-Bolshevist campaign. The Communist gangs and the sham government of Ho Chi-minh, for instance, were, it is true, not recognized by the West, but they were acknowledged as "lawful" by the U.S.S.R., while at the time of the greatest military action of the UPA not a single Western state made the least effort to recognize either the UPA (on the strength of the Hague Convention of 1899 and 1907, par. 1 and 2) as a belligerent army, or the UHVR as an independent Ukrainian government which opposed the sham government of Kyiv — even though this government relied on its own fighting strength and operated on its own native soil.

A similar situation in the fight for freedom also exists in other subjugated countries, namely in Turkestan, Caucasia, Byelorussia (White Ruthenia), Lithuania, Estonia, Bulgaria, Czechia, Cossackia, Latvia, Albania, and many others, not to mention the magnificent example of Hungary.

It is by no means a coincidence that the propaganda of the Kremlin constantly stresses the "friendship of the peoples in the U.S.S.R.", which, according to Lenin, should be cherished like the apple of one's eye. It is obvious that there is something wrong with this "friendship of the peoples" and that it is precisely the national problem which is the vulnerable spot of the Russian empire and of Bolshevism: and it is precisely on this problem that the Liberation policy of the USA should concentrate.

The nationalism of the subjugated nations which aims at the liberation of peoples is the key to the destruction of the Russian empire and of Communism. And this nationalism has remained invincible.

Although deeply and bitterly disappointed in

the West's inaction and indifference to their plight, the enslaved peoples inside the Iron Curtain are keeping their spirit of resistance high and are not wavering from their anti-Communist position. The brutal policies of Moscow which rely on mass deportations to Siberia have proved ineffective, because these recalcitrant peoples spread seeds of discontent and rebellion wherever they go.

The ideal of a common cause of all the nations enslaved by Russia has taken root behind the Iron Curtain, and no form of Russian tyranny can ever destroy it. The Soviet Russian system has failed and continues to exist only because it is supported by Russian bayonets. The case of Hungary in the fall of 1956 bears this out most eloquently.

At this point, I would like to emphasize that national revolutionary movements have spread into the concentration camps, such as Vorkuta. You are surely familiar with the book, "Vorkuta", written by a released prisoner, Joseph Scholmer, in which he expressed the demands of the non-Russian prisoners of the Russian concentration camps to the West:

1. The dropping of leaflets over all camps giving the signal to prisoners to call a general strike.
2. The dropping of arms, radio transmitters, explosives, medical supplies and food. This is to be done not only at Vorkuta but in all the forest camps along the railway leading southwards.
3. Immediate formation by the prisoners of partisan groups who would be in a position to cut the 1500 mile railway line at given points.
4. Creation of a separate republic independent of Moscow, which would embrace the whole vast forest network of European and Asiatic Russia. If the prisoners had arms, this would be quite unassailable. Neither tanks, aircraft nor artillery can operate effectively in this gigantic partisan terrain.
5. Intensive radio propaganda to the peoples in the Soviet Union from this independent republic with the aim of bringing about:
 - a) A peasant rising under the traditional slogan "Land for the peasants".
 - b) A workers' rising under the slogan "Factories for the workers".
6. Proclamation of national independence for the Baltic States, Byelorussia, Ukraine, the peoples of Caucasia, Turkestan, and the Far East.
7. The ultimate creation of conditions similar to civil war by an aggravation of the tension between the hard core of the army and the peoples of the Soviet Union.

The best proof that the nations enslaved behind the Iron Curtain can overcome their fear of terrorism and the dreaded MVD, and are prepared to fight for their liberation, was the recent Hungarian uprising.

41st Anniversary of the Proclamation of the Byelorussian National Republic

Forty-one years ago, on March 25, 1918, the Council of the Byelorussian National Republic proclaimed to the whole world that henceforth the Byelorussian people would lead their own independent life in their ethnographical territory.

Like all other peoples, the Byelorussian people have not only the right, but also the duty to follow their historical traditions.

Unfortunately, this courageous aspiration on the part of the Byelorussian people could not at that time be supported accordingly by strong military power. And this weakness of the young Byelorussian republic was used to advantage by two of its neighbours, — the Russians and the Poles. Without considering the will of the people, they divided the living body of the Byelorussian people amongst themselves by means of the Riga frontier.

But in spite of this physical superiority, none of the occupants in the course of their rule over the Byelorussian people succeeded in crushing the latter's striving for freedom, independence and a sovereign state existence. The spirit of freedom has remained invincible and the fight against the occupants continues incessantly, assuming various forms according to circumstances.

Proof of this fact is an admission, probably made unintentionally, by the press organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., the "Pravda" (No. 15 of January 15, 1959), about the official number of Communist Party members in the Byelorussian S.S.R. According to this report in the "Pravda", the Muscovite occupants, in the course of 41 years, have only succeeded in recruiting 187,000 members (out of almost 10 million inhabitants) for the Communist Party. If we take into account that of these Party members, the Russians sent to Byelorussia constitute three-quarters, then the percentage of Byelorussians who are members of the Communist Party only amounts to 25. This official admission on the part of the Bolshevik "Pravda" is extremely interesting, for it proves that the Bolshevik regime in Byelorussia, in spite of its ruthless terrorist methods, has in the course of forty-one years failed to exterminate the spirit of freedom, to which our people have remained so loyal.

Furthermore, it also proves that the struggle for the liberation of the Byelorussian people from the Russian yoke still continues even today, regardless of the sacrifices which it entails. Indeed, the sacrifice of those who have laid down their lives for this cause is the bond which binds and unites all generations of ethnographical Byelorussia.

Not only is the attitude of the Byelorussian people extremely gratifying, but it also imposes a great and honourable duty on us, the Byelorussian political emigrants, — namely, to constantly remind the free world of the unheard of spiritual bondage and the physical yoke under the terrorist rule of the Muscovite Bolshevik regime in our country.

For this reason, all the impressive celebrations which we hold in all the countries in which our emigrants are domiciled, to mark the occasion of historical dates and, in particular, the anniversary of the proclamation of independence of the Byelorussian National Republic, should serve to remind the democratic world of the natural right of all peoples, including the Byelorussian people, to a free, independent and sovereign existence. And in this connection it is absolutely essential to stress that the right to state independence does not lapse, nor can it be annulled by hostile and false propaganda, nor eradicated by the narrow-mindedness or indifference of the free world to the struggle of the subjugated peoples.

Perhaps the (present) free world, roused by the example of Byelorussia and the other countries subjugated by the Bolsheviks, will, of its own accord, come to the conclusion that it must thoroughly revise its attitude to Muscovite tyranny.

We are living in troubled times. International tension has reached a climax, and it is difficult to foresee what will happen in the near future. With their constant striving for world power and their challenges, Khrushchov and his comrades may well arouse a reaction on the part of the Western world which can no longer be held up. Atom and

hydrogen bombs may be dropped and they will cause terrible devastation, but they will never wipe out all the peoples of the world.

The world will most certainly continue to exist, — perhaps in a better atmosphere, without Communist evil, without permanent Russian coercion and without constant fear of the morrow.

Spring is the season of the year when all Nature awakens to new life. And it was in the spring of 1918 that the Byelorussian people awakened to new life and took up the fight for a better future for the coming generations. This fight is

not yet over; it still continues and will continue until the idea proclaimed on March 25, 1918, becomes reality. This conception of the future of the Byelorussian people has been expressed very aptly and beautifully by the great Byelorussian poet, Yanka Kupala, in his poem "The Enemies of Byelorussia":

"We pave the way to
Freedom, Equality and Knowledge!
And our grandchildren will rule
Where their grandfathers now weep!"

Prof. R. Ostrowski

Byelorussian Congress Committee of America Sends Memorandum to the United Nations

March 25, 1959, is the 41st anniversary of the proclamation of independence of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic. Byelorussians throughout the free world commemorate this day as a symbol of their liberation.

However, as a member of the United Nations, the Byelorussian SSR is supposedly a sovereign state of the Byelorussian people. But the Byelorussian SSR in actuality is a fictitious form of statehood, lacking the elements of sovereignty. It was created by Soviet Russia and, as an ordinary province, subordinated to the Moscow central government.

Recently, namely from December 30, 1958, to January 4, 1959, solemn celebrations were held in Minsk, the capital of the Byelorussian SSR, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Byelorussian SSR's existence. Just as the entire history of the Byelorussian SSR, so this celebration evinced proof of sheer fictitiousness. The signal to as well as the tone of the 40th anniversary of the Byelorussian SSR's jubilee were set by a joint appeal enunciated by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, and the Council of Ministers in Moscow. The appeal, among other things, blemishes the Byelorussian national movement, while it heaps praise on the Russian Communist Party and propagates the strength of the "friendship of people" in the multi-national USSR.

Those who came from Moscow to Minsk to attend the celebration were Nikita Khrushchov, members of the USSR government, members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. As far as other states are concerned, only the representatives of the constituent republics of the USSR arrived to take part in the celebration. Not a single representative from countries outside the USSR turned up, not even from the satellite countries of Poland, Rumania, and others, lest the occasion be given an international character.

Also participating in the celebration were leaders of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and of the government of the Byelorussian SSR. By and large, these leaders are Russians. For instance, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussia, K. Mazurov; other secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussia: U. Kisieliev, F. Sarganov, U. Gorbunov, D. Filimonov; chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Byelorussian SSR, V. Kozlov; furthermore, vice-chairmans of the Council of Ministers of the Byelorussian SSR, I. Klimov and Z. Zolov; chairman of the Republican Council of Trade Unions, I. Makarov, and others.

All the jubilee speakers, the press, etc. adhered to the solemn theses of the Moscow appeal. N. Khrushchov, as the sole ruler, demanded even more production and fulfillment of the new economic Seven-Year Plan ahead of time.

Such cynical treatment of Byelorussian statehood by Soviet Russia is the outcome of the Bolshevik policy concerning the nationality problem. The formulation of the national-state question, as

it appears in the programs of the Communist parties as well as in Soviet constitutions, assumes as its basis the self-determination of all peoples, including the right to secede from the metropolis — Russia. However, this theoretical concept is designed to serve propaganda purposes only and has no practical adaption. Actually, Soviet Russia pursues an imperialistic policy of conquest of non-Russian nations, whom she transforms into colonies, disregarding the will of these nations. This fact may well be attested to by a brief review of Byelorussia's history.

After the collapse of the Russian empire in 1917, the Byelorussian people immediately set out to restore its independent state. In December 1917, the First All-Byelorussian Congress was convoked in Minsk with 1,872 delegates attending. The Bolsheviks here constituted but a small fraction of the total. The Congress declared itself for the creation of a Byelorussian national state. Consequently, however, the armies of Soviet Russia dispersed the Congress.

A council elected by the Congress turned itself later into a Council of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic and, on March 25, 1918, proclaimed the independence of the Byelorussian state. . . The government of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic embarked upon an extensive diplomatic, administrative, cultural, and military activity striving toward independence.

In a counter-move against the Byelorussian Democratic Republic, Soviet Russia came out with her state concept for Byelorussia. At a meeting held in Moscow on December 29, 1918, the Bolsheviks under Stalin's leadership decided to create a Byelorussian SSR, which was to form a federation with Soviet Russia. On the heels of this development, a resolution to form a Byelorussian SSR was passed at the First Congress of the Communist Party of Bolsheviks of Byelorussia, held in Smolensk on January 1, 1919. The resolution called for incorporation into the state of the following provinces: Minsk, Grodno, Mogilev, Vitebsk, and Smolensk. The Congress was under the control of Russian Bolsheviks from the Central Committee who arrived from Moscow with Sverdlov as their leader.

In conformity with the resolution of Lenin's Central Committee, the First Congress of Byelorussia's Soviets was convoked in Minsk. Its delegates consisted predominantly of Russian Bolsheviks. This Congress resolved: 1. to materialize the federation of the Byelorussian SSR with Soviet Russia; 2. to cede the provinces of Vitebsk, Mogilev, and Smolensk to Soviet Russia; 3. to emerge the Byelorussian SSR with Lithuania; 4. to vest all powers of the Byelorussian SSR in Miasnikov, a Russian.

On February 27, 1919, Soviet Russia merged the mutilated Byelorussia and Lithuania into one state — Litbel, which embraced the provinces of Minsk, Grodno, Vilno, and Kovno.

Later on July 12th, 1920, Soviet Russia signed a treaty with the Lithuanian Republic, and foresook on behalf of Lithuania the Byelorussian district of Oshmiana, and parts of the districts of Novogrodek, Lida, Sventyany, Molodechno, and Vilno.

V. D.

An Attack With Unsuitable Means

"What is ABN — Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!"

It is naturally understandable that the complete success of the principles of the ABN at the Mexico Conference in March, 1958, and at the 4th Continental Congress of the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent (held in Antigua, Guatemala, from October 12 to 16, 1958) — that is to say the unreserved recognition on these occasions of the fact that it is *Russian imperialism* which, by making use of the Communist ideology and phraseology, is endeavouring to subjugate the whole world, and that the so-called Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics is nothing

but a *Russian* totalitarian colonial imperium, which must be disintegrated into independent national states (within their ethnical frontiers) in order to achieve a sound and just world peace, — has prompted the so-called "Ukrainian Federalists" to hastily publish an eighty-page pamphlet (entitled "What is ABN" and, incidentally, neither place nor time of publication are mentioned) against the ABN and its leaders. It is, however, by no means to the credit of the intellectual and political level of the said "Federalists" that they could think of nothing better than to fill a considerable part of their pamphlet (namely the part which refers to a "historical reference in regard to the mutual relations between Russia and the Ukraine") with a *reprint*, which is taken from another pamphlet, published years ago, of approximately the same political orientation, but of a different *phraseological* trend, namely the pamphlet "How to Help Stalin Win the World. Who is the Enemy — "Russia" or Communism?" (printed in USA, City Press Co., New York, by Friends and Fighters for Russian Freedom; the year of publication is not given). The strange thing is that this latter pamphlet openly expresses a chauvinist Russian attitude and that the "Ukrainian Federalists" in their haste to reprint it have apparently not noticed this fact, even though they are bound to compromise themselves in the eyes of their own adherents — if they have any — and also in the eyes of their Russophil patrons among certain American "private circles", by mechanically repeating certain undisguised chauvinist formulations of the Russian imperialists. For instance, right at the beginning, on page 8, they affirm: "ABN is seeking your cooperation in order to . . . (5) help the Kremlin convince 100 000 000 Russians that the free world, like Hitler and Rosenberg, plans to dismember Russia, establish protectorates over the pieces", etc. — For a spokesman of Russian chauvinism such as the notorious totalitarian "People's and Workers' Union" (NTS) it is quite natural to talk about a "hundred million Russians" and to use this as the basis for the claim to "Russia's unity and indivisibility", as compared to the "seventy million" non-Russians in the U.S.S.R.?) and it is likewise quite natural for a Russian chauvinist to put all violation of the "unity and indivisibility" of the Russian imperium on a level with the "introduction of foreign protectorates" over the parts of this imperium; and what is in this respect the opinion of the "Ukrainian Federalists", who officially advocate the doctrine of "non-predetermination" and, in any case, claim to be "federalist" minded?

But the text of the pamphlet "How to Help Stalin Win the World" was naturally taken over by the "Ukrainian Federalists" for its "informative value" — and it is precisely in this respect that it cannot be designated by any other epithet but meagre! It is surely ridiculous to affirm, for instance, that the ABN is endeavouring "to denounce the Russian people casually in phrases about 'Asiatic hordes' and 'Slav barbarians'" (p. 8), for, on the one hand, the Ukrainians themselves are definitely a Slav people (as are the Byelorussians, too), and, on the other hand, such definitely Asiatic nations as the Turkestanians and Azerbaijanians belong to the ABN, which organization, incidentally, enjoys most sympathy and support precisely amongst the anti-Communist states of the Far-East, — Vietnam and Free China (Formosa); should the Ukrainian members of the ABN want to insult and abuse themselves and their closest allies?

And it is equally ridiculous to affirm, for instance, that Nikita Khrushchov is a Ukrainian, for "Khrush in Ukrainian means May-bug" (p. 13)³, or that "Melyuk was the estate agent of the Greek Orthodox (!) Metropolitan of Lemberg, a Count Szeptyski, himself an ex-officer of the Imperial Russian Army" (p. 18). It is thus obvious that the authors of the pamphlet commit the most absurd mistakes, not only when it suits them to distort history, but also quite unintentionally, namely out of sheer ignorance. It is true that the glaring blunder with regard to the Metropolitan Count Sheptytsky (or Szeptycki according to Polish transcription, — though apparently the authors of the

pamphlet know neither Polish nor Ukrainian) is corrected by the "Ukrainian Federalists" in a note (9) at the end of the pamphlet (signed "Ed."). But in another note (5) they affirm quite foolishly that it was the Ukrainian national writer, Taras Shevchenko, who "proposed that Russian be used as the common state language (of all Slavs)", — which is, of course, sheer invention.

In any case, who are these "Ukrainian Federalists" and what does the abbreviation "Ed." stand for? There is no name at all on the title-page, but a very modest note, printed in small letters on the back of the title-page, gives us information on this point: "Publisher: R. Yagotinsky, President of Executive Committee Ukrainian Liberation Movement". This suffices for our needs; for printed matter on this gentleman is available in plenty, and we can therefore confine ourselves here to quoting remarks merely from those organs of the press on which he bases his own remarks — or claims to do so.

In the pamphlet "What is ABN", two press organs are cited as "crown evidence" for the "pro-Russian feeling" of the "genuine" Ukrainians: (1) the typographically printed paper "Ukrayina-Rus", which calls itself a "Publication of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement", and (2) the phototype printed paper "Rusalka", which is supposed to be an organ of the "Galician-Carpathian Ukrainian-Russian Union" (Halyts'ka Karpats'ka Ukrayins'ko-Rus'ka Spilka), that is to say West Ukrainian. The front pages of both these papers are also reproduced in the pamphlet "What is ABN" as "Appendix 5 and 6", — since the "publisher" R. Yagotinsky attaches so much importance to his cooperation with these two papers. But whereas the "Ukrayina-Rus" still seems to be completely at his disposal⁴, his friendship with "Rusalka" very soon came to a sudden end. It was issue No. 1 of 1958 that was "honoured" with a reproduction of its front page in the said pamphlet; but in issue No. 3 of the same year we find on page 1, in an article signed by the editor, the following statements:

"Ivan Omelianovych Chemerys, the "President of the ULM", who lives in Sweden and uses the name Roman Yagotinsky, was no doubt thrown out of work the day that all the Ukrainians and former supporters of the ULM decided to withdraw their confidence in him and to revise their attitude towards him, and he has now decided to conduct a "boycott campaign" in writing against us. In his "boycott letters" directed against us he writes that he is supported by such prominent persons as "Vice-President" F. Romanovsky and "Secretary-General" Petro Sencha-Zalesky . . . In answer to the "boycott" directed against us by the "President of the ULM", we shall confine ourselves to quoting from the letters which have been written by those persons who allegedly support this "boycott" and which characterize the said "President". Petro Sencha-Zalesky writes as follows:

"Ivan Omelianovych Chemerys, residing in Sweden, has clearly shown his complete unpreparedness and inability to carry out important and productive work. Proof of this can be seen from the fact that he has been sending senseless letters to various persons and has in an inexcusable manner offended and insulted those whom he has regarded as being an obstacle to his striving for power. I. O. Chemerys has clearly shown by the traits of character which he has revealed that he is only capable of repulsing people, but not of rallying them together or uniting them. I. O. Chemerys is a morbidly arrogant man, devoid of all ability to act and think constructively. I. O. Chemerys is only a would-be literator and journalist, who causes the editors who have to edit his writing a lot of trouble. In the first place, he needs to learn and grow in his development in order to become equal to others."

In addition, P. Sencha-Zalesky also writes as follows to Chemerys-Yagotinsky himself — in Russian, since the "President of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement" does not know Ukrainian:

"You have quite obviously shown your complete inability to act constructively and to carry out work of any serious social value. I have reached

Memorandum to the United Nations

(Continued from page 9)

A delegation of the Byelorussian SSR was not invited to participate in the peace negotiations between Soviet Russia and Poland conducted in Riga in 1920-1921 although partitioning of the territory of Byelorussia was under discussion there.

On August 1, 1920, the Bolsheviks again announced the creation of a Byelorussian SSR consisting of 6 regions of the Minsk province with a population of 1,2 million.

It was not until 1924 that the All-Union Central Executive Committee ceded districts of Mogilev and Vitebsk to the Byelorussian SSR. And even later, in 1926, further regions of Rechitsa and Gomel were incorporated into the Byelorussian SSR.

In 1939, Western Byelorussia with Bielastrak was joined to the Byelorussian SSR, while the provinces of Smorgon and Vilno were ceded to Lithuania.

In 1944, the Second All-Byelorussian Congress was convened in Minsk with 1,039 delegates attending. The Congress annulled all agreements concluded by the occupation governments concerning Byelorussia, severed Byelorussia's ties with the USSR, approved the proclamation of independence of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic, and called to life a Byelorussian Central Council as the only legitimate representative body of the Byelorussian people. The Byelorussian National Defense forces were engaged in the fight against Soviet Russia. However, the Russian armies again overran Byelorussia.

In 1944, Soviet Russia restored the Byelorussian SSR, having ceded Bielastrak to Poland.

The present-day Byelorussian SSR encompasses only one portion of the ethnographic Byelorussian territory. Approximately one-third of Byelorussia with the cities of Smolensk, Bryansk, Roslavl, and others were annexed by the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. Parts of Byelorussian ethnographic lands were incorporated into Poland, Lithuania, and Latvia.

In the course of 40 years of the Byelorussian SSR's existence, Soviet Russia — in pursuing its plan concerning the nationality policy — murdered hundreds of thousands of the Byelorussian intelligentsia and over 4 million Byelorussian peasants and workers. The Byelorussian people is subjected to constant Russification efforts, Sovietization, and economic exploitation. The 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR, which took place at the outset of the current year, did not bring about any changes in Soviet Russia's policy with regard to the nations subjugated by her, nor any changes in her international or domestic policies. The general political line still reflects the perpetuation of the onetime Russian imperialism implemented by the Tsars, Lenin, and Stalin.

It is logical, therefore, that the voice of F. Griaznov, a Russian, who represents the Byelorussian SSR at the United Nations, cannot be uttered in defense of the Byelorussian people, for he represents only the Moscow government.

Presenting this brief information to your kind attention, we ask to consider whether the membership of the Byelorussian SSR in the United Nations at present is in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

At the same time, we ask you to help the Byelorussian people to attain its national representation in the United Nations which would be truly independent of Soviet Russia and would represent the national interests of Byelorussia.

Yours respectfully,

John Kosiak, President.

(Continued on page 12)

Hetman Mazepa's Dawn And Our Progressive Age

(Continued from page 2)

triumphal procession of the Russian chariot of victory and to defend its own freedom and its own life.

What is more, — when subjugated, but spiritually sound peoples, such as the Ukrainians, Hungarians and others, rise up — under most unfavourable conditions — of their own accord against this unbearable tyranny, they only encounter a few expressions of sympathy, which are not by any means binding, and the indifferent silence of the press in the background, and, more, often than not, even an intentional reticence with regard to all the liberation movements directed against Russia. The inviolability of the monstrous imperium, which now assumes one colour, now another, but as regards its genocidal character always remains the same, has become an axiom for the political life of the West. The leaders of the freedom-loving nations subjugated by Moscow are treated as troublesome violators of an ideal coexistence and are decried by the press, — as, for instance, Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee and Simon Petlura, over whose bodies the "pacifists" from time to time hold their war-dance of cannibals,



inasmuch as they denounce the freedom fighters against the tyranny of Lenin and Trotzky as the "enemies of democracy"; and the same kind of agitational campaign is also carried on against the President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) because of the same "crime", — because of the mobilization of the sound and healthy forces of the nations against the tyranny of the Kremlin. Nor do these hyenas of "pacifism" and of "democracy" leave General Francisco Franco in peace, either, for the simple reason that he refused to let Spain become a satellite of Moscow, with some Spanish Rakoczy or Kaganovich as its head.

Side by side with such figures as Charles XII of Sweden, Byron or Hugo, Mazepa, with the legacy that he left to posterity, remained an understandable and tangible figure; he became the hero of legends and the champion of the fight for freedom. Our "progressive" age implies a different epoch, a different mentality. Instead of one god, the age of "progress" acknowledges several gods: "peace" at any price, the ideals of comfort, relaxation, entertainment, rest, enjoyment and money. But such ideals are of little avail in the fight against Muscovite tyranny. History — ancient and modern alike — teaches us that without idealism, without romanticism and without spiritual values, which should be regarded as higher than material things and comforts, the nations disintegrate and fall into decay. When Spain became a bulwark against Napoleon and the watchwords of the French revolution and, in our day, against Muscovite Communism and the latter's "democratic" henchmen, it only succeeded in doing so thanks to the inspiring mentality of idealism, the spirit of self-sacrifice and romanticism. When Britain of Pitt's day and Germany of Fichte's day successfully put up a resistance against Napoleon's world imperium, they succeeded in doing so thanks to the mentality of romanticism and idealism which inspired them, thanks to their love of freedom, not their love of comfort. Italy owes its liberation to the romantic idealism of Garibaldi and Cavour. France owes its victory in 1918 not only to the help of its

allies (which help was also available in World War II), but also to the fact that at the eleventh hour the responsibility for the defence of the country was taken out of the hands of the "bosses" of a degenerate parliamentarianism (Blum and Herriot) by an idealist and romanticist of patriotism, Georges Clemenceau, a man of profound faith, determination and heroism. Hitler lost the war partly because he followed his own inspiration and that of Goebbels, and both of them had a preference for "practical persons" and not for idealists or romanticists. Hitler was after Caucasian oil and other "practical purposes" and did not follow the advice of Field Marshal von Brauchitsch to capture Moscow (when it would still have been possible); on the contrary, he liquidated von Brauchitsch for having considered a "pre-

Not "Soviet" But Russian Imperialism!

The anti-Bolshevist policy of the Western Major Powers has not been thought out and planned down to the last detail; its desiderata and decisions are not the logical consequence of a definite system which is determined by action. Like any inexperienced politician, the leading political factors of America are scared of making decisions and, indeed, try to avoid reaching any definite decisions. Free elections, plebiscites, "non-predetermination" — all this is neither here nor there and proves to be completely unsound precisely as regards the Soviet Zone of Germany. Russia would rather — in the extreme case, of course, — auction the Soviet Zone for some important concessions or other in the field of foreign policy than meet her inevitable defeat halfway if free elections were really held.

And the talks carried on by "private" American circles about future plebiscites in the countries subjugated by Russia are no less absurd. The precondition for such a plebiscite would be the previous occupation of the territory in question by a foreign army, — in this case the American army, which would not, during the previous war, have received any support from the revolutionary forces of the nation in question, subjugated by Russia. But no nation that has any self-respect is likely to wait for a plebiscite organized by a foreign power to be held in its territory, in order to give expression to its urge to independence. Or do the American supporters of "non-predetermination" perhaps believe that there will be another General Vlasov, who would have to "supervise" the plebiscite on Ukrainian soil? Or do they believe that there would be Ukrainians who, under Russian "supervision", would vote for their severance from Russia on worthless slips of paper, instead of with bombs and machine-guns?

All this "non-predetermination" plebiscite propaganda is nothing but a camouflaged predetermination in favour of the Russians. Why should not the Russians reach a decision as to whether they want to be independent, and equally so, the non-Russians? No one in the ACLB questions the right of the Russians to talk about an independent Russia, but, on the other hand, "Radio Liberation" forbids the Ukrainians or Turkestanians, for instance, to assert their right to independence.

How do the Americans in question visualize the aims of the insurgent forces of the peoples subjugated by Russia? Are these forces to sacrifice their lives for a plebiscite? If the Americans had any intention of supporting the revolutionary movement of the non-Russian peoples, they would realize that national liberation movements always pursue aims that are very clear, — namely, national independence and the setting up of a national state, including a social and political order, in keeping with the national will of the people in question. Not even the members of the ACLB imagine that a plebiscite could be realized "automatically" in a country liberated from the Russian Bolsheviks; for only the American occupation forces could in such a case be "non-predetermination" — minded, since the national freedom fighters have had their own clearly defined aims for centuries, — independence, disintegration of the Russian imperium, and the restoration of sovereign national states.

But if the Americans want neither war nor re-

stige policy" instead of "practical purposes", — that is to say, for having considered "imponderables" that are incomprehensible to a non-romanticist. And, to quote a final example, — the Czechs (Masaryk the younger and Benes) and the Roumanians (King Carol and King Michael), devoid of all idealism and all romanticism — as well as of all sound reasoning, for the most part caused their country to lose World War II as a result of their "practical policy".

The 250th anniversary of Mazepa's death should be a warning to our contemporaries that all the peoples of Europe will become the victims of slavery if they are led by businessmen and capitalists, instead of by romanticists and idealists, — men of profound faith, of patriotism, of far-reaching intentions and of reverence before the God of Christianity, the God of fighting, not of idleness and comfort, nor of peace at any price, but of justice on earth.

volution (within the U.S.S.R.), what third method of exterminating Bolshevism do they visualize?

It thus looks as though the Americans, however much they may reject the idea of a "hot" war of aggression and military intervention in the U.S.S.R., yet, at the same time, in their "psychological" war against Bolshevism, would, through the agency of "Radio Liberation" and the "Voice of America," etc., like to propagate aims which — if they are at all realizable — would only be realized by their own military intervention, that is to say, in principle by means of a war of aggression; for they will never be able to enforce the "non-predetermination" which they preach on an internal revolution. How can one therefore explain this paradoxicality?

As matters actually stand, the Americans do not really want a war, and all the steps which they seriously take against the U.S.S.R., or intend to take, are exclusively adapted to retaliation in the event of a Bolshevik "hot" aggression; whatever other steps are undertaken, however, are merely undertaken for appearances' sake: *ut aliquid fecisse videatur* . . . But it is no ideological counter-move on the part of America to reply to the clear and definite propaganda watchwords of Bolshevism, "Down with colonialism!" — "Complete independence for all Afro-Asian peoples!" etc., merely with "non-predetermination," that is to say, with a watchword which means "we are not yet agreed amongst ourselves on this point."

It is really ridiculous how zealously certain snobs and opportunists in the West endeavour not to offend the "eldest brother" among the "peoples of the Soviet Union." One is prepared to accept the designation "Communist imperialism," but not *Russian* imperialism. Why then does one not talk about "democratic imperialism"? In any case, both the British and the French have spread certain democratic ideas in their colonies, which hitherto were unknown in India, Pakistan, Algeria or Morocco! But the advocates of an "eternal and sacred Russia" are more prepared to offend their own people with such designations as "British and French imperialism", than to deal the Russians a blow in their vulnerable spot. Suez was allegedly attacked by British and French imperialists, but Budapest by Soviet ones! "Soviet" is the designation for the huge prison of peoples, the "Union of the Socialist Republics", in which the Russians as the ruling nation forcibly hold all other nations in captivity. Neither the Ukrainians nor the peoples of the Baltic states, neither the Caucasians nor the Turkestanians were interested as nations in the massacre of heroic Hungarian revolutionaries, but the Russians were. Why then should there be "Soviet" imperialism, but not Russian imperialism?

Whenever some quisling or other of Ukrainian origin is discovered in the Kremlin or in the circles closely connected with the Kremlin, the entire free world loudly avers that the Ukrainians and not the Russians are the leading men in the Soviet government, — and this does not refer to Khrushchov alone, who, incidentally, on one occasion actually told a Western interviewer that he speaks Ukrainian fluently, but would rather speak his mother-tongue, that is Russian. But of what significance is national origin, seeing that most of the dynasties of Europe are of German origin, including the British dynasty (the house

(Continued on page 13)

An Attack With Unsuitable Means (Continued from page 10)

the conclusion that productive collaboration with you is impossible if you do not recognize the incorrectness of your conduct in such a situation . . .

We are of the opinion — so the editor of the "Rusalka" concludes his leading article, after mentioning various other "characteristics" of a similar nature, — that these few quotations suffice as illustration and make it unnecessary for us to comment any further on the character of the said "President of the ULM". They have, furthermore, given us the right to expose this wolf in sheep's clothing and to warn the entire Ukrainian people against him."

Incidentally, we are far from willing to accept all that is affirmed by this "Galician-Carpathian" paper, which, in spite of everything, is pro-Russian, as gospel truth. The fact, however, that it is not merely a case of party rivalry and personal matters, can be seen from the serious accusations brought against the "President" Chemerys-Yagotinsky by a certain Nestor Halytsky in the same number of the "Rusalka". He asks the "President" (on page 10) for the reasons for his completely indifferent attitude with regard to two very peculiar facts: namely, (1) that there are members of the Executive Committee of the ULM who make no secret of the fact that they are thinking of returning to the U.S.S.R., and (2) that there are also other members of the same Executive Committee who, at anti-Communist meetings, "have voiced their protest against those who have opposed Red Bolshevism". — "And now, — so N. Halytsky continues, — we should like to tell the truth about how many persons still belong to the ranks of the "mass movement" ULM: Ivan Chemerys-Yagotinsky as "President of the Executive Committee", Fedir Karpov-Romanovsky as "Vice-President of this Committee", Petro Sencha-Zalesky as "Secretary-General" and Leontiy Tymofeyevych Makhnushka as "acting commander of the Ukrainian Free Cossacks", — these are all the persons who at present belong to this 'mass movement'!"

This latter statement is likewise (also on p. 10-11) corroborated by the "Executive Organ of the Galician-Carpathian-Ukrainian-Russian Union", which declares in all seriousness that there cannot be the least attempt at further collaboration with the ULM, "for the simple reason that there is no longer such a thing as the ULM and that one cannot collaborate with three self-elected impostors and illiterates."

We are thus sufficiently informed as to the "ideological atmosphere" in which the pamphlet "What is ABN" has originated. Its contents — in so far as they have not been copied from the earlier chauvinist Russian pamphlet "How to Help Stalin Win the World" — are of a corresponding quality and based for the most part on the following "sources":

(1) Vasyly Nych: "Provokatory UVO-OUN" ("The Agitators of the Ukrainian Military Organization and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists"), New York, 1956, — a pamphlet with fairly psychopathological contents, which describes both A. Melnyk and O. Boydunyk, as well as S. Bandera and M. Lebed' as Soviet agitators and secret agents of the NKVD. It is a standing joke amongst the Ukrainian emigrants that Vasyly Nych's passion for incriminating others will in the long run, with maniacal logic, force him to affirm that he himself is a Bolshevik secret agent . . .

(2) Such self-exposure is not, on the other hand, to be expected from the person who calls himself "Petro Yarovy", and, indeed, it would be senseless, since it is an established fact that he is a Soviet agent; he was already exposed ten years ago in the Federal Republic of Germany when he tried in vain to worm his way into the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalist Revolutionaries. This, of course, does not prevent him from expressing his opinion at length in the Russian emigrant press (namely in the New York "Sotsialisticheskiy Vestnik"), since he attacks Ukrainian national independence, and such "publicists" are very welcome amongst the Russian "anti-Communist" chauvinists, irrespective of where they come from. Incidentally, he is the "publicist" who first spread the rumour that "Professor Viktor Petrov-Domonovych was murdered during Easter 1949 by Ukrainian Nationalist Revolutionaries in either Munich or Mittenwald", whereas it has now definitely

been established, after long investigation, that the said Professor of archaeology and ethnology returned to the U.S.S.R. in secret and from 1956 to 1957 was in charge of certain excavations in Soviet Ukraine⁵⁾.

(3) In addition, there are also certain misinformed Jewish circles who try again and again to shift the blame for the Nazi persecutions of the Jews in the Ukrainian territories occupied by German troops during World War II on to Ukrainian nationalists and decry the Ukrainians in general as anti-Semitic, as, for example, Anatole Goldstein (of the Institute of Jewish Affairs, World Jewish Congress, New York) or Stephan Dattner ("The Australian Jewish News", Melbourne, of June 14 and July 12, 1957): the former affirms that the Ukrainian independent state, which was proclaimed on June 30, 1941, in Lviv (Lemberg) "existed only six weeks", and that "during this short period 5,000 other Ukrainians, several thousand Poles and 15,000 Jews were slaughtered by the partisans of Bandera" (p. 22) — one statement as unfounded as the other⁶⁾; and the latter even makes "the so-called Ukrainian government" of "July (!) 1941" responsible for the fact that "of the 100,000 Jews in Kiev, 80,000 were put to death by September 1941" (p. 62).

(4) And, finally, there is the Russian Bolshevik press, from which the "Ukrainian Federalists" gather their propaganda lies against Ukrainian "separatism" just as eagerly as do their Russian chauvinist "anti-Communist" colleagues. The extent to which the alleged "Ukrainian" and Russian "anti-Communists" adopt as their own not only the Bolshevik defamation of the ABN, but also the Bolshevik attitude as a whole, can be seen from the following example, which is only one of many such examples. With regard to the representative of the Lithuanian Rebirth Movement in ABN, J. A. Gytis, the pamphlet on page 37 affirms as follows: ". . . his own pro-Nazi views can be judged from the fact that 'during World War II he (Gytis) fought against Bolshevik tyranny . . ." ("ABN Correspondence", No. 10/11 — 1955, p. 10) and the following passage from an article, by-lined Gytis:

"In 1944, Soviet Russia occupied Lithuania a second time, after the latter country had temporarily succeeded in escaping from the Communist

Who is Mr. Yagotinsky?!

R. Yagotinsky: "What is ABN?" A booklet combating the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations/ABN/ headed by J. Stetzko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine / 1941 /. The author is a former soldier of the White Russian army commanded by the White Russian General Denikin. In 1939 Yagotinsky went to the Soviet Union whence he "fled" with his family to Sweden. At present, he is living in Stuttgart. Yagotinsky claims to be the president of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian liberation movement having purely pro-Russian tendencies. The book was published in the autumn of 1958.

("Bohemia", No. 86/87, 1958)

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The name of Yagotinsky as an anti-Communist was not known in Ukraine, but only became known abroad in connection with the name of Vasylakiy, the MVD agent who returned to the Soviet Union and can now be heard on the Soviet radio. Chemerys-Yagotinsky served in the White Russian army under the command of General Denikin. After the defeat of this army, Yagotinsky went abroad and lived in various Western states, including France. Since he was fond of praising Communist "achievements" in the Soviet Union, he returned to his "fatherland". Although hundreds of thousands of patriots and anti-Communists have been liquidated in the course of purges, Yagotinsky was able to live in peace under the Soviet Russian regime. Later, he left the Soviet Union and together with his wife and two children went to Sweden via Finland. There, he continues his "anti-Communist" activity by attacking and defaming the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the ABN leaders, just as MVD General Mikhailov and the "Pravda" do.

("Shlakh Peremohy", No. 29, 1958)

1) The author of the defamatory pamphlet directed against the ABN and entitled "What is ABN?"

yoke thanks to the help of the German troops" ("ABN Correspondence", No. 11/12 — 1957, p. 12)."

Accordingly, anyone who fights against the Bolsheviks and describes their rule as tyranny is a "pro-Nazi"; and still more so, anyone who ventures to affirm that the Germans in 1941 helped the Lithuanians to free themselves from the Communist yoke⁷⁾. In short, anyone who fights against the Bolsheviks must be a Fascist! One can but ask, what is the difference between such an "ideology" and Stalin's principles?

And such are the intellectually Bolshevized elements which the Western world wants to use as its allies in the "cold war" against Bolshevism. All these allies are likely to do, is to betray the Western world at every possible opportunity, just as the "national Russian" army of General Vlasov did as regards the Germans, in all fighting sectors in which it was used and, finally, in Prague.

(5) Naturally, the pamphlet also quotes certain Ukrainian sources which — as compared to the stuff written by V. Nych or P. Yarovy — in themselves are neither pathological nor agitational, but which, nevertheless, are grist to the Bolshevik mill. Thus, the "Ukrainian" representative in the federalist "Bloc of Nationals", Andrei Dikiy⁸⁾, for instance, in a statement directed against the "separatists", quotes certain pessimistic views expressed by Vynnychenko — "one of the Ukrainian separatist leaders", as A. Dikiy brazenly designates him; but he takes good care not to mention the fact that Vynnychenko by 1920 had already completely betrayed the Ukrainian national cause and did all he possibly could in order to bring about a compromise with Lenin. — And another example: in order to give a certain foundation to the "anti-nationalist" theory that "the founder of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, UPA, was Bulba", the pamphlet quotes the notorious article by A. Hrytsenko in the "Ukrayinski Visti" ("Ukrainian News"), Neu-Ulm, Nos. 465-71, December 28, 1950 — January 17, 1951), the press organ of I. Bahriany's so-called Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party; this does not, however, in the least prevent the "Ukrainian Federalists" from describing the UPA as a "myth" (p. 22) and from designating the "Osvobozhdeniye" ("The Liberation", edited by the well-known Russian politician in exile, G. Aleksinsky), a paper published in Russian under the patronage of the "Ukrayinski Visti", as a "paper of the ABN" ("Ukrayina-Rus", 1958, No. 3-4, p. 10), — a fact which must, indeed, cause both I. Bahriany and G. Aleksinsky considerable surprise.

Such cases should, in our opinion, make it clear to certain Ukrainian political groups that they are helping not only the so-called "Ukrainian Federalists", but also the latter's lords and masters, the Russian "anti-Communist" imperialists, by the attacks which they launch against the

1) Who are neither Ukrainians nor Federalists, but a handful of paid agents of the Russian "anti-Communist" imperialists in exile — camouflaged as "representatives of the Ukrainian people".

2) These are approximately the figures of the falsified Soviet census of 1939 (99 millions as compared to 71.5 millions); American demographers estimate (for 1953) 91 million Russians as compared to 110.5 million non-Russians, whilst Oleh R. Martovych, who discusses this question in detail in his book "National Problems in the U.S.S.R." (Edinburgh, 1953), gives 70 million Russians as compared to 132.5 million non-Russians.

3) And not in Russian! On page 731 of a Soviet Russian dictionary, which surely no one is likely to suspect of being "Ukrainophil", — "Russko-nemetskiy slovar", pod redaktsiyei A. B. Likhovits, glavnaya redaktsiya V. V. Rudash, Moscow, OGIZ, 1943, we find the definition: "khrushch zool. May-bug". — So the gentlemen in question do not even know Russian properly!

4) One is even bound to suspect that all the articles published in the "Ukrayina-Rus" — including the "belletristic section" and readers' letters — are the work of one and the same author (of course, not necessarily R. Yagotinsky himself).

5) See the Munich weekly "Shlakh Peremohy" ("The Way to Victory"), 1959, No. 8 (261), p. 2.

6) It is a well known fact that the Ukrainian government formed on June 30th and headed by Prime Minister Jaroslaw Stetzko was arrested at Hitler's orders on July 12; how, then, does the author come to talk about "six weeks" duration? But he needs this period to let over 20,000 persons be murdered! Twelve days would not have been long enough.

7) Which is, of course, by no means an opinion on the Nazi regime in German-occupied Lithuania.

8) A Russian who is notoriously anti-Ukrainian and has nothing whatever in common with Ukraine.

9) "A.F.A.B.N. Strength", by Dr. Al. Sokolyvych, New York, 1958, p. 13.

Why Disengagement Policy (Continued from page 8)

send us to our doom, comforted and reassured that all is well.

"Another assumption which enjoys wide currency is the argument that a divided Germany threatens us with World War III. Such reasoning, I think, overlooks the basic source of tension in the world. World Communism, and world Communism alone threatens us today with world war. Germany can be no more than a pretext for war. If war comes this year — God forbid — over the Berlin crisis, it will come as a deliberate, calculated strategem of Red aggression. Berlin is just another phase of their long-term plan to subjugate the free world. The Berlin question is just a pawn in their hands, and will certainly not determine, of itself, whether there shall be peace or war."

"There is, however, one circumstance which could give rise to a world war that no one wanted. If we, through the appearance of division, through weakness and lack of purpose, encourage the Communists to attempt some new act of aggression, this may well trigger off a war, and a war for which we are tragically unprepared. The hazards of flexibility and vacillation are far greater than those of strict adherence to right principles."

"Assuming that our German policy is morally right and practically sound, as I believe it to be, we must persevere in it with the same tenacity with which the Communists pursue their evil program — that long, and then one day longer."

"With respect to almost every nation that has fallen victim to Communist aggression, there was one point in time, one occasion, when a courageous and vigorous free-world policy, based on the unselfish application of moral principles, could have prevented Communist aggression."

"That point in time for the Ukraine was 40 years ago. For Poland it was 13 years ago. For China it was ten years ago. For Indo-China it was five years ago. For Germany it is today."

"This may be our last chance to redeem our past errors. In a record filled with failures, compromises and concessions that spelled slavery for millions of people, we have preserved one last outpost of freedom within the Communist slave empire."

"That outpost is West Berlin. It must never be surrendered."

To the statement of Senator Dodd, we would like to add that in the present situation the Western world has a chance to put forth a constructive policy toward the U.S.S.R. and we feel that this opportunity should not be wasted. This also appears to be the policy of the Canadian Government according to the statement made recently by the Minister of External Affairs, Mr. S. Smith:

An Attack With Unsuitable Means

(Continued from page 12)

OUNR, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalist Revolutionaries, and against the entire ABN, — and it is, of course, only Bolshevism which gains a direct advantage in this case.

As regards our attitude in principle to all the questions which are dealt with so ignorantly and so brazenly in the pamphlet "What is ABN", it is no doubt more fitting, instead of proving and refuting all the individual defamations and falsehoods, to remind readers of the fundamental idea of the ABN, which the President of the Central Committee of the ABN, Jaroslaw Stetzko, formulated so aptly in the speech that he held at the Congress of the American Friends of ABN (September 20-21, 1958):

"In the first place, the enemy that is to be fought must be defined precisely. It is Russian imperialism, whose instrument is world Communism. Russia is the bulwark and the source of Bolshevism, which she has nurtured. Once the Soviet Russian empire is disintegrated into independent national states, Communism will be deprived of its mainstay; for it no longer has the political, military and economic power of the Russian prison of nations behind it. — This is the fundamental idea on which the political programme of our world centre must be based. Without this fundamental idea, there can be no victory over Communism, for the subjugated nations cannot take part in a common front with the free peoples if the latter do not support their efforts to attain complete national state independence"⁹.

"We must not leave it to Russia always to have us on the run. We cannot have it appear that they are the only ones interested in world peace." This attitude is commendable but it will only be meaningful when it results in action.

The policy of disengagement is only a retreat from our positions to those being forced on the West by Russia's manoeuvres, knowing that she has no chance to win a war with the Western powers.

There are many facts available to prove that Russia is not a monolith; it is only Russian terror that holds the enslaved nations under Moscow's control."

The following opinion was expressed recently by the former U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Acheson:

"Khrushchov has threatened to use the forces of the Warsaw Pact countries. But these countries are none too reliable. Fighting over Berlin might lead to explosions in Eastern Germany, Poland, Hungary and possibly in Czechoslovakia. The Russian rear will be in a turmoil overnight". (Saturday Evening Post, March 7, 1959).

Not "Soviet" But Russian Imperialism! (Continued from page 11)

of Welf of Hanover)? King Constantine of Greece was married to a princess of the house of Hohenzollern, but this fact was of no significance as far as his foreign policy during the first world war was concerned (even though his mother was a sister of Tsar Alexander III). King Ferdinand of Roumania was a Hohenzollern, but this did not in the least prevent him from intervening *against* Germany in the first world war. When the Empress Catherine II abolished the Ukrainian autonomy and introduced serfdom throughout Ukraine and destroyed the Ukrainian Zaporoghian Cossack state,—was she acting in Russian or possibly in German interests? Yet she was born as Princess Sophie of Anhalt-Zerbst, of pure German origin and brought up in Germany, and she never lost her German accent when speaking Russian, just as Stalin never lost his Georgian accent! But a politician belongs to the nation whose interests he represents and endeavours to promote.

So as not to talk about Russian imperialism, the Western press is fond of designating it as the imperialism of Moscow or even of the Kremlin. But who talks about London or Paris imperialism, or, say, about the imperialism of Downing Street or of the Quai d'Orsay? And it is only Communist propaganda that talks about the "imperialism" of Wall Street.

The designation "Soviet Russian imperialism" is, it is true, a certain improvement. But though it at least exposes the national (or, to be more correct, the chauvinist) character of "red" imperialism, it at the same time suggests the entirely false idea that only the policy of the Soviet Russian (Bolshevist) imperium should be regarded as imperialist, and not that of the Russian imperium as such; furthermore, according to this idea, neither the monarchy of the tsars nor Kerensky's "democratic republic" were imperialist, nor are, of course, those thirty-two organizations of Russian anti-Communist emigrants imperialist, who sent a peculiar joint memorandum to President Eisenhower,—with the threat that, if he were to support the "separatists", the entire Russian people, including the Russian anti-Communist emigrants, too, would, if necessary, decide in favour of Khrushchov's regime and against America and the free West. *Sapienti sat*: not even the "Soviet Russian" Bolsheviks have ventured to display such a cynical imperialism.

It is thus evident that *all* the Russian political groups amongst the emigrants unreservedly approve of the imperialist policy of Bolshevism, at least as regards the nations forcibly incorporated in the U.S.S.R., and also openly promise this policy their support. And yet there is supposed to be only one "red" (Soviet Russian) imperialism and colonialism!

But the truth is so simple and so apparent: the freedom-loving world must fight against Russian imperialism *and* against Communism, which nowadays has become a tool of the Russian Bolsheviks, destined, with the aid of a bribed agency — the executive committees of the Communist parties in the West, to stir up naive or confused

To a similar conclusion comes Mr. Omar Anderson, foreign press correspondent in Berlin, who points out as follows:

"This is the clear and present danger and Khrushchov knows that an East German revolt that gathered momentum would produce a chain reaction throughout Russia's restive satellite empire. Russian rocketry would be of small help in putting down a wildfire anti-communist insurrection in Eastern Europe". (What's behind the Russian pressure in Germany, *Globe and Mail*, March 7, 1959).

In shaping the Western policy in relation to the U.S.S.R., all these reasons have to be kept in mind. The Western powers cannot yield to the Russian pressure and accept a policy of appeasement under Moscow's threats. The policy of disengagement and the creating of a neutral zone in Europe will not guarantee world peace; only a policy of offensiveness based upon the constructive political programme in relation to the nations enslaved by Russia will bring the downfall of the Soviet Russian empire, the only way to secure lasting and just peace throughout the world.

(Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation)

elements in the free world for the advantage of the Russian imperium. Russian colonialism, which is as old as the Russian state itself, is intent upon gaining possession of the former colonial empires, which, incidentally, compared to the methods of subjugation and exploitation applied by Russian (and not merely Soviet Russian) imperialism, proved to be relatively progressive and humane.

The non-Russian "peoples of the Soviet Union" are, to an incomparably greater degree, the victims of Russian colonial imperialism than are or ever were the Algerians, Tunisians, Moroccans, or Senegalese, etc., as regards French colonialism. Why should one not talk of Russian imperialism, seeing that the Russians are the people who at present rule the greatest colonial empire in the world, namely by applying Russification and genocide methods, which, as far as the degree of ruthless cruelty is concerned, differ neither in principle nor in practice from the methods used by tsarism and by the "democratic" regime of Kerensky (at least, in so far as the latter had any actual power)!

And it is not a question of abstract terminology, as to whether one uses the designation "Soviet" or "Russian" imperialism: the important point is to define the common *enemy* of the free world and of human freedom correctly and to call him by his proper name. The peoples that are still free must know against whom they will perhaps, in the very near future, be forced to wage a life and death struggle.

Z. Karb.

Resolution of the Latvian Welfare Fund Conference

We, delegates of the Latvian Welfare Fund "Daugavas Vanagi", who assembled on March 7th, 1959, at 72, Queensborough Terrace, London, W. 2, for our annual conference, beg to call to your attention the following resolution carried unanimously by the conference:

1. *We declare that the invasion of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania by Soviet Russia, perpetrated in violation of Soviet treaty obligations and of international law, and in violation of the Basic Right of every nation to independence and freedom, was a crime — and that the continued Soviet occupation of the Baltic States remains a crime.*

2. *This conference recalls with satisfaction the refusal of the British Government to give de jure recognition to the Soviet occupation regime, which weighs so heavily on the Baltic peoples, and expresses the hope that Her Majesty's Government will continue to regard the Soviet occupation in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania as an illegal interlude in the free development of these liberty-loving peoples.*

On behalf of the assembled delegates:

A. ALKSNITIS

Chairman of the Executive Committee.

From Behind the Iron Curtain

ALBANIA

The Albanian newspaper reported recently that the success of the first industrial five-year plan in Albania makes it possible to liquidate the privately owned farms there and to force the farmers to join the collective farms. In the course of the past four years, 1,570 collective farms have already been set up in Albania. The newspapers stress that it is high time all farms in Albania were collectivized and enlarged according to the methods adopted in the Soviet Union.

BULGARIA

It appears that the extensive reorganization of Bulgaria's state apparatus and national economy, which was announced recently, is to some extent to be carried out in line with the two tendencies at present in evidence in Communist China, — namely promises of less rigid measures and a determination on the part of the political leaders to preserve the newly formed communes.

The first draft of the ambitious plan of reorganization in Bulgaria was submitted to an expanded plenary session of the Central Committee in mid-January by Party Secretary Todor Zhivkov, and contained the following major suggestions: 1) that the present central administration should be replaced by 30 "administrative economic units"; 2) that the collective farm should become the basic economic unit of the economy and that artisan cooperatives and sectors of local industry should be attached to it; 3) that certain Ministries should be abolished (including those of the heavy and light industries); 4) that the machine tractor stations should be gradually abolished and incorporated into the collectives; 5) that compulsory deliveries should be abolished and a new system of state purchasing of agricultural products should be introduced; and 6) that the wage system should be revised and that there should later be wage-increases in the lowest wage-groups.

It is as yet too early to from any definite conclusions as regards these suggestions, for much will depend on how they are implemented once they have been officially adopted. It is, however, obvious that in certain respects the Soviet example is being emulated, — as for instance with regard to the reorganization of the economic lines of administration, the abolition of the MTS and of compulsory deliveries. On the other hand, however, the strengthening of the collective farms seems to imply a tendency somewhere between the Soviet plans and the Chinese commune practice. In this case, too, the decisive factor will be implementation, that is to say, which industries will be incorporated in the farms.

It is obvious from the above-mentioned suggestions that Bulgarian economy is being prepared in long-range planning for closer synchronization with the Soviet Union. By 1956 the two countries should have plans running concurrently. The promised wage-increase (and, incidentally, also a shorter working week some time in the future) is not in line with the inhuman exploitation of labour — unearthing of "reserves" and "voluntary" regulated overtime shifts — decreed recently. But it is possible that the authorities have now reluctantly come to the conclusion that the people have been exploited to such an extent that promises of improvements, however vague they may be, are in order.

CHINA

The organ of the Soviet Russian Army, "The New Star", reports that a new uniform, with various insignia on the collar to distinguish between the different ranks of officers and men, has been introduced in the Chinese Red Army. In future, this will be the regular uniform, whilst the uniform worn so far will only be used on military parades.

ESTHONIA

Moscow's Russification Policy

The Baltic countries are now experiencing the same brutal Russification policy which Ukraine has been obliged to endure for hundreds of years. Because the Baltic countries were independent states during the years between the two world wars, Moscow is applying this Russification policy even more ruthlessly. After 19 years of Soviet Russian occupation, one-third of the population of Esthonia has already vanished. These unfortunate persons have either been murdered, abducted, or "voluntarily" sent to settle in desert regions, etc.

Moscow's strongest means of Russification are the army, the schools and the press.

In most of the towns of Esthonia the Russians are now already in the majority. On such occasions as big Party rallies in Esthonia, 30 per cent of the speakers are usually Russians.

GEORGIA

The Moscow Committee for State Security in Georgia states that a number of groups of the American and Turkish intelligence service have recently been arrested in Georgia.

It is also reported that frontier guards recently shot a "spy", Risak Tchausch, at the frontier.

In addition to collecting military information, the members of the groups arrested in Georgia, so it is pointed out, also had instructions to contact persons belonging to the Communist Party who are opposed to the Soviet government and to prepare them for the fight in future.

GERMANY

According to reports in the German press of West Berlin, the police recently carried out mass arrests of students in the Eastern Zone of Germany because they distributed propaganda leaflets urging the population to put up a resistance against the Soviet Russian occupation authorities.

LITHUANIA

The first secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Lithuania, Esthonia and Latvia, A. Snehkus, J. Kebin and J. Kalnberis, officially stated at the 21st Party Congress in Moscow that there are serious indications amongst the population of these republics of "bourgeois nationalism", "national narrow-mindedness", "adherence to nationalism" and "glorification of the past". These phenomena, so A. Snehkus stressed, are in evidence in the culture, literature and historical writings of the said countries.

POLAND

CATASTROPHIC WASTEFULNESS

The "Glos Olszynski" ("Allenstein News") reports that there are thousands of hectares of land, with a huge but unexploited agricultural potential, lying fallow in the district of Allenstein.

According to the "News Service of the Expellees", the town of Rössel in East Prussia, which before the war numbered more than 5,000 inhabitants, has to a very considerable extent been pulled down in spite of the fact that none of the buildings there were damaged during the war.

According to a report in the Warsaw paper, "Zycie Warszawy", 183 houses have been pulled down in Rössel during the last few years.

The paper, "Słowo Polskie", which is published in Breslau, reports as follows on the present conditions in Bad Landeck, formerly world-famous as a Silesian spa:

"Bad Landeck has gone to rack and ruin. Many of the houses are deserted; others have had all their windows boarded up. The baroque houses in

the town are falling to pieces, the roads and pavements are badly in need of repair, and the damaged sewers give off a foul stench."

Similar conditions are also reported as existing in the town of Kupferberg, once famous for its copper mines, which is steadily becoming more and more of a heap of ruins.

The forests of Silesia are gradually being swallowed up by swamps. The valuable wooded areas of the Görlitz and Bunzlau heath are threatened by this process, and the forests bordering on the Bay of Stettin are likewise in danger of being completely swallowed up by swamps. It has been estimated that the ensuing damage amounts to more than 600,000 cubic metres of timber per year, to the value of about 90 million zloty. These figures, incidentally, do not by any means include all the damage suffered in this respect.

RUMANIA

According to reports in the Roumanian press, there were on January 1st of this year 11,700 collective farms in Roumania. Since many farmers have left the collective farms during the past three months, the government has decided to increase pressure in this direction by levying taxes on private farms belonging to the Roumanian peasantry.

TURKISTAN

TURKISTANIAN PATRIOTS AGAINST MUSCOVITE OCCUPANTS

According to the Italian press agency "Continental", which has derived its information from reliable sources, the revolutionary struggle of the Turkmen nationalists against the Muscovite occupants of their country continues unabated. It is stated that in Soviet occupied Turkmenistan, the so-called Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic, there is a very strong nationalist movement and that the people are determined to rid themselves of the Russian yoke. For some time now, so the report adds, the Russian Bolshevik government has been trying to wipe out this movement by applying the same terrorist methods which have been used in Ukraine and elsewhere. The Russians have recently arrested Turkmen patriots on the grounds that they were members of the chauvinist nationalist movement. The persons arrested are alleged to have been entrusted with the task of using the tension between the U.S.S.R. and Iran to advantage, in order to start a general insurrection against the Soviet occupants of Turkmenistan. Naturally, no mention of this is made by the Bolshevik press, although it is, however, obvious from the reports that are printed that the Turkmen population constantly sabotages Bolshevik orders and that the most important posts in the country are held by Turkmen patriots.

*

The 4th congress of writers was recently held in Tadzhiestan. Two of the main questions which were discussed on this occasion were the strengthening of the contact of the writers of Tadzhiestan with Russian writers and the fact that greater attention must be paid to the education of youth.

The congress was attended, above all, by writers from the R.S.F.S.R. (chiefly from Moscow), Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Georgia and Armenia.

The congress closed with a speech by the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tadzhiestan, T. Uldgabayev, who appealed to the writers to be particularly on their guard as regards the population of Tadzhiestan in the fight against the "ideology of private property", "bourgeois nationalism" and the "harmful influence of the West".

*

To mark the occasion "Ten Years of Uzbekistan Art", a big celebration was recently held, not in the capital of the Republic, Tashkent, however, but in Moscow. Artistes from the opera and ballet of Tashkent, as well as actors from the Uzbekistan theatre, composers, painters, writers, national choirs and orchestras took part in these celebrations. But the contents of this so-called Uzbekistan art were mainly Russian, — Russian songs and Russian music, Russian ballet and Russian operas! At the close of the celebrations the Uzbekistan artists expressed their gratitude "to the great Rus-

sian people for their brotherly help to Uzbekistan and for the noble influence which they have had on Uzbekistan culture".

*

The Central Committee of the Komsomol organization in Uzbekistan recently instructed all the Komsomol groups to hold a series of lectures on the subject: "Are you prepared for the life in Communism?"

The "Komsomol Pravda" states that the young people attended the first few lectures, but then began to stay away. The paper demands that these lectures should be made more interesting and also that a more intensive propaganda campaign should be carried on in this connection in order to rope in the young people again.

*

It is planned to organize new cattle-breeding sovkhozes throughout Kazakhstan in the course of this year. Hitherto uncultivated land is no longer to lie fallow, but its fertility is to be increased as far as possible. The Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Ministerial Council of Kazakhstan have officially announced that this year the non-centralized sovkhozes will have to carry out all agricultural work on their own, that is to say, they must not expect any help from the "brother" Republic.

*

The Central Committee of the Komsomol in Kazakhstan has announced a new mobilization campaign with regard to the young people of Kazakhstan, who are to be sent to work on the newly organized cattle-breeding sovkhozes and on building projects in Central Asia.

*

Workers' meetings were recently organized in the industrial concerns of Kazakhstan, at which the so-called Seven-Year Plan, which is to be carried out in five years, was discussed. The miners of Karaganda have decided to carry out the Seven-Year Plan in six years and to increase the output of labour by 35 per cent. In return, however, they demand that their mines should be fitted up with modern technical equipment, otherwise their promises, so they point out, will not materialize.

There is at present a shortage of fodder in the cattle-breeding kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Tadzhikistan. The Central Committee of the Communist Party there is now rounding up the school-children and members of the Komsomol youth organization for the task of collecting dry grass left over in the fields from last year and turning it into fodder, in order to save the cattle.



On the 20th anniversary of the proclamation of independence of Carpatho-Ukraine, bombs exploded in the streets of some of the large towns of Carpatho-Ukraine, above all in Mukachevo, Uzhgorod, and Khust, and, in addition, leaflets were distributed and placards signed "UPA" were posted on buildings.

According to UPI, considerable, unrests occurred in Carpatho-Ukraine on March 14th this year. News has also been received from Western sources of information that bombs exploded on this occasion in Mukachevo, Uzhgorod and Khust, and that the Bolsheviks brought strong police units from the neighbouring towns and districts to deal with the unrests. Private houses were also searched for leaflets bearing the signature "UPA" (Ukrainian Insurgent Army). These leaflets, incidentally, stressed the fact that the President of free Carpatho-Ukraine, Augustin Voloshyn, and other patriots of the country were murdered by the Russians.

*

In connection with the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of Ukraine's independence in the Ukrainian capital Kyiv in 1918, which was recently celebrated by Ukrainian emigrants all over the free world, the Soviet Russian newspapers in Ukraine published numerous articles which were directed against the Ukrainian national liberation struggle. In these articles Moscow attacked and defamed the Ukrainian nationalist revolutionaries (OUN) and

the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). The articles were written in Ukrainian, but were translated into Russian, too, for the purpose of publishing them in all the leading Russian newspapers, above all in the "Pravda".

At Moscow's orders, a new history of the West Ukrainian Communist Party is now being written. Moscow is now trying to make out that the activity of this party was a "great and grim struggle" against the Ukrainian nationalists in the West Ukrainian territories.

The literary magazine "Zhovten" ("The October"), No. 1, 1959, which is published in Lviv, has started the rehabilitation of the Ukrainian poet, O. Oles, whose works have been forbidden, as bourgeois nationalist, in Ukraine by Moscow for the past forty years. The magazine also gives an account of a meeting held recently by the Lviv branch of the Union of Ukrainian Writers. It was stated on this occasion that the works of many Ukrainian Soviet writers are deteriorating more and more, a fact which is allegedly due to the lack of "productive atmosphere".

In its No. 2 edition for 1959, the literary magazine "Vitchyzna" ("The Fatherland"), the organ of the Union of Ukrainian Writers, published an article in which Beria is accused of having exterminated the Ukrainian farmers during the so-called de-kurkulization campaign (the liquidation of the kurkuls or wealthy farmers) in 1931-33. These years have gone down in the history of Ukraine as the period of the terrible famine which was artificially created by Moscow for the purpose of putting an end to the Ukrainian anti-Russian revolutionary struggle and compelling the Ukrainian farmers by military force to join the collective farms. Prior to this compulsory collectivization, Moscow liquidated the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and the intelligentsia. The Kremlin is now trying to impute the liquidation of the Ukrainian farmers in 1931-33 to Beria, who has in the meantime himself been liquidated.

After a hypocritical celebration of the 41st anniversary of the founding of the "Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic", in December, 1958, the Russian newspapers that appear in the Ukrainian language in Ukraine started the rehabilitation of the following Ukrainian writers, who were liquidated by Moscow in 1930: the prose-writers, V. Pidmohylnyi and S. Bozhko, the dramatic critic, M. Irchan, and the writer, H. Epik. All these writers were deported to Russian concentration camps as Ukrainian nationalists in 1930.

*

It is a known fact that there was in the West Ukrainian territories an illegal or semi-legal so-called West Ukrainian Communist Party which continued its seditious activity until 1939, when Moscow occupied these territories. When in 1930 an artificial famine was created in the East Ukrainian territories by Moscow, the Communist party of West Ukraine practically ceased to exist. Those party members who fled to the Soviet Union were liquidated by Moscow as Polish spies. The party members who survived tried to revive the activity and life of the party, but they were declared to be adherents of Trotsky and public enemies and were accordingly deported to concentration camps.

*

The Polish weekly "Syrena", at the end of March this year, published a report on the town of Lviv, according to which the Soviet Russian authorities are eager to impress all foreign tourists proceeding to Kyiv and Moscow with the West Ukrainian capital Lviv.

*

"Robitnycha Hazeta" ("The Workers' Gazette"), No. 46, 1958, reports that large deposits of petroleum have been found in the district of Dolyna, in the area of Stanislaviv (Western Ukraine). In order to accelerate the organization of the petroleum industry at Dolyna, a special trust concern, "Dolynaphta", was recently founded and gangs of borers were sent to Dolyna from the distant petroleum area of Ukhto-Pechersk (Komi). At the orders of the Central Committee of the Communist youth organization and of the Communist Party, hundreds of young persons, who have allegedly volunteered to prospect for petroleum in the Stanislaviv area, are being sent to Dolyna. In addition, Moscow has also issued orders that the petroleum which is raised must be taken to the Soviet Russian Republic (R.S.F.S.R.) in the north at once.

The fact that the Ukrainian people never lose their faith in God is proved best by the Soviet press itself. The Kyiv newspapers of January 8, 1958, reported that a four-day training course for lecturer-atheists was to be held in the town of Ternopil (Galicia), at which "scientists" from Moscow, Kyiv, Lviv (Lemberg) and Ternopil itself were to lecture. Last year, more than 4,000 lectures on atheistic propaganda were held in the rural areas of the district of Ternopil and several special "brigades" were formed which toured the rural areas from the district centres. It is thus obvious that whole commandos of "scientists" and countless brigades of atheists are needed to make an attempt to suppress the religious faith of the Ukrainian people in a single district of Ukraine.

A Letter to "ABN Correspondence"

The Situation in Titoslovakia

It was recently affirmed by Radio Belgrade that the government of the Federal Republic of Germany made a serious mistake in breaking off diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia because the latter recognized the German Democratic Republic. And Radio Belgrade even went so far as to express the hope that the government in Bonn would admit and make good its mistake.

Meanwhile, a Yugoslav delegation was sent to Bonn in order to pave the way for a resumption of diplomatic relations between Bonn and Belgrade. But this delegation returned to Belgrade empty-handed since the Bonn government demanded, as a precondition for talks regarding a resumption of diplomatic relations between itself and Belgrade, the severance of the latter's relations with the German Democratic Republic.

Perhaps Tito and his government now realize that they themselves made a serious mistake in recognizing the government of the German Democratic Republic, from which so far they have earned no thanks.

The German correspondent in Belgrade reported that over 300,000 persons gave Tito a most enthusiastic welcome when he returned from his three months' trip to Asia and Africa, but such news as this must, no doubt, be accepted with considerable reservation.

We all of us clearly recall that Tito, shortly after he came into power, told the English Brigadier McLean that he would dissolve the Yugoslav parliament by armed force if it opposed his government, and, incidentally, he also added that he would have all foreign correspondents evicted from the country if they voiced an unfavourable opinion on or criticized his Titoist regime.

We know only too well which methods are used to force the masses in Yugoslavia to take part in elections or demonstrations for the government. And we also know that many of the students there bandage their hands so that they cannot be forced to applaud for Tito by Titoist agents. The following anecdote most fittingly illustrates the true sentiments of the Yugoslav people:

A man used to stand in front of a newspaper-shop every morning and look at the front pages of the various papers on display. Then, he would walk away again, without buying a paper.

On one occasion, he was asked by the newsagent why he always looked at the front pages only. Thereupon, the man replied that he was looking for the announcement of a death. In answer to the newsagent's comment that the announcements of deaths are always printed on the last page, the man said: "The announcement of the death for which I am waiting will appear on the front page!" — and, turning round, walked slowly away.

Millions of "enthusiastic" inhabitants of the present Yugoslavia, who applaud their "beloved" dictator, are, in fact, only waiting for the announcement of this death!

S. D.

"As regards Russia's antipathy to an aggrandizement, I quote the following facts from the history of Russia's acquisition of territory since Peter the Great: the Russian frontier has been shifted, — in the direction of Dresden, Berlin and Vienna by 700 miles, in the direction of Stockholm by 630 miles, in the direction of Teheran by 1,000 miles. Russia's policy is unchangeable. Her methods, tactics and manoeuvres may change, but the lodestar of her policy, world dominion, is a fixed star!"

Karl Marx,

The founder of Marxism
(1860).

BOOK-REVIEWS

Viktor Ostrowski: Spotlight on Byelorussia and her Neighbours. Published by R. Ostrowski, 57 Cathnor Rd., London W. 12, 1959. 92 pp.

Mr. V. Ostrowski, a prominent Byelorussian and President of the Byelorussian Central Council, has in this work given the reader much valuable material for the historical research and study of East European affairs and, above all, of his native country. This is the first work of its kind to be written on Byelorussia by a Byelorussian. The author stresses in his foreword that the sole object of the book is to provide information for research scholars and for those who have had little opportunity of studying Byelorussia, or have only had access to one-sided literature on this subject.

His book deals with a number of interesting subjects, such as: "Russian Confusion in English Terminology", "Byelorussia — The Area and Population" (The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and Ethnographical Byelorussia), "Slave Labour and the National Policy of Soviet Russia toward Byelorussia", "Three Poems of Yanka Kupala", "The Question of Nationalism", "The National Question in Communist Theory and Practice" (The true meaning of the Communist conception of the equality of rights, the joint game of Communism and Russian imperialism, and the Russian colonization system), "World War II", "The Occupation of Byelorussia by Nazi Germany" (1941-1944), "The Tottering German Colonial Policy in Byelorussia", "Byelorussia under the new Russian Communist Occupation", "For Diplomatic Relations between USA, Ukraine and Byelorussia", "Holy Mother Russia and the Subjugated Peoples", "Russia (Muscovy) — the Home of Genocide", "Russian Imperialism and the Problem of the Peoples Enslaved by Soviet Russia", "The Curzon Line", "The Conference in Teheran" and "The Yalta Conference".

In addition, the book also contains several interesting reviews on the following questions: the historical events regarding Polish expansionism under the guise of Christianity, the religious persecution and profanation of the churches, "Eastern Poland" — fiction and reality (1918-1939), the Polish policy towards the Byelorussians, the attitude of the Poles to the government's policy, religious persecution and the barbarity of "pacification".

The Russians proper (or Greater Russians), whether "red" or "white", are intent upon swallowing up not only the neighbouring Slavonic peoples (the Poles, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, etc.), but also the whole of Europe. As the author very rightly affirms, "with the object of the complete annihilation of the Byelorussian people, the Moscow Bolsheviks concentrated their attention on the Byelorussian culture and arts, in an attempt to liquidate the individualism of the Byelorussian people". For this reason, too, Stalin said in 1931: "It is necessary to develop the national cultures . . . to create conditions for joining them in a common culture with one common language". The result of these Greater Russian efforts was the change introduced in the Byelorussian language by which it was assimilated into the Russian language (p. 19).

The Byelorussian desire for freedom is characterized in the following verse from a Byelorussian poem by Yanka Kupala (translated into English in August, 1919):

"Arise from out our native people, native seer,
Proclaim your burning, thundering prophecies.
With wisdom witchcraft from our nation clear,
Which foes have cast on her for centuries".

On page 44 of his book, the author makes the following true and apt statement:

"There was a lack of co-ordination in the anti-Communist struggle of the non-Russian peoples. What was more, some of these peoples decided that it was expedient to help the Russians to subjugate other non-Russian peoples for the purpose of dividing the annexed Byelorussian and Ukrainian territories among themselves and the Russian Bolsheviks. This applies above all to the Poles,

who, at the most critical moment for the Bolsheviks, annexed the West Byelorussian and West Ukrainian territories by concluding the Treaty of Riga with the Russian Reds. It is true that the Poles were later punished for this crime against the Byelorussian and Ukrainian peoples by the loss of their own national independence, but this, of course, does not exculpate them. On the other hand, however, we have no reason, in view of the great menace which threatens the whole world, to rejoice in the misfortune of others."

And we certainly agree with the truth of the further statement made by V. Ostrowski regarding the Poles (on p. 92): "It sometimes looks as though the Poles are incurable dreamers who cannot move with the progress of time and radical historical changes. Now it seems to be high time to forget imaginary greatness and to learn to live peaceably within the frontiers closer to ethnographical division, with equal consideration for the rights of the nationalities to which history has linked them".

V. Ostrowski's book is, indeed, a valuable manual for all those who wish to see the real picture of Central and East Europe behind the Russo-Polish "curtain of confusion".

V. Luzhansky.

"Ten Years in A.B.N."

This is the title of an interesting pamphlet recently published by General Ferenc v. Farkas, President of the Hungarian Liberation Movement.

In this pamphlet brief reference is made to the common fight of the Vth Hungarian Corps and the UPA, to the joint activity in the ABN in exile in Munich and in all the various branches of the ABN.

Communist strategy, the aims of the ABN and joint memorandums, leaflets, conferences and resolutions, etc., of the Hungarian Liberation Movement and the ABN are also enumerated:

- 1949 — Memorandum to General Eisenhower on the dangerous Communist strategy and the aims of ABN.
 - 1950 — Conference in Edinburgh, Resolutions and speeches. ABN appeal to emigrant groups.
 - 1951 — Memorandum to Western Foreign Ministers regarding the fact that the Red Army consists of 50 per cent Russians and 50 per cent non-Russians, and also that the population of the Soviet Union is only 50 per cent Russian. The rest of the population consists of the subjugated peoples.
 - 1951 — ABN Conference in Munich and Resolutions.
 - 1951 — Memorandum to UNO. Paris Conference.
 - 1951 — Protest against Kerensky. ABN appeal to public opinion in the Western states.
 - 1952 — AF ABN Conference in New York. Lectures held by General F. von Farkas. Press Conference in Munich.
 - 1953 — Memorandum to the European Coal and Steel Community regarding refugee problems.
 - 1953 — Memorandum to Bermuda Conference to draw its attention to the millions of persons subjugated by the Russians.
 - 1953 — Riot in Berlin against Communist regime. Memorandums and telegrams.
 - 1954 — ABN Conference in Munich, Resolutions and press conference. Memorandum to Berlin Conference to deter it from reaching a compromise.
 - 1955 — Memorandum to Geneva Conference. ABN President in Formosa. APACL and ABN Agreement.
 - 1955 — General F. von Farkas in Canada. ABN Mission in Formosa.
 - 1956 — Riot in Poznan. Memorandums.
 - 1956 — Hungarian war of liberation. Memorandums, leaflets, telegrams to Western states asking them to support Hungary.
 - 1957 — APACL Conference in Saigon. ABN exhibition. Speeches.
 - 1957 — ABN President in Australia, Lectures, press conferences. General F. von Farkas, Vice-President of ABN Central Committee, in Formosa.
 - 1957 — ABN and Latin-American Agreement in Munich. Press conference with Admiral Carlos Penna Botto and Mr. Laurens.
 - 1958 — Preparatory World Conference in Mexico. Steering Committee. ABN President in Mexico, Guatemala, USA and Canada. Prof. Dr. Csery Mihaly elected President ABN, Quebec. AF ABN Conference in New York. President: Gabor Besseney elected.
- Fundamental principles accepted at the Conference in Mexico. Our conception of the cold war.

New Publications in Free China's Anti-Communist Literature

The last three of the brochures published in 1958 by the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, Republic of China (APACLROC), which for some years now has deserved special credit for the high standard and interesting contents of its numerous publications, are, as it were, complementary to each other, since the first deals with the foreign policy principles of the Chinese Communists, whilst the second exposes the latter's internal

policy tactics, and the third reports on the successful fight against the underground organizations of the Chinese Communists in Taiwan (Formosa). At the same time, however, each of these three publications deserves to be reviewed separately.

[1] "Why Do the Chinese Communists Serve as Vanguard against Modern Revisionism?" — by Prof. Cheng Hsueh-chia (28 pp.); This pamphlet, which is exemplary in its objectivity and, moreover, is most competently written, consists of the following three chapters: (1) "The Contents of Modern Revisionism"; (2) "Controversy between the Chinese and Yugoslav Communists"; (3) "The Real Cause of the Opposition to Yugoslavia by the Chinese Communists". After giving a short and concise account of the preceding period and history of the so-called "revisionism" of Tito and the fight waged "in principle" against it by the Red Chinese ideologists (and in this connection the fact is rightly stressed that, to begin with, "the attitude of the Kremlin was far more mild than that of the Chinese Communists"), the author comes to the conclusion that there are two entirely different reasons for the extremely hostile attitude of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party towards Yugoslav "revisionism", — namely, one from the aspect of internal policy, the other from that of foreign policy. The first reason lies in the fact that "Mao's opposition to revisionism in Moscow" and his willingness to serve as vanguard against revisionist movement are required by conditions on the mainland. Later, in the name of opposition to 'modern revisionism', he launched a scathing attack against Yugoslavia. This has great educational value at home. Therefore, it cannot be regarded as being purely an assault on Yugoslav Communists. In their resolute and violent opposition to Titoist revisionism, the Chinese Communists hinted that opposition to dictatorship by the Communist Party, to nationalization of means of production and leadership of the Soviet Union is international in nature and not the by-product of Mao's 'Blooming and Contending Campaign'. Those who held the above views should, therefore, be persecuted as modern revisionists" (p. 23).

The other reason, that is the foreign policy reason for the peculiar attitude of the Chinese party leaders towards "Titoism" lies, according to the author, simply in the actual political and economic dependence of Red China on the U.S.S.R. and its government: "at a time when political commentators of Western Europe speculated that Mao's position in the Communist world had been raised to such an extent that he would possibly vie with Khrushchov for leadership, Mao Tse-tung made public the above talks", which was an indirect way of denial of this fact . . . This is exactly what Tito has pointed out — urgent need of Russian aid. As a matter of fact, the puppet Peiping regime also called for Russian assistance and support following the anti-Communist movement on the mainland resulting from the campaign 'to let a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend' . . . At any rate, this is a concrete proof of the master-slave relationship between the Soviet Union and the puppet Peiping regime" (pp. 24-26).

The author thus ascribes to the foreign policy reasons for the Red Chinese "anti-revisionism" a far greater significance than to the internal policy reasons; to be sure, this assessment cannot be proved, since it is not known at all for what concrete services and favours (above all, of an economic character) Mao Tse-tung promised the Kremlin his "ideological" support against Tito; he surely did not act solely on the strength of orders that he received. But the fact that the "ideology" and "Marxist orthodoxy" had, finally, nothing to do with it, is proved very convincingly by the author, when he stresses that "the basic ideas of 'Mao Tse-tung's thought' are the tactics of encircling cities with villages and of seizing the former by the latter; to base the Marxist teachings of proletarian revolution on peasantry is definitely against Marxism-Leninism; judged by this point, the so-called 'Mao Tse-tung's thought' is in actuality a revision of Marxism-Leninism", — likewise, too, with regard to the latest Red Chinese experiments with the "People's communes", namely on the present economic level of the Chinese mainland (p. 26-27). To be continued.

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Is Khrushchov, the Russian Hangman of Ukraine, a Ukrainian?

Russian Exile Nazis — NTS — in their Album of Defamation of the ABN —

"I am a Russian myself, of the working class, and naturally, I respect my nation . . ."

N. S. Khrushchov in his speech in Leipzig on March 7, 1959.

("Münchner Merkur" of April 4/5, 1959, p. 4)

What do the Russian exile Nazis — NTS, who depict the Russian hangman of Ukraine, the mass murderer who has millions of freedom-loving Ukrainians on his vile conscience, as a Ukrainian, say to this?!

Lies have short wings!

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Contents:

Dr. D. Waltscheff (Bulgaria)

**Not A Balance But An Increasing
Preponderance 4**

**The New Teaching System In The USSR
And The Language Problem 6**

W. Lenyk (Ukraine)

Free Youth Has Its Say 9

Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens (Mexico)

**A Panoramic View Of The Communist
Infiltration In Spanish-America 11**

V. Kajum-Khan (Turkestan)

White And Red Colonialism in Turkestan . 15

General (ret.) Ferenc v. Farkas (Hungary)

The Atomic War Will Not Take Place . . 18

A. Furman (Germany)

The Revolution Is Not Dead 21

Niko Nakashidze (Georgia)

**The American Institute For The Study Of
The USSR And Its Publications 23**

News and Book Reviews



Jaroslav Stetzko: The Russian Imperium is not Invincible!

W. Luzhansky: The 40th Anniversary of the West Ukrainian Freedom Uprising

Yuriy Studynsky: The Idea of Independence and Unity of Ukraine in History

Edward M. O'Connor: American Political Realism and the Russian Empire

D. Donzow: Russia and the Occident

Zenovia Mosichuk: The Role of Women in the Liberation Struggle of the Ukrainian Nation

Volodymyr Derzhavyn: The Case of Pasternak or the Self-Exposure of Bolshevist Literature

Vera Rich: "The Caucasus" of Shevchenko

Taras Shevchenko: "The Caucasus".
Translated by Vera Rich

Leonid Lyman: "The Tale of Kharkiv".
Conclusion

The Art of Painting in Soviet Ukraine

Distribution of Ukrainian Books and Newspapers

The Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopaedia

The Bolshevist "Reform" of Higher Education

Petro Kizko: A War Psychosis

The 1958 European Tour of the Bandura Choir and "Orlyk" Dancers

D. L. A Man Returned from Hell
Borrowed Plumes

A. Mykulyn: Ukrainians in the Virgin Regions of Kazakhstan

Ukrainians in the Free World

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John Foster Dulles

This great statesman of the free world has passed away. Although the news of his death did not come unexpectedly, the whole world is profoundly moved by his passing. Once again the relentless laws of Nature have shattered the hopes of countless freedom-loving people.

The deceased was not a newcomer in world politics. He came of an old distinguished family which in the course of time has produced many statesmen and politicians. And it was this family atmosphere which no doubt helped to mould the personality of John Foster Dulles.

Europe to him was not merely a geographical or a political concept. He was well familiar with it, for he spent several years in Paris as a student, and he was ever conscious of the intellectual, historical and cultural unity of the Western world. The Occidental world with its Christian philosophy of life and all the resulting political and social postulates were to him highest moral values. And it was for this very reason that he rejected every form of "isolation policy" when it was a case of saving the Occidental world of culture and civilization with its ethical laws.

The fact that the USA ranked in world politics as a leading Major Power did not arouse in him overweening pride, but, rather, a profound sense of responsibility to defend the civilized Christian world to the utmost. This principle was already firmly established in his mind when he assumed his responsible office as leader of America's foreign policy. And he combined with it the firm resolve to unite the entire free world in times of greatest need in order to defend freedom, as the greatest possession of mankind, against the Russian Communist danger.

Indeed, when he assumed office he stressed that the aim of the free world must be, not to restrain Communism but to suppress its influence. It was not long, however, before he was obliged to realize that this aim was impeded by well-nigh insurmountable obstacles. The opposing forces were stronger than he had expected and prevented the fight against Soviet Russian rule from being carried into the sector behind the Iron Curtain.

People had become obsessed by the idea of coexistence and were for the most part convinced that Moscow was prepared to reach a compromise. Although John Foster Dulles lacked the necessary rear cover in this respect, he was now more determined than ever to defend to the utmost this world which had been thus misled. And it was thanks to his influence that the policy of the free Western world eventually adopted the maxim of "not a step further" towards the Russians.

In order to uphold this principle, Dulles was prepared to take every risk upon himself and his country. Moscow was forced to take this fact into account, and for this reason, in spite of its boasting, did not venture to carry out a serious attack against the free world.

John Foster Dulles rejected every form of compromise with the Russians and, moreover, showed no inclination to accept mere promises. Commenting on the conference to be held to ease international tension, he pointed out that the free Western world must never make concessions or abandon its positions simply because the Soviet leaders make it some promise or other, or because it wishes to set up the facade of an agreement, and stressed that this would be a negative policy which would not be satisfactory.

Inspired by a profound Christian faith and by the freedom-loving spirit and the great traditions of the American people, who made America a world power without resorting to wars of conquest, John Foster Dulles conducted his office with courage

and tenacity and was always conscious of the position and tasks of the USA in the world. In his resignation he urgently reminded the American people of their mission when he said, in memorable words, that the American nation was not only a self-contained community, but was also entrusted with the mission of building up a world in which freedom and justice prevailed and ruled. He pointed out that this conception was at present being opposed by a terrible and ruthless provocation on the part of Communism, and added that this was obviously making it hard to believe steadfastly in America's national idealism and adhere to her national mission and, at the same time, prevent the dreadful catastrophe of war.

May the personality and noble work of the deceased go down in the future annals of history! One fact, however, in our opinion, is already established today, and that is — that he was the greatest defender of the free world and its most loyal custodian. To the free world of today, his death is an immeasurable loss.



On the occasion of the death of John Foster Dulles, the Central Committee of A.B.N. sent a telegram to President Eisenhower which was worded as follows:

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) is deeply grieved at the death of the courageous champion of freedom against Bolshevism. In the common front of the free and subjugated world prepared by John Foster Dulles, our peoples hope to disintegrate the Russian imperium and regain independence.

“Summit“ Conference Drive

The powerful current Soviet Russian drive for a new “Summit“ conference is but another deceitful manoeuver of Moscow. The Russian tyrants have amassed a variety of topics which they want discussed at the new “Summit“ conference: disarmament, control of thermonuclear weapons, “peaceful coexistence“, etc., all of which are being presented as an alternative to all-out war. Yet the over-all purpose of these manoeuvres is only too well known: to force the United States and the entire free world to recognize the **political status quo of the Russian looting and the Russian colonial empire** in its present-day boundaries, and to compromise the United States in the eyes of the nations as **co-guarantor and supporter** of the validity of the present Russian Communist empire. In so doing, the United States and the free world become synonymous with the Russian enslavers, and the good name of the United States as a defender of the freedom of individuals and the independence of nations would be a thing of the past.

The key problem of world politics today is that of the **enslaved nations**, especially those kept in Russian captivity. As a matter of fact, world politics revolve around them, and for them the struggle ever goes on.

East Germany belongs to this category of the enslaved nation, as does North Korea and North Vietnam. There is no doubt that the liberation of East Germany or North Korea and North Vietnam could be effectuated only with the disintegration of the Russian empire, the last remaining great empire. Also liberated would be Ukraine, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and the other non-Russian nations enslaved in the USSR, not to mention

the liberation of the more recent acquisitions, the so-called satellites — Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary and the others. One can hardly conceive of any local liberation, effected through some evolutionary method ("mellowing out process"). You cannot stop Russia half-way: either you destroy the Soviet Russian empire or it will conquer you and the entire world. There is no hope for or possibility of achieving a victory over Moscow without the liberation of the enslaved nations dominated and enslaved by Moscow.

This is well known to the Russian Communist leaders, particularly to Khrushchov, who on every possible occasion stresses that the USSR will not discuss the **problem of Eastern Europe** at any "Summit" meeting that might be called in the future. We repeat, Moscow has no other purpose in calling a new "Summit" meeting than that of obtaining an assurance, a pledge from the United States and the free world at large, that the **status quo** is inviolable, and that in the event of national revolutions behind the Iron Curtain — such as the Berlin uprising, the Poznan rebellion, the Hungarian revolution or the Ukrainian revolts in the Soviet Russian concentration camps — the United States will observe a strict neutrality and "will not interfere in the domestic affairs" of the USSR.

It is not at all impossible that the Russian tyrants might be dreaming about a new "Holy Alliance" of the great powers who would pledge themselves to a common action against the enslaved nations and their national liberation revolutions. Certainly Khrushchov well remembers how the Czarist Russian armies helped to suppress the Hungarian revolution of Kossuth in 1848. This idea might be one of the ulterior motives of the new "Summit" conference.

Thus the major moves of Soviet Russian foreign policy are dictated by two principal considerations:

The pressure and incessant opposition mustered by the national liberation movements of the enslaved nations;

The ever-increasing power of the defence and military capabilities of the free world under the leadership of the United States.

Nonetheless, the rivalry between the free world and the Russian Communist world is being waged for the **third** force of the present-day world reality and historical epoch: **the enslaved nations**. And this is true whether it is admitted or not. Surely, the free world with the United States as its leader, should strive toward achieving an integral freedom of man and the independence of all nations, including those enslaved within the Russian Communist empire. Moscow, acutely conscious of this, exerts every effort and throws up all sorts of screens to the end that the problem of the enslavement of the non-Russian nations, both in the USSR and the so-called satellite countries, should not be put on the agenda of the "Summit" meeting. Instead, the Russian leaders are striving to wrest a recognition of the **status quo** from the United States and the other Western powers and thus kill all hope in the enslaved nations for any assistance the free world might provide in their struggle against Moscow. The enslaved nations will be told that they must reconcile themselves to the fact of enslavement. Otherwise, there is the possibility of an eventual exile to Vorkuta, Norilsk, Kingir or some other place of slow death and torture if they choose to oppose the Russian power.

Russia would score a moral victory if President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Macmillan agree to sit at the same table with Khrushchov and Mikoyan, the international murderers and genocidists. Hope and faith in the truth would assuredly suffer a mortal blow, not only on the part of the enslaved nations but ultimately on the part of the whole free world.

In his own time Lenin urged the Bolsheviks to employ every possible trick in order to disarm the "Capitalist world", including holding of as many conferences and diplomatic parleys as possible. These would serve, Lenin advised, to confuse the Western diplomats and thus make them less resistant to the Russian pressures.

Not A Balance But An Increasing Preponderance

It was not Khrushchov or any of his obsequious henchmen in Sofia, Bucharest or Budapest, who said that the atomic armament of the German Federal Republic was upsetting the military balance in Europe and preventing a peaceful coexistence between East and West, but the leader of the British Labour Party, *Gaitskell*, in the speech he held in Hyde Park, London, on May 1st.

This opinion, expressed by the leader of the Opposition in England, who may tomorrow be in charge of the political affairs of Great Britain, the second important power of the free world, must not be disregarded. Expressed as it was at a time when international talks were being prepared and on the eve of the big conference, this opinion is of special significance and must accordingly be considered from every angle. All the more so, since the said statement, as it seems, in precise terms defines the actual fundamental question of the entire agenda, which is to be discussed and decided at the forthcoming conferences.

The opinion expressed by *Gaitskell*, which, incidentally, is identical with the attitude of the social democratic opposition in the German Federal Republic and, to some extent, is also held by certain leading government circles in the Western world, is regarded by us, the victims of despotic Soviet-Russian rule, as an alarming symptom. It is proof of the sorry fact that certain leading political circles and elements of the free world, in spite of all the disastrous examples of the recent past and tragic present, shut their eyes to reality and still continue to chase after illusions.

Prompted by the understandable anxiety of trying to preserve peace and save their peoples from an atomic catastrophe, some otherwise decent-thinking politicians, who are sincerely opposed to Communism, disregard concrete facts and unintentionally pave the way for the satanic plans of Bolshevism and its unchangeable aims. In their efforts to be "flexible" and so as not to miss any opportunity there may be of reaching an understanding with Moscow and easing international tension, these advocates of the so-called "soft course" occasionally even adopt the theories of Soviet policy, which is also the case as regards the alleged "new German danger". In this way, however, public opinion both on this side of and beyond the Iron Curtain is mobilized in favour of Moscow, the Kremlin is strengthened in its unyielding attitude and every possibility of reaching some kind of understanding, if the Communists can be credited with any willingness in this respect, becomes even more remote.

Nowadays, when Khrushchov receives the "war-comrades of yesterday" with open arms and fosters — not without success — a new attitude of blind confidence towards the Soviet Union in certain Western circles, one must bear in mind more than ever that any service rendered in advance, which would be liable to weaken the strategic position of the West and impair its war potential, would in the end undermine the security not only of Europe, but also of the entire free world.

For this very reason, we, as the interpreters of the ideas and fears of the exiles of subjugated countries, should like to take the liberty of addressing some questions to Mr. *Gaitskell* and to all the other persons who entertain the same thoughts:

Who precisely has upset the "balance", and what exactly are the causes that are torpedoing a "peaceful coexistence" and threatening security and peace in Europe? Is the evil actually to be sought in the inclusion of Germany in the NATO and in its armament, or would it not be more correct to say that the Western powers have been forced to adopt these measures as a direct result of and in self-defence against the unbridled aggression of the Soviet Union, whose policy immediately after the joint

victory over Hitler assumed a definite course against the "capitalist" allies of yesterday?! If the Soviet Russians had not immediately started arming with feverish haste and building up a gigantic war machine, destined to crush the entire European continent within a few weeks, and if they had not systematically prevented the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, in order to incorporate East Germany in the Communist bloc, the West would never have dreamt of making the Federal Republic an ally of the Atlantic Pact, still less of arming it!

Does Mr. Gaitskell really believe in all seriousness that the Red bear of Moscow, which already bared its fangs at Europe before there was such a thing as the NATO and which in the meantime has threatened its former Western allies with more than one aggression, is now suddenly going to change into a peaceful and innocent little lamb, that would be prepared to preserve the "balance" in a gentlemanly way and live in peace with the West, once Germany were neutralized and her partition perpetuated? If that were possible, then the entire international political development since the end of the war would have assumed an entirely different aspect.

It should therefore be obvious that it is not the German Federal Republic with its developing potential which is to blame for the upset "balance", or is an obstacle to the desired peaceful coexistence, but exactly the opposite: the setting up of Western Germany again as a political, economic and military factor in the defense of the free world was solely the direct result of Communist world aggression. It was Moscow that immediately after the Potsdam agreement, when the Western allies began to demobilize their forces and Germany was prostrated, became aggressive and in the course of the years not only upset every balance in Europe, but also began to threaten the entire free world. And logical conclusions must be drawn from this fact.

Has the fact already been forgotten that *Stalin*, immediately after the German defeat, addressed a noteworthy appeal to the German people in which he stressed that the German nation were predestined to achieve historic deeds, side by side with the Russian people? This transparent request to help in the building up of a new world order in the spirit of Bolshevism still holds good in the opinion of the Kremlin. And it is undoubtedly one of the numerous trump cards which Khrushchov holds and which he intends to play sooner or later. Against whom are these perfidious plans of Moscow for the future directed, if not against the entire Western world? How, then, can one advocate a "balance", and what kind of "peaceful coexistence" could the West possibly hope for if it surrenders Germany?

And, lastly, what connection was and is there between the so-called "German danger" or the alleged Soviet desire for peaceful coexistence, for instance, and the ruthless subjugation of the peoples of East Europe, the arbitrary action in Czechoslovakia, the wars in Korea and Vietnam, the savage suppression of the Hungarian liberation revolution and the brutal destruction of freedom and sacred traditions in Tibet, etc.?

In any case, what balance in Europe is meant, that would be worth supporting in the interests of a coexistence with Bolshevism? Surely not that balance, secured by the fetters of our enslaved peoples, which the aggressors in the Kremlin are constantly endeavouring to turn in their favour until the time is ripe to drop every form of coexistence? Is one now to oblige Soviet policy in this respect and give it a chance to gain time, by excluding Germany from the NATO, demilitarizing German territory and exposing the strategic heart of Europe?

What hopes do the advocates of the "soft course" and of a military balance with the Communist bloc set on all this for the future fate of their own peoples? Do they seriously think that it would be possible to lead a carefree and happy life under the wings of a coexistence with the fanatical conspiracy for world domination in the

Kremlin? Have they forgotten the words of *Churchill*, who was merely corroborating a self-evident truth when he said that the fact that Europe had so far not fallen a victim to a Bolshevist invasion, was only due to the atomic bomb?!

Hence, the watchword of the free world must remain not a balance, but an overpowering preponderance — in moral, economic and military respect — over the satanic forces of tyranny and godlessness, until such time as the backbone of Soviet Russian despotism and aggression is broken, — let us hope without a war. Any other attitude merely paves Moscow's way to an ultimate victory, to which end it would not for a moment hesitate to risk a war, if it thought the balance had shifted in its favour.

These are the fundamental questions which must be discussed and decided at the coming international talks and conferences and which at the moment are occupying the world press to such a considerable extent. In the last phase of the international political development, which has been opened up by Khrushchov's Berlin ultimatum, the main question at issue is not so much Berlin and its fate. The real subject of Moscow's new political offensive is Germany's membership in the North Atlantic Pact as an ally of the Western powers and German rearmament.

Should Khrushchov now succeed in excluding Germany from the Western defense system, in legalizing the partition of Germany by separate peace treaties and stabilizing the status quo, this would be the greatest success which Soviet policy has achieved since the end of the war. In that case it would be of secondary importance whether the Western powers would continue to remain in Berlin or not, and what possible modality would be applied with regard to the Berlin statute, in connection with which Khrushchov has already indicated his willingness to make concessions and reach an understanding.

Let us hope that the responsible statesmen of the West will not give the cunning despots of the Kremlin a chance to abuse their confidence a second time!

M. S.

The New Teaching System in the USSR and the Language Problem

In December 1958, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. passed a new law regarding the so-called "Connection of the School with Life and the further Development of the Teaching System in the U. S. S. R." In this law no mention is, however, made of the problem of the language to be used for teaching purposes in the new school system, a subject which was referred to by Khrushchov in his theories dealing with the question of a teaching reform in the U. S. S. R. and published in November 1958. Khrushchov here stated as follows: ". . . One must not overlook the fact that, as regards language instruction in the schools of the constituent and autonomous republics, the children are overburdened. Actually, the children in the national schools learn three languages, — their mother-tongue, the Russian language and one foreign language.

One should therefore consider the question as to whether the parents should not be allowed to decide which language they want their children to learn at school. If a child attends a school at which the language of one of the constituent or autonomous republics is taught, then *it can also learn the Russian language if it wishes*. And, vice versa, if a child attends a Russian school, then *it can, again if it wishes, learn the language of one of the constituent or autonomous republics . . .*

Such a solution of the question — according to which the parents have the right to decide which language shall be compulsory for their children — is the most democratic, since it eliminates all administrative considerations in such a serious matter and makes it possible to do away with an excessive overburdening of the pupils as regards the learning of languages“ (“Iswjestija“ of November 16, 1958).

Khrushchov's plan, which is actually based on a limitation of the rights for the non-Russian languages in the “national republics“, called forth a lively discussion — if one takes into consideration Soviet conditions — in the columns of the press of the national republics. In spite of the fact that all those who took part in these discussions to a certain degree approved of the general ideas of Khrushchov's theories, the solution offered by him with regard to the language to be taught in the schools was on the whole assessed negatively. Many of them (for instance in the Ukrainian S.S.R.) referred to Lenin's national policy and demanded that in “Ukraine and all other national republics the schools where the national language is taught should be given priority“ (“Radianska Kultura“, Kyiv, of December 18, 1958). The Kyiv writers definitely adopted a clearly negative attitude. In their opinion, the idea of leaving it to the parents to decide which language their children are to learn, must be rejected (“Literary Journal“, Kyiv, of December 19, 1958). A similar attitude with regard to the language to be taught under the new Soviet Russian school system was also adopted by other national republics.

Regardless of the negative opinion expressed by the public in the various national republics on Khrushchov's plan concerning the language to be taught in the schools, most of the Supreme Soviets of these republics in February 1959 obediently accepted the laws on school reform, *together with Khrushchov's “democratic“ suggestion regarding the “free“ choice by the parents of the language to be learnt.* This question was formulated as follows in the law regarding the reform of the school system in the Kazakh S. S. R., Par. I, Article 14:

“Article 14: Instruction in the schools of the Kazakh S. S. R. is to be held in the mother-tongue of the pupils. The parents are, however, to have the right to decide which language they wish their children to learn at school. Learning of the Russian language in schools in which the language of instruction is Kazakh or some other language, and, likewise, learning of the Kazakh language in schools in which the language of instruction is Russian or some other language, is to be carried out in keeping with the wishes of the parents and the pupils“ (“Kasachstanskaja Pravda“ of March 29, 1959).

A similar formulation of the language problem in the recently passed laws on the reform of the school system is also to be found in the decrees of other national republics of the U. S. S. R. (in Ukraine, Byelorussia, Tadzhikistan, Georgia, etc.).

At a first glance, all these decrees regarding the language to be taught in the schools of the national republics appear to be democratic in character. For who else but the parents are better qualified to decide in which language their children are to be taught? In reality, however, these decrees are a further stage of Moscow's Russian imperialist policy in the territory of the U.S.S.R. We have already pointed out above that the discussions held in the national republics regarding this question assessed Khrushchov's suggestions in this respect negatively. Hence, the articles of the law pertaining to the choice of the language of instruction *were adopted against the wish of the local population*, a fact which is even expressed in the Soviet press.

One can thus draw the conclusion that these articles in their very preconditions are anti-democratic, since they disregard the wish of the population. And it would therefore be foolish to talk of the democratic contents of these decrees, as certain

circles in the West do, especially when one considers the totalitarian character of the Soviet Russian regime. The purpose of the said decrees is in keeping with the general purpose of the Soviet Russian regime, which is to bring about the complete national and cultural unification of the U. S. S. R. on the basis of Russian culture and the Russian language.

It is not difficult to visualize the manner in which the language policy based on the new law will be applied in the various national republics. In the first place, the Russians themselves who live in the national republics and whose numbers have increased considerably (particularly in the towns) since Stalin's discrimination policy, will take advantage of the new law. Their children will no longer learn the language of the people in whose territory they live. In addition, those parents will profit from this law who, either for opportunist motives (inasmuch as they favour the trend of the occupation regime), or in consideration of the future imperial career of their children, are of the opinion that it is more expedient that their children should learn Russian. If for instance, one takes conditions in Ukraine into account, one can assume for certain that, from the moment the law comes into force, a large number of the children there will no longer learn the Ukrainian language. In Kazakhstan, for example, conditions are even worse, for the Kazakhs there are already a minority as a result of the colonization policy of the Soviet Russian regime. A similar state of affairs is also evident in the other national republics of the Soviet Union. In this way the Soviet Russian regime, under the guise of a cunningly thought-out pseudo-democratic decree on language instruction in the U.S.S.R. by way of evolution, intends to bring about a lingual unification and do away with all non-Russian national culture.

Khrushchov's present Russification policy is merely a logical continuation and conclusion of the previous Stalinist Russification policy. The character and purpose of both these policies have remained the same. It is only the methods that have changed. Stalin paved the way for Khrushchov's policy in this respect, inasmuch as he applied the methods of compulsory Russification, of terrorism and mass deportation, and even of physical liquidation of whole peoples. If Stalin had not carried out a carefully planned famine in Ukraine, for instance, in the 1930's, which claimed millions of Ukrainians as victims, as well as mass deportations to concentration camps and the decimation of the Ukrainian intelligentsia (including Communists, too), and if he had not put a drastic stop to the promising development of Ukrainian culture, there would today no longer be any preconditions for Khrushchov's Russification campaign. And this also applies to other national republics. For in spite of the so-called elimination of the faults and misrepresentations of the "personality cult", the results of this "cult" in the national sector have remained exactly the same as they were in Stalin's day.

From the formal and legal point of view, the decrees on language instruction in the Soviet schools are grossly inconsistent with the Soviet Union constitution and the constitutions of the individual national republics. For these constitutions stipulate that the peoples of the U. S. S. R. shall have the right to insist that their children are taught in their mother-tongue. In this connection the decree for parents, according to which they are to decide whether children shall be taught in their mother-tongue or in a foreign language, is surely one of the most peculiar decrees ever heard of in the history of civilized mankind. For one cannot, for instance, imagine that a law would be passed in Germany or England, according to which parents are to be allowed to decide in which language their children are to be taught in German or English schools. Such a thing can only happen under the conditions of the imperialist enslavement of one nation by another. Moreover, these decrees are also entirely

inconsistent with the so-called Leninist national policy and the Soviet propaganda in favour of the liberation of subjugated peoples.

From the historical and sociological point of view, the unification and Russification measures of the Soviet Russian regime are doomed to failure. For the process of historical development is proceeding along the course of disintegration of empires, rebirth of the peoples and free development and a harmonious coexistence of national cultures. The Soviet Russian theory of the decay of languages and the creation of comprehensive regional languages and cultures, which (as is no doubt known) is supported to a considerable extent by the Russophil henchmen of every type in the West, is simply ridiculous when considered in connection with life itself. We are at present witnessing the decay of the French and British empires and the rebirth of the Asian and African peoples, as well as the formation of new languages and cultures. Sooner or later, this same process is bound to take place in the Soviet Russian imperium. The emancipation and the self-determination of the non-Russian peoples is only being held back by applying force and coercion. Under various pretexts the Russification which aims at unification is being forced upon them. But in spite of all this, however, history shows us that a power of this kind has never been able to destroy the urge to national and personal freedom. Like all other empires, the Soviet Russian imperium is also doomed to decay, — for that is the iron law of history, of our day and our civilized era.

W. Lenyk

Free Youth Has Its Say

Moscow has once again been making preparations to strike a blow. And this time it has ventured onto the new international floor, which may possibly, however, prove a little too slippery. At any rate, it was a risk to choose Austria's capital for the Communist world youth festival. On six occasions this cleverly prepared and by no means badly organized Bolshevik propaganda campaign was carried out in various capitals of the Russian imperium. One did not venture to cross one's own frontier and present the youth of the subjugated countries to the free world. Furthermore, there was some doubt as to whether it would be possible to achieve the desired aim without the Bolshevik Party apparatus and the armed secret police. This aim, incidentally, was to strengthen the self-confidence of Soviet youth and impress foreign youth by mass processions and various showy demonstrations. Thousands of agitators were entrusted with the task of glorifying the Bolshevik system on these occasions and with seeing to it that the participators from the free world (in particular from the Afro-Asian and South American states) imported the germs of subversion into the countries concerned. Naturally, the scope of the organizers of these festivals was in the past years limited somewhat, since not many young people were prepared to allow themselves to be lured behind the Iron Curtain. For this reason, Moscow now decided for the first time to carry out the experiment of the world youth festival in a neutral Western country.

Why did the Bolsheviks choose Vienna for this experiment? The answer to this question was recently given by the woman-secretary of the Central Committee of the Czecho-Slovakian Communist Youth Movement, Anechka Valigurova, in the paper "Mlady Svet" (March 2, 1959):

"1. Proof is to be furnished of the fact that the festivals need not only be held in Communist countries, since a capitalist state has also declared itself willing to arrange a festival.

2. Because many persons are still prejudiced against Communism (!) and do not want to visit a socialist country.
3. And, finally, another point to be considered: the strengthening and furthering of the progressive (Communist) forces of Austria by holding the festival there."

It is thus obvious that the aim of the Communists is now to win over the youth which as yet is not under their control and rule. They have set great hopes on this festival in Vienna and have done everything possible to skilfully camouflage their true intentions. To begin with, they were successful in this respect, for even the Catholic organizations from some countries signified their willingness to take part in the festival, not to mention the liberalist and socialist youth organizations. Indeed, it looked as though "co-existentialism" would bear fruit abundantly, and in that case the Bolsheviks would have pocketed the profit.

It was the Austrian youth, however, who crossed the Bolsheviks' plans in this respect. They put up an energetic and united resistance and started a campaign against the intentions of the Bolsheviks. Thereupon, other youth organizations from various countries of the free world joined them in this campaign and step by step exposed the Communist strategists in their true colours. The emigrant youth of the subjugated East European peoples also played an important part in this campaign, which immediately achieved a certain amount of success.

But the battle has not yet been decided. In spite of everything, the so-called 7th World Youth Festival is to take place in Vienna from July 26th to August 4th. About 20 000 young persons will take part in the festival and will zealously play the role Moscow has intended for them. The majority of them are members of the Communist organizations of the Russian imperium, of Communist-ruled China and the countries of the free world. A considerable number of them consist of indifferent young persons, who, perhaps because they reject colonial or other unsatisfactory conditions prevailing in their countries, would like to express their discontent and give proof of their independence. And, of course, there will also be a certain number who, out of sheer curiosity and love of excitement, go to Vienna.

We assume that the young people sent to the festival from the East will be specially selected. Their task will be to impress and influence the masses in accordance with the instructions they receive. These persons will, above all, include trustworthy functionaries, who will on this occasion have a chance to prove their suitability for higher Party posts in the Bolshevik imperium. We have, however, no doubts as to the fact that there will be a number of persons amongst them whose inner inclination does not correspond to outward appearances. We are thinking in this connection of the Polish, Ukrainian, Georgian, Turkestanian and other youth, who are obliged to take a back seat not only from the social but also from the national point of view.

Bearing these facts in mind, the youth of the free world must continue its fight. It must discover the weak spots of the Communist machinations and must attack them. It must quit the defensive position into which it has been forced by Moscow and must go over to an effective offensive.

In the struggle so far between the Western anti-Communists and the Russian Bolsheviks, the former have usually put material arguments in the foreground and have boasted about the achievements of modern civilization. It is true that they have now and again achieved small successes in this way, but they have so far never succeeded in really attacking the core of Communist power, for there are millions of Communists in the free world who do not allow themselves to be impressed by

these arguments. And the youth of the East Zone will not be impressed by either the refrigerators, the better suits, or the bigger motor cars, if they realize that there is only an inner void behind all this. For the sake of a small material advantage, the Western students, too, would not demonstrate with the same zeal as they would for their ideological aims. And what can one expect of the students from Africa and Asia? Are they to defend the backward social and national conditions which prevail there?

A new weapon must be introduced in Vienna. The idea of freedom must be fostered, Russian colonialism must be exposed, and the youth from Africa and Asia must be made to realize that there are dozens of peoples subjugated and suppressed in the Russian imperium. One must show the youth of the non-Russian peoples that the free world realizes their position and is fully in sympathy with their national urge to freedom. The positive side of the democratic way of living must be revealed, without, however, concealing the negative side. One must foster the faith in God and justice lying dormant in the hearts of these young people from the East and must guide them on to the path to reflection and self-communion. Everything else will then follow naturally. The young people from the East territories will notice and assess the goods in the full shopwindows of their own accord. And there will be none of the bitterness which is inevitable if they are reminded by others of their own misery and poverty.

The participators in the World Youth Festival who come from the East can only be won over by conversations and by what they see themselves. One must take into account the fact that they will not have a chance to read lengthy books or journals. The only reading matter which might be given them would be a short leaflet. The active anti-Communists, who intend dealing the Bolsheviks a blow in Vienna, must therefore be thoroughly prepared in this respect and must act accordingly. It goes without saying that a well-organized and co-ordinated action is likely to be far more successful than the piecemeal work — however full of ideas it may be — of separate individuals.

Jorge Prieto Laurens,

Vice-President of the Inter-American Confederation
for Defense of the Continent

A Panoramic View of the Communist Infiltration in Spanish-America

The grade of infiltration achieved by the agents of International Communism, within the American nations, and particularly those of Spanish origin, could hardly be more alarming than it is at the present moment.

In South America, for instance, the majority of the nations such as Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Uruguay, and Venezuela, are facing an extremely grave situation. The Argentinian writer and journalist, Don Alberto Daniel Falceroni, has made known in his brilliant and fact-filled writings, the sad state of these countries where, as usual, the Soviet agents hide behind so-called diplomatic missions, and representations from Russia and her puppet nation subjects.

Argentina is still suffering from the fatal legacy of Peron, and the former Peronist demagogues are still stirring up trouble and taking advantage of the many instances of unrest, discontent and rebelliousness of the needy classes. They lose no time in

making the most of the inexperience and of the adventure-seeking spirit of the young students, as well as of the snobbishness of many pseudo-intellectuals, among whom the best means for spreading the Marx-Lenin theories are to be found.

Recently, President Frondizi's Administration was forced to expel several employees and officials from the Russian Embassy and from other embassies of nations back of the Iron Curtain. The reason for this extreme measure was the bare-faced audacity displayed by these "diplomats" who dared to interfere in matters pertaining to Argentina's internal politics, to say nothing of their evident connections with those conspiring for the downfall of the legally constituted Government.

In Bolivia, in spite of President Siles Suazo's efforts to shake off the Communist influence in his Government, the Reds have obtained a firm foothold in the labor, farm, teaching and student organizations throughout the country. They hold key posts in every field of political, economical, and social life in Bolivia. The disappearance of that valiant and sincere leader of the opposition, Dr. Unzaga de la Vega, and the jailing of numerous independent elements, such as Doctor Candia, of the "Bolivian Anti-Communist Crusade", does not allow a favorable change to be predicted for this unfortunate nation. The confusion and poverty reigning in Bolivia has undoubtedly been brought about by the many "Socialist" attempts, and by the stubborn attitude of the agitators, together with the weakness of the government and the general inactivity of the people of this country perched on the southern heights.

Brazil is still another tragic case. The extension of its territory, its enormous population, the lack of communications, and the poverty and ignorance prevailing, together with the infamous work of a Communist minority controlling foremost positions in the Administration and Armed Forces, is the cause of this country's predicament. The Communist infiltration is strengthened still further by a vast publishing organization controlling more than forty daily newspapers amply subsidized by Moscow, apart from the numerous cells within labor syndicates, in the universities, etc. . .

Chile, Colombia, and Uruguay — particularly the latter — are favorite conspiracy centers of the Russian-Soviets. The difficult economic situation of these countries, the many refugees from nations under Red rule in Europe, as well as the convenient facility of being able to manage the Fifth-Column disguised as "Nationalists" according to the whims of Moscow, favor the task that the Communists have set themselves to fulfill in this region.

The Russian Embassy in Montevideo plays a prominent role in the Red penetration throughout South America. It is the source of financial "subsidies" to journalists, students, labor leaders, and the rest of the agents in charge of provoking the tarnished "social revolution", favorite ditty of these false redeemers of the working classes whom they will submit to the most lowly state of slavery as soon as they are able to attain their dark purposes.

Venezuela is the "jumping board" for the Communist penetration in the Caribbean zone. In this region their strongholds are Cuba, Costa Rica, and Venezuela itself. The Governments of these nations may not be — or at least claim not to be — Communists. In any case, President Betancourt has declared war against the Venezuelan Communists, who were his most dangerous opponents during the presidential campaign, favoring as they did candidate Larrazabal. However, he has not yet been able to shake off the Reds who have very cleverly taken advantage of their part in the downfall of Pérez Jiménez.

In Costa Rica, President Echandi is practically a prisoner of his enemies. These are under the command of slippery Figueres, who today pretends to be a "friend" of the United States, and tomorrow may very well storm against imperialism, to the delight of the Russians. At the same time, he does not abandon his adhesion to the infamous

Caribbean League, refuge of criminals and adventure-seekers, which apparently fights all dictatorships in America, thus raising a very convenient shield to engage the sympathies of those who really seek a genuine democracy for their countries.

In Cuba the direst of our present day dramas is being enacted. Passions have been unleashed, murder is done in the name of justice for simple dilations inspired in lowly and petty vengeance, falling upon all those who are not unconditionally in favor of the bearded men's regime, composed almost wholly of mythopeist, schizophrenic, frustrated youths, ruled by diabolical complexes, and who were able to bring down Batista's dictatorship thanks to the corruption and cowardice prevailing in the ranks of the cruel and blood-thirsty Batistian Administration. We are, thus, given to behold the incredible phenomenon of people dominated by terror, sunk in the most extreme poverty because of unemployment and because of the crisis produced by the many socialist projects, and by the havoc wrought by the victorious bearded men upon private property. And let it not be forgotten that this reign of terror was begun by the fighting men of the "26th of July Movement" during the dark days when Batista, quick to counter-attack, gave answer by scattering innocent victims throughout the farm lands and cities of Cuba.

We have yet to mention the South American nations that are not under Communist control: Ecuador, Peru, and Paraguay, but where constant upheavals are being sponsored by Soviet agents in all spheres, political, economical and social. As has happened in other countries, clever and daring minorities have managed to penetrate in all labor, student, newspaper and intellectual groups, taking advantage of the slightest situation to drive in wedges within the Government administrations.

Panama, and the rest of Central America, lies under the ominous threat of the Communists within each country, ably assisted by foreign agents of sister-nations already successfully controlled, and by experts who travel disguised as harmless businessmen representing machinery, manufacturing concerns, and other lines that come to us from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and other nations under Russian subjection. The Administrations of these nations of the Central American Isthmus make untold efforts to curb the Communist penetration; but this does not cease to progress, availing itself of its old and well known tricks, deceiving and promising a Soviet Paradise. Haiti and the Dominican Republic are two favorite Communist objectives; but specially in the latter case, they prudently refrain from involvement, knowing that they will encounter the firm decision to revoke any and all attempts to Sovietize, be they direct or indirect.

And, finally, Mexico is the cherished prize of all national and foreign agents. We have, with great insistence and on innumerable occasions, singled out, fully backed by incontestable proof, these Moscow agents in our country, and have shown how they go about their activities. Ours is a case very similar to that of Argentina, with the additional circumstance that the Russian Embassy, and the Polish and Czechoslovakian Legations in Mexico City are the main conspiracy centers from whence they propose to control the entire New World. Until very recently our denouncements and warnings met with the most utter indifference and contempt, occasionally even with jests and jeers. The cry of "Macarthyist" was heard more than once; "scandal-mongers" was another favorite epithet. Our work was branded as "Unmexican" because we were exhibiting Mexico as the most dangerous nucleus of International Communism, jeopardizing our sovereignty by awakening fear in our powerful but naive neighbors.

But came a day when the Mexican Reds and their foreign counsellors overstepped their boundary, encouraged by the successes achieved, and confident of the impunity and protection which had always been handed out to them as their due. A few false

steps sufficed to show the game they had so carefully and cleverly prepared; no less than *to take over the administration and become sole owners of Mexico.*

Pretexts are not hard to find, because the roots of discontent, of rebelliousness, and of unrest are always close to the surface in all human societies. Our own Revolution recognized these problems as existent in all Mexican social spheres, and endeavored to solve them. Unfortunately, all things depending on human nature are wont to fail now and again, and many of these problems are still with us in a greater or lesser degree than before the Revolution. We are very proud of the "giant-steps" taken by our legislation and of Mexico's fantastic material progress. Yet, when conflict among labor, students, etc., arose, the Communists considered that the time for the final blow had arrived. So, they became involved in a series of disturbances that seriously endangered the nation's well-being and threatened the whole country with economical ruin by means of shut-downs and illegal strikes. The result was that the Government was forced to take matters in hand, heeding the legitimate petitions of the true working men, and without betraying the principles of our Revolution.

Drastic, though insufficient, measures were adopted. Those in charge of the material carrying-out of the instructions from the Moscow source were the only ones chastised. On the other hand, those really responsible were left untouched and still go unmolested within the Administration, enjoying incredible privileges and distinctions. *And so we are given to contemplate the curious phenomenon of everyone being, or pretending to be, Anti-Communists, at the same time that cries of anguish are heard in the offing as dreams of domination are shattered.*

The true, loyal, Anti-Communists are one hundred per cent on the Government's side, and we repudiate the false protests of those who say that a dictatorship is about to come into being, betraying the Mexican Revolution. We believe that our country's house-cleaning has been left half-done, and have said so to our President, Adolfo López Mateos, when we congratulated him on the firm and patriotic attitude of his Administration restraining the excesses of Mexican and foreign Communists.

We have, in truth, fought against Communist ideology because we believe it to be perverse and contrary to our nationality. It is our firm conviction that it is not this or that event that should be quenched, but rather the idea that lurks behind it as the direct cause of all trouble. Therefore, if we aim only against a certain individual or individuals, but allow our people to continue absorbing the poison of absurd, false, and even criminal, ideas, we are wasting our time in a most foolhardy manner. We must end our diplomatic and commercial dealings with Russia and her satellite nations, because they do not represent the slightest benefit to our country, and may cause considerable damage. It is not enough to eject from our territory two underlings who "were only carrying out superior orders" as the two Russian diplomats stated, before taking the plane back home: the Oronas, the Jacinto Lopez's and other vassals of Russian Communism should not be handed awards on silver platters. The crimes and assaults of which they were guilty recently in the north and northwestern parts of our country must not be ignored. Why is farm machinery, bought in Russia by General Cárdenas (Stalin Peace Award), given or sold to the Mexican Communists under the best possible terms? By the same token, why is such machinery purchased at all, spending the people's money, when we know that it has been manufactured by enslaved workers?

Much could be said, and in great detail, about the danger that hovers over our nation. The Russians do not give up and never recognize defeat. They work on long terms, and have never been known to improvise. The Government must continue to be alert, and the people must not let themselves be deceived with false nationalisms, facades adopted by the members of this dark conspiracy against our democracy.

White and Red Colonialism in Turkestan

I

Turkestan, that is to say the cradle of the Turks, with its 20.5 million inhabitants, today represents the most compact Turkish Moslem country¹⁾ within the U.S.S.R. On the strength of its geographical, economic and political significance, Turkestan is today the starting-point for the Soviet Oriental policy and the concentration area of the Soviet Russians for the countries of Asia and Africa. The natural wealth of this country serves to increase the Soviet industrial and military potential. And it is from this country that anti-Western and Communist propaganda is spread to Asia and Africa. Since Turkestan has from ancient times been a link between the Occident and the Orient and, moreover, borders on Afghanistan, Iran, India, Siberia and China, it is of great strategical importance.

And this importance was early recognized by the Russians. Peter I already said: "Turkestan is the gateway to India. He who possesses Turkestan, possesses the whole of Asia."

In keeping with this theory, the tsarist Foreign Minister, Count Nesselrode, declared in a Cabinet meeting in 1816:

"As long as Central Asia is not ours, we cannot think about the conquest of Asia."²⁾

Lenin and Stalin continued this tsarist colonial policy with different watchwords and a different colour, and, as early as 1923, already affirmed that Turkestan must become the Soviet shopwindow for the Orient and the key to a Sovietization of the Near and Middle East. And Stalin's successor, Khrushchov, said in 1955:

"We must occupy the free territory in the East quickly and consolidate our position there . . ." ("Kizil Uzbekistan", January 9, 1955).

At the "Afro-Asia Writers' Congress" in October, 1958, in Tashkent, the significance of Turkestan for Soviet aims was emphasized as follows by Rashidov:

"The great and ancient Silk Highway, the highway of peace, the highway of friendship linking the peoples of Asia and Africa, the highway of the exchange of cultural, moral and spiritual values, this great Silk Highway will never vanish from the conceptions of mankind and history. In the heart of mankind it will always remain a highway of radiant sunshine . . ." ("Kizil Uzbekistan", October 8, 1958).

By stressing the importance of the Silk Highway, which in ancient times considerably increased the importance of Turkestan, the Soviet Russians today wish to emphasize the ancient ties between Turkestan and the other Oriental countries, so that these ties will be revived again.

In the course of its history, Turkestan lived through illustrious times and formed the political and cultural centre of the Orient. The earliest culture and civilization of Turkestan began about 5000 B.C. In the following eras, large realms, which from time to time expanded as far as Asia and Europe, came into being in Turkestan. Decisions of worldwide importance were reached in Samarkand, at that time the capital of the empire of Turkestan. Without going into details as regards these

¹⁾ The whole of Turkestan comprises a vast territory of over 5 mill. sq kilometres, of which West Turkestan constitutes 3.9 mill. sq kilometres and East Turkestan 1.3 mill. sq. kilometres. East Turkestan, occupied by China, is inhabited by 8 mill. Turkestanians. Thus Turkestan as a whole has 28 mill. inhabitants and 4 mill. Turkestanian emigrants in the Orient.

²⁾ Cf. Baymirza Hayit: Turkestan in the 20th Century, 1956.

ancient realms, we shall confine ourselves to mentioning only a few of the Turkestanian realms which later came into being:

The realms of the K k-Turks (552—659), of the Qutluq (680—744), of the Samanides (874—999), of the Ghaznavides (962—1040), of the Karakhanides (932—1212), of the Seljuk-Turks (1040—1157), of the Chorezimi Shahs (1193—1221), the Tshagatani empire (1260—1340) the empire of Tamerlane and the Timurides (1365—1500) and the Uzbek dynasties (1500—1620 Shaibanides, 1620—1740 Astrakhanides). Under the successors of the Emperor Timur, the great and united empire gradually crumbled away and the following realms came into existence in West Turkestan: the emirate of Bokhara, the khanates of Khiva and Kokand, as well as the sultanates of Kitshidshuz, Orta-Dshuz and Ulug-Dshuz, which led an independent existence until Turkestan was conquered by the Russians (Cf. B. Hayit, loc. cit.).

Furthermore, Turkestan ceased to be of importance as a connecting link between the Orient and the Occident when the sea route to India was discovered and the Silk Highway became unimportant. Turkestan thus became an inland country, which rested in its Islamic Turkish culture, and its connection with the external world was now confined to its contact with neighbouring peoples.

The disintegration of the Turkestanian central empire into various independent khanates and sultanates and the resultant weakening of its power proved an advantage to the Russians when, at the beginning of the 18th century, they invaded North Turkestan. After a struggle which lasted nearly two hundred years, the Russians finally conquered the whole of Turkestan in 1895; only the khanates of Khiva and Bokhara continued to exist independently until 1921.

At an early stage, the Turkestanian people put up a resistance against Russian imperialism. During the tsarist era from 1899 to 1916, 13 insurrections on a large scale and 4 922 revolts on a smaller scale occurred in the Administrative Province of Turkestan, namely in the following regions:

Fergana 2 249 revolts, Samarkand 1 215, Trans-Caspian region 775, Sir-Darya 398, and Jetisuv 285 (Cf. B. Hayit, loc. cit.).

When, in 1916, tsarist Russia gave orders that the Turkestanians were to be mobilized for the army, the response was a revolt throughout the entire country. This revolt was, however, ruthlessly crushed and 673 347 Turkestanians lost their lives. In the region of Jetisuv alone, as many as 205 000 Turkestanians were killed. Over 170 000 Turkestanians were deported to Siberia. 300 000 Turkestanians managed to flee to East Turkestan, but 374 insurgent leaders were put to death. On one day alone, namely on September 20, 1916, 50 villages and towns in the vicinity of Samarkand, as, for instance, the town of Djisach, were razed to the ground. The insurgents were hounded out of their homes and property, which was seized by the Russians. It was during this terrorism and massacre that the Russian revolution broke out. (Cf. "The Republics of Central Asia", Moscow, 1940; Olaf Caroe: "Soviet Empire", London, 1954; "Milli T rkistan", Berlin, Geneva, Amman, D sseldorf, 1942—1954; B. Hayit, loc. cit.).

Immediately after the collapse of tsarism, the Turkestanians tried to take their fate in their own hands and founded their own national government. But once Russia had stabilized its internal and external position, it attacked Turkestan — just as it did all the other non-Russian peoples who had detached themselves from Russia — and destroyed the national governments.

But from the outset there was — and still is today — an active resistance on the part of the people of Turkestan against Russian imperialism and Bolshevism. Indeed, the Turkestanians opposed the first invasion of the Bolsheviks with armed resistance. After their government had been destroyed, the combatant Turkestanians withdrew to the mountains and continued the fight from there. These courageous and valiant

Turkestanians were, incidentally, called the "Basmachi", i. e. bandits, by the Russians. Turkestanians from all over the country took part in this fight for freedom and, during the years from 1921 to 1923, they succeeded in gaining control of vast areas of Turkestan. Under their military protection a national government was once more set up and the severance of Turkestan as an independent state from Russia was proclaimed. By throwing in large military forces, the Russians managed to check the "Basmachi" movement, but they never succeeded in wiping it out completely, since it was supported wholeheartedly by the population of Turkestan.

The peasants' revolts of 1930, which were occasioned by the introduction of collectivization and which led to acts of sabotage and to the destruction of Soviet organizations, the large-scale revolt of 1931, the annihilation of a Soviet Russian regiment in the Chatkal Mountains in 1935, the revolts in the Nurata Mountains and in the Karakum in 1937, and the revolt in Ashkhabad in 1950 are all proof that the resistance of the Turkestanian people has not been broken. (Cf. "Milli Türkistan", loc. cit., 1950, No. 69). But none of these revolts had any lasting success, since the Turkestanian people were not in a position, as far as their armed forces were concerned, to assert themselves against the superior military strength of the Soviet Russians, and because they received no external support whatever.

Parallel to these armed revolts, the Turkestanians also resorted to the tactics of undermining the Soviet state and party apparatus with trustworthy Turkestanians, in order to weaken the Soviet regime from within. They succeeded in occupying the highest posts in the party and the government, as for instance the post of First Secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, which was held by Akmal Ikram, and that of Prime Minister of Uzbekistan, which was held by Faizullah Hodja, both of whom formed secret national organizations. Both these men enjoyed the confidence of Moscow; for years they both held leading positions in Uzbekistan; both of them tried, through their national independence organizations, to fill all the leading posts in Turkestan with their trustworthy adherents; and both of them fostered the spirit of resistance of the people against the Soviet Russians. National activity inside and outside Turkestan was coordinated and had one common aim, a fact which bore fruit in 1941 in World War II. In 1937 and 1938, Faizullah Hodja and Akmal Ikram were arrested and, together with their supporters and co-workers, were liquidated in a mock trial in Moscow. This, incidentally, was a great loss to the intellectual class in Turkestan.

Just as in the first world war, namely in 1916, the Turkestanians refused to become soldiers for a foreign power, as was seen above, this, too, was the case in World War II, when the Russians tried to recruit the Turkestanians for the Red Army. The population protested — as it had done in 1916 — and even stormed the Russian commandants' offices. Parents maimed their own sons to prevent them from being forced to fight for the enemy. When the Turkestanians were, however, finally forced to serve in the Red Army, they deserted, whenever they had a chance, to Germany and joined the "National Turkestanian Unity Committee". With these prisoners-of-war and deserters, the "National Turkestanian Unity Committee" within three months' time set up a Turkestanian national voluntary army of 200 000 men, which, under the national flag of Turkestan and under the Turkestanian motto "Allah Biz Bilan" ("God With Us"), fought against Russia until the end of the war for the independence of Turkestan. This fact proves that, in spite of 25 years of Communist propaganda, the Turkestanians have become neither Communist nor Russophil. And that this is today still the case is corroborated by eye-witness reports and by attacks launched in the Communist Party newspapers of the five Soviet Republics in Turkestan (Cf. Olaf Caroe, loc. cit.).



General (ret.) Ferenc v. Farkas

“The Atomic War Will Not Take Place”

This is the title of a book by the well-known French military writer, Ferdinand Otto Miksche, which in its treatment of the burning problems of today throws all his other works into the shade.

After having been published by two leading publishing firms in England and France, this book has now also appeared in German, the publisher being the Friedrich Vorwerk Verlag, Stuttgart.

In his preface, F. O. Miksche emphasizes that at present no one can foresee whether there will be an atomic war or not. On the other hand, however, it is certain that after an atomic war there is hardly likely to be any policy. The problems which at present occupy the world, so he points out, could not be solved by atomic bombs since the latter are too radical in their effects. For this reason he is of the opinion that it is unlikely that an atomic war will break out.

Dealing with the world political situation in general, the author gives the reader an extremely clear picture of the shortsighted policy of the Western democracies, which has abandoned East and Central Europe to Russian imperialism. On this subject he writes as follows: “After the first world war the European balance of power was upset by the peace treaties of 1919—1920 and the first essential preconditions for Russia’s present position in Europe were created. Moscow came into direct contact with the West and gained an important strategic no man’s land.” And elsewhere he says: “It is a cardinal error to regard the present situation only in the light of an ideological dispute, without taking into account those imperialistic factors which have always determined Russia’s policy. A non-Communist Russia would hardly be less agreeable for the West.”

From the very outset, we as emigrants have stressed these ideas and facts. We know, both from our own experiences and from the history of Russia, what the danger is that now threatens East and Central Europe and is also making itself felt to an alarming degree in Asia and Africa. From Moscow’s point of view, the Asian-African development is the essential first step towards the “cold” victory of Russian imperialism, whose tool is world Communism. It is the precondition for the subjugation of the whole of Europe, — and in this way the dream of Peter the Great and his descendants would become grim reality.

All that we are now witnessing today is merely a new form, a phase of Russian imperialism, which for centuries has been claiming its victims. Forms and watchwords change, but the ultimate aim always remains the same, — the striving to dominate the whole world!

There are about 100 million Central and East Europeans and over 100 million persons of the peoples already previously subjugated by Moscow behind the Iron Curtain, who with their significant industrial potential are holding the balance of our part of the world in favour of Russia. This situation presents the Kremlin with possibilities which have never before existed in the history of Russia, and it is hardly likely that it will give up such a trump card without urgent reasons.

F. O. Miksche regards the threat with atomic weapons as a "catastrophe strategy". To defend Europe with atomic weapons would mean the downfall of our culture, that is to say the destruction of all that we are trying to preserve. The problems of today would in no way be solved by such a strategy. The author points out that as long as only one power possessed atomic weapons, they represented the most dangerous means of attack of all times. The fact that today, however, three powers already have such means of mass destruction at their disposal, restricts the possibilities of their use. Their significance now only lies in the fact that they are a means of deterring the enemy from using them; their existence alone suffices.

On the other hand, however, in the opinion of the author, a more important part may be played by warfare with conventional weapons, guerilla warfare and insurrections, etc., precisely on account of the two-edged nature of atomic weapons. In this connection he also mentions the Hungarian October Revolution and the Polish revolts, which were a serious set-back for Moscow. "But it is a mistake — so he adds — to attach more importance to these events than they actually have. They were not the first cases of unrest that have occurred in the Soviet sphere of influence. There have been many such incidents, some of them involving even greater bloodshed, in the Caucasus, in Ukraine or in Turkestan, for instance, but the outbreak and suppression of these incidents was always kept a secret.

"The West has in the end become scared of the great courage with which Western propagandists have for years encouraged the enslaved peoples of the East and has admonished the latter to be patient and to practise moderation . . ."

"Disarmament, neutral, sparsely occupied or de-militarized zone, — one can interpret the suggestions as one likes. There can be no realistic solution save one, — the union of Europe, just as there can only be one right course strategically, — the joint defense of Western civilization, wherever it is threatened in and outside Europe, by means to which each nation must contribute as far as possible."

The Hungarian October Revolution has made the whole world realize what Russian imperialism in the guise of world Communism means. And it should be realized at last that there can be neither a settlement nor a reconciliation with it.

Moscow has been exposed in its true colours since the massacre of Hungary, and it is hardly likely that Soviet propaganda will succeed in gaining a hearing in the future and misleading the working class masses of the West.

Moreover, the Hungarian October Revolution has shown up the weak spots and the inner tensions in the Soviet Union and its sphere of influence and has proved how bankrupt the Russian Communist system is.

The Hungarian October Revolution has also proved that godless Communism is the enemy of all peoples, that the puppet governments are always servile lackeys and that even the most brutal force cannot destroy the will to freedom! And a further heavy blow which the heroes of the Hungarian Revolution dealt the Bolshevist terrorist regime was that they stirred the conscience of the world. Even in the countries occupied by the Russian imperialists beyond the Bug and the San, and, above all, in West Ukraine and in Kyiv, fierce unrests broke out. All these insurrections could eventually be crushed because they received no external support. Such insurrections can only be successful if the *international* and *external* forces are co-ordinated.

I am convinced that had the Hungarian freedom fighters at least been given effective political support from without, a chain-reaction would inevitably have occurred and would have led to a revolution on the part of all the other subjugated peoples. In that case the Russian Bolshevik imperium would have collapsed without an atomic war! But this great historical opportunity was not used to advantage by the West.

The undeniable fact that since 1917 wars of liberation have been constantly waged in the Soviet Union, shows us plainly that the non-Russian peoples want to get rid of the ruling regime. There is no fundamental difference between the individual nations and peoples in the so-called satellite states and those that are subjugated in the USSR, for they are all equally enslaved.

We must realize that the Soviet Union is nothing but the terrorist rule of the Russian minority over a majority which is comprised of foreign nations and peoples — of a foreign race and foreign religious faith — and which, incidentally, inhabits the most fertile agricultural regions and the regions with the most valuable raw materials bases.

And what about the Red Army? More than 50 per cent of the soldiers of this army are non-Russians! And this fact constitutes the *greatest weakness* of the Soviet Union.

The Kremlin realizes only too well what a danger this revolutionary strength of the subjugated peoples is to the existence of its power structure. It is a force which infiltrates — visibly and invisibly — every sphere of so-called “Soviet society“, even official departments of the Party and the units of the Red Army. In the course of the first and the second world war, thousands of soldiers of the “Russian“ army surrendered and declared that they were prepared to fight against their subjugators.

The Soviet leaders have not forgotten that it was the intellectuals who, 42 years ago, helped to instigate the Russian revolutions; and they are always conscious of the fact that the intellectuals of today might play the same part again. The attitude of the Kremlin with regard to the affair of the Jewish Soviet writer, Boris Pasternak (“Dr. Zhivago“), is proof of the deadly fear which the men of the Kremlin have lest discontent of the thinking minority might some day stir up and mobilize the millions of discontented.

I am firmly convinced that the only one of the future forms of warfare which has a genuine chance to destroy Bolshevism is a general revolution.

There have been many examples in the history of the world to show that one can increase one’s own forces by the international weakness of the enemy. But never in all the history of the world has there been such a powerful concentration of forces, such a powerful ally as the subjugated peoples represent for the West! The untenableness of Russian rule has provided the Western powers with that factor with which one can achieve a victory and which is also the guiding thought, — *the liberation of mankind, the safeguarding of religion and of the rights of human dignity and national independence.*

This should be the basis of Western strategy. F. O. Miksche writes: “It is true that in the recent past the West has won two wars, but at the same time it has twice lost peace, from which fact the conclusion must be drawn that in future war must be waged in such a way as to win peace, which must always be the ultimate aim of every war.“

I have often compared the subjugated peoples to a ticking atomic bomb and have stressed that the fuse is at present still in the hands of the West. General Fuller expresses this same idea as follows: “. . . the Kremlin is living on a volcano, and it knows that the most explosive force in the world is not to be found in the hydrogen bomb, but in the hearts of the subjugated peoples crushed under its iron heel.“

F. O. Miksche reaches the following conclusions: "A fortified zone across Europe would deter an aggressor more effectively than anything else which has so far been attempted, but would not prevent him from intervening in territories outside Europe . . . It seems almost unbelievable that Russia, which in two world wars was almost defeated by Germany alone with one hand, as it were, today exerts constant pressure on all the Western powers, including Germany and America. The fact that this is so, is a sign not so much of Soviet strength but of Western weakness. Under these circumstances it is hard to imagine how our civilization is to rescue itself out of this deadly stranglehold, — the frontal pressure in Europe and the encirclement of Europe in Africa . . . Moscow seems to realize this more clearly than Washington. Hence, the not entirely unfounded optimism of the Communist leaders."

And with this, F. O. Miksche comes to the gist of his book and writes as follows: "In view of the differences of opinion which exist between the Western Major Powers, a strategic conception of the situation could only be realized if a European Union were formed. Europe alone as a Major Power would be in a position to undertake the defense, namely under the following conditions:

1) to achieve the reunification of Germany by negotiations, without, however, being obliged to accept terms which might expose us to the danger of an expansion of the sphere of influence of Russian Communism as far as the Rhine within a few years' time;

2) to protect vital interests, particularly in Africa, which represents the natural economic hinterland of Europe;

3) to gradually push back the Russians into their own ethnographical territory, in order to restore Europe's international equilibrium again;

4) only a united Europe can regain its independence, in order to be able to assert itself side by side with America and the Major Powers of the future — China and India.

None of these four conditions, however, can be realized by atomic weapons."

I have only stressed some of the ideas expressed in F. O. Miksche's book; the subject matter is too extensive to be dealt with exhaustively in a few pages. His book is not so much military historical reading in the usual sense, as, rather, an analysis of new forms of liberation strategy.

A. Furman

The Revolution Is Not Dead

(To commemorate the anniversary of the East Berlin revolt on June 17, 1953)

When, in February 1905, the governor-general of Moscow, Grand Duke Sergei, was shot by the social revolutionary, Kaliajev, the latter said to his judges as they sentenced him to death:

"Learn to look the coming revolution in the face! Our generation will put an end to autocracy for ever!"

Kaliajev was executed. And no attempt at all was made to retaliate. The peoples of the tsarist imperium had had enough of the massacres of the year 1905. Twelve years later, the seed of bloodshed which Kaliajev and his like had sown, bore fruit. It bore fruit and a 300-year old dynasty was engulfed by the March revolution.

When, after the brutal suppression of the June revolt in 1953, a young East German worker from Karl-Marx-Stadt (the former Chemnitz) was tried before a Soviet military tribunal, this freedom fighter said to the officers who had just sentenced him to 25 years' slave labour on account of "counter-revolutionary activity":

"You cannot turn back the wheels of history! You cannot kill the revolution! Our generation will put an end to the autocracy of the Communists for ever!"

The words of this young East German anti-Communist are almost the same as those spoken by the above-mentioned Russian enemy of tsarism forty-eight years ago. For the tsars went and the Communists came, but autocracy remained. It is true that in 1953, too, no attempt at all was made to retaliate. The people of East Germany had had enough of the terrible massacres of June 17th and 18th. The farmers went back to their work and ploughed the fields, which did not belong to them, and the workers went back to the factories, which did not belong to them. But the heroes of June 17th were not shot, imprisoned and deported in vain, — the hot breath of the revolution still permeates the entire East German territory. We do not know at present when the last revolution will break out, but we do know that the dynasty of the Communists will not last 300 years!

Events in East Germany are being followed in the West with more interest than ever. And reports and commentaries are devoted mainly to one theme, — the struggle of the open and secret opposition in the so-called German Democratic Republic. In this connection the question obtrudes itself, — does the West recognize the laws according to which the revolutionary current is steadily moving forwards? Does it recognize the deeper causes of the liberation movement beneath the surface of daily events?

It is a historical falsehood for the West to affirm today that the insurgents lacked efficient leadership and guidance. To undermine the authority of the Communist Party bureaucracy and to set up provisional organs of democracy were tasks which were accomplished practically simultaneously. The East Germans were not to blame for what they lacked on June 17. The tragic failure of the June revolution, which began so auspiciously, was for the most part due to the following factors:

Lack of time to co-ordinate the locally limited committees, executive committees and councils, etc., on a regional basis, for instance in the form of a central liberation council, whose task it would have been to conduct the affairs of the government until a new arrangement was reached in the event of a reunification, and, at the same time, to clearly define the demands of the people and put them to the Major Powers and to the government of the Federal Republic of Germany;

Lack of arms, above all, close combat weapons and anti-tank weapons. Incidentally, it must, however, be admitted that the fundamentally erroneous attitude on the part of the East German workers, which prevailed in many districts, — namely that the Communist regime could be liquidated by "cold" methods, that is by the old socialist means of a general strike, to a large extent was responsible for the fact that the revolt collapsed so quickly and so defencelessly under the force of the Soviet tanks. *A regime which is based exclusively on military violence, can only be liquidated by methods equally violent!*

At the crucial moment, the soldiers and officers of the Soviet occupation army remained loyal to their commanders in the Kremlin and, thus, also to the Ulbricht clique. They did not mutiny. The only persons who courageously refused to obey orders and ventured to desert were a few Ukrainian soldiers of the Soviet army, and their action was not attended by any success worth mentioning. The sons of Russian workers and farmers did not hesitate to fire their cannon on the proletariat of the East German towns and rural areas. The hoped-for fraternization of the slaves in uniform with the slaves in worker's attire proved to be a tragic utopian idea. The most vital task of every form of anti-Communist enlightenment activity amongst the soldiers and officers of the Soviet occupation armies is to arouse and foster human and political consciousness and, in fact, to set the thinking process going. Only a Soviet soldier who is capable of thinking is likely to recognize his real enemy! Every national revolt, however well it may be organized, on the periphery

of the Soviet Russian imperium is doomed to failure from the outset as long as the Soviet occupation armies are not on the side of the insurgents and, as armed allies, help the cause of freedom and justice to be victorious. And who can nowadays have any doubts as to the fact that an organized and joint rebellion carried out by the various Soviet armies in the so-called satellite states would not mean the beginning of an internal Soviet revolution?!

Lack of effective help on the part of the West, including the German Federal Republic. In addition, the 17th of June was ignominious proof of the fact that the West German working classes and their leaders were once again found wanting. Their solidarity, this old and well-tried weapon of German and international working classes, the bond and impulse which unites all those who are enslaved, stopped short when it came to the Iron Curtain.

But the spirit of June 17th is not dead. From 1953 to the beginning of 1959, four times more freedom fighters were shot or sentenced to slave labour than was the case during the eight years prior to the June revolt. The whole of East Germany has become the battle-field of a civil war, such as history has never before experienced and which is being conducted unlawfully. The 17 million people living in East Germany represent a huge barrel filled with revolutionary dynamite, which may explode at any moment. This is proved most plainly by the fact that (according to a report by a Western source of information) the number of freedom fighters in East Germany who have been sentenced has increased from 7 000 to 8 600 during the first three months of this year, that is about 17 freedom fighters per day! The majority of them are students, young workers and persons belonging to the so-called "People's Army".

As regards the demagogic defamation of the East German freedom fighters by the Communists, namely that they are "counter-revolutionaries", one can but quote the famous words of the well-known social democrat, Tsereteli, who, on the eve of the Bolshevik July Putsch of 1917, warned the council of the delegates of the workers and soldiers of Petrograd: "*The counter-revolution can only march through one gateway, — that of the Bolsheviks!*"

Niko Nakashidze

The American Institute For The Study Of The USSR And Its Publications

Some years ago, the American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism founded an institute in Munich for research of the history and culture of the peoples incarcerated in the Soviet Union.

The staff of co-workers of this institute includes scholars who belong to the said peoples and who are living in exile, and at regular intervals a periodical is published for each of these peoples in English, in which the historical, cultural, economic and political problems of the people concerned are dealt with.

But when dealing with historical and political problems, the authors, out of consideration for others, are restricted by certain limitations, and some facts are passed over

in silence and historical events are either assessed wrongly or not at all.

On several occasions, too, — no doubt for certain political reasons — essays and articles have been published which are neither of scientific nor of historical value, and have been written in an extremely crude style, since the authors are not scholars and, in fact, have not even enjoyed a higher education. This, of course, is damaging to the prestige of the institute, for no one takes such articles seriously, since they are written too clumsily to convince anyone.

A joint periodical, the "Caucasian Review", is published for the peoples of the Caucasus. In the No. 7 edition, 1958, of this "Review", there appeared an article by T. Abkhazian

entitled "Literature on Abkhazia and the Abkhazian-Abazinians". The country in question in this case is an ancient Georgian country. It is the country which was known in ancient times as Colchis and to which, according to the Greek legend, Jason sailed with his Argonauts and from which he fled with Medea. The author, a questionable scholar, affirms, however, that this ancient Georgian tribe of the Abkhazians were not Georgians at all, but were only conquered by the Georgians in the 10th century and incorporated into the territory of the latter.

I do not intend to refute this mendacious and bold statement on the part of this would-be scholar, scientifically and historically, but shall leave this to other Georgians. All I should like to do, however, is to consider it from another aspect, in order to expose the underlying political thought and the aim of the author in this respect.

In the first place, the author's name is merely a pseudonym. The fact that someone uses a fictitious name when publishing a scientific article and feels compelled to conceal his real name, is proof that there is some kind of hocus-pocus in progress. And, as we shall see from what follows, the author had a good reason for concealing his real name.

After World War II, a certain type appeared amongst the emigrants in exile, a type which is, indeed, unique. This new breed of individual is unscrupulous, uninhibited, brazen-faced and insolent; persons of this type are out-and-out cynics, fond of asserting their claims, and dare-devils. Moreover, they possess an unusual talent for adapting themselves to circumstances and they manage to insinuate themselves and worm their way in everywhere. Such persons imagine that they are capable of devoting themselves to scholarly activity.

To be a little civilized is by no means identical with being a representative of culture; and to be able to read and write, does not mean that one is qualified to carry on scholarly research. To do so, one must have the necessary intellectual culture and traditions, things which cannot be created from one day to the next, but which take time and generations!

The above-mentioned author, T. Abkhazian, belongs to this type of individual. The article that he has concocted is not only nonsense, but also a piece of insolence, inasmuch as he speculates on the ignorance of the reader, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, completely disregards what others might think.

In the Western countries — the USA, England, France, Germany, etc. — there are

enough authorities on the Caucasus and, in particular, on Georgia, apart from a wealth of literature of former times, to mislead the public.

It is indeed surprising that T. Abkhazian occupies himself with the history and the problems of another people, instead of concerning himself with the affairs of his own country and giving an account of his own people, about whom nothing whatever is known in the civilized world. But he has his reasons for busying himself with the affairs of another people, and it is by no means a coincidence that he does so. He is prompted by political motives, and accordingly the purpose of his "scientifically founded" article is "to enlighten" the Western public.

As everyone knows, the countries of the North Caucasus were incorporated into the Russian Republic of the Soviet Union as autonomous republics. The Kremlin rulers now fully intended to incorporate the adjoining territory of Abkhazia, which since time immemorial has constituted an integral part of Georgia, this natural paradise with its beautiful spas on the Black Sea, into the Russian Republic, too. In fact, they had already incorporated part of Abkhazia, namely Djigethi with the well-known spa, Sochi, and they now wanted to annex the whole country.

As usual, an active propaganda campaign was launched for this purpose. Men of learning were, in the first place, sent out as the vanguard, and it was their task to prove that the Abkhazians were an independent people who had been violated by the Georgians and hampered in their national development. But they met with such a fierce rebuff on the part of Georgian scholars and even on the part of Communist functionaries, in particular those of the younger generation, and had to face such a violent counter-attack that they were reduced to silence.

The young Georgian scholar, D. Mtchedlichwilli, some time ago wrote as follows in a leading article, entitled "The New Soviet Socialist Georgia", which was published in the organ of the Georgian Writers' Union: "A true patriot is one who, by his activity on his native or on foreign soil, establishes the name of his people and proudly bears the fame of his native country aloft to cold and grim heights. A true patriot is one who does not spare his life — a life which is only given to us human beings once — for his native country and his people.

We are definitely opposed to every form of pseudo-patriotism, to the exaggeration and glorification of individual historical facts and persons, to the deification of kings

and upholders of feudal rights. Our history does not need glorifying, for it is, in any case, glorious and illustrious! The history of our people has been one of trouble, but it has been glorious. Hence, there is no need of exaggeration in this respect.

But we refuse to let certain research scholars disparage the entirety of our nation and the historical truth of its unity in the name of science and cast a shadow on the history of our people. This cannot be tolerated (in the periodical "Mnathobi", No. 2, February 1957, p. 13, published in Tbilisi). In such a courageous way scholars in Tbilisi defend the unity of the Georgian nation! This was indeed a clearly expressed opinion, and the gentlemen in the Kremlin took the hint; they were forced to retreat and abandoned their intentions.

But T. Abkhazian has now continued this provocative propaganda in the periodical of the American institute. And, incidentally, he is not the first to contest the historical unity of the Georgian nation and the integrity of its territory.

There is a periodical called "The Armenian Review" which appears in the USA, and on one occasion an article on Georgia by a certain *Khurdian* was published in it. In this article 11 ancient Georgian provinces were described as Armenian and, in addition, it was also affirmed that practically all the famous Georgian writers, statesmen and generals were Armenians and that the latter had brought civilization to the Georgians.

This would-be scholar *Khurdian* did not, however, explain why the people in these eleven allegedly "Armenian" provinces have always spoken Georgian, why they have not become members of the Armenian-Gregorian Church and Monophysites, why these "Armenian" writers have written their works in Georgian, and why the "Armenian" statesmen and generals brought fame to the Georgians and not to the Armenians.

By such cheap and foolish methods these would-be scholars seek to gain prestige for their peoples in the West. We do not begrudge them any success they may achieve in this respect, but it is very regrettable that at a time when the position of the Armenian people is so tragic, such clowns should pose as the latter's spokesmen!

It is significant that both the above-mentioned "historians", Abkhazian and *Khurdian*, use Georgian names with the Armenian ending. Surely a strange coincidence, or has it been done on purpose? We leave it to the leading gentlemen of the American institute to decide this question.

T. Abkhazian delves even further into the history of Georgia than *Khurdian* does. He affirms, for instance, that Mithradates VI,

King of Pontus, conquered Abkhazia and incorporated it into Armenia (sic!). Wherever did he get this idea from? Probably from the fairytales of his country! It is an established fact that Mithradates was defeated by Lucullus and Pompey and fled to the Crimea. How, then, could he still have been able to conquer foreign countries? He would have had to cross the Black Sea from south to north. Or did he have the present modern means of transport available to bring his troops over the Black Sea? And this sort of nonsense is published in a scientific periodical. And, incidentally, we should like to point out that never in the whole history of Georgia has any part of the country belonged to Armenia. On the contrary, from the 11th century onwards, Armenia was a vassal state of Georgia, which was governed by a Georgian governor and where Georgian currency was legal tender. It was not until the 14th century that this dependency was severed as a result of the Mongol invasion, but later on it again became a vassal state of Georgia with Erivan as the capital (part of the territory of Armenia was in those days, as nowadays, occupied by Turkey), and was even mentioned and recognized in the treaty of 1783 between Georgia and Russia.

The "historian" T. Abkhazian then goes on to affirm that Abkhazia was not occupied by Georgia until the 10th century. One only needs to read Herodotus, Strabo, Prokopius and other Greek and Roman historians of ancient times to ascertain that even in those days it already belonged to Georgia. But, then, one can hardly expect such an uneducated person to read such works. If Abkhazia was not occupied by Georgia until the 10th century, how could the Abkhazian Georg *Mertduli* have written in that same century: "Where prayers are said in Georgian and the Holy Sacrament is given in Georgian, — that is Georgia"! This surely proves in a most striking way the strongly marked consciousness of national affinity and unity and of national state thought.

In the decrees of the Church Council of 1103, at which all the Abkhazian archbishops and bishops were represented, it was stipulated in paragraph 1: "The waters and countries populated by related Georgian tribes are Georgia".

But the would-be scholar and "historian" Abkhazian affirms that the Abkhazians did not belong to Georgia!

At the end of his "epoch-making" treatise there is a detailed list of the literature which he has used as sources. If the author had read these books and had enough intelligence to understand them, he would not have written so much nonsense, though one can hardly expect him to do otherwise, seeing that he is so lacking in a feeling of responsibility.

But such efforts cannot sully the history of the Georgians nor disparage their cultural achievements. The ancient ruins of churches with their Georgian inscriptions in the North Caucasus clearly prove who brought civilization to this territory and converted the people there to Christianity. Until the end of the 16th century, the Cherkessens were Christians and it was only as a result of intermarriage between the princes of the North Caucasus and the rulers of the Crimea and Turkish occupation that they became Islamic.

And not only in the Caucasus, but also in other countries, — namely the magnificent cultural monuments abroad, the Georgian monasteries of the 5th century in Jerusalem, of the 7th century in Antioch, of the 8th century on Sinai, of the 10th century on Athos, of the 11th century in Bulgaria (now the Batchkov Monastery), with their libraries are concrete proof of the culture of the Georgians. Georgia was the leading political and cultural factor in the Caucasus and will continue to be so, in spite of Messrs. Abkhazian, Khurdian and Co. Our peoples are experiencing the greatest tragedy in their history, and these irresponsible so-called historians have nothing better to do than to rummage in the past and misrepresent it in order to cause dissension amongst the peoples.

It was the aim of the American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism to get the representatives of the peoples subjugated in the Soviet Union to cooperate in a common task. But publications such as the treatise by T. Abkhazian merely provoke them and stir up hatred amongst them. If the institute wishes to be regarded as an institute of culture and learning, such individuals as Abkhazian must be excluded as co-workers and must be evicted.

But if the institute should wish to further such activity and such persons for certain political reasons, then we shall deal with these provocations in some other effective way.

News:

Byelorussia will be Independent

Byelorussian Liberation Front,
Captain J. S. Hovsha,
Cleveland

It is a pleasure to send greetings to the Americans of Byelorussian descent and the Byelorussian immigrants who are commemorating the 41st anniversary of the national independence of their homeland. I assure you that I am continuing my efforts to make it possible for all nations to realize their long

cherished goal of regaining their national independence which was taken from them by force by the barbarian leaders of Moscow.

With this in mind, on March 20th I addressed the House of Representatives on the subject of a Summit Conference, and strongly urged the Department of State and President Eisenhower, if he participates in another Summit Conference, to be guided by the following principles: —

First, we must regard such a conference as nothing more than an opportunity for us to spell out for the entire world what we stand for and what we stand against. In this connection, we should make it clear that we stand for the rights of all nations, large and small, to national self-determination, and the natural rights of all people to the basic freedoms.

We should make it equally clear that we stand unqualifiedly against any form of colonialism or imperialism and in particular, we will never acquiesce to the new Russian colonialism which is being carried out under the camouflage of Communist imperialism.

Secondly, a logical follow-up to this first condition, we must demand that the Communist-enslaved non-Russian nations be permitted to determine their own destiny by the use of free elections, including multiple political parties, the secret ballot, together with international supervision to guard these basic requirements.

If we fail so to do, the good people, of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechia, Slovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Turkistan, Idel-Ural, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Cossackia, and Russia will look upon any United States participation in a conference at the so-called summit as the failure of the last great hope of mankind and a sell-out of all those moral and political principles which the United States has stood for during the 183 years of our national existence.

I believe that permanent peace will never be attained until all nations, large and small, have an opportunity to determine freely their own destiny. That should be done. When it is done, Byelorussia will again assume her rightful place as an independent nation in the family of free nations of the world.

Sincerely,
MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
United States Representative

American court decides in favour of Nationalist Croatians

The Supreme Court in Los Angeles (USA) recently passed final judgement in the case of Dr. Andrija Artukovic, the former Minister of the Interior of the Independent State

of Croatia, by refusing to extradite him to the Belgrade Communist government, as requested by the latter eight years ago.

This judgement is all the more significant and favourable for the national Croat cause as the judge did not confine his decision to ascertaining the innocence of one individual alone, but based his arguments on both the legal and political point of view and emphasized the right of the people of Croatia to freedom and to an independent state of their own. In particular, he stressed the established facts in this connection, namely that Croatia was in 1919 forcibly incorporated in the so-called state of Yugoslavia and that, without a plebiscite and without their consent, the Croats and the Slovenes were placed under the rule of the Belgrade government.

It was further ascertained that this government was one of despotism and violence, that a Serbian deputy murdered the leader of the Croat people, Dr. Stjepan Radic, in the Belgrade parliament and that the Serbian King Alexander suspended the constitution and thus prohibited all political activity on the part of the Croats. Thereupon, the Croat organization USTASCHA very rightly began to wage a liberation struggle and on April 10, 1941, restored the independent state of Croatia. This organization, since it defended the state, thus had the right to intern all persons who either engaged in subversive activity against the state or were a danger to it. Incidentally, other states have also acted in the same way, and, as the judge in Los Angeles stressed, the government of North America also interned thousands of Japanese — men, women and children — because they were a danger to North America.

The court in Los Angeles has thus passed exactly the opposite judgement to that which Belgrade demanded, which was that the independent state of Croatia and also the USTASCHA organization should be condemned and declared illegal.

The Belgrade government and some of the witnesses produced by the representatives of this government wanted to hold the head of the state, Dr. Ante Pavelic, responsible for all that was done in the independent state of Croatia by the police authorities, since it was alleged that both the ordinary police as well as the USTASCHA police were under his and no one else's sole control, and thus not under the control of the Minister of the Interior.

But this demand was likewise turned down by the judgement of the court, which recognized all the action taken by the head of the independent state of Croatia, Dr. Ante Pavelic, as entirely lawful.

(Croatian Information Service)

Anxiety of Ukrainians Abroad at Russification of Ukraine

On May 7, 1959, a meeting of the leading representatives of all the Ukrainian political organizations and parties in exile was held in Munich, Germany. The subject of discussion at this meeting was the latest intensified Russification course in Soviet Ukraine. In the course of the meeting a lecture was held on this subject by Prof. D. J. Bojko.

After the discussions, it was unanimously ascertained by all present that Ukrainian cultural life in Soviet Ukraine is seriously menaced. The latest decree of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S. S. R. — which has been introduced at the orders of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Ministerial Council of the Soviet Union, regarding the reorganization of the primary schools and, above all, regarding the language of instruction in the schools, as well as similar decrees in the other republics of the Soviet Union, are a serious blow to the national culture of the allegedly sovereign "Constituent" Republics, including the national culture of Ukraine. Regardless of the wish of the majority of the population in Ukraine, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S. S. R. adopted the decree dictated by Moscow, according to which the Ukrainian language has been degraded to the rank of a non-compulsory language of instruction in the schools of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, since in future Russian is to be the only compulsory language of instruction there. The languages of the individual peoples are likewise to be excluded as examination subjects for admission to the higher schools of all the republics, including Ukraine, too.

In view of these discriminative Russification measures, the members of the above-mentioned meeting unanimously decided to organize a large-scale protest campaign amongst the emigrants in the free world against the lingual and cultural terrorism which is being practised by Russian Communist imperialism and is directed against all the enslaved peoples of the Soviet Union.

An initiative committee was elected, which consists of the following persons: Prof. D. J. Bojko as chairman, Prof. I. Maistrenko and Mr. A. Romashko as vice-chairmen, Mr. J. Semenko as secretary, and Prof. O. Jurtschenko as member. The members of the meeting have entrusted the initiative committee with the task of setting up an organization centre, which is to be in charge of the protest campaign. This organization centre

will include the representatives of both Ukrainian Churches, of political groups, as well as of academic and other communal organizations. The decision was reached to launch a large-scale protest campaign of an international nature.

American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Inc. have sent a memorandum, to Rev. Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, the President of National Council of Churches of Christ

In the said Memorandum AF ABN expressed its views on the question raised by the Cleveland China Statement, which shows the dangerous road of pro-Communist bias taken by the World Council of Churches and the National Council of Churches. It says that the "China Statement" is only a logical sequence of a well understood and well defined policy calculated to promote the cause of Communism against the cause of the enslaved nations. AF ABN finds no comparison between the courageous stand of the pre-war Ecumenists who did not hesitate to condemn the barbarian system of Nazism and the open advocacy of outright atheism and Communist terrorism preached by the Cleveland theologians, and asks why the leaders of the Ecumenist Movement in America have supported the clique in the Communist World and are indifferent to the ordeal of those millions under Russian and Communist China domination put on trial for the sake of Christ?

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"*Buffalo Courier Express*" of May 18., 1959 published the following news under the headline

Anti-Soviet Croup Raps Castro Policy

The American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations yesterday accused the Cuban government of Dr. Fidel Castro of fostering the Communist drive to conquer the free world.

Dr. Nestor Procyk of 617 Humboldt Pky., national chairman of the executive council of the organization, said a letter had been sent to Premier Castro condemning the arrest and imprisonment of three anti-Communist Cuban leaders.

Dr. Procyk announced that the letter adopted during a weekend meeting of the group in New York City, accused the 26th of July Government of "eliminating dedicated leaders in the anti-Communist struggle."

The letter charged the act is part of the "international Communist conspiracy directed from Moscow and deeply rooted in the new Cuban regime."

One of those arrested, according to the organization, was Dr. Ernesto de la Fe, a Cuban journalist and secretary-general of the Inter-American Confederation for Defense of the Continent. Dr. de la Fe is also a member of the steering committee of the World Anti-Communist Congress.

The group sent another letter to Secretary of State Christian A. Herter asking him to intervene in the interests of the prisoners.

The same text was repeated in the Buffalo Evening News 18th May.

American Press on Prof. F. Durčansky's Visit in USA

In connection with the speeches delivered in different cities in the USA by Prof. F. Durčansky, Chairman of the ABN-Council. American newspapers such as: New York Times, Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh Post Gazette, The Cleveland Press, Detroit News, Buffalo Courier Express and others, published lengthy articles, thus propagating the cause of the peoples enslaved by Russia and Communists.

We quote here some extracts reviewing Prof. Durčansky's statements:

"Slovaks have not given up the idea of independence and still oppose "the Czechobolshevik tyranny", . . .

"Dr. Durčansky, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, is speaker of the Assembly for the organization known as the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations with headquarters in Munich, Germany."

(Pittsburgh Post-Gazette: Monday, March 9, 59)

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"The first and most positive step in reducing Russian strength would be through a massive resistance by the 200-million dominated peoples.

A weakened Russia, he noted, would yield great dividends to the Free World in general and the United States in particular.

The free world's role in bringing this about would be in the way of financial, moral and political support, he added."

(Buffalo Courier Express, Febr. 20, 1959)

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"If the Hungarian, East Berlin and Polish revolutions could have been coordinated, Russia could not have coped with them.

The free world cannot win the race with the Soviet Union unless it aids movements which try to disintegrate life in the Soviet bloc, Durčansky said.

As Russia organized the dissatisfied people in the free world, so must the free World organize the dissatisfied people now living behind the Iron Curtain, Durcansky said."

(The Cleveland Press,
Febr. 12, 1959)

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"To defeat communism the Free World must go to bat and play the same game as the Soviet Union."

*

As the Reds are strengthening their hold on satellite countries the West also must unite its "minor leagues" to swing a bigger bat against Communist aggression.

The free world must help unite those small nations behind the Iron Curtain and storm against Communist control!

The constant practice of "disintegration" of Russia is the only way to defeat her goals of world conquest.

Allies must stand firm! On the present Berlin crisis, Dr. Durcansky said the United States and her allies "must stand firm on their thinkings".

(Pittsburgh Press, March 10, 1959)

Second Conference of the ABN in Canada

The Second Conference of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was held in Toronto, Canada, on April 25th this year. It was attended by Lithuanian, Latvian, Hungarian, Slovakian and Ukrainian representatives, and also by executives of the various ABN branches in Winnipeg, Montreal, St. Catherine and Toronto.

The programme of the conference included reports on the resigning Canadian executive committee (by Dr. Johann J. Kaschkelis), a report by Mr. Bezchlibnyk, a discussion on the questions raised and on the working plan for the coming year, approval of the activity of the national executive committee, approval of an amendment in the statutes, the passing of resolutions and the election of new executive organs.

The following persons were voted as members of the new Canadian executive committee: Dr. Johann Kaschkelis (Lithuanian) as president, Mr. Bezchlibnyk (Ukrainian) as secretary-general, Mr. K. Satmari (Hungarian) as treasurer, Mr. M. Sosnowsky (Ukrainian) as information referendary, Dr. N. Anisaz (Lithuanian) as contacts referendary, and Mr. K. Kraus (Slovakian) as organization referendary.

The deputies were chosen in accordance with the statutes of the individual national organizations that are members of the ABN

in Canada. Mr. J. Bojko was chosen by the Ukrainian group. The Control Commission consists of the following gentlemen: I. Osols (Latvian), B. Nauvialis (Lithuanian) and the Reverend S. Jyzk (Ukrainian). The Judicial Commission consists of Mr. I. Spolsky, (Ukrainian), Mr. P. Peltikoff (Bulgarian) and Mr. M. Hosbota (Roumanian). The conference was conducted by a presidium consisting of Dr. R. Dabos (Hungarian) as chairman, Mr. I. Osols (Latvian) as deputy-chairman, Mrs. Diana Hanatekin (Ukrainian) and Mr. G. Urbanas (Lithuanian) as secretaries.

The conference approved a plan to publish a periodical bulletin of the ABN in Canada in English. In this way the public in Canada and also elsewhere will be kept informed about the activity of the ABN in Canada and its attitude to and opinion on the various political events.

Russian Troops in Tibet

It is stated by competent Indian circles that the Chinese Communists were supported by large Soviet troops when crushing the Tibetan rebellion. According to the same source of information, a column of 47 motor trucks, manned by 250 Russian soldiers, entered the town of Gyantse in Southeast Tibet on April 22. The Russian soldiers also had a large number of riding and draught horses, which were then used in combat against the Tibetan insurgents.

Ukraine Continues Its Fight

During the night from May 2nd to May 3rd, that is during the first night of the Ukrainian Easter, persons unknown hoisted the nationalist red and black flag on the church tower in a village in the district of Skole. The flag bore the inscription: "Christ is risen! Ukraine will rise! Death to Moscow and its lackeys!"

The flag remained on the tower until 11 o'clock in the morning. Units of the MVD from all parts of the district were sent to the village. They tore down the flag and then proceeded to arrest a number of young persons. The latter were then taken away on four motor lorries.

On the way to the village of Kruhshelnyzi the motor lorries were stopped by a number of men who were armed. They attacked the MVD guards, set the persons who had been arrested free and disappeared with them into the woods.

From Behind the Iron Curtain

HUNGARY

Communist World Youth Festival in Vienna

Persons from the East Bloc states who take part in the Communist World Youth Festival in Vienna must be Communists. This fact can be seen from the regulations issued by the Communist Party of Hungary: "The 400 Hungarian participators will be selected by the Party and will also be screened by the state security service. Young persons who have relatives in the West or who took part in the uprising of 1956 will on principle be excluded from participation in the festival. Participators will be taken to Vienna by ship at the expense of the government. They will live on board the ship during the festival. Each of the participators must feel that he is responsible for his fellow-participators."

Each participator will be given a 100-page handbook, containing questions and answers, before he leaves Hungary. The following are some typical examples of these questions and answers:

Question: Is there still a Russian occupation army in Hungary?

Answer: I have not seen a single Russian since the revolution of 1956.

Question: What is Kadar like?

Answer: He enjoys the full confidence and love of the people. He is a very popular and good man.

Question: Do the Hungarians like the Russians?

Answer: Oh yes, we like the Russians very much because they crushed the revolution that was started by provocative elements in 1956.

Question: What sort of young Hungarians took part in the revolution?

Answer: The young Hungarians who took part in the revolution were all gangsters.

*

The Hungarian University in Kolozsvár (Transylvania) has been closed.

Collectivization

Although it is an established fact that the Communist regime brings pressure to bear on the Hungarian farmers in order to force them to work in the kolkhozes, this is denied by the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as is also the fact that the secret police and Soviet troops are used in carrying out this collectivization campaign. It is affirmed that the government does not intend to commit the same errors as the previous government, under whose rule the collectives collapsed completely during the revolution.

It is further stated that since the campaign began in January 1959, an additional 15 per cent of arable land has been collectivized, bringing the total percentage up to 45, and that the remaining 55 per cent are still in the hands of private owners.

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The Hungarian parliament has set aside 4.9 million forint for military purposes in 1959. The Red Hungarian Army is still smaller than the Russian occupation army.



LITHUANIA

60 000 Communist Agitators

As can be seen from a report in the central Communist organ "Tiesa", 60 000 Communist agitators were employed for "enlightenment" purposes on the occasion of the recent "elections" to the Soviets in Lithuania. In spite of this propaganda wave, however, complaints were voiced at a meeting of Communist functionaries in Vilna, to the effect that "ideological" activity, particularly in the provinces, was not very successful.

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Unsuccessful Fight against "Nationalist Ideology"

In spite of all the efforts that they have been making for years, the Communists have not succeeded in standardizing the views held by the Lithuanian people. In all the speeches they make, Snieckus and other Communist leaders always feel obliged to stress that the fight against the "remnants of bourgeois nationalist ideas" must continue. And they equally zealously attack "revisionism". A special conference of Communist functionaries was recently held in the Lithuanian capital, Vilna, which had as its subject work "on the ideological front". Reference was made again and again to the fact that "nationalist"

influences were still active. It was affirmed that faults in the "atheistic" front were particularly evident, and that many of the Lithuanian Communists had so far assumed a very passive attitude with regard to this question.



RUMANIA

Building Sites in Konstanza

From May 11th to 13th, this year, Gheorge Gheorghiu-Dej, the head of the Roumanian Communist Party, accompanied by Chivu Stoica, head of the government, made a tour of the Black Sea coast from Konstanza to Mangalia. A report of the press agency Agerpres, which was published in the "Scinteia" of May 16th, states that "building sites and various building alterations along the Black Sea coast, which were begun some years ago and are now being completed on the strength of the general systematization plans, were inspected". The type of building sites can be seen from the text of the report. The steep coastline of Vasile Roaitia and Eforie and the coastline south of the town of Konstanza have been reinforced, 80 per cent of the road network of these places has been modernized, as have the main arterial roads connecting Konstanza with places in the south and north. The centre of the town of Mangalia is being rebuilt, and various building alterations are being carried out in Tomis, a tourist centre and fishing port. In Konstanza, too, the centre of the town is being rebuilt. And construction work has begun on a motor highway which is to link Konstanza up with Mangalia.

In all the towns and villages along the Black Sea coast, building is in progress and will be completed this year to provide these places with water and electricity and also adequate sewage.

It is stated in the said report that all these projects are being carried out in the interests of the working classes. And it is pointed out that when these projects have been completed, about 400 000 workers will be able to seek recreation in the towns and villages along the Black Sea coast.

Although officially an attempt is made to describe all these projects as being allegedly "in the interests of the working classes", it looks rather as if they were being carried out in preparation for an armed conflict. The fact must be borne in mind that up to a few years ago the town of Konstanza and the other towns and villages along the Black Sea coast were occupied by Russian troops, and other persons were only allowed to enter this zone by special permission. Even after the withdrawal of the Russian troops, the coast was still guarded by the Russian com-

mand stationed in Odessa. It thus seems very unlikely that "the workers" who find accommodation in the places that have been rebuilt will really be tourists. Recently, many "refugees" from Russia have been turning up in Roumania, and they are all being given quarters in the chief economic centres and towns along the Black Sea coast. In fact, the opinion is held in various quarters that these persons are new Russian settlers. Together with numerous Party members, they will probably form the majority of the alleged tourists in Mangalia, Eforie and Mamaia and will be entrusted with the task of defending the coastline if a war breaks out with the West.

It is possible that the Conference of the Ministers of Transport of the Communist countries, which was held in Bucharest from May 15th to 20th, has speeded up the carrying out of the building projects along the Black Sea coast.



UKRAINE

Red Russians Sentence Ukrainian Nationalists

According to reports received recently, five members of an active underground group operating in Ukraine were tried and sentenced by a Red Russian court in March this year.

The trial opened on March 7th at Rivne. The five accused, members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, were charged with "counter-revolutionary activity, sabotage and conspiracy".

Excerpts of the trial published in the local Ukrainian press corroborated reports of mounting subversion against the Red Russian tyrants in Ukraine.

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) is one of the two largest Ukrainian underground formations operating against the Russian Communist regime. The other is the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, known as the UPA.

Although the trial only lasted until March 10, "RATAU", the news agency of Ukraine, did not report on it until April 23. According to the reports published by "RATAU" and the Ukrainian Communist press in Kyiv, the five young Ukrainian nationalists were sentenced to death and their property was confiscated.

The Russian occupants are endeavouring to crush the steadily increasing opposition to the Red Russian regime in Ukraine and to liquidate the Ukrainian nationalists who are carrying on this liberation struggle against the ruthless Soviet Russian subjugator of Ukraine.

BOOK - REVIEWS

An Extremely Important and Useful Book Which, however, Needs Certain Alternations

Dieter Friede's book "Das Russische Perpetuum Mobile" ("The Russian Perpetuum Mobile", Marienburg-Verlag, Würzburg, 1959) has, as far as its main contents are concerned, already been very aptly reviewed and characterized in the "ABN Correspondence", No. 3/4, 1959; this book is, however, so important as regards enlightening the Western world on the native Russian character of Bolshevism that it is worth discussing again, namely in order to show up some of its peculiarities which were either only touched on briefly or not referred to at all in the above-mentioned review.

In this connection, we are not thinking so much of individual anachronisms or other minor errors, which do not detract so very much from the value of an outstanding work as a whole, though it is, of course, necessary to mention them here for the simple reason that the author will then be able to correct them easily in the reprint of his excellent book, which we hope will appear very soon. These anachronisms and minor errors are as follows: —

On p. 24: The boyar Ivan Miloslavsky, a close relative of the first wife of Tsar Alexis (and thus also of the stepsister of Peter I, Sophy) was not by any means "executed"; he not only "attempted" his coup d'état on behalf of the said Princess, but also carried it out quite successfully and then died a natural death during the period of Sophy's regency.

On p. 144-145: The author may be right in affirming that "anti-Semitism has become even fiercer and more violent" in the Soviet state than it was under tsarist rule, but he omits to mention the two decisive reasons for his theory: (1) the Russian anti-Semitism of tsarist times was religious in character and not "racial", as the anti-Semitism of Hitler's, Stalin's or Khrushchov's day; (2) after World War II, both the Jewish press and also the entire cultural life in the Jewish language (so-called Yiddish) was extirpated completely in the U.S.S.R., and this included the massacre (in the autumn of 1952) of all the well-known Yiddish writers who had survived the Yezhov terrorism of 1937-38.

And, incidentally, the word "Yevrey" in Russian is by no means derogatory and insulting, but, on the contrary, the official and only impartial designation for Jews.

On p. 153: The Hungarian Commander-in-Chief General Görgey capitulated on August 13, 1849, at Vilagos, not to the Russian General von Rüdiger, but to the Russian Commander-in-Chief Field Marshal Count Paskevich; but the Russian high command was not to blame for the subsequent extradition of the Hungarian prisoners-of-war to the Austrians, for such matters were decided personally by Tsar Nicholas I (and, like Stalin, he refused to let his generals and ministers have an "opinion of their own").

¹⁾ "The bulk of the Russian people lives round Moscow, in the centre of the East European lowlands, at the sources of the big rivers, where in former times the core of the Russian (that is, Muscovite, — V. D.) people was formed", — so the author quotes on p. 156 from N. Baranski's work "The Economic Geography of the U.S.S.R.", East Berlin, 1954.

As already pointed out above, these are merely trifles. There are in addition, however, also more serious errors in the book. Whereas the author is well aware of the difference between the Russians, on the one hand, and the Ukrainians and Byelorussians (White Ruthenians), on the other, and even, to some extent, takes into account the difference between the southern (Muscovite) and northern (Novgorodian) Russians¹⁾, and also has an adequate knowledge of the modern history of the Central and East Ukrainian countries, his conception of West Ukraine, is extremely vague. Though it may to some extent be excusable if the author in several cases talks about the "East provinces" of the Polish (or Roumanian) state which were annexed by Soviet Russia (since, from the point of view of constitutional law, they were annexed in the course of the years from 1919 to 1939 and, in any case, were regarded as annexed territories in international intercourse), it is quite a different matter to simply talk about "East Poland" when only the West Ukrainian and West Byelorussian countries are meant. But that this is not due to any pro-Polish trend on the part of the author, but to his ignorance on this question, can be seen from one passage where "Austro-Galicia" is treated exactly as "Carpatho-Ukraine" (p. 51), and from another even more peculiar passage where "East Poland, Ukraine, Ruthenia, Carpatho-Ukraine, Bessarabia, Bukovina" are mentioned in the same category as "Central Asia, Karelia, the Caucasus", etc., whereas, actually, "Ruthenia" cannot mean anything else but the whole of the Ukrainian countries (including Carpatho-Ukraine and Bukovina) which prior to 1914 belonged to Austria-Hungary.

The number of Ukrainian sources listed by the author in the "bibliography" of his book is, incidentally, meagre: a few books and articles by N. Chubaty, V. Kosarenko-Kosarevych, O. Martovykh and I. Mirchuk, — and that is all. This is obviously not enough, and it is, therefore, not surprising that the author includes the Grand Duke Monomach of Kyiv in "Russian" history (p. 142) and does not even seem to know the name of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

The fact that the author, in spite of these circumstances, has nevertheless succeeded in writing such an excellent book on the U.S.S.R. is, above all, due to the consistency and logical accuracy with which he reveals the continuity of the Russian social and political mentality. And apart from Dr. D. Donzov's "Basis Of Our Politics" ("Osnovy nashoy polityky"), we know of no other work in Ukrainian literature, too, which gives such a competent and convincing picture of the national Russian (Muscovite) elements of Bolshevism. Even an authority on this subject will be able to find in this book quotations which he so far did not know and which are most applicable to present times, as for instance the opinion of Karl Marx on Pan-Slavism (p. 45), or the opinion of the Russian Slavophil Yuriy Samarin on the possibility of using revolutionary propaganda outside the Russian imperium to the advantage of tsarism (p. 207). And it naturally goes without saying that it is one of the best books, based on personal experience, that has ever been written on Soviet concentration camps. V. D.

National Chinese Publication

The Fourth Report of the Pictorial, entitled ALL ROADS LEAD TO FREEDOM, which is published annually, has now come out of the press. Its con-

tents are divided into two parts. The first part is chiefly devoted to exposing the atrocities of the Chinese Communist enslavement of the Chinese people and the "people's communes", and reporting on the anti-Communist and resist-tyranny struggle waged by the Chinese people on the mainland, thereby reflecting the background against which the mainlanders seek to regain their freedom. The second part is a collection of many heroic deeds done by the Chinese refugees from the mainland during the past year, who represent the Chinese people who fled from the mainland, in order to show that all their compatriots now enslaved on the mainland are all hoping for a re-uniting with Free China.

Tran-Id-Quoc: The Fatherland Front. A Vietnamese Communist Tactic. Saigon, M CM LVIII (1958). 100 pp.

The plots and intrigues of the Vietnamese Communists in Southeast Asia are the subject of this extremely interesting and informative book. The Fatherland Front (set up by order of and on the lines laid down by Moscow) has done considerable damage amongst the people of both north and south Vietnam. The people's ignorance of Communism and its tactics has enabled the Reds to abuse national patriotism not only in Vietnam, but also in other countries.

In writing this book, the author hopes "to contribute to the anti-Communist struggle, to fulfil his duty towards his compatriots and towards the people of the free nations" (p. 6). It is also the wish of this Vietnamese patriot "that, some day, Communism will be eradicated, and, only then, will the country enjoy a genuine peace, will the Vietnamese people be able to work for a better life, for family happiness, for social well-being and for national prosperity in a unified, free and independent Vietnam" (p. 6).

That the Fatherland Front is a disguised Communist organization is proved by the fact that Ho-Chi-Minh is its honorary president, while the chairman of its Central Committee is Ton-Duc-Thang, a veteran Communist, who joined the Russian Communist Party and belonged to the Soviet Russian fleet in the Black Sea (Ukraine).

The Communist Viet Minh took advantage of the patriotism of the Vietnamese people and, posing as nationalists, created several national organizations for the purpose of deceiving the Vietnamese patriots, as well as foreigners. The setting up of the Fatherland Front was nothing but a Communist tactic. The author emphasizes the fact that the Vietnamese Communists only occupy the northern part of the country. For this reason, they are still obliged to lie in order to win the people's support.

The primary aim of the Fatherland Front is to absolve the Communists of their anti-national character. Its second aim is to serve as a tool in the struggle for more popular support in the north and to attract within its orbit the Vietnamese living in the south. The achievement of this aim would result in the strengthening of its ranks and the weakening of the popular forces in the nationalist zone.

The third aim of the Fatherland Front is to lure the nationalists into a trap so that they can then be neutralized more easily (p. 47).

In conclusion, the author writes as follows: "The Fatherland Front is only one of many schemes of the Vietnamese Communists to infiltrate and communize South Vietnam. If the motives of the Fatherland Front are revealed, Vietnamese Communist cadres will resort to many other ways to try

to carry out their objectives. Thus by denouncing the Fatherland Front, we are only denouncing a part of the sinister schemes of the Vietnamese Communists" (pp. 96-97).

The author presents many cases of the Communist "United Front tactics", both in Europe and Asia, since the Russian October Revolution (1917), but he fails to mention the Russian Communist tactics in Ukraine and other countries within the so-called Soviet Union. Ukraine, where the Russian Communists first applied these tactics with success, was, for instance, one of the first victims of Red Russian aggression (1920).
W. Luzhansky

A. Spekke: Latvia and the Baltic Problem. A Sketch of Recent History. Latvian Information Bureau, 79 Cambridge Road, London N.W. 6. 98 pp.

This interesting book by A. Spekke, formerly professor at the Latvian university in Riga, gives the reader an insight into the political problems of the Baltic states. Like Ukraine in 1920, so, too, all the Baltic states (Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia) were occupied by the Red Russian army during World War II. The author endeavours to present the Baltic question in the light of the grave and urgent problems of the whole of East Europe.

The author very rightly affirms that the Muscovy of former times became "Russia" by penetrating to the Baltic and conquering neighbouring states.

It is true that we regret the present fate of Poland and the Baltic states, for they have been subjugated by the same oppressor as Ukraine, but, on the other hand, these countries have underrated Ukraine and have refused to realize that this country could be their strongest ally in their struggle against the mighty Russian neighbour. Incidentally, we are of the opinion that the author should have made more reference to Ukraine when mentioning important historic events in East Europe.

Professor Spekke, it is true, is aware of the splendid "springtime" of the nations when he writes that "the latent forces, exploited under czarist Russia, of different origin, from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea, from Poznan to Minsk and Kyiv, exploded suddenly, like the northern springs after the long silence of winter" (p. 29). And he continues: "These springtime waters flooded wider lands than those which they could dominate by making new river-beds for new rivers. Caucasia, in its isolation, fell again rather quickly under Muscovite dependence. Ukraine fought heroically, but once again it was a lost battle . . ." (ibid.).

Referring to the so-called Curzon Line, the author expresses the conviction that this line was intended to signify a linguistic-ethnic division, namely to separate the Poles of the provinces which became Polish in the past from the White Ruthenians and the Ukrainians. But he does not, however, seem to be very happy about this line, since it did not conform to the political interests of Latvia.

We agree with Professor Spekke when he affirms that "it was found quite natural that the White Ruthenians and the Ukrainians should be subjugated by Moscow. Their delegates were accepted at the United Nations Organisation, but no one has ever dared to ask himself whether these peoples are really so desirous of belonging to 'grand-mother' Russia" (p. 81).

The reader will find some very valuable data on the political, cultural and social problems of Latvia and the Baltic states in this excellent book, which is certainly worth while reading for all those who would like to gain a better insight into recent political events in the Baltic region of Europe. **W. O.**

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Contents:

**The American People Defend the
Subjugated Nations 1**

*Major-General J. F. C. Fuller, C. B., C. B. E., D. S. O.
(Great Britain)*

“Real War in Revolutionary Age“ 5

Dr. D. Donzov (Ukraine)

Russian Hitlerism and the West 7

Dr. Ludwig Liptay (Hungary)

The Only Course 9

Prof. R. Ostrowski (Byelorussia)

**The Role of the Communist Parties in the
West and their Underground Movement . 11**

V. Kajum-Khan (Turkestan)

White and Red Colonialism in Turkestan . 16

General S. D. Vito (Serbia)

The Policy of Strength is the Policy of Victory 22

N. Ekhadieli (Georgia)

The Russians on Russian Anti-Semitism . 23

News and Views 25

From Behind the Iron Curtain 30



Jaroslav Stetzko: American Policy towards the Nations Enslaved by Russia and the "Voice of America"

Prince Jan Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz: The Battle of Poltava

V. Shandor: The 20th Anniversary of the Arbitration of Vienna

V. Derzhavyn: The Soviet Language Policy in Ukraine

Yuriy Hryhoriyiv: The Youngest of the Ukrainian Arts

Leonid Lyman: The Tale of Kharkiv (Conclusion)

The Fourth Congress of the Writers of Soviet Ukraine

A Pole on Ukrainian Poetry

Afraid of Ukrainian Nationalists

In Solidarity with the A.B.N.

Dmytro Doroshenko: "A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography"

Jaroslav B. Rudnykyj: "Notice biographique et bibliographique"

Dr. Dmytro Donzow: "From Mysticism to Politics"

Dieter Friede: "Das Russische Perpetuum Mobile"

"En Notre Ame er Conscience. La Verité sur Petlura"

Walter Dushnyk: "In Quest of Freedom"

Behind the Iron Curtain
Ukrainians in the Free World

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The American People Defend The Subjugated Nations

After signing a resolution unanimously adopted by the US Congress, the President of the United States on July 17th this year proclaimed the week following July 20th as "Captive Nations Week".

The said resolution requests President Dwight D. Eisenhower to proclaim such week each year until all the subjugated peoples of the world have gained their freedom and independence.

In his proclamation President Eisenhower exhorts the American people to bear in mind the tragic position of the peoples subjugated by imperialistic and aggressive Communism.

He further asks the American people to support wholeheartedly the justified aims of these nations.

This resolution was introduced by Sen. Paul H. Douglas of Illinois on June 22, and was supported by 18 U.S. Senators: Javits, Moss, Bush, Lausche, Scott, Hartke, Green, Dodd, Humphrey, Hart, Neuberger, Keating, Young of North Dakota, Engle, Curtis, Langer, Morse, and Case of New Jersey. On July 6, 1959, the Senate passed the bill urging President Eisenhower to designate such a week. Subsequently, the measure was referred to the House of Representatives for a similar action.

Senate Joint Resolution 111

Joint resolution providing for the designation of the week following the Fourth of July as "Captive Nations Week".

Whereas the greatness of the United States is in a large part attributable to its having been able, through the democratic process, to achieve a harmonious national unity of its peoples, even though they stem from the most diverse of racial, religious, and ethnic backgrounds; and

Whereas this harmonious unification of the diverse elements of our free society has led the people of the United States to possess a warm understanding and sympathy for the aspirations of peoples everywhere and to recognize the natural interdependency of the peoples and nations of the world; and

Whereas the enslavement of a substantial part of the world's population by Communist imperialism makes a mockery of the idea of peaceful coexistence between nations and constitutes a detriment to the natural bonds of understanding between the people of the United States and other peoples; and

Whereas since 1918 the imperialistic and aggressive policies of Russian Communism have resulted in the creation of a vast empire which poses a dire threat to the security of the United States and of all the free peoples of the world; and

Whereas the imperialistic policies of Communist Russia have led, through direct and indirect aggression, to the subjugation of the national independence of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Vietnam, and others; and

Whereas these submerged nations look to the United States, as the citadel of human freedom, for leadership in bringing about their liberation and independence and in restoring to them the enjoyment of their Christian, Jewish, Moslem, Buddhist, and other religious freedoms, and of their individual liberties; and

Whereas it is vital to the national security of the United States that the desire for

liberty and independence on the part of the peoples of these conquered nations should be steadfastly kept alive; and

Whereas the desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of the people of these submerged nations constitutes a powerful deterrent to war and one of the best hopes for a just and lasting peace; and

Whereas it is fitting that we clearly manifest to such peoples through an appropriate and official means the historic fact that the people of the United States share with them their aspirations for the recovery of their freedom and independence: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, That the President is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation on the Fourth of July, 1959, declaring the week following such day as "Captive Nations Week" and inviting the people of the United States to observe such week with appropriate ceremonies and activities. The President is further authorized and requested to issue a similar proclamation on each succeeding Fourth of July until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world.

Introducing resolution Senator P. H. Douglas made following statement

"Despite all the talk about more talkathons, whether at Geneva, the summit, or elsewhere, sober minds throughout the world cannot escape the contemplation of basic issues that divide the world.

The most basic of issues is the continued enslavement of the captive nations. It is this issue that underlies the so-called Berlin crisis. It is this issue that will be at the foundation of subsequent crises manufactured by Moscow.

The Berlin issue is an inseparable part of the larger issue of a free and reunified Germany and this larger issue is but a part of the general problem of the captive nations. Yet at Geneva and in official quarters little if anything is heard about the captive nations. The very cause of our international crises and tensions is perilously overlooked. This situation has developed so that countless thoughtful minds in this country and elsewhere are beginning to ask: 'Is this the preliminary stage to our eventual acquiescence in the permanent captivity of nations in the vast Communist empire?'

With this approaching Independence Day it is therefore timely that we reflect upon the moral and political principles embodied in our Declaration of Independence. Even more important is the application of these perennial principles to other nations and peoples. In our own basic security interest, these principles must be steadfastly held out to all the nations which have been raped and exploited by imperial Moscow since 1918.

For our own national freedom we cannot afford to dissipate this greatest deterrent against Russian Communist expansionism and a global hot war.

I believe that it is most fitting and proper for us as freemen to express our moral commitment to the freedom and self-determination of the peoples of the captive nations on the eve of our Independence Day. I therefore introduce a joint resolution which provides for a Presidential proclamation designating the week following the Fourth of July as 'Captive Nations Week'. I am confident that this resolution reflects the thoughts and sentiments not only of the American people, not only of the peoples in the free world, but also of the captive millions behind the Iron and the Bamboo Curtains."



*Major-General
Hinko Alabanda*

The Chief representative of the Croat Liberation Movement — the society of united Croats — in the Central Committee of the ABN and the deputy chairman of the ABN Military Commission, Major-General Hinko *Alabanda*, has passed away.

An ardent Croat patriot, a valiant soldier and a courageous champion of the right of his native country to freedom and state independence, Major-General Alabanda was obliged to spend the last years of his life in exile far from his enslaved native country.

His life, which ended so suddenly, was both blessed with success and fraught with great misfortune. He shared both the joys and the sorrows of his people.

Our deceased comrade once had the joy of experiencing the realization of his most fervent wish — the restoration of an independent Croat state — and fighting for its preservation. But he was also destined to experience the bitter fate of Croatia's undeserved defeat and all the hardships of exile.

But General Hinko Alabanda bore his lot as an exile with stoicism and dignity in an exemplary manner. Right up to his death he was a model of soldierly self-discipline and was full of hope and confidence as regards the future.

The privations of emigrant life failed to break his fighting spirit or to rob him of the hope that justice would some day be done to his doubly enslaved people. He believed in the liberation of his native country and in its better future as firmly as he did in God.

On the other hand, however, General Alabanda was not a futile optimist, nor was his faith an inactive one. He had a keen power of discernment as regards political reality which made him realize that in the world political situation of our day no people, that has become the victim of Soviet Russian tyranny, would be in a position

to master its fate alone. For this reason, he allied his activity and the life and death struggle of his people for freedom with us — the ABN — as the common front of all the peoples subjugated by Russia. He saw in this concentration of the resistance forces of an entire subjugated world the surest foundation for the annihilation of Bolshevik tyranny and for the restoration of the rights and the freedom of his people.

To the very end he remained loyal to this principle and endeavoured to serve the common cause to the best of his ability, even though his failing health made it difficult for him to fulfil this noble task.

We laid our Croat comrade to rest in a small cemetery in Munich. His mortal remains lie buried in a narrow grave. But we all of us know that General Alabanda has not lived in vain. The cause to which he dedicated his life — the noble ideal of the national freedom and independence of his people — is timeless and will live on for ever.

Together with his Croat fellow-countrymen, we stood at his grave and in the name of our peoples renewed our vow that we shall never cease to support the just cause of Croatia and its future freedom with the same zeal as we fight for the cause of our own peoples.

We are convinced that this vow is the promise on our part which General Alabanda himself would have wished for at this last farewell.

May our loyal comrade rest in peace!

The Central Committee
of the ABN.

“Captive Nations Week”

This important resolution proves that the American people do not allow themselves to be misled by any political expediencies which are a sign of the times, but are guided by the spirit and traditions of their country which are based on the eternal values of the Christian religion and moral principles and constitute the vital principles of the civilized world. At the same time, this resolution also shows that the peoples ruled by Russia have not been forgotten and it is an encouragement to them in their fight against Russian imperialism.

As long as the United States of America exist they have never aimed to conquer foreign countries. They have allowed neighbouring small states to exist and develop unmolested and have respected the freedom of other peoples and individuals. In the present conflict between two worlds, the U.S.A. are the major power that defends the free world, and it is with considerable suspense that our peoples observe the policy which the U.S.A. intends to pursue. Now we know that the national rights of our peoples to live as free nations and to possess independent states of their own are in principle recognized and respected by the U.S.A. and that the universally acknowledged human and national rights hold good for them, too.

This demonstration against Russian tyranny and manifestation of sympathy for the subjugated peoples is of great historical significance. It is deeply appreciated by our peoples, and once they are free and have restored their independent states again, they will express their gratitude to the American people in an appropriate manner. The names of those who have taken this initiative will always be venerated and commemorated in the parliaments of our peoples.

(Letter by Prince Niko Nakashidze, ABN Secretary-General, to Hon. Sen. P. H. Douglas)

“Real War in Revolutionary Age“

In an interview which Major-General J. F. C. Fuller, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O., kindly gave “ABN Correspondence”, he expressed his views on various vital questions of the moment.

- (1) What is your opinion of Russian action as regards Berlin, and do you think that Russia will risk going to war if her ultimatum is rejected?

Answer:

My opinion is that Khrushchov’s ultimatum of November last is no more or less than a continuation of Lenin’s policy, which, in his own words, was:

“To unite the proletariat of industrial Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia with the proletariat of Russia, and thereby create a mighty agrarian and industrial combination from Vladivostok to the Rhine . . . capable of feeding itself and confronting the reactionary capitalism of Britain with a revolutionary giant, which with one hand would disturb the tranquillity of the East and with the other beat back the pirate capitalism of Anglo-Saxon countries. If there was anything that could compel the English whale to dance, it would be the union of revolutionary Russia with a revolutionary Central Europe.”

In brief, Lenin’s policy was to conquer a “Lebensraum“ for the Russian Revolution in Central Europe.

When, in 1939, Hitler set out to do the same in Western Russia for his Third Reich, he brought the whole might of Great Britain and the United States down on him; but so little did Messrs. Churchill and Roosevelt appreciate that Stalin’s policy was identical to Lenin’s, that at Teheran and Yalta they made him a free gift of Eastern Germany including a large slice of Berlin.

What is Khrushchov’s aim? It is to complete Lenin’s policy by pushing the Russian “Lebensraum“ from the Elbe to the Rhine, and the first step towards achieving it is to gain control of Western Berlin.

Should he fail to do so, will he risk a war? Of course not, because ever since April 14, 1917, when Lenin proclaimed that “World Imperialism cannot live side by side with a victorious Soviet Revolution“, Russia has been at war with the West, and the West has refused to realize it.

Because such exalted Western personages as a British Prime Minister and a British Field Marshal have rushed to Moscow to discover what the Kremlin wants, Khrushchov knows that the statesmen of the West are as blind to-day to what Russia’s policy is as they were at Teheran and Yalta. All he has got to do is to push them about as he likes, and destroy them by creating such confusion in their ranks that, step by step, they destroy themselves. Hence Khrushchov’s call for another Summit Conference.

- (2) What is your opinion of the present tactics pursued by the Western Powers as regards Russia?

Answer:

The tactics of the Western Powers are those of blindman’s-buff up-side-down. In the game, as played to rule, one person of a company is blindfolded, and he tries to catch one of the others — who are not — and tell who he is. In the game as played at Geneva, all the Western Powers are blindfolded, and they set out to catch the one man — Mr. Khrushchov or his representative — who is not, and discover what his policy looks like. Their tactics are as blind as those of a bat-headed owl in a jazz palace.

- (3) How can the Russian advance in the Near East be prevented?

Answer:

This is not an easy question to answer, because, up to date, British policy in the Near East has been a tangled one. First, the Arab world was wooed; next it was antagonized by the creation of Israel; then came the Suez fiasco, which made Nasser the champion of Islam. Culturally, Islam is anti-Communist, therefore it may be accepted that, as Nasser wants to boss the Arab world, he can only do so if Russia is kept out of it. For the Western Powers, which is the more threatening — a Near East under the influence of Nasser or under the influence of Khrushchov? Obviously the latter; therefore my answer is: the Western Powers should put their political money on Nasser. In other words, back anti-Communism wherever it is and whatever may be its colour, shape or form.

- (4) What importance do you ascribe to the national revolutionary liberation movements of the peoples subjugated by Moscow and Communism in the present international situation?

Answer:

This is a question which can be briefly answered. Wherever there is opposition to Marxist-Tsarism, whether in the U.S.S.R., behind the Iron Curtain, in China and elsewhere, every possible step should be taken by the Western Powers to stimulate and aid the national liberation movements, so that war on Russia's inner front — her vital front — may day in and day out be waged with ever-increasing intensity. Whatever is anti-Communist should be supported, and whatever is pro-Communist should be attacked. This war should be absolute.

- (5) Do you consider the West's fear of an atomic war justified?

Answer:

Certainly not! In this revolutionary age, and ever since the days of the Paris Commune, more and more have wars been decided by revolutions and not by battles. In the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, Russia was defeated, not by the Japanese on her outer front, but by the fear of revolution on her inner front. In 1914-1918, it was actual revolution which finished off Russia and Germany, and Italy only just survived the war to experience the Fascist revolution.

Because of these revolutions, by the time the second World War broke out, there were small Communist and fascist revolutionary factions (inner fronts) in all the victor countries, and extensive anti-Nazi and anti-Marxist factions (inner fronts) in Germany and the Soviet Union. This was the fundamental difference between World War II and World War I. Nobody, except Stalin, realized this. Hitler failed to create a counter-revolution within the Russian empire, and Churchill and Roosevelt failed to do so within Germany. Worse still, by giving all possible support to Stalin they enabled him to win the war. Once won, he immediately set about to attack all non-Communist countries on their inner fronts. This is what is now called "cold war"; yet the Western Powers fail to realize that it is the real war in a revolutionary age, and that the nuclear war they fear and are preparing for is nothing other than the old-fashioned outer front type of war raised to the n.th degree. Once again they are preparing to fight the last war over again, while the Kremlin is fighting the real war and winning hands down.

- (6) Which policy would you suggest the West should adopt as regards Russia and the subjugated peoples?

Answer:

Any policy than lip service, and preferably the one outlined in Answer 4.

June 17th, 1959

Russian Hitlerism And The West

Russian Hitlerism, which was born in 1917, has achieved far greater successes than German Hitlerism ever did.

The genocide which has been practised for decades by Russian Hitlerism has by far surpassed similar experiments tried out by Adolf Hitler, — but little is said about this in the West. And the slavery introduced in the Russian imperium again by Bolshevism has reached a zenith, of which the "Fuehrer" of the "Third Reich" only ventured to dream, — and the West frequently praises the economic "progress" of this monstrous Eurasian imperium. The victims of this "progress" number millions and millions, whilst the number of Ukrainians alone who have been exterminated by the Russians far exceeds the total number of Jews, Poles and Ukrainians murdered by Hitler, — but this fact is seldom mentioned in the West. Adolf Hitler annexed Poland, Lithuania, the Baltic countries and Ukraine, including the Crimea, and he made Roumania, Bulgaria and Hungary his satellites, and for this reason he was violently hated by the "freedom-loving West". But we find no trace of such hatred there against the Russian Hitler and his successors, who in a more brutal manner have subjugated not only these but also many other nations and countries and are holding them in their blood-stained grip.

Adolf Hitler had his Fifth Column in Austria, in the Sudetenland and in Poland, in fact, everywhere where there were compact groups of Germans. And the agents of this Fifth Column were regarded with contempt by their fellow-citizens. The Russian Hitler, however, has his Fifth Column agents everywhere in the world, in particular in the free West, but there they are sometimes regarded as respectable parliamentary delegates, writers and ecclesiastical dignitaries, etc. They enjoy the freedom of carrying out the orders of the Russian Hitler in any country — in the name of freedom.

Before his conflict with the West in 1939, Hitler did not wage a war, but annexed his chosen booty in a "peaceful way", — und he was rightly branded, accordingly, as an evil annexionist. The Russian Hitler, however, wages war everywhere in order to undermine the position of the West, — in Korea, Formosa, Vietnam, Indo-China, Tibet, Greece, the Arabian countries, Africa, Central America and Finland — and is extolled by millions of peace-loving persons in the West as the greatest pacifist. Why such a difference!

Why are the reactions so different to the deeds of one Hitler and the other? For these reactions actually are very different, — indignation in the case of one, and a conspiracy of silence in the case of the other. And what is more, propaganda and admiration for the Russian Hitler is expressed everywhere, — in the "democratic" press, on the radio and television, on the stage, in the universities and in the reports of persons who make pilgrimages to Moscow, who are either stupid or have been bought over. The states and peoples who openly oppose the brutal imperium of the Russian Hitler, as for instance Ukraine, Spain and Turkey, are regarded as practically non-existent. And when the protests of these peoples assume such drastic forms as, for instance, the revolts in Ukraine or Hungary, they are suppressed. On the other hand, however, National Communists such as Tito, Castro, or "neutral" friends of the Russian Hitler such as Nehru, are extolled. We can but ask, why?

Whereas the partition plans for countries which are or might be dangerous to the Russian Hitler, as for example Germany, Japan and Korea, are welcomed by many "pacifists" in the West, the idea of partitioning the monstrous Russian imperium and disintegrating it into free nations is regarded as utterly taboo by these pacifist admirers of the Russian Hitler.

What is the reason for all this? It would have been so easy to overthrow the Russian Hitler in 1917, but then, as today, the opportunity was missed, just as it was in 1945, when it was possible, after Hitler's suicide, to hold annexionist Germany in check, and would have been possible at the same time to overthrow the Russian Hitler, too. Instead of which, however, he was given free access practically as far as the Atlantic Ocean. Why?

The Russian Hitler has evolved a definite plan for world domination, in particular for the destruction of Christian Occidental civilization. The main points of this plan — the aims, methods and tactics — are the following: firstly, the expansion of the Russian Hitler's rule throughout the Occident in order to rob its peoples of the natural wealth of their countries and exploit them, just as the nations already enslaved by the Russian Hitler are now being exploited; secondly, the destruction of the Christian faith in the West, just as the Russian Hitler has already done in the U.S.S.R.; thirdly, to achieve all this by the tactics of starting wars here and there and by the Fifth Column, whose task it is to mislead and dupe the leaders and people of the West, to demoralize them, and, at the eleventh hour, to demobilize them psychologically and make them powerless to defend themselves.

The Devil's emissaries in the Kremlin have worked this plan out in detail. When the armed hordes of the Russian Hitler overran Ukraine in 1919, they brought with them a "government of the Ukrainian People's Republic", freshly made in Moscow. The "Gauleiters" of the Muscovite Hitler for Ukraine were Trotsky-Bronstein and Rakovski. The "Gauleiters" for Hungary in 1919 were Bela Kun and later Rakoci. When in 1920 the Bolsheviks thought that they would soon capture Warsaw, they took the future "Gauleiters" for Poland — Czierzynski and Radek-Sobelson — with them, that is with their armies. The "Gauleiters" for Spain were Antonov and Tolbuchin, and so forth. The leading men of the various countries of the West, who sit at the same table with the emissaries of the Muscovite Hitler during conferences, may be sure that the Kremlin has already "nominated" its own "Gauleiters" for their countries long ago.

Do the political leaders of the West really believe that they can frustrate this carefully thought-out plan by using the methods they have applied so far? Do they think that the Russian Hitler can be made more presentable than the German Hitler? Or do they think they can force him to abandon his plans by disputes in the sessions of the United Nations or in Geneva or, possibly, in Moscow?

We fully realize that it is the fervent desire of the secret mafias, which poison the political and moral atmosphere of the West, that the Russian Hitler should complete his task and achieve his aims, so that the rule of these mafias can be set up on the corpse of the nations who have been robbed of their elite, their conception of God, their patriotism, moral principles and their native country. But we cannot understand why the elite of the West, who value religious faith in God and idealism so highly, still continue to tolerate the advance of the Russian Hitler westward and the activity of Moscow's Fifth Column. Still less can we understand why these patriots of the West are so deluded that they do not see the only power which would be capable of exorcizing the Russian Devil, — the power of the nations who do not worship mammon and money, but have undertaken to fight a life-and-death struggle against the Russian Devil. The German Hitler once boasted: "We do not need friends! Show us our enemies, so that we may defeat them!" And at the eleventh hour, he turned to those nations whom he himself had made his enemies. But it was too late.

Does the West, which overthrew the German Hitler, like the latter, need no friends in order to fight against the Russian Hitler, who is a thousand times more dangerous?

The Only Course

If we study the events which have happened since World War II, we have no difficulty in ascertaining that they are characterized by two significant symptoms, which are not only typical of but have also proved fatal for the entire political leadership of the West up to the present time.

One symptom is the undeniable fact that the politicians of the West have in most cases recognized the essential character of the action taken by the Soviet leaders and, thus, also the dangerous nature of this action, too late. The logical but unfortunate result of this was that the West, in the face of the initiative taken by the Soviets, was always forced to take the defensive and was never able to take the initiative itself.

If we consider the events of the early post-war years, this fact is so noticeable that the inactivity of the West seems almost incomprehensible. Not only were the Western powers constantly on the defensive, but they were not even in a position to ward off the disastrous results of Russian action in important cases.

Whilst Turkey with the support of the West managed to put up an effective resistance against the Russian territorial claims, and Greece was saved by American help from being Bolshevized, one tragic event after another happened in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and Roumania. Contrary to agreement, the Russian troops continued to remain stationed in these states, and these countries were thus completely Bolshevized. In addition, a coup d'état was carried out in Czecho-Slovakia to the advantage of the Communists. Thus, not only have the peoples of these countries been victimized, but a mighty power bloc has come into being, which is directed against the West.

In view of the nature of Communist tactics, one can even affirm that the action taken against Turkey and Greece was merely a diversion manoeuvre in order to enable this powerful bloc to be built up undisturbed.

Even if we admit that West Berlin was defended successfully, is it not possible that the attack on Berlin merely served the purpose of enabling the complete Bolshevization of the East Zone of Germany to be carried out unnoticed in the meantime? And in the end, the position of Berlin was as uncertain as it had formerly been.

And is it not significant that "the breaking away" of Tito also occurred at this same time? Not only was in this way the attention of the West diverted from the events in Central and East Europe, but a tactical game between Moscow and Belgrade was also started, the true nature of which the Western powers have unfortunately still not recognized, even though this game has contributed to a considerable extent to various Communist triumphs.

It was only after Russia had achieved all these vital successes that the West set up the NATO, but beforehand China, too, fell into the hands of the Communists.

All this had to happen before the West showed any inclination to take the defensive, although this was at least an indication that the statesmen of the West had recognized — if only partly and too late — the danger that threatened the West.

But does this tardy recognition not strike one as rather strange, when one considers what Churchill wrote to Truman as early as May 1945? On this occasion, he said that he was extremely worried as regards the European situation. He pointed out that the fighting forces of the USA and England were being cut down and expressed doubts as to what was happening in the meantime with regard to the Russian

fighting forces. He added that he was greatly alarmed at the wrong interpretation which was being placed by Moscow on the decisions reached at Yalta, and expressed his fears as to what the position would be when the armies of the USA and England had been reduced to a minimum and the Russians might decide to retain 300 divisions in active service.

At that time, Churchill thus not only recognized the wrong interpretation placed on the Yalta decisions, which, in any case, were wrong, but also the dangerous character of Russia's policy of expansion.

But did one draw the necessary conclusions from this recognition? No, not even Churchill himself, nor his successor, Attlee, did so, otherwise the Potsdam Agreement would never have come into being.

This, in fact, is the second fatal symptom of Western policy —, namely, that even when the nature and dangerous quality of Russian action was recognized so late, the right consequences were very rarely drawn, and if they were, then counter-measures were only partly carried out, but not completed.

In Asia, for instance, this led to the unfortunate division of Korea after an agreement on reunification failed to be reached, and the same situation was later accepted in the case of Vietnam, too. And the West again looked on passively when Red China seized Tibet. In this way, Soviet Russia has been able to alienate many Arab peoples and negro tribes from the West. It has become evident that economic aid for the so-called undeveloped countries is only a partial counter-measure, but not in any way the only one by which to oppose Communist propaganda and tactics successfully.

After all these sorry experiences, the statesmen of the West nowadays talk quite openly about the danger of Bolshevik expansion, since they have at last realized that Communism aims to rule the whole world. Though rather late in the day, they do at least now realize this danger. But even today, they are still trying to hold up this danger with compromises. It is, however, impossible to combat this danger successfully with compromises, complaisance and concessions. The present situation can in this way be evaded for a short time, but it cannot be solved.

If at the forthcoming conferences the West succeeds in preserving the present status of Berlin, this would, however, not be a genuine success, just as one cannot describe the preservation of the status quo in East Germany and in the so-called "satellite states" as a success. To preserve the present situation in Europe, with or without a "peaceful coexistence", would merely be to the advantage of Soviet Russia, just as the latter would also be the usufructuary of all compromises and concessions.

In view of the experiences gained so far, one could almost forecast the exact date when the Russians would annex the countries and peoples that are still free and incorporate them in their sphere of influence, if the present situation in Europe were to be preserved, either with or without concessions. The Berlin problem shows only too plainly how dangerous the consequences are, which can arise out of unsolved problems. And it has already been evident on numerous occasions that the position of the peoples subjugated by the Russians is a constant source of danger.

Thus, if one wishes to secure a lasting and genuine peace, these peoples must be given back their freedom and independence. But this can only be achieved by a policy which overthrows Communism and Russian Imperialism. This does not by any means imply an inevitable war. On the contrary, this aim can also be achieved by peaceful means. To those who affirm that such a policy might provoke a war, one can but reply that it is likewise obvious that a cold war may at any moment develop into a hot war!

So far during the present cold war, the Russians have achieved numerous successes. Why, then, should not the efforts of the Western powers be crowned with success, too? It is merely a question of adopting the right policy. The policy pursued so far was a failure; therefore, an entirely new and better one must be adopted, and it must have clearly defined and genuine and sincere aims. Indeed, its chief aim must be the liberation of all the subjugated peoples. In order to achieve this aim, the Western powers must go over from the defensive to the offensive. They must demand the withdrawal of the Russians from all foreign countries —, and must do so definitely, emphatically and without granting any concessions, and, if necessary, must assert these demands by resorting to the same threats which the Russians use or to drastic economic measures and complete isolation. There are so many methods available, the application of which is merely a question of the art of politics. If this course is pursued and the subjugated peoples realize that the West is genuinely endeavouring to liberate them, they, too, will contribute their great share.

Much has been said in the past about a policy of strength, but little has been done in the spirit of strength. It would be better in future to talk less about strength and, instead, act accordingly.

Furthermore — and this is equally important — the Western powers must abandon the erroneous idea that Russia is a nationally unified country. In addition to the Russians, there are in Soviet Russia many other peoples, as for example the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, etc., and the Russians do not even constitute the majority of the total population. All these non-Russian peoples want to attain their independence and freedom. And the determination and strength which these peoples show in pursuing this aim likewise represents a great moral factor which, at the decisive moment, may play an important part.

The Soviet leaders are well aware of the fact that they must reckon with all these circumstances. They must likewise take into account the fact that their economic strength is limited in many sectors. Even though Russia may have a large and well-equipped army at her disposal, the political leaders of the country are aware of all the vulnerable spots in their position. And for this reason they will seek to avoid a war. Accordingly, determined action on the part of the West will prove effective. And if, on the strength of this action, Russia is forced to give up part of her illegal sphere of influence, her positions everywhere will soon be weakened, for dictatorships cannot survive retreats.

The policy of complaisance and self-defense has only led to failure; the new course of a determined policy will result in successes, namely in the freedom and security of the world, which nowadays, in view of the constant threats expressed by an immoral, inhuman and irresponsible regime of terrorism, has become a prey to its own fears and anxiety.

Prof. R. Ostrowski

The Role of the Communist Parties in the West and Their Underground Movement

Before we discuss the role of the Communist parties in the West, we must answer the question: "What do the Communist parties really stand for and what is their aim?"

We know what the formal Communist answer to this question is. The Communists describe their party as the vanguard of the

proletariat, which by means of the so-called proletarian revolution aims to set up a dictatorship of the proletariat all over the world.

But this official designation of the Communist party and its aims is very far removed from actual fact. The theoretical formulation of this designation — determined by Marx in

his day and later repeated by Lenin until the assumption of power in 1917 — is not in keeping with its present character.

In the first place, the Communist parties must not be regarded as plural in number; for there is only *one* Communist party with its branch organizations in various countries. There is, for instance, no Communist party of Germany, no Communist party of England, America or Italy, but *the* Communist party — in England, America, Italy, Syria, etc., only as territorial branch organizations of the sole Communist party of the *Bolsheviks*, which officially calls itself the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. And in this connection I stress the expression “the Communist party of the Bolsheviks”, — the designation which was applied from the October Revolution of 1917 until 1952.

The Bolsheviks designated their party thus in Lenin's day, and there was a good reason for doing so. Lenin knew that the party led by him was simply a Communist party. And he knew that Russian Bolshevism had little in common with Communism as a definite — no doubt utopian, but nevertheless ideological — doctrine, and far more in common with socialism. For this reason, the Bolsheviks could not simply drop their previous designation — “the Russian social democratic party of the Bolsheviks” — but, in order to disguise the true nature of their party, added the words “the Bolsheviks” to the word “Communist”. The Communist label thus gave this party a quasi-ideological content, and the designation “Bolshevist” was in keeping with its actual and true content.

Whether this peculiar Communist party of the Bolsheviks really is a “party” according to European and general standards, is, however, more than questionable. In practice the members of this party have no influence on the activity of their executives, in the form of the former Politbureau or the present Praesidium of the so-called Central Committee. I stress “the so-called Central Committee”, because *de facto* its Praesidium appoints or liquidates the members of this Committee.

Thus, what we today call the Communist party and what is allegedly a mass organization of the proletariat, is in reality a small group of peculiar “shareholders”, who, by means of terrorism, exercise a “dictatorship over the proletariat” and certainly not a “dictatorship of the proletariat”. Since this handful of tyrants in the Kremlin have unlimited state means at their disposal, they support not only the so-called Communist parties in all the countries of the free world as their branch organizations, but also many legal and illegal camouflaged organizations, which dutifully carry out the *tasks imposed* on them by the central organization in Moscow.

The chief task of the Muscovite Bolshevik leaders is the conquest of the whole world, — at any price and by all means and ways: agitation, infiltration, subversion, bribery, espionage, sabotage and even acts of terrorism.

Infiltration and subversion are conceptions of the operative Bolshevik tactics. They are applied in order to undermine a non-Communist state and social order from within, inasmuch as the basic values of this order are softened, dissolved or transformed into the opposite. The ultimate strategic aim is the gradual Bolshevik assumption of power by the cold method.

Political infiltration in particular is the infiltration of persons into the organizations and component parts of a social order, with the task of creating the agitational preconditions for the subversion of this social order.

Subversion itself can proceed in various forms. It can be carried on openly as, for instance, by means of speeches and publications. It will then be dealt with by prohibitions and confiscations, etc. For this reason, it will as a rule be camouflaged in order to deceive the public and the counter-espionage organs of the state as long as possible as to the motives and aims of the action. This type of subversion is obliged to take a roundabout route as regards agitation and propaganda. It will endeavour to impress certain groups of persons with certain watchwords, without, however, enlightening these groups as to the direction in which they are being led. In this respect, gullibility, political ignorance and conscious emotional elements are the most favourable starting-points. Peace, agreement and understanding between nations, and social progress are, for instance, always the higher aims of persons who are idealistically minded. The imperceptible guidance of these aims in favour of world Communism is thus one of the fields of activity of its subversive work.

Espionage and sabotage are closely connected with infiltration and subversion. Espionage agents are frequently infiltrated or sneaked in, but their task is as a rule limited to ascertaining certain targets. Sabotage is more closely allied to subversion. Its purpose is to destroy material values, whilst subversion aims to destroy the moral and intellectual foundations of the non-Communist state system. Infiltration and subversion proceed without formal opposition to the existing laws; espionage and sabotage, on the other hand, are unlawful actions.

Bolshevism makes use of infiltration and subversion wherever there are no prospects of the Communist parties taking over the government by applying democratic and parliamentary means. And this is no doubt the case in all the countries of the free world.

The problem, as far as the free world is concerned, in the conflict with Bolshevism thus arises not out of the existence of illegal cells of the prohibited Communist party, but out of the constant, disguised and systematic attack on all the values of the free state and social order. The particular dangerousness of this constant attack lies in the fact that it is carried on with weapons, to ward off which the law and the executive organs of the state are inadequate.

The manifoldness of our sociological structure and development, our political weaknesses and faults, offer infiltration and subversion so many possibilities that we encounter Bolsheviks everywhere: in politics, in party life, administration, judicature, economy, culture, intellectual life, in the social sphere, amongst the youth of the country, in sports, and even in the sphere of the Church.

Bolshevism operates not with local improvisations, but by means of a systematic central direction at long sight. The individual actions, which are tactically brought in line with each other, to bolshevize a non-Communist country are only carried out after a careful analysis has previously been made of the political and economic situation there, of the mass psychological factors and the resultant recognition of the soft and vulnerable spots that are likely to succumb to an attack. In his treatise "Leftist Radicalism — a Children's Complaint of Communism", Lenin affirms: "One must combine the greatest devotion to the ideas of Communism with the ability to make all the necessary practical compromises, to veer about, to come to terms and to advance in a zigzag course."

Bolshevism has chosen the term "party of a new type" to designate the political instrument which shall achieve the Bolshevization of a non-Communist country by infiltration and subversion of the existing order. And this term symbolizes the unity of action of the Communist party in a non-Communist country with all its camouflaged and accessory organizations and with all its individual accomplices and henchmen. Its effectiveness lies in its penetrating and far-reaching influence on the internal political development and in the elimination of all the elements which constitute an obstacle to this aim.

The first stage of this influence is achieved by using to advantage the democratic factors and by systematically bringing about a complete change of opinion and undermining or falsifying all fundamental conceptions, political facts and ethical values of the non-Communist state and social order.

We must bear in mind that concepts such as "right", "moral" and "democracy" have an entirely different meaning in the Bolshevik world than they have in ours. To us "democracy" is a free state order, to the Bolsheviks,

however, it is merely the dictatorship of their party. The designation of various so-called "democratic republics" in the satellite states is an example of the form of government of the Communist Parties. Similarly, the concepts "right" and "morality" are, in the Bolshevik sense, determined by the purpose which they serve. There is only one socialist "morality," and this must be recognized by the party, formulated and projected into the workers' movement. The common aim of socialist justice and socialist morals is the setting up of Communism or, as Lenin formulated it: "All that serves to destroy the old social order of exploitation and to rally round all the workers to the proletariat, which is building up a new Communist society, is moral." In the same sense, the administration of justice is an instrument of the class conflict, and the so-called "socialist legality", the only valid legality, is to be interpreted as a function of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the national question, too, is "part of the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat", as Stalin affirmed in his "Foundations of Leninism". Such concepts as "progress", "peace" and "understanding between nations" are likewise determined by the purpose which they fulfil in Bolshevik propaganda. And the interpretation which the Soviet Russians give to "socialism" is, in any case, well known.

One could quote an endless list of examples of subversive ambiguity in the Bolshevik application of political concepts. It is the same concept and yet not the same.

With its conceptual duplicity camouflaged Bolshevik agitation addresses itself to the discontented in the country, and in this respect it may even, in the first place, be immaterial as to whether the discontent is due to general political or social or national causes, or whether it arises out of other motives. For instance, the discontent of a certain group of persons with the tramway may provide a starting-point for agitation. And where there is no discontent, it is artificially aroused. If the workers of a certain trade group or of a factory do not demand higher wages, they are made to realize by agitation in the trade union and in the factory that higher wages must be demanded. France is a typical example of the success with which this method of agitation can be applied: the high percentage of Communist voters is recruited primarily from the mass of the discontented.

In principle the Bolshevik subversion tactics always remain the same: discontent is aroused, furthered and activated in the first place by emphasis on what appear to be obviously sound watchwords and demands, and is then gradually and, as far as the masses are concerned, imperceptibly directed into those political channels which lead to the

Bolshevist aim, — the revolutionary mass basis. A systematically disseminated discrimination of the administrative and state organs and of the responsible state forces is then introduced to accelerate this process. And, finally, a continual appeal to national instincts releases the "national struggle" against the "capitalist regime" and makes the gradual transfer of the ruling order to the Soviet regime possible. And, incidentally, the concept "Adenauer regime" is used by the Communist subversive tacticians to refer to the entire positive state forces in the Federal Republic of Germany, that is to say, to the leaders of the parliamentary opposition, too.

Camouflaged and Auxiliary Organizations

The Bolshevist leaders of the Kremlin carry out their subversive work in various ways and by numerous means:

- 1) directly through Soviet embassies and diplomatic missions abroad;
- 2) through the Communist parties and the governments of the satellite states;
- 3) through international organizations, of which I should like to mention at least the following as being amongst those that are most widely known:
 - a) World Peace Council
 - b) World Union of Democratic Youth
 - c) International Students' Union
 - d) International Democratic Womens' Federation
 - e) World Federation of Scientists
 - f) International Union of Democratic Jurists
 - g) International Federation of Teachers' Unions
 - h) International Journalists' Organization
 - i) International Broadcasting Organization
 - k) Committee for the Promotion of International Trade, etc.
- 4) through the local camouflaged organizations in every non-Communist state.

As regards point 1, it is precisely in the Federal Republic of Germany that the Soviet Embassy in Bonn has assumed the role of disseminating prohibited Communist propaganda. It regularly publishes a lavishly illustrated periodical entitled "The Soviet Union Today", free of charge. In this periodical one can find all that was contained in the Communist press before the Communist Party was prohibited in Germany. Unprejudiced readers of this periodical are undoubtedly somehow impressed by its imposing set-up and possibly even influenced by the propagandist tendency in it. One might, in fact, say with Goethe: "The simple people do not notice the Devil, not even when he clutches their neck". The super-

fluous number of persons attached to the Soviet embassies in the Western countries points to the fact that, in addition to their routine embassy jobs, they have also been entrusted with other tasks by the Communist rulers in Moscow.

The infiltration and subversion activity of the above-mentioned organizations is carried on in their respective spheres by deception and exploitation of ignorance and discontent and also of genuine idealism. We find this camouflaged agitation in practically every sphere of interest and life.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, for instance, the organization "Free German Youth" endeavours to influence young persons, the "Democratic Womens' Union of Germany" to win over the women, and the "West German Refugees Congress" to subvert the refugees, etc.

The genuine longing for peace on the part of the German people is misused by the east-controlled peace organizations for publicity purposes, and the "National Front" likewise makes a similar use of the genuine striving for reunification. So far, 200 Bolshevist camouflaged and auxiliary organizations, whose very name is misleading, have been discovered in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The most important and most widely known of them are the following:

- a) Democratic Cultural Union of Germany
- b) Democratic Womens' Union of Germany
- c) West German Refugees Congress
- d) West German Unemployed Committee and Forestry
- e) All-German Study Group of Agriculture and Forestry
- f) Association of Democratic Jurists
- g) Central Council for the Protection of Democratic Rights
- h) West German Peace Committee
- i) Movement for Self-Determination and Peace
- j) Society for German-Soviet Friendship
- k) German Society for Cultural and Economic Exchange with Poland
- l) Society of Victims of the Nazi Regime, and many others.

Many of these organizations have been prohibited during the past few years, but new ones have been founded to take their place. Their members very often are not aware of the fact that the organization is centrally controlled by the Central Committee of the SED party, whose instructions are carried out by way of the competent mass organizations and through the agency of the local functionaries in disguise. They actively support aims which in themselves seem ideal, but they fail to notice how they are being alienated gradually and systematically from the German state and social order.

Bolshevism sets up further bases for itself, by means of its infiltration and subversion practices, in the form of numerous executive organs and committees on a local level, very often with aims which, at least to begin with, appear to be unpolitical, and in economic departments, cultural organizations, etc., which to outward appearance seem to be neutral.

I should like to draw attention to the extremely significant and dangerous political contamination of German youth. The organization "Free German Youth", though prohibited but, nevertheless, exceedingly active, is developing an extraordinary skill in appealing to individual young persons and to whole youth organizations on the ideological pretext of reunification and opposition to militarization and conscription.

The "Free German Youth" cadre which is relatively small in the Federal Republic is excellently trained politically in the schools in the Soviet occupied zone and, as a young and fanatical community, is well disciplined. It carries on its activity both among the youth of the Federal Republic and also among the young workers in the factories, and its strongest argument is the actual social welfare provided for youth by the German Democratic Republic. In this respect, incidentally, the Federal Republic of Germany has as yet nothing equal to offer in the way of social achievements for youth.

Sport, too, is also used as a means of establishing political contacts. The "German Sports Executive Committee", an organization in the Soviet occupied zone of Germany, has a number of branches in the Federal Republic, whose task it is to establish contact with sports clubs and their parent societies. In addition, there are also so-called "Executive Committees for Peace and Freedom in German Sport", in which the functionaries of the Communist Party of Germany/SED Party seek to establish individual contact with West German sportsmen. As in the case of the youth, here, too, the most effective propagandist means is the argument that a great deal is done by the state to promote sport in the Soviet zone.

The other component of subversion is the so-called national Bolshevism. It arises out of the national dissatisfaction which since 1945 has been particularly in evidence in those circles that are aiming to set up a new revisionist order in Germany and regard the Federal Republic as a provisional arrangement that is alien to them. Simply to put these circles on a par with former Nazis or neofascists would not only be definitely erroneous, but would also prove in the long run to be a dangerous misinterpretation of the problem in question. German nationalism since World War II, however vague the forms may be which it sometimes assumes, is a phenomenon

which in many aspects is quite independent of the former nationalism. Its relation to the present is evident primarily in the form of a nationalist rejection of the so-called West integration of the Federal Republic and in a causal, genuine all-German longing, which frequently, incidentally, assumes a "Greater Germany" character. Here, on the one hand, is a Bolshevik bloc of the East which pits its entire propagandist dynamic force against the meagre successes of the West integration, which have taken years to mature and have thus as regards their propagandist effectiveness been futile. Experience shows that a genuine idea gradually loses the intimidating effect it may have at first and develops a propagandist power if there is nothing on the ideological level that can be effectively set against it. Nationalism, which is always deeply rooted in emotions, remains unsatisfied if its active forces find no field of activity for their piled up idealism. In the eyes of these forces, the West lacks an inspiring idea which is worth defending and worth sacrificing oneself for. In the Federal Republic these forces only encounter an extremely unpleasant materialist attitude and an exaggerated Americanization. The East, however, has an idea, and Bolshevism is astute enough to offer, not an ideological violation, but only its partnership as an ally on a national level. And this was its method of procedure, at least to begin with, in China and Vietnam.

Unfortunately, what subsequently happened cannot be undone. The rightist groups in the Federal Republic of Germany, which have obviously drifted into national Bolshevism, are, it is true, small in number as regards their supporters, but one must not be deceived by appearances in this case. Psychological errors on the part of the Western allies during the early post-war years which cannot be made good, the repercussions of de-nazification, crises in the middle parties, the lack, in a democratic sense, of any constructive rallying of the anti-Bolshevik forces from the national camp, disappointment with regard to the West integration which appears to have come to a standstill, and, above all, the abandoning to the East of the initiative for a German reunification —, all these factors have provided Bolshevism with propagandist possibilities on the national level, the significance of which will make itself felt during the next few years.

*"We are as unknown, and yet well known;
as dying, and behold, we live;
as chastened, and not killed".*

II. Corinthians, VI, 9

White and Red Colonialism in Turkestan

II

The Soviet Russians are still pursuing the same colonial aims which tsarist Russia pursued. Even in those days, tsarist Russia, in order to paralyse the national fighting spirit and the resistance of the Turkestanians and to fight them more effectively, divided Turkestan into two military administrative provinces (administrative province of the steppes and administrative province of Turkestan) and these into 9 military provinces (4 in the administrative province of the steppes and 5 in the administrative province of Turkestan). As is the case today, the Turkestanians had no share in the administration, and up to 1917 the country was constantly in a state of emergency, as is in practice the case there today. Russian soldiers and Russian officials ruled the country.

Pursuing the tsarist policy, Bolshevik Russia in 1924 divided Turkestan into 5 Soviet Republics: Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tadzhikistan, Kirgizstan and Kazakhstan. This partition is entirely in keeping with the same principles of the tsarist policy of partitioning the country, but instead of provinces, the regions are now called Soviet Republics!

Since 1924, the name Turkistan has disappeared from the maps of the Soviet Union. It was undesirable from the point of view of politics to allow so large a territory as Turkestan to develop in a uniform and compact way. By means of these Soviet Republics, which in reality are nothing but administrative units of Moscow, Russia sought to weaken the great Turkish Moslem people, who number over 20 million, and, accordingly, proclaimed the Turkestanian tribes — the Uzbeks, Turkmen, Tadzhiks, Kirghiz and Kazakhs — “peoples“ and “nations“, although they constitute a compact lingual, cultural and historical unity, namely West Turkestan. The tribes of Turkestan differ as little from one another as do the tribes of any people.

In the tsarist era, 100 per cent of all the posts in the state apparatus in Turkestan were in the hands of the Russians, and Russia conducted its policy with the aid of interpreters. Nowadays, however, 70 per cent of all the key positions are in Russian hands; posts in the security police and high-ranking military posts are exclusively held by Russians. The Soviet Republics in Turkestan have their own Turkestanian “Presidents“, “Prime Ministers“, “Ministers of State“ and “Party Secretaries“, in order to make it appear to the outer world that the Soviet Republics are “independent“. But actually all these persons have no authority, for their deputies are Russians, who hold the real power in their own hands.

It is a well-known fact that millions of Russians are at present being settled in North Turkestan (Kazakhstan) for the purpose of cultivating the so-called “virgin lands“. Khrushchov’s plan to acquire new regions in the East is not his own idea; for Stalin also had the same idea and in 1939 he had the “Pravda“ state that 90 millions hectares of land were to be cultivated in Kazakhstan. This plan was not abandoned; its execution was merely delayed by World War II. But even Stalin’s plan of 1939 was not new, for as early as 1912, the head of the Land Planning Department, Krivoshein, worked out a plan according to which 3 million hectares of virgin land were to be acquired in Turkestan by irrigation, in order to settle one and a half million Russians there and found a “Russian Turkestan“. In addition, tsarist Russia began to seize Turkestanian land and, on the strength of decrees, to give this land to Russian settlers. By 1913, about 2 million Russians had already come to Turkestan and had seized 110 million hectares of fertile land. This old

plan was then adopted anew and extended in 1954 by the new rulers, namely under the motto "More bread and food and thus a better life". And this campaign is now conducted under the designation "cultivation of virgin regions".

Moscow's plan in 1954 was, in the first place, to obtain 37 million hectares of land, in order to be able to harvest 1½ milliard puds of grain (1 pud = 16.38 kilograms) more. At the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in January 1959, Khrushchov stated that the quotas fixed in the plan of 1954 had been reached; for, from 1954 to 1956, 36 million hectares of virgin land in Turkestan were made arable, and in 1957 and 1958 North Turkestan produced 1½ milliard puds and 2 milliard puds of grain respectively. Khrushchov stated that North Turkestan had harvested more grain than the entire R. S. F. S. R., which in 1958 harvested 1 930 milliard puds. If one compares the production of the entire U. S. S. R. in 1958 which amounted to 8.5 milliard puds, then it is obvious that North Turkestan is today already producing one-fourth of the entire grain harvest of the Soviet Union. Moscow's plan is to stabilize the food basis of the Soviet Union at the expense of Turkestan and to shift the cultivation of grain from the European part of the Soviet Union to North Turkestan. This was what Khrushchov stated at the 21st Party Congress, according to a report by TASS on January 27, 1959.

The "cultivation of virgin lands" is a policy of camouflage on the part of Russia. It is obvious that Russia intends to secure an adequate food basis for itself in Turkestan, but, in addition, Moscow also intends to settle trustworthy Communists there and to russify the country. Moreover, the "cultivation of virgin lands" is also of considerable military and strategical importance, since demobilized soldiers of the Red Army can assume the role of colonists and be settled there. Cases of unrest and insurrection on the part of the population of Turkestan can then at any time be nipped in the bud by these "military defense farmers". Together with the young Communists, they are, furthermore, to form a bulwark against China. The same aim was already pursued by tsarist Russia, when it settled Russians in the northern and north eastern regions of Turkestan.

The extent to which Turkestan has now become a raw materials source, industrial centre and military base for the Soviet Russians cannot be discussed within the scope of this article.

Turkestan today is a Russian colony in the truest sense. National culture and the national press have been prohibited; free professions and trades no longer exist, and the Islamic religion is persecuted. The ancient Arab script, which for centuries has been a link between Moslems all over the world, has been abolished and, in its stead, the Russian script has been introduced. Thus, the plan of the Russian Orthodox priest *Ilimskij* (1822—1891), who in those days already demanded that the Russian script should be introduced, has been fulfilled. The representatives of national literature and culture, as well as the clergy have been exterminated. An attempt is being made, under the motto "the spiritual source is Russia", to introduce and enforce Russian literature and Soviet views.

We could quote countless examples to illustrate the parallelism between the colonial policy of the tsars and that of the Red rulers. This same colonial policy is not only being conducted in Turkestan, but also in the countries of all the non-Russian peoples who have been subjugated by Russia, as for instance the Ukrainians, the peoples of the Caucasus, the Byelorussians, the Tatars, and many others. Thus these 120 million non-Russians within the U. S. S. R. form a natural community, just as do all the peoples of the Balkan or Baltic countries.

Turkestan has conducted its national fight against the tsarist and the Soviet regime alike, for it is a fight against colonialism and against Communism. Not only the

Soviet Russians fight the freedom aims of the Turkestanians, but the free world, too, frequently fails to understand this fight. It is true that the Russian nationalists fight the Soviet regime, but they merely want to do away with Communism and to preserve the Russian imperium. They oppose the idea of the independence of the non-Russian peoples and fight the national independence movements. For this reason, Russians and Russophil circles in their writings and speeches try to make the public believe that all the non-Russian peoples who are fighting for their own independence are "separatists". Generalizing, this would mean that all the peoples who have freed themselves from colonialism, such as Pakistan, India and Burma, etc., are "separatists". The national Russians and Russophil circles are not objective as regards the question of Turkestan and of the other peoples subjugated by Russia.

Jaroslav Stetzko

The Situation in the Middle East and the West

Today, the Soviet Union emerges as a "protector" of the Islamic and Arab peoples of the Middle East and seeks steadily, through infiltration and indirect aggression, to subvert the peoples of Asia and Africa under the slogan of "liberation from Western colonialism". How much different the situation in the Middle East would look today, if the nations enslaved in the U.S.S.R. and the satellite countries were confident that the United States was on their side and stood for their liberation! Regrettably, such is not the case. The United States has failed to realize and to support the forces which stirred the Near and Middle East and which aspired to genuine national independence and social reforms, while being opposed to the old-type feudalism and colonialism. It is also lamentable that the United States, in its dealing with the countries of the Middle East, should have limited itself to the owners of oil fields and wealthy potentates; it has largely ignored the common people. And yet what was needed was support for the ideals of national independence propagated by the various nationalist anti-Communist movements. The United States could have implemented this policy successfully, had it taken into account the fact that in the Soviet Union there are about 30 million Moslems, who religiously, culturally, racially and historically are kin of the peoples of Iran, Turkey, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the like. The Moslem peoples of the U.S.S.R. have a sizeable political emigration on this side of the Iron Curtain which comprises several liberation groups and organizations, interested in liberating their native lands from the Russian Communist yoke. Had the enlightened campaign in the Middle East, that is, the psychological warfare campaign against Russian Communism and colonialism, been conducted by the representatives of the nations enslaved by Moscow, especially the Moslem emigrant leaders, this anti-Russian propaganda assuredly would have enjoyed considerable success. But the United States has not only failed to recognize these new forces, but in actuality has placed various obstacles in the way of realization of the ideals of independence of the enslaved nations. How, for instance, can the National Turkestanian Unity Committee carry out a successful propaganda action among the Moslems of the Middle and Near East against Communist Russia, when the United States forbids the propagation of Turkestanian independence through its propaganda media? How can anyone be certain of the sincerity of American support in regard to the independence of the nations of the Middle East, if the United States does not support the aspirations for independence of the nations enslaved in the Soviet Union? As long as the Americans hesitate to stand up in outright defense of the independence

of the nations subjugated by Communist Russia, they will pursue a losing course among the Asian and African nations.

The recent situation in the Middle East, with American and British troops in Lebanon and Jordan respectively, could not have occurred had the Americans and other Western powers carried out a policy of liberation, a policy of lending support and assistance to the nations aspiring to their full freedom and independence.

If we look back into the past, we can readily see that the United States has never accorded any support to the nations enslaved by Russia, as in the case of Hungary a few years ago or in the case of Ukraine, Turkestan and other nations forty years ago. Moreover, "The Voice of America" is rigidly censoring its broadcasts to the countries behind the Iron Curtain, eliminating any reference to the matter of independence of the non-Russian nations. Under these circumstances, how can any Arab leader trust the United States? By playing down the aspirations of the non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R., including the Moslem nations, the United States inadvertently confirms the Moscow-propagated view that Ukraine, Byelorussia, the countries of Turkestan and the Caucasus are all truly enjoying "Soviet independence", inasmuch as the United States refuses to propagate the true story about the Soviet Union and its colonial oppression of the non-Russian nations. Although the United States rightly supported the emancipation of the peoples of the former British, French and Dutch empires, it refuses to do so in the case of the Soviet Russian empire.

Thus the peoples of Asia and Africa are led into believing that:

a) The Soviet Union is not a colonial empire held together through sheer force of police terror and persecution;

b) The so-called "Soviet Republics" are in fact free and independent, and the Soviet Union is in truth a "voluntary" commonwealth of peoples.

By so doing, the United States is undermining its own propaganda against Communism in Asia, wherein it accuses Communist Russia of intending to enslave the Asian and African nations, since at the same time it omits mention of the enslavement of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkestan, the Caucasus by Moscow. Hence how can we expect the Arabs to believe the assertions of the United States that Russia does not desire Arab independence, when assertions by Moscow that the Caucasian and Turkestanian Republics are independent are not controverted by American propaganda? Moreover, it even seems that the United States does not desire true independence for these countries, inasmuch as "The Voice of America" and "Radio Liberation" are expressly forbidden to discuss in their broadcasts the matter of independence of these non-Russian countries.

This situation in turn creates suspicions in the Arab world (Moscow always strives to make everything look the opposite) that the United States is aiming at the enslavement of the Arab countries, inasmuch as while Moscow is propagating the independence of the "Union Republics" of the U.S.S.R., the United States is, in fact, denying their rights to independence by conducting a psychological warfare campaign which indirectly is favoring the preservation of the Russian empire (although under a somewhat different regime). As a result, it seems to the Arabs that the United States approves of colonial systems in general and that it itself wishes to become a new colonial power in Eastern Europe and Asia as soon as Communism is liquidated. Whether the United States recognizes it or not, its failure to come out openly against the Russian colonial empire as a whole creates unavoidably the impression that it does not fight against colonialism, but merely against Communism as such.

It is a pity that the Western powers permitted the present conflict in the Middle East to develop into an explosive international situation. Lacking proper ideological

and political comprehension of the conflict, the United States had to intervene in Lebanon. Unfortunately, America is not regarded by the Middle Eastern peoples as a defender of their national independence. Instead, Moscow has taken over the mantle of the "liberator" and "protector" of these peoples.

We must not forget that the coming war will be a war in which political factors will play an essential part. It is not possible to defeat Russia without gaining a political advantage over her. It is wholly possible to wrest this advantage if the United States truly and genuinely applies the principles of the liberation policy. These principles, which will be dealt with subsequently, are no less relevant today than they were yester-year. Perhaps they are even more pertinent today with the danger of a world conflict looming on the horizon. The form and content of psychological warfare cannot be ignored; it would be, in fact, a catastrophic mistake to neglect the political and psychological nature of the conflict. Not atom bombs, but *ideas*, will decide the final issue. Accordingly, my attention is devoted precisely to those seemingly abstract problems which, at bottom, furnish the driving forces of our present-day world.

Now, when a new world conflict is threatening to erupt, it is doubly necessary to study these problems and to draw the necessary conclusions.

First of all, I believe it would be advisable to create, on the bases and concepts advanced by the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), a *coordinating center* together with the competent authorities of the Free World, and especially the United States, for ensuring a successful conduct of the psychological warfare and for coordinating practical activities both behind the Iron Curtain and in the Free World. It is necessary at this point to provide practical opportunities and possibilities for the activities of the national liberation movements and organisations that are members of the ABN, which could extend behind the Iron Curtain, to the Middle East, as well as to Asia, including the Far East. These activities should be stimulated by radio broadcasts by the ABN around the borders of the Communist Russian and Red Chinese spheres of domination. They should manifest themselves in practical operation, such as penetration and infiltration behind the Iron Curtain both in Europe and Asia.

As long as the United States does not consider the national liberation revolutionary organisations as its *partners* and allies, but only as mere servants of certain U.S. agencies, little success, if any, is to be expected. These activities should be conducted through the representatives of the enslaved nations in various countries bordering on the U.S.S.R. and Red China, such as Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Korea, and the like.

The Caucasus, Turkestan and some parts of Siberia are situated near the countries from which such intensive actions could be conducted. Moslem exiles from the U.S.S.R. should be able to stir the Moslems of the Middle East and Near East against Communist Russia, while the anti-Communist Nationalists, opposed to Russian Communist domination of their countries in the U.S.S.R. and the satellites, ought to encourage the activities of nationalists in the Asian countries and in the Middle East, explaining to them the real essence and nature of Communism as an instrument of Russian colonialism. I believe that such practical and political activities should be launched from Taiwan, Vietnam and Korea, where the representatives of the enslaved nations, specifically the nationalist liberation leaders from the U.S.S.R. and the so-called satellite countries, should be included. Communist Russia attacks on a global plane, not locally; therefore, she must be combatted on a similar scale.

The resolute and decisive attempt to counteract Russian penetration into the Middle East with American troops landing in Lebanon and British troops descending upon Jordan, was a first manifestation of this needed positive approach to the problem.

However, this action contained certain elements of indecision. A compromise, even to the point of a division of influence with Communist Russia in this area, was being sought by certain Western leaders. Such a wavering attitude implied that the United States and Great Britain were unwilling to continue their resolute action to the end. The pro-Western governments ought to be supported; at the same time, however, their true sovereignty should be maintained and preserved. Such Western influence as is exerted there should be directed towards effecting social reforms, and not towards the strengthening of the feudal order. The nationalist, anti-Communist, and anti-feudal elements in those countries should be supported.

There is no reason to fear the outbreak of an atomic war, for Russia cannot afford such a war at present. The West can safely carry out its plans in the Middle and Near East, for Russia will not allow herself to become directly involved. Furthermore, she lacks satellites of the Red Chinese type there, whom she could send to fight for her interests, as in Korea.

Thus, complete elimination of the Russian influence from the Middle East is possible now, on the condition that this policy be resolutely carried through to the end. Russia will not intervene, she will not dare to occupy Iran, if the United States holds steadfast; otherwise it would mean the beginning of a world war. Knowing that the United States, lacking conventional weapons, might use atomic weapons, in which field the U.S.S.R. is far behind the United States, Moscow will not risk a conflict. Again, she knows that the U.S.S.R. is vulnerable because of the presence of the millions of non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R., a factor which regrettably enough is not being sufficiently and effectively exploited by the West. Russian brandishment of a possible dispatch of "Soviet volunteers" to the Middle East is a double-edged weapon. In the fall of 1956, during the Hungarian uprising, many Soviet soldiers, principally Ukrainians, Georgians, Balts and Byelorussians, deserted the Soviet troops and joined the Hungarian freedom fighters. The same thing, only on a larger scale, might happen if Khrushchov were foolish enough to send these "volunteers" to face the U.S. and British troops in the Middle East.

The argument of sheer physical force is the only one Communist Russia is likely to understand. The more the United States exerts force, the sooner Russia's final retreat. Her propaganda boasting and threatening is designed primarily to cover up her internal weaknesses and anxieties.

The greatest weakness of the foreign policy of the United States and of the free world in general is its timidity and indecision. It is a lack of courage to pursue to the end its political objectives, which at times are bold and effective. I believe that this indecision generates confusion and causes the loss of friends and allies all over the world. The United States and Great Britain should not only *not* compromise with Moscow in the matter of Lebanon and Jordan, but should try to eliminate Russian influence at all costs from that vital and strategic area. It seems now, with Western leaders stampeded by Khrushchov into a U.N. "summit" conference, that the actions taken in Lebanon and Jordan might be "half-actions" after all. Such a "half-action" does not impress the Arab nations a bit, but it will benefit Communist Russia, which will become a great power in the Middle East.

Thus the principal aim of United States foreign policy in the Middle East should be a total elimination of the influence of Russia and then an amicable understanding with the Arab nations. The Arabs would respect only those who are determined and bold in their political moves. The United States should make it known that it will support the legitimate aspirations of the Arab nations, that it will sustain nationalist, but anti-feudal and anti-Communist movements. The Arabs must be told in no uncertain terms that while the United States supports their nationalist and anti-feudal

movement, it will not tolerate any flirting with Moscow, nor will it countenance any Russian political and economic infiltration in their countries. Through such a policy a relative peace can be achieved in the Middle East. The United States could support the internal social and political reforms in the Arab countries and thus help them sustain themselves economically and socially. It would be disastrous for the United States to support the rich and feudal circles in the Arab countries, rather than the enlightened Arab nationalist movements, for such a policy would of necessity lead again to the dangerous pro-Russian orientation of the Arab countries.

A turn of events in favor of the United States and the free world can come only when the United States finally declares itself in favor of nationalism and the liberation movements of the enslaved nations in the U.S.S.R., which are against Russian imperialism and colonialism in particular.

(From the address delivered at the AF ABN Conference, Detroit, 1958.)

General S. D. Vito

The Policy of Strength is the Policy of Victory

Ten Principles of the Fight against Russian Bolshevik Imperialism

Communism has irrevocably lost its initial impetus, the dynamic force which it possessed in the 1920's. International rogues are changing into "national" Communists, not because of any fundamental difference between their views and those of the Communists, but solely because they fear that some day the Kremlin will simply liquidate them according to its well-tried methods. "National" Communism is merely a clumsy copy of Hitlerite national socialism; and it is a typical degeneration phenomenon of Communism itself.

Events in East Germany, Poland and, in particular, in Hungary in 1956, as well as the riots in the Siberian concentration camps and in other regions of the Soviet Union have clearly demonstrated not only the ruthless brutality of the Soviet regime towards the workers, students and women, but also, at the same time, the international weakness of the Soviet Union. Soviet Russian rule rests on human mines which at the first opportunity will explode and blow up the oppressors. The Soviet Union cannot even rely on its own soldiers (who in 1956 deserted and went over to the Hungarian revolutionaries in crowds!); still less can it rely on the armies of the satellite states, which it is now trying to reduce to a minimum. The satellite states only possess small armies, but they are well equipped with modern arms and in the event of a mobilization or of a war would fight on the side of the peoples in the U.S.S.R. enslaved by Russia, as liberation armies. The more Communism expands, the sooner will it collapse, just as the great empires in history have always declined because they failed to set themselves any limits.

Communism is world enemy No. 1 and in

order to destroy it, the following ten principles must be observed:

1) The *main aim* must constantly be borne in mind: the destruction of Communism! Napoleon once said: "There are plenty of good generals in Europe, but they all have one fault —, they have several aims in mind at one and the same time!" All races, states, peoples and classes must set their wishes and aims aside as long as Communism has not been destroyed and the Russian imperium has not been disintegrated into sovereign states.

2) What is needed are *strong-minded men*, — men who are courageous and who have a keen power of discernment, who do not allow themselves to be deceived, who never waver from their main aim, men of steadfast determination, who are afraid of nothing! Men who will meet the Soviet Russians with a mailed fist when the latter try to hurl themselves on their next victim. The Hungarian tragedy must *never* be repeated! The UNO must act speedily and drastically.

3) All peoples must *join forces and mobilize*. Neutrality and neutralism are an anachronism in our day. The Communists will naturally designate every union as "Facism", but we must not let that worry us. Material aid should only be given to anti-Communist countries.

4) *All the means* used by the Communists must also be ruthlessly employed by the anti-Communists. Terrorism must combat terrorism! In the fight against Communism and Russian imperialism, all the means which lead to their destruction are right and permissible. Our fight is a *sacred* fight. What must be done? The enemy can be fought most successfully with his own weapons; therefore, a "Fifth

Column" of the nationalists must be organized in the form of armed underground movements in the Soviet Union and the satellite states, the peoples in revolt must be supported with arms and financial means, an anti-Communist espionage and subversion network must be developed, the Communist Fifth Columns in the free countries must be persecuted, all suspicious elements must be removed from the democratic state apparatus, and all pro-Communist press and radio campaigns must be prohibited, etc.

5) *National emigrants in all the countries of the free world, you must unite and join forces!* You must form an International of all nationalists from the enslaved countries of the East. All differences must be overcome, — we must stand united and we must attack united!

6) *Propaganda* against Communism and Russian imperialism must be conducted more intensively than has been the case so far. The emigrant groups must be given an opportunity to influence and morally support the nationalists in their countries through the medium of broadcasting.

7) Particular attention must be concentrated on aircraft, atomic weapons, tanks and submarines, as well as the *guerilla units* organized in former times, which, precisely in an atomic war, will play an important part.

8) Should the Kremlin rulers venture to mobilize the Red Army, this will be the opportunity for the West to embark on a large-scale activity. Leaflets and appeals must be dropped and circulated in huge numbers in the occupied territories and in Russia, exhorting the peoples to rise up in revolt so that they may rid themselves of the Communist yoke and destroy Russian imperialism.

Those condemned to slave labour and the enslaved nations are the best allies against Moscow. The right to self-determination, to independence of the peoples and to freedom of the individual must be proclaimed over the radio and by means of leaflets, and it must be stressed that the war is not being conducted against the peoples, but solely against the Russian Bolshevik regime, and that each people during or after the war can elect the government system which it desires in its own sovereign national state.

9) Food, arms and medical supplies must be dropped by plane to the population and those condemned to slave labour, and they must be exhorted to fight on the side of the liberation armies for their freedom and independence. The first atomic bomb, irrespective of which side first releases it, must be the signal for a general uprising in all the enslaved states! There must be cooperation, that is to say, a co-ordination of the liberation policy, between the Western governments and the national emigrant groups. The national emigrants and their provisional governments in exile are the best allies of the West in the fight against Communism and Russian imperialism. Units consisting of members of the younger generation of the emigrants must be set up and used as revolutionary vanguards in the countries in question.

10) Futile negotiations with the Soviet Russians must cease; for such negotiations merely give the latter time to prepare for war. In the event of new acts of violence and aggressions on the part of the Soviet Russians, diplomatic relations with the Communist countries must be severed immediately. The Communist bloc must be *isolated* completely!

N. Ekhadieli

The Russians On Russian Anti-Semitism

The Russian reactionary organization in exile, "NTS", which is furthered and supported by certain circles in the West as the representative and spokesman of "Russian democracy", frequently tries to accuse the peoples subjugated by Russia that are represented in the ABN of anti-Semitism.

It is an established fact that anti-Semitism has never prevailed in our countries and that our peoples have never committed any atrocities against the Jews. But some people in the West nevertheless allow themselves to be misled by such provocative allegations, and for this reason we consider it our duty to give an account of the true facts.

Anti-Semitism prevailed only in Russia and it was only in that country that atrocious and

ruthless anti-Jewish riots, Russian "pogroms", were organized.

Anti-Jewish feeling was fanned by official departments and the primitive superstition prevalent among the Russian people was fostered.

As proof of this fact let us hear what the Russians themselves have to say on this subject; at least, no one can reproach them with showing anti-Russian tendencies, or of being friends of the ABN!

Some time ago, there appeared in the emigrant Russian monarchist journal "Snamja Rossii" ("The Flag of Russia") a leading article by the editor, N. N. Chuchnov, entitled "Jewish Anecdote". In this scurrilous and cynical article, the author affirms as follows: "One must assume that the majority of the

so-called Jewish anecdotes have been invented by the Jews themselves, just as the much-discussed pogroms in Russia were frequently provoked by the Jewish revolutionary circles who received substantial sums of dollars — as “compensation” — for every eiderdown that was slit; but, as a rule, the eiderdown was not replaced and the money went into the fund for the fight against the monarchist autocracy.”

But the pro-Russians in the West and the American Jewish Committee “overlook” such anti-Jewish atrocities on the part of the Russians!

The well-known Russian writer, *Nikolai Jigulev*, has now, however, expressed his opinion on this subject and in an article published in the Russian paper “*Russkaja Mysl*” (“The Russian Thought”), of April 28, 1959, No. 1361, Paris, replies to N. N. Chuchnov’s article as follows: “But how would Mr. Chuchnov describe the ‘much-discussed’ pogroms in Kishinev, Bjelostok, Odessa, Voronezh and other towns? Also as anecdotes? The Jewish children whose skulls were smashed on the pavement, the pregnant women and the aged who were murdered with stakes —, are these also anecdotes? What, then, does Mr. Chuchnov call reality? Because of the many years that have elapsed in the meantime, Mr. Chuchnov has probably forgotten the scenes of the Jewish pogroms, how they began and how they ended. I should like to remind him of the following scenes: on a certain day, the procession, which consisted mainly of members of the “Union of the Russian People” (“Black Gang”), assembled in the streets. As a rule, the procession was headed by businessmen who carried a picture of the Tsar; behind them came the clergy, and at the rear of the procession the “public”. Singing hymns the procession moved through the streets. Suddenly a shot was fired from a balcony or from some other spot. Thereupon, a cry of despair was immediately heard —, ‘They are shooting at the Tsar!’ The members of the procession disappeared and in their stead a dreadful mob of drunkards and rabble appeared on the scene. Shouting ‘Down with the Jews! Save Russia!’ this mob, armed with knuckledusters and wooden cudgels, raided the houses and shops in the Jewish quarter of the town and the pogrom began.

Woe to any Jew who got involved in these riotous scenes. Neither the old nor the young were spared. At the end of the pogrom the police appeared on the scene to restore order.

I am not relating all this from hearsay, but as a living witness of those days which were a disgrace to Russia, as a member of the workers’ brigade!!

Such is the description given by a well-known Russian of these terrible and atrocious incidents! And the Russians of the NTS have

the audacity to cast the blame for these incidents on to others.

We should like to add some further points in this respect and corroborate them with facts.

It was the father of one of the leaders of the NTS, Prime Minister A. Stolypin, who restricted the rights of the Jews, even admission to educational institutions, to a minimum. The greatest enemies of the Jews, who were well-known for their persecution of the latter, were the Minister of the Interior Durnovo and the Governors of Petersburg and Odessa, General Trepov and General Tolmachov. It was the Minister of Justice, Cheglovitov, who issued orders that the dreadful *Beliss* trial of Jewish ritual murder was to be held and his henchmen, the chiefs of the political police, General Kurlov and General Beljaev, who carried out this trial.

In tsarist Russia there were two big anti-Semitic organizations — “*Sojus russkogo Naroda*” (“Union of Russian People”) and “*Dwuglawij Orel*” (“Double Eagle”) — which were officially supported by the government. The leaders of the former were permanent deputies of the Russian Duma —, the notorious Purichkevich, Markov II and Professor Samyslovski; the leader of the latter organization was Dubrovin, an influential man, and it was he who was responsible for the murder of the Jewish deputy of the Russian Duma, Herzenstein, and the Jewish publicist, Jollas. These dreadful murders were concealed by the police, but the press exposed the real murderer; but nothing was, however, done in the matter.

We could enumerate numerous other facts in this respect, but the above cases no doubt suffice for the present.

It is to be hoped that the Western supporters of the NTS will realize how false the cause is which they are promoting. Should Communism be overthrown in Russia, she will not become democratic, as the pro-Russian supporters naively and foolishly believe, but ultra-reactionary and ultra-nationalist, as is already the case today, and the Jews will be even worse off. And not merely the Jews, but everyone who is non-Russian.

The NTS organ “*Posev*” of June 7, 1959, No. 23, has published the state political programme of the NTS. According to this programme, the Russian imperium is to remain as it is at present and there would be no question of the right of self-determination for the non-Russian peoples subjugated in the Soviet Union, for they are indispensable parts of Russia. And this organization is supported by the Western ultra-democrats as “democratic”! Surely a sign of political decay and subversion! Moscow may well laugh, for its cause is being excellently promoted in the West by the ultra-democratic circles!

NEWS AND VIEWS

Ukrainians Appeal to the Conscience of the Free World

Russian Terrorism in Ukraine

The law passed by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R. on April 17, 1959, regarding the school system and, in particular, Article 9 of this law represent a further intensification of Russification measures in Ukraine, which on this occasion were introduced by the government of the so-called Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic at the orders of the Russian occupant.

Regardless of the alleged rights of the non-Russian peoples to cultivate their national languages unhindered, the Party and the government of the U.S.S.R. are actually carrying on a systematic limitation of the possibilities of development of the national culture and cultivation of the languages of these peoples, inasmuch as they persecute and terrorize all those who support the actual realization of these rights.

The above-mentioned law comes under the category of these alleged democratic rights. This law

a) legalizes the concealed methods directed against the suppression of the Ukrainian language and national culture and gives the parents the responsibility;

b) it allows the parents the right to decide whether the language of instruction in the schools shall be Ukrainian or Russian, and thus puts the parents under the pressure of the methods which are customary under a totalitarian regime, since their choice is already influenced in advance.

* * *

It is obvious from the results of the census of the population of the U.S.S.R. which have been published so far that the Russian Bolshevik population policy continues to have as its aim the physical extermination of the Ukrainian people. So far, this policy was realized by means of mass executions, arrests, deportation to concentration camps and the compulsory resettlement of millions of Ukrainians beyond the borders of Ukraine for the purpose of carrying out slave labour under climatic and other conditions which endangered their health and, indeed, their life, a process which has now finally assumed the form of a systematic deportation of young Ukrainians of marriageable age in order to force them to become permanently domiciled in the uncultivated regions and industrial areas of Central Asia. By means of these measures the Russian Communists aim

a) to prevent an increase of the birth-rate amongst the citizens of Ukrainian nationality in Ukraine, and

b) to accelerate the de-nationalization of the young Ukrainians deported from Ukraine to foreign countries by forcing them to enter into mixed marriages.

The catastrophic results of this policy of open and concealed genocide can, for instance, be seen from the general retrogression in the population increase in Ukraine, which in the course of the past twenty years has not even reached 1,424,000, which even under the unfavourable conditions of Russian enslavement corresponds to a period of three years. (During the years up to 1926 this increase amounted to 2.23 per cent, i. e. 782,000 annually, whilst during the years 1950-56 it only averaged 1.31 per cent, i. e. 501,000 annually).

The endeavours of the Red Russians to cast the blame for these considerable decreases in the population of Ukraine exclusively on to the events of the war, must be regarded purely as propaganda on the part of the Russian Communists in order to conceal from the Ukrainian people the results of the genocidal methods which they apply.

* * *

The recent trial of five Ukrainians in Chervonoarmijsk (Rivne) on a charge of having taken part in the revolutionary liberation struggle of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), their execution and the Bolshevik propaganda campaign connected with this trial are further proof of the continued application of Bolshevik terrorism against the liberation aims of the Ukrainian people and also of the indomitable spirit of the Ukrainian national fight for freedom against Soviet Russian terrorism.

The purpose of the false allegations made by the Red Russians, regarding the perpetration of pogroms and other inhuman atrocities by the Ukrainian anti-Communist revolutionary underground movement (actually committed by the Russian Communists themselves), is solely to defame the Ukrainian liberation struggle and to divert the attention of the public from the methods of terrorism and mass murder which are practised by the Bolshevik secret police —, Cheka, GPU, NKVD, MVD-KGB, and also by the Bolshevik partisans and the Red formations which are set up to combat the anti-Bolshevik insurgents. The wells allegedly filled with the corpses of murdered Ukrainians belong to the same category of Bolshevik brutal terrorism and extermination as do the murder of prisoners in Vinnitsia, in the districts of Odessa, Drohobyth, Lviv (Lemberg), Lutzk and in the prisons of other towns, and are in keeping with the systematic physical extermination of the Ukrainian people.

There can be no doubt about the fact that Khrushchov's regime is continuing the same unchangeable methods of extermination pursued by Stalin.

We appeal to the political institutions of the free world to protect the natural and fundamental rights of the Ukrainian people who are fighting for their bare existence against Russian Bolshevik imperialism. The Ukrainian people oppose the policy of extermination directed against the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. and refuse to allow the fundamental rights of individuals and peoples, as guaranteed by the Charter of the United Nations, to be trampled underfoot.

We likewise appeal to all non-Communists in the free world to reveal the truth as regards the Bolshevik methods of terrorism and falsehood, as well as with regard to the true state of affairs behind the Iron Curtain and the national fight for freedom of the Ukrainian people.

The Truth About Bulgaria

An open letter by Dr. Alexander Lühenoff,
Member of the Bulgarian National Exile
Representation

During their recent visit to Bulgaria, the West German Bundestag members of the SPD, Martha Schanzenbach, Karl Wittrock and Willy Müller, placed a wreath on the tomb of Georgi Dimitroff in Sofia and expressed a very positive opinion to the press about the so-called "socialist reconstruction" there. This fact has prompted the member of the Bulgarian National Exile Representation, Dr. Alexander Lühenoff, to address the following letter, which has been reprinted in extract form by several news agencies, to the three above-mentioned social democratic members of the Bundestag.

"By placing a wreath on the grave of Georgi Dimitroff, you have, in the eyes of the Bulgarian workers and in the eyes of the entire enslaved Bulgarian people, demonstrated your solidarity with the most ruthless tyrants in the history of Bulgaria. Did you not know that Georgi Dimitroff, with the support of the bayonets of the Soviet Red Army, after the Russian onslaught on Bulgaria on September 9, 1944, started a massacre such as was not even carried out in the history of Bulgaria by the Byzantine Emperor Basilus II, the "murderer of the Bulgarians", himself?

Did you not know that Georgi Dimitroff not only murdered the entire political and intellectual elite of the Bulgarian people and not only exterminated over a hundred thousand innocent persons because they opposed Communism, but also murdered thousands of Communists or had them put into concentration camps?

Did you not know that one of the greatest democrats of our country, the leader of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, *Dimitër Gitsheff*, has been languishing in prison since Georgi Dimitroff's day? Did you not know that one of the greatest freedom fighters of Bulgaria, the leader of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Workers' Party, *Krastju Pastuchoff*, was put into prison by the Communists and died in prison? Did you feel no urge whilst in Sofia to place a wreath on the grave of this fighter against dictatorship and tyranny, too?

As I see from the German press, you ascertained that there had recently been great progress in Bulgaria?! Do you not know that in Communist Bulgaria today the prices for staple goods are approximately equal to the price-level of 1939, whereas wages only amount to 20 to 25 per cent of the wages of 1939?

If you compare the prices and the wages, however, you will realize that the monthly purchasing power of a Bulgarian worker amounts to 50 to 80 Deutsche Mark, that is to say, that the standard of living of many workers in Communist Bulgaria is only on the same level as that of a fattened pig in Germany. But the position of the Bulgarian farmers (about 70 per cent of the population) is even more catastrophic.

And the Bulgarian people owe all this to the same Georgi Dimitroff, whom you have honoured as a fighter against national socialism. I ask you, what would you say if I went along with a Bulgarian delegation to Hitler's grave and placed a wreath on it because Hitler was a great fighter against Bolshevism?

Unfortunately, I see myself forced to address this letter to the public, because just recently reports about Bulgaria have very frequently been published both by the German press and also by the press of other free countries, which tend to paint the Communist regime in rosy colours. Moreover, I have in this respect also been prompted by the fact that the champions and supporters of Russian Bolshevism in the West are today not so much the Communists themselves (for nobody believes them any longer) but, rather, unsuspecting politicians and agents and collaborators trained and guided by the East".

Soviet Troops Against Partisans in Slovakia

Soviet troops have commenced extensive manoeuvres in East Slovakia and in Carpatho-Ukraine, the purpose of which — according to well-informed circles — is to cover up the fight against an anti-Communist Ukrainian underground movement in this region. Contrary to former

practices, the entire Slovakian territory east of the River Waag has now been closed to foreigners and even diplomats are not allowed to enter this region. The Prague government states that these measures have proved necessary because numerous bridges and roads there are at present impassable as a result of the floods during the past few weeks.

It has likewise been reported from Vienna that the Soviet troops, which consist of infantry and parachute units, are to comb the inaccessible regions of the Carpathians for the purpose of finding the hide-outs of the Ukrainian partisans, with the assistance of police units, and crushing this anti-Communist movement.

Some weeks ago, it was already reported in diplomatic circles that demonstrations to mark the anniversary of the founding of the short-lived Carpatho-Ukrainian Republic twenty years ago had been held in the regions of Carpatho-Ukraine which are now under Soviet occupation. It was stated that leaflets had been distributed and placards posted in the towns and villages of these regions to commemorate the said anniversary.

The Roads in Slovakia

The Prague government, which recently refused to give three members of the British Embassy in Prague permission to travel to Slovakia on the grounds that roads there were closed for repairs, subsequently informed the British Embassy that these had been re-opened for traffic. It is quite possible that the closing of these roads was connected with reports about the movements of Soviet troops in Slovakia in order to combat Ukrainian partisans.

As reprisals for the travel restrictions imposed on members of the American Embassy in Budapest by the Hungarian government, the U.S. government imposed the same measures on the Hungarian diplomats in Washington and New York.

Prohibitive Measures in Hungary and Slovakia

Repercussions of partisan combats in Carpathian territory — Travel restrictions for Western diplomats

The Hungarian government recently sent an extremely sharply worded note to the United States Embassy in Budapest, drastically restricting the freedom of movement of

the personnel of the said Embassy. The reason given for these measures was that the U.S.A. was systematically supporting the reactionary and counter-revolutionary forces in Hungary, for which it had openly offered to spend 20 million dollars in 1956, and, by abusing the diplomatic status, was also engaging in subversive activity and in espionage. Henceforth, members of the U.S. Embassy personnel will be obliged to apply for a special travel permit and to state the exact reason for their trip, as well as their route, 48 hours in advance, whenever they wish to travel a distance of more than 40 kilometres from Budapest. Moreover, they may only use the main roads; should they wish to travel by some other route, they will be obliged to apply for permission beforehand. It was stressed in the said note that these restrictions would only be relaxed if the U.S.A. really showed that it was prepared to entertain normal relations again with Hungary.

What is happening in Slovakia?

A member of the British Foreign Office stated in connection with the said note that the British Ambassador in Prague, Paul Grey, had protested to the government there because the freedom of movement of the Embassy personnel had been restricted. In three cases, members of the British Embassy in Prague had been refused permission to travel to Slovakia. The reason given was that bridges had collapsed and roads had been closed in Slovakia.

Rumours, based on accounts by tourists and reports from the Slovak frontier, have recently been circulating in Vienna to the effect that there is "something peculiar" in progress in Slovakia. It was mentioned that possibly troop movements might be in progress. And in this connection the Slovak-Hungarian frontier region was also mentioned. No further details, however, could be ascertained.

Rioting in Poland

Serious rioting occurred in the small industrial town of Krasnik near Lublin, Poland, at the beginning of July, because the authorities refused to give permission for a church to be built and subsequently prevented the inhabitants from trying to build a church illegally. Several hundred persons, including many women and youths, armed with stones

*Beatus populus,
cuius Deus est Dominus*

(Ps. 144, 15)

and cudgels, stormed the headquarters of the local police and the town hall, forced their way into one of the buildings and destroyed some of the furniture. The police took shelter in the top storey, where they barricaded themselves in. It was not until reinforcements arrived from Lublin with tear-gas and hoses that order was finally restored. A large number of persons were arrested. The local Party press, incidentally, made out that these incidents were the work of young rowdies and religious fanatics.

Escape to Freedom

About 160,000 patriotic Chinese have fled from mainland China to Formosa in the past five years. A preliminary estimate by the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League put the total number who have arrived in Free China, at 159,518 from January 25th, 1954, to November 30th, 1958. The analysis shows that the escapees have come from 52 different provinces on the mainland. Besides the 14,345 prisoners of the Korean war who chose to live in Taiwan, 58,658 escaped to the offshore islands; 60,986 succeeded in finding their way to Hongkong and Macao; and 43,261 succeeded in escaping to Japan, Korea, Vietnam, Siam and other countries.

Is Fidel Castro a Communist?

We have learnt that the Cuban court has sentenced the great Cuban anti-Communist and sincere patriot, Dr. Ernesto de la F e to 15 years imprisonment. We join with the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent and the Anti-Communist Front of Mexico in protesting against this unbelievable injustice and demanding the release of the anti-Communists of Cuba.

We regret to inform our readers that neither the telegram of the Central Committee of the ABN on behalf of the cause of Dr. Ernesto de la F e and his comrades, nor our letter in this connection received a reply from Prime Minister Fidel Castro.

Below we give the contents of the letter from the Central Committee of the ABN to Prime Minister Fidel Castro.

We Demand Release of Cuban Anti-Communists

Letter to the Prime Minister of the Republic of Cuba, Dr. Fidel Castro Ruz, Havana, Cuba. Your Excellency,

As the authorized representatives of the anti-Communist liberation movements of the

peoples subjugated by Russia and Communism, may we be allowed to address an urgent appeal to you:

Sincere anti-Communists and patriots, who in the past have shown themselves to be loyal friends and supporters of our anti-Communist world-freedom fight, are at present languishing in Cuban prisons. The Cuban Communists have abused the noble cause of national independence, social justice and personal freedom, for which Your Excellency as commander-in-chief of the liberation struggle and head of the Movement of July 26th has fought, — in a most treacherous manner, namely in the interests of the Russian plans of world conquest and against the interests of the Cuban people. The Communists have defamed the great and well-known anti-Communists of the country, have ill-treated them and thrown them into prison. We are referring to the following well-known Cuban anti-Communist politicians and just men of the anti-Communist world movement:

1) Dr. Ernesto de la F e, Secretary-General of the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent, member of the Steering Committee of the World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation and secretary of the World Steering Committee for Latin America, is at present languishing in the prison "La Cabana" in Havana.

2) The first Vice-President of the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent and member of the World Steering Committee, Salvador Diaz Vers on, is in the prison "Principe" in Havana.

3) Victor Alegria, the permanent delegate of the Cuban delegation in the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent and leader of the workers, is in prison in Havana.

4) Raul Granja, a well-known freedom fighter of the Movement of July 26th and a personal friend of Ernesto de la F e, is also in prison in Havana.

We sincerely beg Your Excellency, in order to serve the cause of freedom and exonerate the Movement of July 26th from the reproach of being pro-Communist, to issue orders that the above-mentioned anti-Communists and loyal Cuban patriots, who with admirable candour, dignity and courage, at the anti-Communist international conference also attended by our representatives, have represented the Cuban cause and have brought fame and honour to the freedom-loving Cuban people amongst other peoples of the world,— should be released. We are confident that Your Excellency, as a champion of freedom and, hence, as an enemy of every form of totalitarian bondage and dictatorship, including that of Communism, will understand the motives that prompt us to compose this

appeal and, by your act of justice — the release of our friends in the anti-Communist world fight, — will do the noble cause of the universal fight against the Communist enemy of the world and against the Russian lust to conquer the world an immeasurable service.

Allow us, Your Excellency, to convey to you our deepest respects and good wishes for the cause of your country.

Obituary

Vytautas T. Gylys

We regret to announce the sudden death of the former Minister of Lithuania and acting Consul General of Lithuania in Canada, Vytautas T. Gylys, on June 14, 1959, in Toronto.

Mr. Gylys was chosen in 1949 by the supreme Committee of liberation to represent the Lithuanians who fled from the Russian regime of terror in their native country.

Born in 1886 in Lithuania, he was the son of a high school headmaster and studied at the University of St. Petersburg.

After the declaration of Lithuania's independence in 1919, Mr. Gylys was appointed Ambassador to Finland. He occupied various diplomatic posts in several countries of Europe, and was also Ambassador to Sweden, Denmark and Norway. After the Red Russians invaded his native country, he refused to close his offices in Stockholm although he was no longer recognized as Ambassador by Sweden.

Mr. Gylys later settled in Canada, where he represented his fellow-countrymen. He was one of the founders of the Baltic Federation of Canada, which represents Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia, and was greatly interested in the anti-Communist activity of ABN.

The deceased leaves a wife, the former Vanda Aleksandravicius, to whom we offer our sincere condolences.

Buffalonian Played a Part in Captive Nations Week

By Frank Buell

A Buffalo man had an early hand in the resolution leading to the Captive Nations Week proclamation that has resounded around the world during Vice President Nixon's visit to Russia.

He is Dr. Edward M. O'Connor, director of special projects at Canisius College, who gained first-hand knowledge about the Soviet regime and captive peoples during 15 years of war relief work and Government service. *Belligerency Gone*

He told The Buffalo Evening News today he believes the proclamation "has brought Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchov to heel."

Dr. O'Connor referred to Mr. Khrushchov's Tuesday speech at a workers' rally in the

Ukraine for his opinion that the Soviet leader is "genuinely concerned."

Noting the comment that Russia "does not intend to interfere" with the present way of life in West Berlin, Dr. O'Connor said: "This is the first time he has ever said anything like this. In the past he has been belligerent and made threats about atomic warfare."

"Historian" of Resolution

The Canisius staff member's part in the resolution resulted from his friendship with Senator Paul H. Douglas, Illinois Democrat, who originated the idea.

The senator broached the subject to him in Washington two months ago.

Dr. O'Connor became "the historian" in preparing the resolution, which was supported as a bipartisan measure in Congress and led to President Eisenhower's proclamation — a reminder that the free world has not forgotten the enslaved people in the Russian empire.

From 1958 to 1952 the Buffalonian was a member of the Government's three-man Displaced Persons' Commission, which resettled 400,000 persons in the United States.

Hit Him Where It Hurts

Subsequent Washington assignments before he returned to Buffalo a year ago included staff director of the Select Committee of the 83d Congress to Investigate Communist Aggression.

"We have hit Mr. Khrushchov where it hurts", Dr. O'Connor said. "The proclamation emphasizes that we propose not to accept what he would like to have us accept — the permanency of Communist domination in all captive countries."

He termed it "significant" that the premier chose the Ukraine — "The Achilles heel of the Soviet Union" — to make the Tuesday speech. He added: "Mr. Khrushchov is mindful of the national independence movement. It is his greatest problem. It is the most potent political force behind the Iron Curtain."

("Buffalo Evening News",
July 31, 1951).

O'Connor gets Anti-Bolshevik Plaque

Dr. Edward M. O'Connor, director of special projects at Canisius College in Buffalo, N. Y., was honored on June 21, 1959, for his work during the last 17 years for the "liberation and sovereignty of all nations enslaved by Russia." Dr. O'Connor, in accepting the accolade, warned against a "new isolationism" that threatens the security of the world. He called for a "people's diplomacy" as the strongest weapon in America's arsenal for peace.

The American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations presented a plaque to

(Continued on page 32)

From Behind the Iron Curtain

Russification of the Baltic Countries (Russian Alphabet to be Introduced)

Moscow is planning to introduce the Russian alphabet in the Baltic states towards the end of the Seven-Year Plan (1965). The Scientific-Polygraphic Institute in Moscow has drawn up a so-called "Lithuanian Alphabet" (a combination of the Latin script and the Russian written letters). This "Lithuanian Alphabet" was sent to the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Vilnius (Vilna) on February 20, 1959, and the designer Vytautas Bacenas was instructed to carry out the typographical task.

"Experiments in alphabetical cross-breeding" on the part of the Russians have been carried out amongst the enslaved peoples in Soviet Asia. These experiments have then been followed by the introduction of the Russian alphabet and, subsequently, by the compulsory introduction of the Russian language. This policy is entirely in keeping with the dogmas of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (theories of the language research scholar Marr), which provide for a dissolution of the languages by "crossing" and "montage". The ultimate aim is the extermination of all non-Russian languages and the melting down of the peoples to one uniform Soviet Russian mass.

At the Congress of Baltic Historical Research Scholars in Reval (1954), the deputy-director of the Soviet Historical Institute, L. Gaponienko, affirmed "the Baltic peoples have always derived their historical strength and culture from ancient Russia... This must now become the case again, particularly since 'American imperialism' harbours certain plans as regards the Baltic countries. It does not hesitate to falsify history in a most flagrant manner and makes out forged documents in order to prove that the Baltic countries have always belonged to the West. The 'harmful Western influence' must be eliminated." And, in conclusion, he stressed that the peoples should speak Russian, since "Russian is the world language of the proletariat."

There are historical reasons behind the fact that the Russian alphabet is to be introduced in Lithuania first of all. At the 8th Party Congress (in spring 1954), the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Lithuania, A. Sniechkus, stated: "The 160th anniversary (1955) of the union of Lithuania with centralized Russia must be celebrated". He added that the "progressive significance" of this fact for the further development of the people must be "impressed on the working classes"

— "regardless of the fact that in those days the Tsar and the big landowners ruled Russia".

The 120 years of Russian alien rule in Lithuania no doubt constitute one of the darkest epochs in the thousand-year old history of the country.

Serfdom, which at that time had already been abolished in Lithuania, was re-introduced by the Russians and continued to exist for practically another fifty years (until 1861). Revolts, which were brutally and ruthlessly suppressed (1831, 1848), were the reaction to this type of Russification.

After the suppression of the revolt of 1863 by Muravjov, the hangman of Lithuania, — by similar methods as were used in Hungary in 1959 — there followed a further "progressive" measure. In September 1865, a decree was issued forbidding the Lithuanians to use the traditional Latin script and school education was likewise forbidden. Whether "Red" or "White", the Russians always resort to the same methods!

This "administrative polygraphic measure", which, incidentally, was never promulgated as a law, continued to remain in force for almost 40 years (until April 24, 1904). The "reason" given at that time by the Russian administration was that "the Lithuanians must be saved from the harmful Polish influence", which existed because of the common Latin alphabet! And it was further maintained that the traditional written letters of the Lithuanian language were "really" Russian. (The first Lithuanian book in Gothic-Latin letters was printed in Königsberg in 1547; the first Estonian book of this kind in Wittenberg in 1535, and the first Latvian book in Vilna in 1585.)

The prolongation of serfdom and the "press prohibition" are amongst the most brutal and retrogressive measures resorted to by Russian tsarism. In spite of this, however, the 50th anniversary of the abolition of the decree (1954) was hardly mentioned by the Soviet Lithuanian press! The "Big Soviet Encyclopedia" merely refers to these 40 years of reaction as "press prohibition".

In the whole of these forty years, only 55 Lithuanian books were printed in Russian letters; and they were only read by the censors. On the other hand, however, thousands of books were printed in the Latin script either illegally or abroad. Indeed, "book smugglers" came to be regarded as heroes. In "makeshift schools" the children were taught illegally by their parents; the mother at the distaff teaching her child (a sculpture by

Rimsa) has become world-famous. It was during this period that the Lithuanian people underwent a steady national regeneration. The attempt to russify the Lithuanians and also to force them to abandon their Catholic faith proved a failure.

The "new" alphabet, which is to be introduced first of all in Lithuania and then in Latvia and Esthonia, is accompanied by a "medical report", which states: "Experts have ascertained that the Latin alphabet at present used in Lithuanian is unsuitable. It has a harmful effect on the eyes and on the nervous system (!) In their solicitude for the preservation of the eyesight and nervous system of the readers, the Soviet medical experts therefore recommend that the alphabet at present in use in Lithuania should be changed."

However ridiculous this "reason" may sound, it is no laughing matter for the peoples of the Baltic countries!

("The Baltic Society" in Germany)



BULGARIA

The Fate of Bulgaria

Bulgaria is regarded as the most bolshevized country in Europe. But this opinion is both right and erroneous. It is true that nowhere else has the political and economic Soviet system been realized more completely than in Bulgaria. But it is equally true that no other people of the European countries conquered by Soviet Russia has been subjected in such a degree to inhuman and ruthless coercion as the Bulgarian. And it is precisely for this reason that opposition to the Communist regime and hatred of the alien Russian rule is today stronger and deeper in Bulgaria than ever before.

Proof of this can be seen from the fact that the so-called "de-Stalinization" was not allowed to affect the regime in Bulgaria. On the contrary, exactly the opposite was the case: the Stalinist Chervenkov was replaced by the super-Stalinist Jugoff, who as Minister of the Interior of the first Communist government under the Russian occupation had already stained his hands with the blood of thousands of innocent Bulgarian patriots and who personifies blood-thirsty Communist terrorism. Not only has the system of total coercion not been relaxed in any way at all since Jugoff came into power, but, on the contrary, it has become even more cruel and ruthless.

The whole of Bulgaria has now been transformed into a huge concentration camp for slave labour. Both the urban and the rural population, including old persons and children, is subjected to a regime which resembles that of the Chinese people's communes. This experiment was introduced at the beginning of last year when Party decrees ordered that

the current Five-Year Plan was to be fulfilled in three or four years. The production quotas, which, in any case, were disproportionately high, have been doubled and trebled. During the most severe winter months, the farmers and townspeople were forced to carry out amelioration work on the land. The collective farms have been joined together arbitrarily to form huge kolkhozes, in which the women as a result of the institution of canteens, kindergartens, laundries, etc., are relieved of all household tasks and the care and bringing up of their children, so that they can be employed wholly for so-called productive work in the material production process.

In order to carry out this senseless plan, a radical administrative and economic reform was introduced in January this year. The Ministries were for the most part dissolved and the country was divided up into 30 districts of a new type, which represent a kind of independent party government. The new district people's councils are vested with complete state power and it is their task to mobilize the population for work by means of direct guidance and control of the entire economic, cultural and social life in the provincial district in question, and, by using all the means available, to realize a so-called "development spurt". In this way, the Communist social order is to be achieved more speedily and the "socialist camp" is to be assisted in its race against the "capitalist world".

Thus the Bulgarian people now find themselves doomed to a veritable serfdom in the service of Russian imperialism, and opposition to the regime is gradually assuming the proportions of a volcano.

D. W.



SLOVAKIA

Riots in Slovakia

Slovak people revolt against Prague dictatorship

Fierce riots and demonstrations on the part of the population against the transfer of Slovak workers to the Sudetenland have occurred recently in Brezno, Zvolen, Banska Bystrica, Handlova, Prievidza and other towns in Slovakia. In Brezno hundreds of Slovaks held a demonstration to protest against deportation to the Sudetenland. The demonstrators carried banners inscribed with slogans attacking the Czech-Communist regime, and abused the Prague government, the authorities and the Communist Party. The police had a hard job to put a stop to the demonstration. Numerous clashes occurred when the police began firing on the demonstrators. Two demonstrators were killed and several injured. Sixty-nine persons were arrested by the police.

Similar demonstrations were also held in Zvolen, Handlova, Prievidza and elsewhere. In Banska Bystrica the Czech army was obliged to intervene and forcibly marshal the Slovak workers, who were refusing to be sent out of Slovakia, into the train.

The Prague centre of the Communist Party also saw itself forced to occupy itself with the question of these demonstrations and riots and to draw its conclusions accordingly. Under pressure of the situation in Slovakia, the Czech President Novotny has issued orders to the effect that for the time being there are to be no further compulsory resettlements to the Sudetenland. Until further

orders have been issued, recruiting campaigns are allegedly only to be carried out on a voluntary basis. Organs of the Czech Communist regime in Slovakia, however, are continuing to force Slovaks to work in the Sudetenland, for the simple reason that 18,500 Slovak workers are to be transferred there this year and so far only very few have reported voluntarily for work there in spite of all the propaganda disseminated for this purpose.

The situation in Slovakia is extremely tense. The Prague government is afraid lest further outbreaks of discontent on the part of the Slovak people may occur.

O'Connor gets Anti-Bolshevik Plaque

Continued from page 29

Dr. O'Connor at the Ukrainian Home, Dnipro, 562 Genesee Street in Buffalo, N. Y.

Members of the AFABN are representatives of national groups behind the Iron Curtain. They have pledged themselves to work for the liberation and independence of these nations.

Critical of Status Quo Idea

Dr. O'Connor said a theory of "political evolution" which fosters the *status quo* is a danger to the establishment of world peace.

He declared this new isolationism believes it will take from 50 to 100 years for the present world problems to resolve themselves. Until then, he said, there will be a mixture of what is good and bad in both Communism and Democracy. Eventually, he said, the theory proposes the bad will disappear, the good will remain and a new Utopia will emerge combining the attributes of these two forces.

Dr. O'Connor said the free world cannot afford to wait. He pointed out that Russian Communism is "camouflaged, old-fashioned Russian despotism. The Russians are not going to wait. They are going to take the world."

He asserted the greatest force in the world is nationalism and that the desire of individual nations to be the "masters of their destiny" also cannot wait. He predicted the subjugated nations will revolt. He reminded America is "still the hope of the world if we are willing to stand by our ideals."

Dr. O'Connor helped resettle more than 400,000 displaced persons of World War II while he was a member of President Truman's Displaced Persons Commission.

Representatives of each national group gave special recognition to Dr. O'Connor, a holder of a doctorate in political science from the University of Munich, Germany.

Dr. Nestor Procyk, executive chairman of the AFABN and one of its founders, said: "Having the God-given ability to grasp the reality of any political situation Dr. O'Connor

has the courage to challenge evil forces and to fight them relentlessly."

The plaque was presented to Dr. Edward M. O'Connor by Dr. N. Procyk.

Dr. George Bodhan Kistiakowsky, Ukrainian-Born Scientist, Named Special Assistant to the President

Washington. — Dr. George Bodhan Kistiakowsky, Ukrainian-born scientist and Professor of Chemistry at Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.), was named on May 28th, 1959, as a Special Assistant to President Eisenhower in the field of science and technology, replacing Dr. James R. Killian, Jr., who resigned the post to return to teaching and research at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT).

Named to the \$21,000-a-year post, Dr. Kistiakowsky, a member of a prominent Ukrainian family which played an outstanding role in the cultural-scientific life of Czarist Russia and later in the anti-communist and Ukrainian movements, held important political positions during the existence of the independent Ukraine before the communist conquest. His father, Prof. Bodhan Kistiakowsky, was a well-known Ukrainian sociologist and Professor of the University of Kiev and member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. His uncle, Dr. Ihor Kistiakowsky, was Minister of Interior in the government of *Hetman* Paul Skoropadsky.

Born on November 18, 1900, in the capital of Ukraine, Kiev, Dr. Kistiakowsky has resided in the US. since 1926. He received his American citizenship in 1933 and has been professor in Chemistry at Harvard University since 1938.

Academically, the Ukrainian-born scientist has won top honors. He has specialized in research in the fields of kinetics of gas phase reactions, structure of polyatomic molecules, thermo-chemistry of organic compounds, enzymecatalyzed reactions and detonation waves, and has written 150 scientific journal articles and a book on his specialities.



New Trial against the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)

On July 30th this year, Radio Stanislav (in West Ukraine) reported as follows: "Mass meetings by workers, kolkhoz workers and officials were recently held in the industrial concerns in the Bohorodchanski area. The workers censured the inhuman deeds of the bourgeois nationalists and demanded that Banderivzi, Rozhuka, Havreshtchuk and their accomplices should be sentenced to death by hanging."

"In this connection the members of the kolkhoz Radianska Ukraina held a meeting at which a petition was signed by 230 persons present on this occasion. The petition was worded as follows: After having discussed the article published in the paper "Pry Karpatska Pravda" on July 24, 1959 (the article was entitled "Punishment for Bandits"), we, the workers of the kolkhoz Radianska Ukraina, demand severe punishment for the bandits Rozhuka and Havreshtchuk, who have dealt with our Soviet people in a bestial manner; we likewise demand that this punishment should be executed with all the strictness of Soviet law. Full of indignation, we curse and hate the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists . . . We demand the death penalty for these criminals, — this is the irrevocable decision of the workers!"

Since the Russian Bolshevik criminals are afraid lest the Ukrainian people may express their indignation at the manner in which the noble sons of their people, that is the national revolutionaries, have been murdered and persecuted, and may rise up in revolt, they are resorting to vile and inhuman methods. They compel the workers of the factories and the farmers of the kolkhozes to attend meetings and force them by diabolical threats to "express their indignation" at the Ukrainian nationalists and demand the death sentence for the latter. It is of course significant that the Russian persecutors themselves have not the courage to condemn the Ukrainian freedom fighters to death, but have to rely on the "people" in this respect. This is proof of the fact that the members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), who are active in Ukraine, enjoy the wholehearted support of the broad masses. And this is precisely the reason why the Russian persecutors resort to the basest methods in order to create confusion and at least stir up a few people against the Ukrainian nationalists.

*Federal Chancellor Dr. Adenauer
Reads Dieter Friede's "Das russische
Perpetuum Mobile"*

In a broadcast over the North German Broadcasting Corporation, Hamburg, on May 28, 1959, Peter von Zahn said:

"The real purpose of a report from Washington is not to advertize a German book on Russia. But today I should, however, like to make an exception and inform listeners that Federal Chancellor Adenauer on his plane-trip to Washington occupied himself by reading the account of the century-old, ever-increasing Russian urge to expansion as given by Dieter Friede in his recently published book. As Dr. Adenauer told a repor-

ter, he was so impressed by the crisis caused by Russia that part of the talks which he had yesterday with President Eisenhower and today with Vice-President Nixon and Senator Fulbright consisted in renewed warnings against the Russian aims."

This was how Peter von Zahn opened his broadcast talk, the text of which has now been passed on to us by the North German Broadcasting Corporation, Hamburg.

At the end of his report he added:

"If one understands him rightly, the Federal Chancellor, even without the literature which he perused in the plane, does not believe that Khrushchov has abandoned the traditional Russian attempt to establish a hegemony over the whole of Europe."

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Contents:	Heroic Death of Stefan Bandera	1
	<i>Dr. Dimiter Waltscheff (Bulgaria)</i>	
	The Only Way Out	5
	<i>Niko Nakashidze (Georgia)</i>	
	The West at the Cross Roads	10
	<i>Jorge Prieto Laurens (Mexico)</i>	
	The Gay and Confident People	14
	Thomas Dodd's Warning	18
	<i>Admiral Carlos Penna Botto (Brazil)</i>	
	Will Any Good Come Out of Khrushchov's Visit to the United States?	21
	<i>V. Tsitsishvili (Georgia)</i>	
	Khrushchov in Washington	22
	AF ABN Demonstrations Against Khrushchov	25
	Joint Statement by Ukrainian Political Groups	30
	From Behind the Iron Curtain	32
	News and Book Reviews	36



Maj.-Gen. Richard Hilton: East, West and Centre

A Step Forwards in the Policy of the USA

Jaroslav Stetzko: What and How?

Volodymyr Derzhavyn: School and Russification

Stepan Lenkavsky: Changes in the Population Statistics of Ukraine

Vasyl Oreletsky: Ukraine's Relations with Russia in the Middle of the 17th Century

Yuriy Tys-Krokhmaluk: The Victory at Konotop

Vera Rich: Two Poems of Hetman Ivan Mazepa

Prince Jan Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz: The Battle of Poltava

Remarks by the Hon. Michael Starr, Federal Minister (Ottawa)

Resolutions of the Ukrainian Manifestation in Toronto

U. S. Senate Resolution on the "Captive Nations Week"

The Urban Population of Ukraine

D. A.: Pasternak and his Novel

Figures True to Life (Sculptor Gregory Kruk)

Clarence A. Manning: "Hetman of Ukraine Ivan Mazepa"

Ivan Vlasovsky: "Outline History of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church"

Pavlo Shandruk: "Arms of Valour"

C. A. Dixon and Otto Heilbrunn: "Partisanen"

New Publications on Moscow's Imperialism in Ukraine

Ukrainians in the Free World

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IN MEMORIAM

WITH THE SACRIFICIAL DEATH OF STEFAN BANDERA, WHO DIED AT THE HANDS OF RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIST MURDERERS IN MUNICH, THE NATIONAL UKRAINIAN LIBERATION REVOLUTION HAS RECEIVED A NEW ALTAR. OTHER SUCH ALTARS EXIST IN PARIS, ROTTERDAM AND ON THE SUFFERING AND BLOOD-STAINED NATIVE SOIL OF UKRAINE, WHERE COUNTLESS UKRAINIANS WHO HAVE FOUGHT AGAINST FOREIGN RULE AND GENOCIDE HAVE LAID DOWN THEIR LIVES.

ALL THESE SACRIFICES HAVE NOT BEEN IN VAIN. THE GRAVES OF THESE FIGHTERS WILL KINDLE THE WILL TO FREEDOM AND THE FIGHTING SPIRIT OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE AGAIN AND AGAIN, UNFAILINGLY, UNTIL RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIST TYRANNY IS BROKEN AND THE UKRAINIAN NATION REGAINS ITS FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE ONCE MORE.

STEFAN BANDERA AND HIS LOYAL SUPPORTERS HAVE WALKED THE PATH TO CALVARY AHEAD OF THEIR PEOPLE. THEY FACED DEATH COURAGEOUSLY AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO, SINCE THEY KNOW THAT THE PATH TO THE RESURRECTION OF THEIR NATIONAL FREEDOM CAN ONLY BE REACHED BY THEIR PERSONAL SACRIFICE. AND SOME DAY, FREE UKRAINE WILL EXPRESS ITS UNDYING GRATITUDE TO THEM FOR THEIR SELF-SACRIFICE.

THE NAME OF STEFAN BANDERA WILL GO DOWN IN THE ANNALS OF UKRAINIAN HISTORY AS ONE OF THE MARTYRS WHO LAID DOWN THEIR LIVES IN THE UNPRECEDENTED UKRAINIAN FIGHT FOR FREEDOM. HIS WORK AND HIS SACRIFICE, HOWEVER, DO NOT CONCERN THE UKRAINIANS ALONE. NOR MERELY THE COMMON FATE OF OUR PEOPLES WHO ARE SUBJUGATED BY RUSSIAN BOLSHEVISM. THE FACT THAT HIS LIFE HAS BEEN EXTINGUISHED BY BOLSHEVIST CONSPIRATORS HERE IN THE MIDST OF THE FREE WORLD SHOULD BE A WARNING TO THE WHOLE WORLD THAT IT, TOO, IS THREATENED. FOR BANDERA'S MURDERERS OF TODAY ARE THE SUBJUGATORS AND MURDERERS OF FREEDOM IN THE WHOLE WORLD OF TOMORROW!

BUT THE INDOLENT AND PAMPERED WESTERN WORLD STILL CONTINUES TO ADOPT AN ATTITUDE OF INDIFFERENCE, LACK OF COMPREHENSION AND EVEN ILL-WILL TOWARDS US. AND THE FACT THAT SO SIGNIFICANT A POLITICAL INCIDENT AS THE ASSASSINATION OF BANDERA IS COVERED UP BY THE REST OF THE WORLD WITH SUCH DISPARAGING TERMS AS "SUICIDE," "SHADY AFFAIR" AND SIMILAR EXPRESSIONS, IS SURELY PROOF OF AN AMORAL POLITICAL ATTITUDE AND OF SERIOUS MORAL DEGENERATION.

WE, HOWEVER, AND WITH US A WHOLE WORLD OF ENSLAVED PEOPLES IN THE SOVIET RUSSIAN COLONIAL IMPERIUM WILL CONTINUE UNWAVERINGLY TO PURSUE OUR AIM OF A NATIONAL LIBERATION REVOLUTION. FOR WE ARE IN DUTY BOUND TO DO SO BY THE SACRIFICE AND DEATH OF STEFAN BANDERA AND MEN LIKE HIM FROM THE RANKS OF ALL OUR PEOPLES, WHO, BY THEIR OPEN OR LATENT RESISTANCE, TODAY SERVE THE UNSUSPECTING FREE WORLD AS A RAMPART.

LET US HOPE THAT THIS WORLD WILL AWAKEN BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE!

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Address held at the Funeral of Stefan Bandera on October 20, 1959

In 1926 Simon Petlura was murdered in Paris; twelve years later, in 1938, Eugen Konovalts was assassinated in Rotterdam, and in 1950 the same fate befell Taras Chuprynka in Bilohorscha (Ukraine). Today, nine years later, we stand at this open grave here in Munich —, at the coffin of Stefan Bandera . . .

Four tragic dates in the recent history of Ukraine, four great men, each of them a noble and outstanding personality, four pillars of fire in heroic self-sacrifice for the Ukrainian cause of freedom and state independence.

Each of them died at his post by the hand of the Russian occupant, by the treacherous cunning that is typical of all Moscow murderers of every era and every state system. Moscow has not the courage to take up an open fight with the champions and representatives of the noble idea of freedom cherished by Ukraine —, the idea of right and justice, the idea of universal freedom; Moscow resorts to the course of cunning and secret murder. But Moscow's triumphs in the long run are not permanent. Moscow, which personifies the forces of evil, destruction and ruin, robs us of our best men, but their spirit and their ideas live on.

Moscow is endeavouring to break our spirit and, by forcibly taking Stefan Bandera from our midst, believes that the Ukrainian nation will thus be spiritually crushed, and overwhelmed by despair, will renounce the ideas of the man who has been murdered and will abandon its national fight for freedom.

Such hopes are futile! — The deceased was the very personification of the ideas of the entire Ukrainian nation, of the ideas which inspire it, of the ideas for which it suffers and for which millions of Ukrainians have already sacrificed their lives. The name of Bandera has become the symbol of the present anti-Russian fight of Ukraine for its state independence and for human freedom. In the course of his revolutionary activity, Stefan Bandera for many years held the leading posts in the Ukrainian organized liberation movement and distinguished himself by his great spirit of self-sacrifice, his courage and determination —, to begin with, in the Ukrainian Military Organization (UWO), then in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) as his country's leader and territorial UWO commander, and, later, as the leader of the entire OUN and as President of the Executive Committee of the Units Abroad of the OUN, in which posts he moulded the political character of the OUN and gave it its form of organization. Neither the fact that he was sentenced to death, nor the years he spent in German concentration camps, nor the martyrdom inflicted on his two brothers in Auschwitz and on his brother-in-law could make him swerve from his revolutionary course; he continued to pursue his path unwaveringly, regardless of obstacles or failures.

He derived his great moral strength from his profound religiousness. Christianity was an inalienable part of his spiritual strength, and his entire activity was characterized by his faith in God and his Christian moral principles. His patriotic nationalism was inseparably united with his Christianity. He was fully aware of the fact that Moscow, the centre of aggres-

sive atheism and totalitarian tyranny, can only be fought successfully if Ukraine once more resumes its historic mission in East Europe —, the fight for Christ against the Moscow anti-Christ. And he fought for this cause not only tactically, but also and above all ideologically, for it was a direct corroboration of his own personal outlook on life and the world in general.

His loyalty never swerved from Ukraine, his native country, which constitutes the basis of our strength. His attention was concentrated mainly on the development and expansion of the national revolutionary campaign in Ukraine and he devoted all his energy to the universal and systematic realization of the revolutionary potential. He was not only an outstanding organizer of the national revolution, but also a far-sighted theoretician, whose conception of Ukraine was always that of a nation standing on the common front of all the peoples enslaved by Russia and by Communism; for this reason he was a sincere supporter and a determined champion of the ideas of freedom advocated by the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), in whose foundation and activity he played an outstanding part. The Ukrainian problem was in his opinion a problem which concerns the whole world; he desired freedom and national independence both for his own native country, as well as for all the other peoples subjugated by Russia and Communism, whose fate is inseparably bound up with that of Ukraine.

When the two totalitarian imperialisms clashed on Ukrainian soil in 1941, he courageously decided to wage the two-front fight, the basis for which was provided by the Ukrainian act of state of June 30, 1941. He regarded the national revolution as an all-embracing revival of the entire nation in every sphere of public and private life. He had the courage to reach decisions and to assume the responsibility in this respect, without casting the blame for possible failures on to others.

Though he was relentless in his attitude towards the national enemy, he respected every honest and righteous action on the part of Ukrainians whose political attitude differed from his, and he was firmly convinced that at the decisive moment in Ukraine's history all sincere patriots of Ukraine would cast aside their internal political differences and would set the interests of the Ukrainian nation above all else.

He was equally interested in the problems of the Ukrainian National Revolution regarding a political programme, and he contributed an important share to the ideological contents of Ukrainian nationalism. His ideas, expressed in various publications and also in his political correspondence, will, once they have been compiled, give a clear picture of his views and his political testament.

The enemy has dealt us a heavy blow. Moscow has murdered the leader of the Ukrainian national fight for freedom in the firm conviction that this crime, committed at a time of so-called "peaceful coexistence" and capitulation moods in the West, will not lead to any external political conflicts. But the free world should realize that the murder of Bandera will be a "memento mori" for all those who do not support our fight for freedom. Moscow's crime is a corroboration of its determination to prepare itself for a decisive fight with the West in the near future. Will the West comprehend this?

But we, the Ukrainian Nationalist Revolutionaries and the whole of fighting Ukraine, as well as our friends in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, will continue our hitherto uncompromising life-and-death struggle against Russia and Communism unflinchingly and will truly realize the legacy of Stefan Bandera.

Today we bid farewell to the mortal remains of Stefan Bandera, but in our hearts and the soul of the Ukrainian people he will live on for ever!

In the name of the entire Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalist Revolutionaries on this side of and beyond the Iron Curtain, in the name of the whole of fighting Ukraine, in the name of the survivors of the old guard of the Ukrainian national revolution, who for over thirty years fought side by side with you on the front, — and as a personal friend, I bid you, our loyal comrade and leader, farewell as you pass over into the realm of everlasting life.

As a last greeting I bring you water from the Black Sea, from the Ukrainian sea, which is as stormy as your whole life was!

And next to it I place a handful of soil — from Ukraine! It will always remind you of our native country!

May foreign soil rest lightly on you!

Dr. Dimiter Waltscheff

The Only Way Out

A Significant Interlude in American Policy

The alternative “peaceful coexistence or atomic war“ haunts the present talks and negotiations with Moscow, enforced by the latter’s offensive against the armament of Germany, like a kind of fatal dilemma that precludes every other possibility.

Influenced by the illusion of a possible loyal coexistence and co-operation with the Communist bloc as the course to be pursued in order to avert an atomic war, which would otherwise be inevitable, the Western world is in many cases prepared to accept the persistent watchwords of Moscow’s policy, such as “easing the tension“, “ending the cold war“, “partial disarmament“ and “increased exchange of goods“, etc. The actual purpose of all these demands, however, is to consolidate Bolshevist rule in the countries that have been conquered so far and, in addition, to serve world Communism as a spring-board for its ultimate aims, which always remain the same.

Meanwhile Moscow is now feverishly endeavouring to bring about a political truce and understanding with the Western powers, but its sole reason for doing so is that it fears the present superiority of the latter’s warfare technique and urgently needs a breathing-space in its exhausting competition with the free world. Should the Soviet camp, however, now manage to get a respite, to raise the standard of living of the masses and to catch up with or even overtake the West as regards production and armaments, then it will undoubtedly not hesitate at all to resume and continue its aggression for the purpose of world conquest on the largest scale possible and, in fact, if necessary by an atomic war.

If, eventually, in the course of the desired “coexistence“, the atomic potential of the two camps should become equally balanced, so that a future war would solely have to be conducted with conventional weapons, then it is, on the other hand, more than certain that in such a case Europe, at least, would become the first victim of a “local war“, which Moscow would be able to undertake with an overwhelming number of Bolshevist hordes.

It is thus obvious that in every case that can be foreseen, coexistence with the Bolshevist camp in the long run offers no guarantee whatever for the self-preservation of the free world, but in reality will only prove to be a stage on the way to its ultimate ruin. The kind of symbiosis with the West which Moscow aims to

establish is in reality the most direct route to fattening the parasite of Communist tyranny on Western democracy itself, until the former some day becomes strong enough to wipe out all freedom in the world.

Since the democratic Western world, on the other hand, confines itself strictly to a defensive policy and, on principle, excludes all thought of a preventive war, even as long as it is still superior in strength, there can be no doubt about the fact that time is only working in favour of Moscow and ceaseless Communist aggression.

In view of these depressing prospects, the question obtrudes itself as to whether there can be any objective possibility of bringing about a decisive turn in the hitherto disastrous development, and whether the West still has a chance of finding a way to evade the alternative "coexistence or atomic war", which has been suggested to it, as it were, as a choice between Scylla and Charybdis.

* * *

Fortunately, there is still a way out of the difficulty, and the sooner the Western powers resort to this course, the better for the future of the whole of mankind.

This course was recently indicated by a gesture — as yet only platonic in character — on the part of the highest American departments. But, unfortunately, not sufficient attention was paid in the West to this gesture as a new course to put a stop to Soviet world aggression. We are referring to the memorable resolution of the American Congress and the proclamation issued accordingly by President Eisenhower in July this year regarding the institution of a so-called "Captive Nations Week".

This initiative, as yet purely demonstrative, which hardly met with any comment at all on the part of Western publicism, was in reality a *revolutionary act* in the American policy pursued so far with regard to the Soviet Union and had the effect of stirring up a wasps' nest in Moscow. And in all the countries of the so-called socialist camp, a regular series of protests was voiced against this "*unheard-of American provocation*" and this "*attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign countries*". The fact that in this case Soviet Russian despotism felt that it had been fatally wounded in its most vulnerable spot, namely by the suggested possibility of a new attitude on the part of American policy towards the Bolshevist colonial imperium and the peoples incarcerated in it, could be seen from the explosive manner in which Khrushchov himself reacted. Simultaneously with the arrival of the U.S. Vice-President Nixon as an official guest at the Moscow airport, Khrushchov, who had just returned from his visit to Warsaw, appeared at a mass meeting in the "Lenin" sports stadium and affirmed that "Captive Nations Week" was "*the biggest swindle on the part of the leaders of American policy*". The Soviet Prime Minister even went so far as to accuse the "American monopolists" of irresponsibility, inasmuch as he made out that they had *lost all control over their actions* and were kindling an "anti-socialist campaign" with this act, precisely at a time when the exchange of Soviet and American visits was paving the way to friendship and understanding.

But immediately after the first shock was over in the columns of the entire Soviet satellite press, which, between the lines, revealed *considerable alarm* lest there might be a possible change in American policy on the lines of the said resolution, Moscow changed its tone. Seeing that this sensational step on the part of the leading American political factors did not evoke the dreaded response amongst the Western public, the entire Communist press changed its tactics and, in a new series of leading articles, began to speak disparagingly of the Washington proclamation and describe it as a one day's episode, which had no effect whatever on the West and had met with no support at all there.

The Bulgarian government organ "*Otetchestven Front*", for instance, exulted at the "*failure of the provocation*", whilst the official Party paper "*Rabotnitschesko Delo*" maliciously affirmed, with considerable relief: "*The latest provocation on the part of the American reactionaries has also sunk into oblivion . . . The notorious 'Captive Nations Week' died away without making the least impression and without leaving any traces in American public opinion*".

* * *

There could hardly be a more convincing proof of the *vulnerable spot* of the Soviet system than this reaction and a clearer *indication of the course* which Western policy should pursue in order to secure the law of action for itself and to force Soviet Russian aggression to retreat.

But we should now like to turn to the *main question*, — namely, what there is about this resolution on the part of the U.S. Congress that has caused so much alarm amongst the guilty Bolshevist despots in the Kremlin and their hirelings in the capitals of the Soviet Russian colonies. In this resolution *the leading government departments of the U.S.A for the first time officially contested the Russian Bolshevist rule over all the non-Russian countries and both beyond and within the frontiers of the so-called Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics and recognized these peoples' right to freedom and independence as legitimate*. And what is more, — *the liberation of all these peoples who have been forcibly subjugated and enslaved was declared to be a desirable aim, which is of vital importance for the security of America itself*.

The victims of the "imperialistic and aggressive policies of Russian Communism" — as the resolution explicitly states — are today incarcerated in a "*vast empire which poses a dire threat to the security of the United States and of all the free peoples of the world*", and they are then mentioned by name: Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czecho-Slovakia, Latvia, Esthonia, Byelorussia, Roumania, Bulgaria, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, North Caucasus, Turkestan, North Vietnam and others.

The U.S. Congress, basing its resolution on the arguments that:

Firstly, — "it is vital to the national security of the U.S.A that the desire for liberty and independence on the part of the peoples of these conquered nations should be steadfastly kept alive";

Secondly, — "the desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of the people of these submerged nations constitutes a powerful deterrent to war and one of the best hopes for a just and lasting peace";

Thirdly, — "it is fitting that we clearly manifest to such peoples through an appropriate and official means the historic fact that the people of the United States share with them their aspirations for the recovery of their freedom and independence";

requested the President of the U.S.A to proclaim a "Captive Nations Week", to be held every year in the month of July, and to invite the people of the United States to observe such week with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

* * *

This resolution by the U.S. Congress, the text of which was naturally kept a secret in the Soviet Russian ruled countries, whilst in the West it was merely referred to as an ordinary everyday event, in reality represents a *new initial position and a new orientation point in principle for an extensive practical and political programme of immeasurable significance for the solution of the present world crisis*.

This resolution, incidentally, indicates the *most powerful weapon and the surest way* of undermining the despotic Russian Bolshevist imperium, as the main base of Communist world aggression, and of disintegrating it from within. The encouragement of the urge to freedom of more than 200 million persons, who belong to more than 20 different enslaved peoples, and determined support of this urge by the

West could in practice have the effect of a huge hydrogen bomb, walled-in in the foundations of Russian Bolshevik rule and power.

It is quite possible that the indolent Western public has in this respect overlooked the fact that this conception, which the highest political factors of the U.S.A. have now officially adopted, is completely identical with the fundamental idea which we — the spokesmen of the entire subjugated world in the East who are united in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations — first propagated and championed and for years have been advocating in these columns. It is extremely gratifying to us to know that, in spite of the global campaign of agitation organized against us, which aimed to silence the claim of our peoples to national freedom and to preserve the integrity of the Russian imperium at least within the frontiers of the U.S.S.R., the truth has now asserted itself in this resolution by the U.S. Congress and has triumphed over the quarantine imposed on us.

The true character of the Bolshevik danger to the world has at last been recognized and the way to eliminate this danger has now been discovered by the leading American world power! The revolutionary factor in this respect is the knowledge that, as far as the slavery in the East is concerned, it is not solely and primarily a question of Communism as an ideology or a political system, but, above all, a question of *the forcible subjugation of the peoples under foreign rule.* It is precisely Russian imperialism which, by means of Communist scholasticism and dogmas of monolithic leadership, today rules over half Europe, after already having ruthlessly crushed and enslaved scores of foreign peoples within the Soviet state after the first world war and outside the Soviet state after World War II, by military force in the course of its Bolshevik development.

To realize this fact is to open up ways and means of combatting the acute Bolshevik danger to the world. *In order to overcome this danger, however, one must not merely demand that individuals should rise up in revolt against the Communist system of terrorism which has been enforced on them, but one must, above all, kindle the national liberation revolution amongst all the enslaved peoples of the Russian Bolshevik despotic imperium.*

Regarded in this light, the difference between Communism and capitalism, which Bolshevik propaganda glosses over simply as an ideological controversy, is only of *secondary importance.* For instead of allowing Khrushchov to speculate in America with the confrontation of "slaves of capitalism" with "slaves of socialism", one should reproach him with *the enslavement of whole nations by Russian Bolshevism.* Herein alone lies the *fundamental evil,* whereas the Communist system in these countries is in reality only a *resultant phenomenon of Russian conquest and foreign rule.* Were there no armed Soviet Russian despotic rule, the peoples — as was the case in Hungary — and not merely the peoples in the so-called satellite countries, would not tolerate the Communist oligarchy any longer, nor allow it to continue to exist.

It is, therefore, high time that the West made use of the immeasurable potential of the urge to freedom of the non-Russian peoples incarcerated behind the Iron Curtain, in order to put an end to the present world crisis. Why should Moscow be permitted to mobilize the urge to freedom of the Asian and African peoples against "Western colonialism" *by deception and cunning,* whereas the West, on the other hand, is not allowed to have an opportunity to win over the liberation movements of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain for itself, incidentally, merely *by affirming the truth and recognizing their sacred claim to independence!*

* * *

It is in this direction that Western policy should for the most part concentrate its attention and its efforts, instead of allowing itself to be misled by the empty theories of various "East specialists", who are still trying to find a solution on the

basis of some "ideological ferment" or other in the Communist bloc and still continue to believe that the situation can be saved by alleged differences between Moscow and its servile tools and accomplices. If Khrushchov now advocates an "elimination of the remnants of war", one should make a start with the largest and most monstrous "remnant" of this kind, namely the conquest of foreign countries and the usurpation of their national sovereignty, which so far still lies in the hands of rulers whom these peoples oppose and hate, — as is the case with a whole series of ancient civilized peoples in the U.S.S.R.

A sincere desire to bring about an international easing of the tension can only be realized by eradicating the *basic cause* of all tension, — namely the inflated aggressive Soviet colonial imperium, which under the cloak of the so-called "Warsaw Pact" already extends across the whole of Central and Southeast Europe, in order to exploit the property and the slave-labour of the subjugated peoples for the purpose of a gigantic armament in the service of ruthless Russian Bolshevik aggression.

As long as these preconditions are not fulfilled, there must be no disarmament and no exchange of goods and no breathing-space for Moscow, but, on the contrary, only the maximum increase of pressure on the Kremlin by means of ever-growing superiority and open support of the resistance and the urge to freedom of the subjugated peoples! These are the only real preconditions and prospects for a genuine and radical solution of the ever-increasing world crisis. Outside this framework there is not and must not be any separate "German" or "Berlin" question, any "regional disarmament" or any other partial solutions, as a precondition for an understanding or a co-operation with Moscow and Peking.

It is only by adopting this course that the West will find a way out of its humiliating position of being constantly confronted by new aggressions and ultimatums, and will be able to put the ultimatum, long since due, to the Russian Bolshevik conquerors and murderers itself.

The apparently platonic resolution by the U.S. Congress and the proclamation issued in this connection by President Eisenhower thus rightly indicate the future course which Western policy must pursue. This historic step is in reality the sword of Damocles which should be hung over the heads of the despots in the Kremlin. For it is only in this way that the world can be saved and that freedom can triumph over tyranny.

In hoc signo vinces!

Knowland Calls Trip Victory For Russians

OAKLAND, Aug. 4 (AP) Former U.S. Senator William F. Knowland (R-Cal) today called Russia's Premier Khrushchov the "Butcher of Budapest" and declared that the invitation for him to visit the United States was a Soviet victory.

"The invitation to Khrushchov to visit the United States will have a devastating adverse effect on the captive peoples behind the Communist Iron Curtain," Knowland said in a statement.

"It is a victory for Soviet diplomacy which has angled for such an invitation for the past several years."

"Khrushchov is still the 'Butcher of Budapest'. Three years does not outlaw murder for an individual or a nation."

"Communists the world over will make massive propaganda use of the red carpet

treatment in New York, at the United Nations, in Washington and on the grand tour throughout the United States."

To Prince N. Nakashidze, Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations

Many thanks for your recent letter which was forwarded to me by Mr. Nestor Procyk. It was good of you to write me about my part in the designation of a "Captive Nations Week", and I appreciate your thoughtfulness very much!

You may be sure of my continued interest in freeing the captive nations of Europe.

With warm best wishes,

Faithfully,

PAUL H. DOUGLAS
United States Senate.

The West at the Cross Roads

It is true that the Russian emperors were absolute rulers and could dispose of the life and property of their subjects as they wished, but mass murder of human beings is the right and privilege of the proletarian dictators who have raised themselves to the rank of tyrants.

The present tyrant of Russia, Nikita, recently did the Western world the honour of paying it a visit.

In former times the tyrants forcibly entered foreign countries as conquerors. This is the first time in history that a tyrant has entered a free country as a guest upon invitation.

The said dictator, whose hands are stained with the blood of millions of persons whom he has murdered, came as an "apostle of peace" of the "holy Russian country" to proclaim, as a "Messiah", to the Western world the new order on earth, which the Russians intend to create for mankind and which is to bring happiness to man. He caused transports of joy amongst all co-existentialists, super-democrats and politically and socially nihilistic individuals.

Various persons in the West uttered warnings and admonitions, but their words went unheeded. The courageous attitude expressed by Senator Th. Dodd and Cardinal Spellman will go down in the annals of history as a heraldic proclamation on the part of the civilized Christian world, as a proclamation of its moral principles and its conscience. As Senator Dodd rightly remarked, — what will be the feelings of the subjugated peoples and of the millions of enslaved persons when they see pictures showing the tyrant Nikita and, next to him, American statesmen and politicians all looking friendly and happy?! Is it surprising if these peoples lose their trust in the West?

One can now understand what a Hungarian woman meant when she said to a prominent Western personality during her visit to the West: "We hate the Communists and the Russians, but we despise the West!" This shows how desperate and how embittered the people behind the Iron Curtain are.

And yet, certain facts can be ascertained which are encouraging. Leading American politicians have had an eye-opener. They have discovered that behind the apparently harmless smiles and grins of Nikita of Russia there is a fiend and a monster. He behaved like a true plebeian and then immediately posed as a harmless fellow who wants nothing but peace every time and who loves all mankind.

One cannot reproach him for doing so, for he urgently needs a breathing-space in the competition for the world hegemony and, in any case, he is a true Russian peasant who has always been accustomed to lying and to dissembling. This is his hereditary trait! — mendacious, cunning and sly. And, in addition, an out-and-out proletarian, — a proletarian of the lowest class.

When the revolution broke out in 1917, he was practically illiterate; he could only write his name and could hardly read. Then he attended a training course for Party functionaries and subsequently the Workers' College. After that, he became a high-ranking Party and state functionary, vested with unlimited power, according to which he could deport and execute people arbitrarily and as he saw fit. It was he who carried out mass executions and deportations in Ukraine and thoroughly purged Ukraine of "hostile elements".

His violent outbursts when asked unpleasant questions, caused some surprise, but one came to the conclusion that this was to be ascribed to his character. The fact

was overlooked that Nikita of Russia is a dictator and a tyrant, and, as such, will tolerate no opposition and no opinion on the part of anyone else.

He lives in quite another world, where there are no free people but only subjugated subjects who are not allowed to have an opinion of their own.

Thus, he got indignant and raged and threatened, not merely because, as a Communist, he could not bear to hear the opinion of people of the "capitalistic world", but because, as a dictator, he was horrified that anyone should dare to oppose him in any way.

He suddenly saw himself confronted by *free individuals*, who have an opinion of their own and who are able to express this opinion freely; this was what he now experienced, — he who is used to seeing only servile slaves in his presence, as he himself was in the presence of Stalin.

Intolerance, incidentally, is a characteristic of all dictators; this was so in the case of Stalin and Hitler, and is likewise a characteristic of Tito. The latter even sent his fellow-fighter and friend, Djilas, to prison because he ventured to have a different opinion.

But this did not stop many Americans from expressing their opinion. And in this respect one must commend in particular the leaders of the American trade unions. They showed that they had the courage to refuse to abandon their ideas out of consideration for etiquette or "reasons of state".

American observers shuddered at the thought that the fate of the world is dependent on the mood of this raving Nikita of Russia, that he alone can bring a terrible catastrophe upon the world and that there is no one in his country who is able to or can venture to prevent him from doing so.

The realization of this fact sobered down the Americans and showed them the serious and dangerous position of the world.

But Nikita the Terrible also realized that the Mississippi is not the Volga and that there are no Volga "Burlaki" (boatmen) on the Mississippi, but free human beings, who sing a different song, the song of freedom!

This leader of international Communism also showed himself in his true colours as a brutal Russian despot and the "internationalist" revealed himself to be a Russian imperialist.

When asked why state freedom had not been conceded to Ukraine, Georgia and Turkestan, etc., he had the impertinence to answer: "Why do you not give Texas, Arizona and California their freedom?" — This was a truly Russian misrepresentation of facts, and Nikita was certain that as far as this question was concerned he would have all the Russians, whether at home or abroad, on his side. This is the same attitude that is also adopted by the reactionary Russian organization in exile, the NTS!

Thus, in the opinion of Nikita the Terrible, Ukraine and Georgia, etc., the ancient civilized nations who had their own states hundreds of years before the Russian nation was formed and its state came into being, are nothing but "Russian administrative provinces".

And then the peoples are made to believe that Russia is protecting and furthering their national existence and that as peoples they are equals amongst equals!

This assertion on the part of Nikita is definitely cynicism, which is characteristic of the Russian imperialists. This was exactly the same attitude as was expressed during tsarist times by the black reactionaries of the "Double Eagle" and the "Union of the Russian People" organization.

The administrative province of Kursk, a Russian border region, from which the Russian Nikita Khrushchov comes, was known for the fact that it always sent black reactionaries, such as Markov II, as delegates to the state Duma, and, indeed, when-

ever Markov II held a speech in the Duma, the majority of the delegates always left the house, not as a demonstration, but simply because it was nauseating to listen to him. And this same spirit was preserved by his fellow-countryman, Nikita Khrushchov.

The uninitiated will now realize why he reacted so violently to the resolution of the US Congress to introduce a "Captive Nations Week" and why he attacked this measure so fiercely. The problem of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union is an extremely vulnerable spot as far as the Russians are concerned and threatens to be their ruin. Nikita is well aware of the fact that any support of this kind on the part of the West for these peoples will encourage them to such an extent that there may some day be disastrous consequences for the Russians. And the malicious attacks on the part of the entire press of all the Communist countries clearly proves the significance of this historical act and how revolutionary American initiative is, and, moreover, how important it is in this conflict between two worlds to further the urge to freedom of the subjugated peoples and to support the latter in every possible way. Nikita, however, affirms that he is acting in accordance with the will of the peoples of the Soviet Union and that he enjoys their full confidence.

But no one thought of asking him whether these peoples are allowed to express their opinion freely and whether they are free to make any decisions of their own.

And no one asked him what has happened to the old deserving rulers and co-founders of the Russian Communist imperium, — Molotov, Kaganovich, Bulganin, Malenkov and Zhukov? Who has decided that they are renegades and have committed crimes with evil intent? Why is Nikita better than they? And if even these deserving Soviet statesmen are not to be trusted and have accordingly been banished, how can Nikita trust the statesmen of the capitalistic world?

He counts on — in a very crude manner — the naivety of the Western politicians, but there is a saying in Russian: "There are only a few fools in this world!" — And the fact that the Western statesmen have entered into this game, is by no means proof that they are fools.

Nikita himself will get some surprises at home. He has gone too far, and it is not prophesying too rashly to say that it is quite possible that some time in the future he will suffer a defeat or else will disappear into exile. What he is now doing, he is doing under compulsion, since he is trying to find a way out of his difficulties. He is *forced* to grant the peoples certain privileges and bring about an improvement in living conditions, for an underground ferment is in evidence.

At present, the subjugated peoples are putting up a spiritual resistance against Russian pressure. Even the young Communists of these peoples refuse to allow themselves to be crushed and subjugated any longer. They want to be their own masters in their own country.

And the anti-Khrushchov opposition is also very active in Party circles. Nikita is now trying to gain support externally and is hoping to win the favour of the "capitalists", at least, temporarily. But he does as if he needs no help and is only intent upon establishing peace. In reality, however, his position is precarious. He urgently needs economic aid from the West, for he is not in a position to master the situation alone.

He cannot fulfil his obligations to his vassals and allies without prejudicing the interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and without endangering the economy of his own country. On the other hand, however, he cannot expect any more sacrifices of the peoples, for this would cause a climax in the already existing tension.

One cannot rouse people to enthusiasm permanently, or satisfy their needs for good by sending rockets to the moon. Hunger cannot be appeased in this way.

The speeding up of the process of disintegration and collapse in the Soviet Union depends on the policy pursued by the West. What is decisive in this respect is

whether the West adopts the course which Germany once adopted with the Treaty of Rapallo and helps the Soviet Union to overcome its crisis economically and to become strong from the military point of view, or whether it refuses to give this help. If Nikita does not receive this help which he so anxiously desires and which is camouflaged as a policy of peace, then a collapse will ensue in the near future.

The resolution regarding "Captive Nations Week" has greatly raised the prestige of America in the eyes of these peoples. For they regard this act as proof that they have not been forgotten and that the USA recognizes and proclaims their national and human rights.

On the other hand, however, the visit and reception of the tyrant Khrushchov in America was the cause of great disappointment on their part. This event, indeed, was described by a clever Frenchman in the well-known paper "Figaro" as the "moral disarmament of the West".

We shall have to wait and see how the West manages to get out of this delicate situation and make good the damage which it has done itself. The Communist world is rightly laughing in its sleeve! Under the leadership of Russia, the Communist world still holds the offensive. As a result of hesitant strategy, disadvantageous measures and the failure of its psychological warfare, the West is sorely harassed. It will need considerable efforts and courageous decisions to get out of this difficult situation. Bold measures and determined action are needed in order to rob the enemy of the initiative and take over the offensive oneself.

Will it be possible to find clever and courageous statesmen in the West who are prepared to undertake this task? It is on this that the fate of the world depends!

American Opinions on Khrushchov's Visit

H. S. TRUMAN
Ex-President of the United States
Unwise decision

"Khrushchov is not coming to Washington to learn anything about us or our strength that he does not know already. The real purpose of his visit is to appraise our determination and will to stand up and resist Communist aggression and mischievous proings around the world.

Khrushchov's main objective, I believe, is to see whether he can divide us as a people and lure us into compromising our rights."

RICHARD NIXON
U.S. Vicepresident

"It would be naive and wishful thinking to assume that the visit of Mr. Khrushchov to the United States will result in any basic change in the Communist objective of world domination or their adherence to policies designed to achieve the goal."

LYNDON B. JOHNSON
U.S. Senate Majority Leader

"It would be tragic if we fell into the illusion that Mr. Khrushchov is coming here

with a 'deal' that would mean 'peace with honour' or 'peace in our time' . . .

But the greatest tragedy would follow if we come to the conclusion that this visit meant a thaw in the 'cold war'. This is the delusion that could lead us into letting down our guard . . ."

JOHN W. McCORMACK
U.S. House Majority Leader

"It is my opinion that time will show that President Eisenhower made a serious mistake. It will be interesting to note 'the law of natural and probable consequences' operating as a result of the President's invitation and the coming visit of Mr. Khrushchov."

OLIN D. JOHNSTON
U.S. Senator

"I feel we are doing the wrong thing in inviting Mr. Khrushchov to this country, because the invitation will be taken to mean, by countries behind the Iron Curtain and those now being threatened around its perimeter, that America is softening to the Soviet line . . ."

The Gay And Confident People

Experiences of the Old World and the New World

Marx's prophecies, which failed when he assured his readers that Communism would win first and foremost within the super-capitalist and super-industrialist countries, such as Germany, France, England, and the United States, have, on the other hand, come true in the countries with lesser industrial development, such as Russia, China, Indonesia, etc. While in the capitalist world, the workers' salaries and standard of living climb steadily upward, with the healthy tendency of making the workers shareholders or profit participants, in the Soviet European and Asian spheres, on the other hand the misery of the working classes just as steadily increases before the cold scrutiny of the universal owner: the State. To make matters worse, in these enslaved nations the working classes lack the means and the right to protest or to appeal for better living conditions.

But the cunning and tenacity of the Communists, specially after World War II, has prevailed by dint of brutal force, spreading the greatest horror in the history of mankind. They have dominated the Baltic countries, and those of Central and Eastern Europe, and practically the whole of the Balkan region, apart from the secularly tyrannized Ukraine, and other nationalities which are not Russian but are under the imperialism of Moscow. In all of these countries the members of the Communist Party were small minorities, so insignificant that they carried no weight in the destinies of these nations, where they were considered as factors of little or no importance.

A few daring individuals, under orders from Moscow, took over the nations that had suffered most from the horrors of the World War, and who had been the first victims of Nazism: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania. And all this, with full compliance and support of the powerful Western nations, who declared that they entered the War in defense of the people attacked by Nazi totalitarianism, only to capitulate in the face of Red totalitarianism! Afterwards came the shameful surrender of Continental China to a minority which had always been overruled by the Kuomintang armies under the command of President Chiang Kai-shek. President Chiang Kai-shek was deprived of his victory over the Japanese and forced to turn over the enormous war booty captured in Manchuria. This was later used to arm Mao Tse-tung's people, according to instructions coming from Russia. Later still, came the capitulation of

Northern Vietnam, the Korea disaster, and the surrender of Indonesia.

The New World's turn is now forthcoming. Here the manoeuvres of the Communists take the same form that they did in Europe and Asia. However, the lessons learned from what has happened abroad, have not been heeded. Everyone underestimates the danger, or believes it to be vague and remote. Then again, a "pacific co-existence" with the regimes already controlled by International Communism, such as Bolivia, Cuba, and Venezuela — to mention only those within our Continent — is transacted and accepted.

All this has come to my mind upon reading the interesting booklet: "Cuba: Zero Hour of the Continent". This work has been published by an important group of Cuban laborers who have sought refuge in our country, fleeing from the terror of Castro's forces. They have founded an organization known as "Cuban Institutional Defense". Our colleague, Castro Farias, has already written a comment on this booklet, for "El Universal", foremost among our local newspapers. However, I believe it to be of the utmost importance to reproduce here one of the final chapters of this work. The words of those who have witnessed the Red debacle of Cuba should alert the nations of America who even now are threatened in like manner, and for whom danger may be closer than they think.

"Cuba: Key Post of Asian Communism in America. — On the twenty-second day of March, Havana was the scene of a most unusual spectacle. Along the wind-swept avenues leading to the Presidential Palace, an imposing multitude marched with delirious enthusiasm. This was a Marxist parade, headed by the 'big brass' of the Army, the Navy, the C.T.C., and the field workers. In the background, Fidel Castro, ever calculating and play-acting, endearingly sucked on a native sweet. At his side, Urrutia and Figueres. What was the ex-president of Costa Rica, a simple, cordial, and well-known anti-Communist, doing there? The explanation to this involves certain subtle tactics of Khrushchevism, the analysis of which will serve to unravel ignored aspects of the terrible Cuban problem.

Some weeks previously, in Washington, this statesman from Costa Rica had delivered a sensational speech, wherein he harshly criticized certain North American attitudes towards Latin America. However, conscious of his loyalty to Western ideals, he had very

clearly stated that our place was with the United States in the battle against Russia. Furthermore, he emphasized the fact that neutrality, or any third position, were unthinkable in this matter.

Thereupon Carlos Franqui hastened to announce, through the 'Revolución' daily, an invitation to Figueres to visit Havana and join in the people's rejoicing. When Figueres accepted this invitation, the Khrushchovists appeared triumphant. If one of the few men who could compete with Fidel Castro in continental popularity was willing to go to Havana and fall into the trap set by Khrushchovism to hook him onto Castro's cart, the game was definitely won!

Other Latin Americans had gone to Havana; true, but they either lacked the significance of Figueres, or were well known as Communists or sympathizers. Nonetheless, Figueres and the cause he represents were to be saved by his natural talent and clear political intuition. Figueres soon saw through the manoeuvres, and when the time came to speak up, he made matters only too clear, in spite of discourteous interruptions from David Salvador and the angry reply of Fidel Castro. The trap failed to spring and Communism leaked through in the violent words of Fidel Castro. Yes, undoubtedly Cuba would not be at the side of the United States of North America in the strife against the Soviet Union! From this tropical island will leave the expeditions that will light the torch of war in the Panama Canal, in the mountains of Nicaragua, in the volcanic Guatemala, in the unfortunate Haiti, in the peaks of Santo Domingo, in the oil wells of Venezuela . . . If Mexico and Argentina expel the Russian diplomats, then Cuba will shelter the secret agents of the subversion. If the Cuban Khrushchovist regime prevails,

then the misery and the horrors of a dislocated economical policy will be naturally attributed to the conspiracy of international oligarchy, sponsored by the usual scapegoat: the United States of America. In such a manner would the establishment of Russian bases against North America in the Caribbean region be justified, and the 'great destiny' Fidel Castro is forever promising in his speeches, fulfilled."

With the ink still fresh upon the pages of the booklet I have just quoted, the Reds appear to be attempting an invasion of Nicaragua, simultaneously from Castro Rica and Cuba. Sporadic terrorist uprisings take place in the manner of the bearded men and their accomplices; a press campaign is launched on an international scale; the "revolutionaries" take to the caves, without giving battle, imitating the style of the Cuban maestro; the declarations of the Venezuelan Communists are reported applauding the invaders of Nicaragua.

Finally, the disturbances and the agitation that is taking place do not constitute mere coincidences. The Communist agents in Argentina, Paraguay, Ecuador, and Peru, have been quick to take advantage of the unrest, the rebelliousness, and the financial straits prevailing in these countries. They work in perfect synchronization, obeying well-drawn plans which have been carefully studied by their expert directors in Moscow. The details, the dates, and the circumstances may vary, but they never cease in their determination to upset the order of things and implant the most rigid imperialism the world has ever known. *The time will come for every country; nothing but the firm and strict resolution to combat the common enemy in every field and on all occasions can prevent this catastrophe.*

"Our View" from the ABN in Canada

The Executive Committee of the ABN in Canada has recently published a journal "Our View" in English, in which the attitude of the peoples represented in the ABN to Khrushchov's visit to the U.S.A. is expressed. This monthly periodical also contains the text of the memorandum of the Executive Committee of the ABN in Canada which was sent to the U.S. President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and to the Prime Minister of Canada, John Diefenbaker. It is stressed in this memorandum that the policy of coexistence with Bolshevik Russia, which is propagated by the dictator of the U.S.S.R., Nikita Khrushchov, under the pretext of a peaceful coexistence, represents a deadly danger to the free world. The only alternative to the aggressive policy of Bolshevik Russia is the policy of liberation, — the

policy of universal support for the liberation struggle of the peoples subjugated by Moscow and Communism, and liberation under the motto of "Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals"! In this periodical the national organizations of the Ukrainians, Bulgarians, Lithuanians, Roumanians and other members of the ABN in Canada express their opinions and warn against a compromise with Khrushchov, who is personally responsible for the genocide of the subjugated nations. In order to substantiate this warning, the views of leading politicians and statesmen of the U.S.A. and of other free countries are quoted. They condemn a coexistence with Moscow and express their disapproval of President Eisenhower's invitation to Nikita Khrushchov.

Russian und Russophil Intrigues against the Anti-Communist World Front

(by our Asian Correspondent)

There can hardly be any doubt about the fact that the idea of convening an anti-Communist world congress has been entertained for years and that the greatest credit must be given to the ABN for spreading this plan to form a world centre for the co-ordination of the anti-Communist front on this side of and beyond the Iron Curtain (and the so-called Bamboo Curtain in Asia). As early as 1955, during his visit to Free China, the President of the Central Committee of the ABN, Jaroslaw Stetzko, emphatically put this idea in the foreground in Taipeh (on Formosa) and gained the whole-hearted approval of Free Chinese circles in this respect.

It soon became obvious, however, that certain political circles in the West, though on principle anti-Communist, are only prepared to accept the idea of a common anti-Communist front in a form in which it would also be acceptable to the Russian "White" imperialists, who in exile describe themselves as anti-Communist and pretend to be fighting against "international Communism", which, so they allege, has chosen the "sole indivisible" Russian imperium and the "sacred" Russian people as its victim.

In this way, of course, the centre of gravity of the anti-Communist fight is diverted away from the actual danger of Muscovite Bolshevik imperialism and of Russian imperialism as a whole and directed against the phantom of an "international Communism", which, with but a few insignificant exceptions (as, for instance, Yugoslav "Titoism" or the remnants of Trotskyism in the West), only exists as a sham, in so far as practically all the Communist parties of the world are controlled and directed by Moscow as tools of the Russian imperialistic interests, which for the purpose of propaganda are called "Soviet".

Nevertheless, the 3rd Congress of the Anti-Communist Organizations of South America, which was held in Lima (Peru) the middle of April, 1957, passed a resolution, moved by the member-observer of the Congress, the delegate of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL), Ku Cheng-kang, to the effect that the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent (ICDC) should get in touch with the APACL and with the "White Russian" so-called "People's and Workers' Union" (NTS), "in order to convene an Anti-Communist World Congress as a precondition for the formation of an Anti-Communist World League".

The NTS, notorious on account of its Russian chauvinism, should actually have had no right to take part in the said Congress in Lima, since it does not constitute an international organization at all and claims for entirely unfounded reasons to have the right to act as the spokesman of the subjugated non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union (whom, incidentally, it designates as "peoples of Russia" without even conceding them the right to a national cultural autonomy); for this reason the NTS did not appear under its own name in Lima, but under that of an "Anti-Communist European Liaison Centre", — a puppet organization formed by itself. This "representation", however, did not remain a secret, and a number of European and American anti-Communist organizations, which had meanwhile got in touch with the ICDC (including the ABN, too), explicitly opposed every form of collaboration with the Russian imperialists of the NTS. Consequently, it was decided at the conferences which took place in October, 1957, in Taipeh (on Formosa) that only the ICDC and the APACL were to organize the Anti-Communist World Congress and that the NTS was only to be invited to this Congress as a guest.

The Preparatory Conference was convened by the ICDC and the APACL in Mexico in March, 1958, and with an overwhelming majority (and unanimously in several resolutions) decided that the Anti-Communist World Congress should be convened on the strength of the recognition of the right of all peoples to freedom and independence, taking into special account the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism in the Soviet Union. In the text of the Convocation adopted by the Conference it was stated that international Communism is in the first place a tool of Russian imperialism and that for this reason the fight against Communism should at the same time be the fight for the disintegration of the Russian imperium, which continues to exist as the U.S.S.R., and for the restoration of the state independence of Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic, Caucasian and Turkestanian peoples, etc. It goes without saying that this big success of the idea of freedom was for the most part due to the vigorous activity of the delegation of the ABN; the ABN also received two places (of a total of 15) in the newly formed Steering Committee, which was to organize the convention of the Anti-Communist World Congress at the end of October, 1958 (on the

second anniversary of the Hungarian revolution).

The NTS, however, which, since it was afraid of an open discussion with the authorized representatives of the nations subjugated by Russia in the Soviet Union, did not appear at all at the conference in Mexico, hastened to intensify its lying propaganda against the ABN and against the nations which this organization represents and to circulate various libellous pamphlets, in which the members of the ABN were depicted as chauvinists, collaborators with Hitler and anti-Semites (that is to say, precisely in the role which the NTS played during World War II and, in spite of the downfall of its Nazi patrons, continues to play at the present time); in order to make all this appear a little more credible, some of these lies were disseminated under the name of a Ukrainian sham organization which actually no longer exists, — the “Ukrainian Liberation Movement” (UVR), — regardless of the fact that it was affirmed in this respect that the Ukrainians were merely an “inseparable” part of the “great Russian people” and that there was no national problem at all in the Soviet Union¹).

This campaign, conducted with considerable American funds, of course, against the peoples subjugated by Russia, had, unfortunately, a certain amount of success. Immediately after the termination of the conference in Mexico, considerable “private” pressure was brought to bear on some members of the Steering Committee, and the date of the convention of the World Congress was for the time being postponed; on the other hand, the APACL published the resolutions of the conference in a censored edition and left out all the passages in which Russian imperialism was mentioned and remarks in favour of the nations subjugated by the Russians in the U.S.S.R. were made²). And, finally, some North American members of the Steering Committee, who are obviously more interested in preserving the “sole indivisible” Russian prison of peoples than in successfully fighting Communism, resigned and are intent upon complicating the convening the World Congress in the near future, since certain influential “private” circles in the U.S.A. do not expect any good to come of a World Congress for themselves and their Russian imperialistic protégés and are thus doing their utmost to postpone it indefinitely.

In the meantime the NTS is trying to use its opportunities in the free countries of the Far East, where people know very little about

¹) For further information regarding the lying propaganda of the NTS see “ABN Correspondence”, Vol. X, No. 5-6 (May-June 1959), pp. 10-13.

²) The wrong texts were passed on to the APACL by Mr. Marvin Liebman.

the internal and, in particular, the national conditions in the U.S.S.R.; and though the attempt of the NTS to worm its way into Free China (in Formosa) has failed owing to the successful resistance of the permanent Mission of the ABN there, it is now trying to achieve this aim in South Vietnam and South Korea; in South Korea, where it already has a semi-official delegacy, it is actually trying to obtain permission to set up its own broadcasting station, in order to apparently attack the Bolshevik regime in its programmes, which for the most part are to be relayed to the Soviet Far East, but, actually, to support the consolidation of the Russian imperialistic yoke which fetters all the non-Russian peoples of East Siberia. The NTS has also succeeded in getting the Korean Chapter of the APACL under its influence, and this, in fact, is the reason why the ABN was not invited to the 5th Conference of the APACL in Seoul, the capital of Korea: the NTS was determined to have “ample scope” for its lying propaganda, since it suffered a humiliating defeat at the 3rd Conference of the APACL in Saigon (South Vietnam) as a result of the intervention of the ABN and, accordingly, did not venture to appear at all at the 4th Conference in Bangkok (Thailand).

How far-reaching the aims were which the NTS had set itself at the Conference in Seoul, can be seen from a leading article in the government paper “Korean Republic” of May 22, 1959 (which was published a week before the Conference began): it is pointed out in this article that “disharmony” ensued at last year’s big conference of the anti-Communist organizations in Mexico, and it is affirmed with considerable presumptuousness that “if an anti-Communist World Congress should be convened and a genuine union of the anti-Communist movement should be formed, then the initiative can in this case be ascribed to the APACL Conference in Seoul”.

The point at issue, therefore, is that the resolutions passed at last year’s big conference of the anti-Communist organizations (in Mexico) should in practice be treated as null and void, or formally revoked, in order to start all the preparations and the organization of the Anti-Communist World Congress from the beginning again, namely on lines which would be acceptable to the Russian imperialists of the NTS and their “private” North American patrons. And in this case, the fact should not even be taken into consideration that the Korean Chapter of the APACL took part in all the voting in Mexico, that a Korean was also elected a member of the Steering Committee and that the said Steering Committee is still endeavouring to continue its task of organizing the World Congress even now, — though under extremely difficult conditions.

Incidentally, this did not, however, happen at the conference in Seoul²). The resolutions of the Mexico Conference — at least in the form in which the APACL published them — were neither formally nor actually violated; the council and secretariat of the APACL were merely instructed “to continue to establish contacts with other anti-Communist organizations“. This may mean practically nothing, or, on the other hand, a great deal, — according as to how one views the situation. We venture to hope, however, that those circles of the APACL which are politically more experienced than the Korean Chapter will not allow themselves to be

abused by the NTS and its patrons in the latter's fight against the restoration of the freedom and independence of the subjugated peoples in the Soviet Union, and will not be misled by the empty boasting of the NTS, which endeavours to ascribe all the anti-Bolshevist campaigns of the said peoples (armed combats in the Baltic countries, in Ukraine and the Caucasus, disturbances and cases of unrest in the non-Russian regions of the U.S.S.R., riots and strikes in the concentration camps in Siberia and Central Asia, etc.) to its own extremely questionable revolutionary activity.

Thomas Dodd's Warning (Comments on Khrushchov's Visit to the USA)

The Hon. *Thomas Dodd*, the new democratic US Senator from Connecticut, as spokesman of the Opposition recently voiced the sharpest criticism of the Khrushchov visit heard so far in the Senate. It is interesting to note that most of the members left the House during his speech. Incidentally, little mention was made of his speech in the press and, in fact, steps were taken throughout the USA to prevent it from being published. It was pointed out in this connection in certain American quarters that should Khrushchov's and Eisenhower's visits lead to negative results, Dodd's words might be taken as a warning in one of the hottest political controversies of this decade.

Below we give some extracts from his speech:

What would the US Senate and the USA have thought, had President Roosevelt in 1939 invited Adolf Hitler to visit the USA after the latter had just seized Czecho-Slovakia, Austria and Poland and was engaged in exterminating millions of Jews?

Khrushchov rose to fame as a prominent Communist when he was the hangman of Ukraine. He retained this power as the butcher of Budapest . . . We can be sure that the subjugated peoples, who still cling to the hope of regaining their freedom, will be inundated with photos of Khrushchov, showing him being welcomed and received by the leaders and people of our country, being flattered and applauded. Khrushchov's visit will be regarded by these peoples as an indirect proof of the fact that America accepts the permanent Soviet Russian domination of their countries.

In the free world, however, the American decision to hold talks between the Big Two will be regarded as appeasement, and will have an estranging effect on the allies of the

USA — because they fear secret agreements. The American allies under the cannon of Communism — in West Berlin, Formosa, South Korea — will regard Khrushchov's visit in America as a weakening of our decision to put up resistance. Those who have so far softened towards Communism, will soften still more; those who have so far not been impressed by the Communist danger, will become even more indifferent towards it. And those who have sounded the alarm, will find their difficulties multiplied.

There is still something to be saved out of this ship-wreck, — provided that the damage done is restricted. In the first place, the President should not mince matters as regards the problem of the subjugated nations of Europe; secondly, he should insist that Khrushchov revoke his ultimatum of 1958 regarding Berlin, before he consents to carry on any further negotiations about Germany; thirdly, he should declare as null and void all the concessions which the USA temporarily offered the Russians at the Geneva Conference, as for instance the lessening of Western propaganda activity; and fourthly, he should make it clear to Khrushchov in unmistakable terms that America is firmly decided to defend West Berlin.

I hope that during Khrushchov's visit we shall hear the church bells all over the country ringing to remind us of the millions of persons who have been murdered behind the Iron Curtain. I hope that public prayers will be said for these persons. I hope that peaceful demonstrations will be held as proof of the knowledge that true peace can only be attained by spreading freedom and justice all over the world. Do not greet the Red dictator with applause! Do not assemble in order to welcome him! No flattery and no flowers! Be polite, but silent!

The Role of the Communist Parties in the West and Their Underground Movement

II

The present Position in the Industrial Concerns and Trade Unions in the Non- Communist States

The Bolsheviks use to advantage all local mass-organizations by means of their own Communist apparatus, which is centrally directed and controlled by Moscow. Its task is to infiltrate into the trade unions in the West and to support the Communist groups in the industrial concerns.

This Communist infiltration must not by any means be interpreted as the occasional and underhand acquisition of important key positions. It consists for the most part in getting confidential agents of the Communist Party into positions which offer as many opportunities as possible of contact with the bulk of the trade union members, that is to say, on a lower level. These contacts provide opportunities for discussions and thus constitute the precondition for a subversive influence.

In the industrial concerns the efficiency of the confidential agents and agitators of the Communist Party is particularly in evidence. As a rule, they start their subversive activity by using to advantage every form of discontent among the workers. And the crystallization point of this activity is the Communist factory group.

Communist agitators in industrial concerns never appear as Communists, but as trade unionists. Indeed, one must by no means imagine that the Communist recruiting agents in the industrial concerns are fierce agitators who refuse to work. On the contrary, it has been ascertained that exactly the opposite is the case: the Communists are as a rule the best skilled workers, who furthermore by their quiet and objective manner very soon succeed in gaining the sympathy of their colleagues. The personal and professional confidence which is then placed in them by their employers and their fellow-workers provides these forces, who have been most carefully trained in the East, with the initial basis for agitatory effectiveness. Industrial subversion and, with it, economic and political subversion, is fostered to a considerable extent by the political ignorance and also by a certain lethargy of the majority of workers, and occasionally, too, by lack of common sense on the part of employers. Suitable subjects of discussion for demagogic agitation are, therefore, for

example the workers' right of cooperation in management, the division of the social product, defensive contribution, the principle of social economy, etc. The traditional arguments of the workers' movement, which are also upheld by the trade unions, are usually interwoven in the Communist agitation so skilfully that the insidious nature and purpose of the latter is not recognizable. Its introductory theme is social criticism of historical materialism, and its immediate aim the division of the so-called "rightist" trade union leaders from the rest of the trade union members and of the so-called "entrepreneur slaves", the shop-stewards, from the rest of the workers.

As regards these subversive tactics in the sphere of the industrial concerns and trade unions as a whole, the Communist Party counts on the counter-arguments of the non-Bolshevist trade union leaders and shop-stewards weakening and getting stale in the long run.

The Communist espionage system in the entire free world is such an extensive chapter that we can only deal with it very briefly here.

It would, however, be entirely erroneous to compare the underground apparatus of the Communist parties with an espionage network. Such networks exist independently of the political apparatus, namely for security reasons. The political functionary appears openly, though in a camouflaged form, and accordingly people take notice of him. The intelligence agent or spy, on the other hand, has to carry on his activity entirely in secret; he must not be recognized as such, otherwise he is useless. The Communist Party only takes over from the espionage apparatus a few subsidiary functions, which are precisely determined beforehand and which remain limited to a very small number of persons. The Communist Party is, however, a kind of reservoir from which the intelligence service is recruited, particularly as regards less important tasks. The central apparatus has a preference for recruiting the "big fish" from the so-called middle-class camp, in particular officials who have the necessary interesting connections.

The methods of the Communists are adapted to the given situations and opportunities. The Communist world-embracing organizations are, as it were, special instruments of the Soviet politicians which execute the business of the Kremlin without the Soviet

government, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union or other Communist parties being openly or directly in evidence.

For many years the Communists have been using these tactics all over the world and in the course of time they have constantly improved and extended them. At the World Trade Unions Congress which was held in Vienna in 1953, for instance, the chairman of the World Trade Unions Federation, Vittorio, said: "The World Trade Unions Federation wishes to win over people of every political trend for its programme, but if it is a question of preserving the support of the manual workers, members of the middle class, farmers and intellectuals, then the Federation must not be officially designated as a Communist or Soviet controlled organization".

This is merely a new version of Lenin's advice: "One must be prepared to make every sacrifice and even, if necessary, to resort to every possible trick and device and illegal methods, prepared to conceal and keep secret the truth, in order to get into the trade unions and stay in them and carry out Communist work at all costs". No comment is necessary!

If I have for the most part confined myself in this article to dealing with the Communist organizations which carry on their activity in the Federal Republic of Germany and on the European continent, I did so because these countries are nearest to us.

I should, however, like to point out that America, too, has in no way been spared Bolshevik infiltration and similar activity. What strikes one most in this respect is the fact that the Bolsheviks have known how to use to advantage for their own purposes the fact that there is a conglomeration of many peoples on the American continent.

It is here that they have tried in particular to win over the old emigrants and infiltrate into their midst. And this has been all the easier for them since these aims have been furthered by the Americans themselves on the strength of the unfortunate alliance.

I should like to mention the following organizations:

- a) American Council for Soviet Affairs
- b) American-Russian Fraternalization Society
- c) American-Russian Institutes in New York, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Los Angeles
- d) Slavic Congress, an extremely dangerous organization, which was controlled direct by Moscow and was led by a Soviet general
- e) The Friends of the Soviet Union
- f) Russian-American societies.

There are also a number of other organizations which endeavour to win over members of other Slav peoples. They include the following:

- a) The Polish Workers' Council
- b) Poland for Peace
- c) Bulgarian-American People's League in the USA
- d) Slovak Workers' Movement.

There are even special organizations for the Germans:

- a) German-American Union
- b) Central Organization of the German-Americans.

The same also holds good for the Lithuanians, Serbs and Ukrainians; in short, there is not a single people of the world who have been overlooked in this respect.

The attitude of Communism to religion can be seen from a letter — not dated — by Lenin to Maxim Gorky, in which he writes as follows: "... every thought of God is a piece of indescribable baseness. The philosophical foundation of Marxism is dialectical materialism, which has completely absorbed the historical traditions of the French materialism of the 18th century and Feuerbach's materialism in Germany, — a definitely atheistic materialism which combats every religion most vigorously". (Collected Works, Vol. XV, p. 371, Russian edition.) But according to the Communist doctrine, the Party is the greatest good and hence the only standard by which man must act. In order to realize this principle, one has even gone to the extent of using the Church and ecclesiastical institutions for the purposes of Communism. Undoubtedly, one was well aware of the propagandist effectiveness of having the Patriarch of Moscow include the Patriarch of Syria and the Patriarch of Jerusalem in the Communist course. In this way ecclesiastical institutions were dragged into the Communist propaganda eddy. The lower class element always regards a man in clerical robes as the representative of a Christian religion, even if he preaches a doctrine which has no connection whatever with Christianity, but is merely an expression of Communist propaganda. And this method has proved successful. The so-called peace movement has, without doubt, been called into being by this "Communist theological" influence, and it is interesting to note that ecclesiastical personalities hold leading posts in the state peace committee in the Federal Republic of Germany. Thus, the genuine longing of mankind for peace is vilely abused and used as a factor to destroy the Western world. And there is no Western religious community which has not been infiltrated by this Communist propaganda trend for the purpose of spreading world Communism. I quote the following from the bulletin of the "Free German Youth" organization which has been prohibited:

"On July 30th and August 1st (1954, — author's note), the festival of the Union of German Catholic Youth will be held in Dortmund, at which for the first time members

of the Catholic youth from all over Western Germany will be present. This rally of young Catholics will close on August 1st with the celebration of mass and a 'procession' . . . on Hansaplatz. The Free German Youth in Western Germany wishes the festival of the Union of Catholic Youth every success. May it be a further step to express the striving of the youth of Western Germany for peace and understanding and serve to realize the resolutions of this organization which are in the interests of youth".

Is this not a bait for the average man in the street who lacks the power of critical discernment? The statement made by Pope Pius XII against the misuse of atomic energy was also used as a subject of discussion at the congresses of the Communist peace movement in the preponderantly Catholic districts of Western Germany and in other Western countries (see the invitation issued by the PEACE COMMITTEE, district group Dortmund).

(To be continued)

Will Any Good Come Out Of Khrushchov's Visit To The United States?

Knowing pretty well, as I presume to know, the methods used by the *International Communist Movement*, I am absolutely sure that no good whatsoever will come out of it, much to the contrary. The visit will not appease the blood-thirsty Soviet despot, — the ill-famed "Hungary's Butcher"; the visit will not deter him from persevering in his efforts directed to enslaving the whole world!

Besides, it will play precisely the Kremlin's game of "pacific coexistence" . . . "Co-existence", the false and treacherous "co-existence", is what the Moscow imperialists most desire right now, because, if practised, it will "gain time" for them, while concurrently affording to the fifth columns spread all over the free nations, — I mean inside the free nations —, plenty of opportunities to proceed with internal subversion, sabotage, undermining, and so forth.

I confess being bewildered and at a great loss to understand the *reason* which may have prompted President Eisenhower into taking such a decision! I am, in fact, very sadly disappointed!

One might think that the President is misinformed about Soviet Russia's statecraft, but that is not the case, by any means . . . Suffice it to say that the U.S. Senate is very well informed on the Soviets, and official Document 125, of the *Committee on the Judiciary*, dealing with "Soviet Political Agreements and Results", says:

"The existing regime in Russia is based upon the negation of every principle of honour and good faith". (sic)

"The responsible leaders of the regime have frequently and openly boasted that they are willing to sign agreements and undertakings with foreign powers while not having the slightest intention of observing such undertakings or carrying out such agreements". (sic)

"Josef Stalin expressed the Communist diplomatic philosophy even more bluntly

by saying: — Words must have no relations to actions, otherwise what kind of diplomacy is it? Words are one thing, actions another. Good words are a mask for concealment of bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or wooden iron". (sic)

"Communism is not an evil thing only because it has been controlled by evil men since it first rose to power in 1917. No, it is organically evil. You must renounce *bourgeois morality*, you must become an evil man before you can become a good Communist. You must be a liar, a cheat, and probably a spy before you can represent a Communist nation in international diplomacy. You must have no more regard for honor when you sign an agreement on behalf of your country, than a forger when he puts a name on a check". (sic)

There is yet another reason, a very serious one, why I should be so much concerned and even distressed at the invitation tendered the scoundrel Khrushchov . . . It is a moral reason. The Soviet government of criminals is headed by him, who is himself responsible for the death of over six million Ukrainians, in 1933—34, through hunger caused by the so-called "artificial famine"! Is it to be forgotten that this same Khrushchov is holding in bondage, in cruel slavery, ten European countries and eight non-Russian nations inside the Russian Empire?

The home of the brave and the land of the free is about to welcome one of the biggest slave-drivers of all times!

Admiral Penna Botto

The above was spread all over the United States by 300 broadcast radio stations, on or about the 26th August, 1959, on the "Christian Churches radio-chain". It was engraved in Recife, State of Pernambuco, Brazil, on the 9th August 1959, under the sponsorship of Dr. McIntire, Chairman of the Council of Christian Churches.

Khrushchov in Washington

This visit represents a high-light for Khrushchov, who has thus attained what he desired most. It is a victory for the Russians and for those Russophil circles whose pressure, exercised after the proclamation of "Captive Nations Week" in honour of the incarcerated peoples, has caused them to have recourse to the Americans.

The head gaoler of the "peoples' prison", the torturer of the Baltic countries, the man who made Ukraine starve, the hangman of Georgia and the oppressor of some twenty other nations has been invited to Washington... "worse luck" for the others... France, Germany and Italy, etc.

"The U.S.S.R. and the United States are the two most powerful nations of the world. If the other nations fight amongst themselves, one can pacify them. But if a war should break out between the U.S.S.R. and the United States, then it will be impossible to stop it" — so the paper "Izvestia" affirms.

A "historic event" . . . "The greatest event in international life" — such are the comments voiced with considerable satisfaction by the "Pravda" and other Moscow papers.

It was with considerable joy that the English papers greeted the announcement of the exchange of visits between the "Big Two". . . the most important event since the death of Stalin — so the "Daily Herald" smugly affirmed.

"They say the age of miracles is past — wrote the "Daily Mail" — but Khrushchov proceeding down Fifth Avenue and Eisenhower strolling across the Red Square surely seems like a miracle after all that has happened".

And the same joyful sentiments were also expressed in official circles. And "Downing Street" competed in its enthusiasm with the Kremlin and the Russian emigrants, who, on this occasion, saw in Khrushchov not the Communist, but the restorer of Russia's power, the person who was realizing the dream of their "Sacred Russia" — namely, the conquest of the world.

In Washington itself, Senator Thomas Dodd described the invitation issued to Khrushchov as a "national disgrace", and another Senator, Mr. Caphart, affirmed that the United States were letting themselves be "ruled by the Soviet Union" (that is to say, by the Russians, since they govern the Soviet Union). And the "New York Daily News" quoted the "obscene spectacle" of the President of the U.S.A. shaking hands with "a creature whose power rests on treason, treachery, brute force and mass murder".

"Such an exchange of visits — so an offi-

cial communique states — would only be productive if it were to induce the Soviet leaders to abandon their policy of aggression and enslavement".

Is this at all possible? — No, never, because the Russian imperium can only exist in a system of enslavement. Liberty and freedom are fatal to it, and, in any case, it has no desire to commit suicide. That is why the Russians, under the pretext of "pacifying", crush freedom in the countries in which they themselves provoke wars and cause chaos and make the nations "fight amongst themselves", whilst they themselves talk boastfully about the question of establishing peace.

The list is a long one of the states which have been abolished and the nations that have been subjugated by one and the same Russian imperium, an artificially created state, overthrown in 1917 and then restored with the aid of the West and grown powerful after the Yalta Conference, when Roosevelt abandoned Eastern and Central Europe to it.

All these nations, ancient civilized nations that have been sacrificed to the Russian moloch — the Russian imperium, the destroyer of our civilization, were overjoyed on learning, on July 6, 1959, that the U.S. Senate had passed a resolution authorizing and asking President Eisenhower to proclaim the week from July 19 to July 26 as "Captive Nations Week". The House of Representatives unanimously passed the same resolution on July 8, 1959, and the President subsequently proclaimed it. Surely, it was this resolution that was a "historic event, the most important and the greatest event in international life", since the death of Stalin.

Nikita Khrushchov plainly showed his displeasure at this measure. Was it this fact which made President Eisenhower change his opinion? Or was it the pressure of the "experts" and "counsellors" of Russian and Russophil origin?

In the course of the conference held on August 3, President Eisenhower revealed the secret . . . This was no doubt the miracle! The enthusiasm of the representatives of the captive nations turned into disappointment.

Does President Eisenhower want to give in to Moscow, as President Roosevelt did at Yalta, in order to share the world with the Russians — over the heads of the civilized nations? The future alone will show whether he is making the same mistake that President Roosevelt made in 1945.

The problem of the nations and peoples subjugated by Soviet Russia has in the course of the past forty years constantly been pushed into the background and, in fact,

suppressed, — in favour of Soviet Russia. And, in the same way, the "Captive Nations Week" is now being pushed into the background and suppressed for the sake of the exchange of visits between the "Big Two", and one is seeking to accustom humanity to living with about thirty "corpses of nations" and endeavouring to reconcile these nations to the idea of living with their hangmen.

The U.S.S.R. is a compulsory union of numerous different nations, whose national

spirit has been re-awakened since the revolution of 1917. It is of vital importance that the national problem in this respect should be settled.

The crimes which the Western states are committing against the nations subjugated by the Russians will not go unpunished. Sooner or later, they will have to pay the penalty for these crimes, for the salvation of the free world depends on the triumph of these nations and not on that of their oppressors.

Striking Facts

Fellow Americans!

September, 1959

It is with deep sorrow that we mourn the millions of victims of Communism and colonial Russian imperialism. Among these we include the victims of Communist-imperialisms of China and Tito's Yugoslavians, for these two are nothing but links of the same Kremlin's skilfully treacherous scheme.

It is an established historical fact that over 55 million people of the Christian, Jewish, Buddhist and Moslem faiths have died, in the past 40 years, by means of mass firing squads, man-made famine, slave labor and concentration camps, practised by imperialistic forces of Communist Russia in the non-Russian countries of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Armenia, Georgia, North Caucasus, Cossackia, Idel-Ural, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia, Slovakia, Czechia, East Germany, mainland of China, North Korea, North Vietnam, Tibet and others. Among the victims are also thousands of unaccounted for and killed Americans.

All these people have perished in martyrdom for the highest principles of national and individual freedom, for social justice and for a truly democratic way of life, the principles which serve as basic elements of the American Declaration of Independence, the American Constitution and the American way of life.

They brought the highest sacrifices of their lives in their struggle for God and freedom and against Communist-Russian authoritarian enslavement, depredation of their countries, persecution and genocidal liquidation because of their religious, social or political convictions.

In our conscience, we consider it most imperative to manifestly express our painful regret and keen sorrow along with our greatest respect to all these victims and their nations for their tremendous sacrifices in their continuous struggle for individual freedom, their national independence on their respective territories, and for a better future of the world and humanity.

There are many painfully striking facts and definite evidences that a similar fate is in active preparation by the Communist forces for the yet free world — the United States of America primarily. Khrushchov's visit to this country is one of such facts — a far-reaching tragedy. Therefore, we most strongly feel that our Mourning Day should serve everyone as a gruesome reminder of what may happen to America and our people if we do not take a most realistic approach to the defense of the freedom and justice in the world against Communist Russian aggression. Such a most realistic approach is a firm and persistent policy of liberation of the enslaved.

Paying solemn respect to all victims of Communism, we pray, on this day, that Almighty God gives all of us, and our leaders, particularly, wisdom, firmness and strength to successfully resist and vanquish Communist Russian imperialism.

For Security of the U.S.A.!

For Freedom of the enslaved!

For just and lasting peace in the world!

P. O. Box 2151, Grand Central Station
New York 17, N. Y.
(AF ABN Leaflet)

American Friends of the
Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Inc.
(AF ABN)

MAP OF LOCATION OF THE SLAVE AND CONCENTRATION CAMPS
IN THE SOVIET 'UNION'



THESE ARE THE PLACES OF RUSSIAN GENOCIDE practiced by Nikita Khrushchov's Russian men hunters... These are the places where millions of workers - men, women and children - have been killed without trial with savage cruelty or otherwise driven to death by Communist-Russian forced labor tactics.

The only 'crime' of millions of victims was their religious, social or political beliefs, their desire for individual and national freedom; their justified ambition to be the masters and not slaves on their own ethnic - non-Russian territory; or simply because they were non-Russians. These are the places, where millions of heroes are buried...

Now, Nikita Khrushchov is coming, as guest of the U.S. Government, with most definite and unhidden intentions 'to bury' US...

NEWS AND VIEWS

AF ABN Demonstrations Against Khrushchov

The news of the visit of Nikita Khrushchov to the U.S.A. was received by the Americans, in particular by those who are descended from the East European peoples, with a wave of protests. Thousands of telegrams were sent to President Eisenhower, thousands of letters arrived at the American editorial offices and long articles were published in the English and foreign press. Practically all the persons who sent these telegrams, letters and articles, wrote that they could not pass over in silence nor remain indifferent to the fact that the hangman of Ukraine, the butcher of Hungary, the liar and deceiver, was going to set foot on free American soil! They affirmed that in spite of the request of the American government, millions of persons would hold protest rallies and would take part in demonstrations.

The situation was more difficult for the countless refugees who only came to America a short time ago and are not American citizens; they could not disregard and oppose the appeals issued by the government of the country that had given them a domicile. They therefore declared that they would not hold demonstrations, but that, of course, they could not hold themselves entirely aloof and that they would accordingly support the American counter-action.

The general protest rallies against Khrushchov and the atrocities that he has committed were, in the first place, organized by the churches. Dignitaries of the Catholic Church in particular openly and courageously expressed their uncompromising opinions. Cardinals, bishops and priests issued appeals to the members of their Church and to the politicians in which they reminded the public of what the co-existentialists are wont to forget. The hierarchs of the Ukrainian and other orthodox churches also took action in this respect. They proclaimed September 20th as a day of mourning; services were held in all the churches to commemorate the millions of victims of Russian Bolshevism and to protest against any form of alliance with the tyrant of the subjugated peoples.

The political and social organizations were particularly active. And in this respect the American Friends of ABN were in the foreground. Together with the Ukrainian-American Congress Committee, the American-Hungarian Federation, the Union of the Lithuanians in the U.S.A., the Union of Latvian Organizations and numerous other corporati-

ons, they organized protest rallies and demonstrations etc., in all the towns visited by Nikita during his trip through the U.S.A. In New York the AF ABN even organized a protest rally on its own in order to express its own opinion publicly.

The rally opened with an invocation by the Reverend Dr. S. Valinsaitis, which was followed by an opening statement by the Vice-Chairman of the Executive Council of the American Friends of ABN. The speakers were the former Congressman K. O. Armstrong and K. C. Pradith, *chargé d'affaires* of the kingdom of Laos; the latter condemned the recent Communist aggression in Tibet and the originators of Russian aggressive imperialism, whose representative is the hangman of Ukraine and the butcher of Budapest, Nikita Khrushchov. Telegrams and resolutions were read by Mr. Spas T. Raikin and Dr. Andreansky. Dr. Theodor Krupa spoke on behalf of Ukraine and demanded that further protest rallies should be held.

On September 13, 1959, the AF ABN sent a telegram to President Eisenhower, which was signed by the following persons: F. Alexis, Dr. T. Krupa, Spas T. Raikin, Dr. K. Koicheff, C. Andreansky, I. Bilyj, J. Kuba, W. Bieleza, C. Thomas, A. Doozhen, A. Kalnus, V. Alps, W. Bonasiak, M. Spontak and A. Zamshiroff.

Demonstrations and rallies were also held in towns which were not visited by Khrushchov, as for instance Detroit, Chicago, Rochester and Syracuse, and even in Winnipeg, Toronto and other Canadian towns. In fact, the demonstrations began before Khrushchov had even left Moscow. On September 11, 2,500 persons took part in a protest demonstration in Philadelphia. On this occasion, a striking speech was made by I. Bylinsky, the representative of the AF ABN. On September 12 and 13th, the Ukrainians and other ABN peoples held demonstrations in Cleveland (1,000 persons took part in this demonstration), in Rochester (2,000) and in various smaller districts of New Haven.

Once Nikita Khrushchov had arrived in Washington, the demonstrations increased in intensity. Thousands of placards, bearing anti-Bolshevist watchwords, could be seen on the streets of the large towns: "THE WHITE HOUSE IS NO PLACE FOR A MURDERER", — "THE UKRAINIANS ARE FIGHTING AND DYING FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE", — "COEXISTENCE MEANS DEATH OF FREEDOM", — "GOD BLESS AMERICA, GOD FREE UKRAINE", — "KHRUSHCHOV NOT WELCOME TO U.S.", etc.

In spite of police measures, prohibitions, arrests and confiscation of protest material, thousands of anti-Communists nevertheless found ways and means of openly demonstra-

ting their opinion, of proclaiming it in choruses spoken in unison and of expressing it in the form of resolutions. The freedom-loving American press reported in detail on all these measures, and even though some of the Communist lackeys may fondly have imagined that Khrushchov did not notice these protest demonstrations at all, they nevertheless fulfilled their purpose.

The attitude adopted by some American publicists was not always as it should have

peg was organized by the ABN, Canada Branch, and Ukrainians, Latvians, Byelorussians, Slovaks, Hungarians, Lithuanians, Estonians and others took part in it. The large Prosvita hall was packed. The platform was decorated with the flags of the ABN peoples and the emblem of the ABN. The chairman of the Winnipeg ABN branch, Father S. Jishyk, opened the rally and introduced the speakers. These were: T. Blasmanys (Latvian), Matulonis (Lithuanian), W. Hutzko (Byelorussian),



been. Arrests were very often carried out arbitrarily, as for instance in the case of the son of the former State Secretary of the Army, Stevens. And the confiscation of anti-Communist banners in Pittsburgh and other towns also seems unjustified to us.

The biggest demonstrations against Khrushchov and Bolshevism, as well as against co-existentialism took place from September 17 to 20th.

In New York the demonstrators concentrated in particular on the hotels Waldorf, Astoria and Commodore, which Khrushchov visited, as well as the buildings of the United Nations. A big rally was also held in Carnegiehough, at which resolutions against Bolshevism were passed.

In Cleveland more than 10,000 persons took part in a protest march organized by the International Committee under the leadership of the American Friends of ABN. Even the police were surprised, for they had only expected 1,500 demonstrators at the most. This protest march was held on September 20th. On the same day, thousands of persons demonstrated in the streets of Syracuse and Winnipeg. The demonstration held in Winni-

Mrs. Kajowas (Estonian), A. Hatzko (Slovakian) and Dr. L. Prebislovki (Hungarian). A delegation placed a wreath bearing the inscription "ABN Commemorates the Victims of Khrushchov's Terrorism" on the grave of the Unknown Soldier.

An impressive rally was held on September 12th in Chicago by the branch of the AF ABN; the Anti-Communist League of the United States also took part in this rally. The motto of the rally was: "A Meeting for Freedom and in Honour of the Subjugated Peoples". Before the rally began, a wreath was placed on the Washington Monument. The Lithuanian girl-guides and the members of the Ukrainian Youth Union carried banners depicting scenes of atrocities perpetrated by the Russians in Lithuania.

During all the demonstrations, rallies and protest marches, thousands of leaflets, which had been printed by the AF ABN and other organizations, were distributed.

The Soviet Russian press, the Soviet Ukrainian, Soviet Lithuanian and other Soviet press made no mention whatever of the expression of the anti-Bolshevist attitude in the U.S.A. The peoples in East Europe are

to be kept in complete ignorance of what their fellow-fighters in the free world are doing.

But we are convinced that numerous eyewitnesses, who here and there drove along

the streets with Khrushchov, will tell their friends and intimates something about all these incidents. Sooner or later, everybody will be in the know. The holes in the Iron Curtain will let some details seep through!



The Advance of Communism in Asia

A Warning from India

Below we publish some extracts from a striking article by the Indian publicist R. Vaitheswaren, who was formerly an active member of the Indian Communist Party and is now a lecturer at the University of Hyderabad.

"When I look around nowadays and see what is happening in the world, I discover evidence of a well-prepared plan everywhere. I can clearly recollect how we received a directive whilst we were in prison, according to which the Communist Party of China was planning to set up a direct line of communication with the Communist Party of India via the Himalayan frontier regions. It was said that as soon as this had been achieved, it would be possible to spread Communism on a large scale in our country.

The news that the Red Chinese army has attacked our northern frontier tells me that this plan is now being realized. Tibet has already been completely annexed and its national independence will be eradicated completely. All this is part of a large-scale plan. The first stage of this plan began in 1953 with the attack on Tibet and the agreement between China and India to guarantee the autonomy of Tibet. After consolidation of the position in North Vietnam, an attack is now being launched on Laos.

Communist infiltration into the national liberation movements in all the countries of

Asia and Africa is being carried out according to the principles which were laid down in a resolution of the Communist International in 1924. All over the world we find the characteristic features of this carefully co-ordinated strategy, — whether in Algeria or Cuba, Tibet, Laos or India, it is always the same plan that was prepared years ago.

The tragedy is that we shut our eyes to this fact. We have all sorts of different attitudes to Communism. We think we are a deeply religious people with a great cultural tradition and that for this reason our country could never become Communist. We should like to persuade ourselves that we are strong enough from the military point of view to withstand the Communist aggression, but we fail to realize that only half the danger of Communism lies in the military menace. In India and in other countries of Southeast Asia the menace from within is equally as serious as that from without. Selfishness, greed, ambition, moral irresolution and disunion in our own ranks are the causes which, in the first place, have led to the existence of Communism. And as long as we do not eliminate these causes in our own social order, we shall never overcome Communism.

As a former Communist who was trained in Marxism and Leninism for many years, I know only too well that the change which

Communism introduces is in many respects far worse than the evils which it seeks to combat in the social order. But we must realize that the democracy which we have been practising so far is not able to cope with Communism. As long as we continue to lead our own lives, as long as politicians are only concerned about the next elections and not about future generations, as long as we continue to fill our own pockets whenever the opportunity to do so presents itself, — the tragedy of Communist world conquest will advance continuously . . .“

Congress of the International Academy for Problems of the Mediterranean Territory

The 6th Congress of the International Academy for Research of the Problems of the Mediterranean Territory took place in Palermo, Sicily, from September 3 to 7th, 1959. It was attended by leading representatives of the public, economic and cultural life of the countries concerned.

The Academy is headed by a Committee consisting of the former President of the Italian Republic, Enrico de Nicola, the Portuguese Prime Minister Salazar, the Italian Foreign Minister Pella, the French Minister

of Postal Service Edouard Bonnetjous, the French Senator Georges Rioud, the President of the Academy of Sciences in Damascus, Mardam-bey, the Minister of Justice of Lebanon, Emil Tiam, the Rector of the University of Constantinople, Fekim Rafat, the famous German philosopher Karl Jaspers, at present professor of philosophy in Switzerland, the former Greek Minister of Trade Leon Makaas, and various other personalities.

As regular members of the Academy, the former Bulgarian Minister of State and publicist, Christo Stateff, and the Albanian Professor Kulic attended the Congress in Palermo as representatives of the countries behind the Iron Curtain.

In the course of the Congress, lectures were held by the President of the Supreme Italian Court of Appeal, Alfredo Tsioffi, the French Senator Rioud, the representative of Bulgaria, former Minister of State Christo Stateff, and Professor Conte Carlo Belloli, professor of literature at Milan University.

The Presidium of the Congress: (from left to right) Professor Raffiotta, Parliamentary Deputy Prince Alliata, the Italian Ambassador Pedrazzi, former Bulgarian Minister of State Christo Stateff, and Professor Belloli. At the microphone, the French Senator Rioud during his lecture.



C. E. D. I. Conference in Escorial (September 28—31, 1959)



From the Resolutions of the C. E. D. I.

It is an undeniable fact that Spain is part of Europe, and there is no justification for ignoring this fact, particularly not at a time when the existence of free Europe is threatened and the union of all forces is necessary in order to ensure its future existence. The C.E.D.I.*) is pleased at the favourable development that has occurred, inasmuch as the said fact has now been comprehended, as can, above all, be seen from the admission of Spain to the O.E.E.C., and trusts that this development will lead to the achievement of the ultimate aim, namely the full membership of Spain in the European Community and in the Atlantic Pact.

The subjugated peoples behind the Iron Curtain are an integral part of Europe; their striving for freedom and independence is part of their European heritage; and Free Europe must support them without weakening, for a genuinely European spirit rules out any approval of the preservation of the present state of affairs.

The traditionally or legally neutral countries will not be able to exclude themselves in future from the European institutions without incurring serious disadvantages; the latter must make special concessions in their case which will enable them to reconcile their neutrality with their affinity to Europe.

The European political institutions, which the C.E.D.I. trusts will develop in this way, must constantly bear this realistic idea in mind as regards Europe; they cannot be founded on a flexible principle, for the diversity of the countries in the union as a whole must be respected. These institutions must now take as their basis the co-operation of the European governments, which must be built up organically to deal with all European problems and interests; for in this way it will be possible to find a common political line as far as these interests are concerned. This co-operation must be organized in a realistic and pragmatic way on the basis of the equality of rights of the participating nations and of the recognition of the responsibility incumbent upon each of them. The C.E.D.I. counts on the development of the European spirit, on the one hand, and on the efficient functioning of the European institutions to bring about an amicable settlement of the litigations which cause points of friction amongst the European nations.

*) European Centre of Documentation and Information.

Joint Statement by Ukrainian Political Groups

The present state of affairs in Ukraine proves that the Russian imperialists banded together in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union under the leadership of Khrushchov are continuing their attack on the Ukrainian nation. Indeed, in view of the lawful and unlawful, passive and active resistance of the Ukrainian people, the attack conducted by the colonizers is increasing in intensity.

As a result of the policy of the Russian imperialist colonizers, Ukraine, where the percentage of the population increase was formerly high, now only shows an increase of 1,424,000 for the past twenty years, a fact which clearly indicates the prevalence of constant genocide and the extermination of the Ukrainian people during the fourteen years after the war, too. One of the Russian means of exterminating the Ukrainian people is the mass deportation of Ukrainian men and women to the so-called "virgin regions", a method which is camouflaged as an allegedly voluntary decision and which has as its sole purpose to disperse Ukrainian youth among the medley of peoples in Central Asia, in order to facilitate the process of de-nationalization. The systematic suppression of the resistance put up by the Ukrainian intelligentsia, above all, however, of that of the writers, scholars in the sphere of culture and the youth of Ukraine, as well as the execution of Ukrainian patriots in the town of Chervonoarmijsk in May this year, are proof that the colonizers are once again trying, by ruthless terrorism, to put a stop to the fight of the Ukrainian people for their freedom and for the state independence of Ukraine.

At the same time, the process of destruction and extermination is also being intensified in particular in the sphere of language and culture. The Russian imperialist colonizers are strengthening their positions as regards the Russification process by numerous measures of a disguised administrative character, as well as by public decrees, the aim of which is to reduce the possibilities of development as far as the national culture is concerned.

There are, for instance, secret regulations which make it impossible for the Ukrainians deported to the so-called "virgin regions" of Central Asia to obtain publications in the Ukrainian language, thus forcing them to read only publications which appear in the Russian language.

And the law on the school system — in particular Article 9 of this law — which was passed by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R. at the order of Moscow on April 17th this year is obviously an unprecedented attack on the primary and natural rights of every people.

The fine phrases about the "magnanimity of the Leninist national policy", which accompanied the passing of this law, by no means disguise its true purpose, namely the Russification of the school system in Ukraine.

In every state the language of the people of this state is the compulsory language of instruction in the state schools, and for this reason this fundamental and vital principle is never questioned in any country in the world. In the non-Russian republics of the U.S.S.R. which are subjugated by Moscow and, above all, in Ukraine, this vital principle is, however, disregarded. Instead of protecting the rights of the Ukrainian language in Ukraine, the government of the Ukrainian S.S.R. has declared the Ukrainian language a non-compulsory language of instruction in the schools of Ukraine. The law provides all the preconditions to guarantee that only the Russian language shall actually be the compulsory language of instruction in Ukraine.

Immediately prior to the above decree, the so-called all-national discussion of Khrushchov's draft, which aims to limit the rights of the non-Russian peoples, was held throughout Ukraine. Those who took part in this general discussion stressed explicitly and in every case the necessity of allowing the Ukrainian language to

remain the compulsory language of instruction in the Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian schools in the Ukrainian S.S.R. But in complete disregard of this unanimously and openly expressed opinion, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R. adopted this ignominious law and accordingly opposed the vital interests of the Ukrainian people, thus stressing its own slavish dependence on Moscow.

Ukrainian parents were formerly able to allow their children to attend Russian schools, but the government of the Ukrainian S.S.R. in the person of its supreme authority has never yet so far forced the Ukrainians to consider the question as to whether they should learn the Ukrainian language.

The decree of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R. constitutes a moral pressure on the Ukrainians which is directed towards the Russification of their children; this moral pressure is all the more dangerous since in a totalitarian state it is, as a rule, accompanied by police measures. In this way the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R. is forcing the Russian language on the Ukrainian people as the only means of preserving contact with the cultural treasures of the world. The Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R. has thus lowered the value of the Ukrainian language and has assigned to it the role of a local factor only.

In following events in Ukraine, the Ukrainians living in the democratic world are full of admiration for the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people who, under most difficult conditions, are defending the right of the Ukrainian language in the schools in Ukraine. In these troubled and serious times, all the Ukrainians living beyond the frontiers of the Russian Bolshevik imperium consider it their sacred duty to help subjugated Ukraine.

United in their joint counter-action and by making use of all the possibilities which the countries in which they are living have to offer them, these Ukrainians are anxious to organize a world opinion which is favourable for their native country and to draw the attention of the world to the enslavement of Ukraine by Moscow and to the persecution of the Ukrainian language and culture.

On the strength of the existing connections, the Ukrainian political organizations shall endeavour to carry their protest campaign into the forum of the international, political, social and professional organizations (such as the United Nations, UNESCO, etc.). The attention of the public all over the world shall be drawn to the peculiarities of the so-called Soviet democracy, to the character and danger of Russian imperialism and to the present stage of Soviet national policy, which consists in disguised forms of an organized and systematic genocide of the Ukrainian nation, in a new intensification of police terrorism, as well as in the growing persecution of the Ukrainian language and culture.

This resolution was adopted on June 1, 1959, by the following Ukrainian political organizations:

Representatives Abroad of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council.
Units Abroad of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Revolutionaries)
Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Solidarists)
Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists Abroad
Union of Liberation of Ukraine
Ukrainian Hetman Union
Union of the Countries of United Ukraine (Peasants' Party)
Union of the Constructive Forces of Ukraine
Ukrainian National Democratic Union
Ukrainian National State Union
Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party
Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party (Forwards)
Ukrainian Christian Movement

From Behind the Iron Curtain

BYELORUSSIA

Religion A Threat To Communism

Anti-religious propoganda is once again being disseminated to an increased extent in Russia and, in particular, in Byelorussia in connection with the marked evidence of religious tendencies and the growing activity of the clergy and religious teachers.

This activity is regarded by the Party leaders as extremely dangerous, and the campaign against religion has recently become more vigorous than was hitherto the case. The initiative has been taken in this respect by the highest officials of the so-called "Republics of the U.S.S.R."

In a leading article published in the monthly periodical "Byelorussian Communist" (No. 7), the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussia, Kiselev, writes as follows: "One cannot pass over in silence incidents which are taking place especially in the western districts of our Republic, where young persons, whose training has been neglected, fall under the influence of the churchmen and take part in religious practices and are married in the churches. This state of affairs has gone so far that even members of the Komsomol (Young Communists) take part in these practices. And what steps are taken by the officials of the Komsomol? They pretend to be blind to these facts or else they exclude such members from the organization and think that in this way they have done their duty."

Kiselev is indignant and shocked at the behaviour of the Communists, the Komsomols and their representatives, and affirms: "It would be a very good idea if, during some turning point in the life of a young man, for instance — marriage —, the Komsomols would organize some gay parties at their clubs..."

Unfortunately for the Communist regime, the present youth — the post-war generation — may be under some influence of the West and may be of the opinion that none of the government sponsored clubs or parties can replace the Church, and may think, as numerous girl-members of the Komsomols do, that "it is more decent and human to be married in church".

The "Komsomol Truth" of January 8, 1959, complains about the loss in work in the kolkhozes caused by the parish church holidays and festivals, since each kolkhoz has its own parish church holiday: "In the whole district there are 260 kolkhozes and 260 parish church holidays. People are in the habit of going from one kolkhoz to the other to take part in these holidays and festivals. As a result of all this celebrating and drinking, work in the fields is naturally neglected. Last year, for instance, at the Pobieditel kolkhoz ("Conqueror") it took 20 days to get the rye mown instead of 5, as planned, as a result of all these holidays."

The Communists in the kolkhozes are powerless to combat and suppress religious and Church traditions.

The "Komsomol Truth" quotes as an example the case of a leader of the district Communist Party who, on St. Nicholas' Day, went to one of the kolkhozes to organize the local Communists and Komsomol members for anti-religious propoganda. But when he got there, he himself was forced to celebrate this occasion at the house of the local secretary of the Communist Party.

These are only a few examples which show that in every part of the U.S.S.R. the population is turning more and more to religion and that the Soviet regime is powerless to counteract this phenomenon.

Some time ago, an agreement was made between the Soviet government and the Orthodox Church which — naturally, on paper only — allowed the Church a certain limited freedom, whilst, at the same time, giving not only considerable scope, but also encouragement and support to anti-religious propoganda. The Church authorities are loyal to the Communist regime and are carrying out the instructions of the Communist Party. Incidentally, there are among the priests and higher Church authorities numerous active members of the secret police, a fact which was denounced by Deryabin (for instance, the case of Nikolas Kruticki).

In spite of all this, however, the people are turning more and more to religion and the Church is constantly gaining more adherents. Indeed, Church doctrine based on Christian ethics and morality will in the end be victorious in the unequal ideological struggle. It is only a matter of time.



SLOVAKIA

Communists Celebrate Anniversary Of Slovak Council Republic

The celebrations held to mark the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the Slovak Council Republic culminated in Presov (East Slovakia) on June 21st this year. The Slovak Council Republic was proclaimed in Presov on June 16, 1919, by an international Communist group during the temporary occupation of East and South Slovakia by the Hungarian Red Army. This attempt to found a Communist Slovak state, however, met with neither the support nor the sympathy of the Slovak people and this was the reason why the entire Slovak Council Republic collapsed like a house of cards when the Hungarian Red Army withdrew from Slovakia.

This episode which only lasted sixteen days has now been celebrated by the Czecho-Slovak regime. During, as well as prior to the celebrations, the Czech Communist regime endeavoured to misrepresent the actual historical facts by disseminating false propaganda. The abortive and inglorious Slovak Council Republic, incidentally, is designated by the representatives and adherents of the Red government in Prague as an action which was not directed against Czecho-Slovakia! From the point of view of the Czech Communist "People's Democracy", such a distortion of historical facts is understandable. This, however, does not alter the fact that the Slovak Council Republic proclaimed in Presov forty years ago by the Communists was, or, at least was intended to be a special state structure independent of Prague. It had all the external characteristics of an independent state; it had a special legislative body, a special government, special administrative and judicial organs, and its own special army. All these organs of state power were not dependent on the organs of the newly founded Czecho-Slovak state. The only actual dependence in this respect was in the relations of the Slovak Council Republic to the Hungarian Council Republic and to the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic. The Slovak Council Republic was recognized de jure as an independent state not only by the Hungarian Council Republic, which had created it, but also by Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Russia. The Slovak Council Republic did not link up with the legal continuity of the already existing Czecho-Slovak state, but with that of the Hungarian Council Republic. And the Slovak Council Republic also took over the government organs set up by the Hungarian Red Army during its occupation of Slovakia.

The proclamation and the existence of the Slovak Council Republic was in itself an opposition to the existence of a Czecho-Slovak state. And this fact has been proved by the documents which have now been published by the Communists in Slovakia.

It is an established fact that Moscow in 1919 and also later was in favour of a separate Communist Slovak state, just as it is now in favour of the so-called Czecho-Slovakia. Moscow always interprets the right of self-determination of the peoples from the point of view of opportunism, just as happens to suit its imperialistic interests at the time. Actually, Moscow does not recognize the right of self-determination of the peoples — with the exception of the right of self-determination of the Russian people — at all. And the "independent" Communist states — apart from the U.S.S.R. itself, in so far as they are part of Moscow's sphere of influence, are only "independent" on paper.

Moscow is at present in favour of the artificially created Czecho-Slovak state because Prague is its most faithful satellite and renders it valuable services.

Dr. Ctibor Pokorný



LATVIA

Animals forbidden in Riga. No privately owned "producing" animals will be allowed in Riga after October 1st, 1959.

The Communist decree, signed in August, applies specifically to Riga, but authority is given for the extension of the prohibition to all Latvian towns and villages. The owners are warned not to slaughter their animals but to deliver them to collective farms.

According to 1956 statistics, the Russian Communists will rob Latvians of the following:

78,800 cows	98,500 pigs	70,100 sheep
26,700 goats	24,000 calves	5,700 horses

Another good day's work for Comrade Khrushchov.



UKRAINE

Ukrainian Demonstrations and Street Fighting in Pomerania

A West German press organ of the German refugees and expellees from Poland, the "Pommersche Zeitung" ("The Pomeranian Newspaper"), reports as follows in its edition of August 29, 1959:

Greifenhagen on the Oder (from our special correspondent). Last week, the picturesque village of Bahn (Polish Banie) in the

district of Greifenhagen (Polish Gryfino, south of Stettin), was the scene of stormy demonstrations on the part of the Ukrainians who have been resettled in the districts of Greifenhagen and Pyritz (Polish Pyzyc) by the Polish government. The meeting was, to begin with, intended to be a meeting of the members of the Ukrainian Community Cultural Society (USKT), but soon developed into a protest demonstration against the Polish authorities in a manner such as has never yet occurred in Pomerania since World War II. An eyewitness reports as follows:

"Not 200 to 300 persons, as is usual, but about 1,400 appeared at the meeting of the Ukrainian Society, the purpose of which was to discuss cultural matters. For this reason, divine service was first of all held on the square in front of St. Mary's Church in Bahn. In his sermon the Ukrainian priest appealed to the Polish authorities to "treat the Ukrainian minority in a Christian way and not to allow any acts of violence to be committed".

The meeting was opened in the morning — likewise in the open air — by Wit Drapich, the secretary of the Stettin district executive committee of the Polish Communist Party. He exhorted the Ukrainians to form agricultural collectives and promised them Ukrainian schools and cultural organizations in the villages concerned *if they did so*. The crowd thereupon promptly responded with jeers, since the agricultural collectives recommended by him are merely a new form of kolkhoz and, as such, meet with the opposition of the farmers everywhere; in addition, he also made the mistake of bringing pressure to bear on the Ukrainians by promising them the cultural autonomy, to which according to the law they are already entitled, only if they formed kolkhozes. As was later ascertained, the Ukrainians had in any case only come to the meeting in Bahn in order to protest against their resettlement in East Pomerania and against the humiliating manner in which they are treated as compared to the Polish population. The Communist administrative and Party authorities had no inkling of their intentions and were thus taken completely by surprise; and when Drapich's arrogant speech met with jeers, cries of rage and shouts in unison "No kolkhozes!", they simply dispersed as fast as they could, and so, too, did the Communist leaders of the USKT. The crowd thereupon stormed the platform; and a Ukrainian announced through the microphone that the protest meeting was now declared open, an announcement which was received with great applause.

The crowd thereupon asked various Ukrainians to act as the presiding committee of the meeting. Numerous speakers in turn then delivered addresses from the platform. To begin with, complaints were voiced about the unsatisfactory way in which the Ukrai-

nian settlers are supplied with foodstuffs, consumption goods, building material and tractors, etc., and finally it was pointed out that the Polish Communist government had not kept any of the promises which they had made the Ukrainian deportees. In answer to the question put by one speaker: "Do you want to starve in the kolkhozes again as you did before 1956?", the crowd roared "No, never"!

The presiding committee put down the demands in question on paper; they were then read out to the crowd once more and met with enthusiastic approval; and most of the persons present thereupon signed them. One of these demands was worded as follows: "We object to material and cultural rights being dependent on the formation of Ukrainian agricultural kolkhozes! We demand that there shall be no obstacles to the return home of the Ukrainians to other regions of Poland and that no one shall be punished for returning home"!

This resolution was to be presented to the district authorities in Stettin.

In the meantime, however, Wit Drapich had already alarmed the police administration in Stettin. When the fact was corroborated that about one and a half thousand persons were taking part in the "illegal" meeting, the chief Party authorities in Stettin, who had meanwhile been notified by the police, began to have doubts as to whether the police would be able to deal with the situation and, accordingly, got in touch with the army. A big detachment, consisting solely of Polish soldiers, was thereupon hurriedly sent from the frontier not far away to Bahn. Firing into the air, Polish tanks chased the Ukrainians off the main street of the village, but when they reached the square in front of St. Mary's Church they encountered a dense crowd which refused to budge. After a lot of shouting and threatening on both sides, the Polish officer in command gave orders that the tanks were to drive into the crowd. Many of the demonstrators were injured, either seriously or slightly. The crowd now split up into individual groups; but when the soldiers got out of the tanks in order to scatter the rest of the demonstrators and arrest their "ringleaders", they were pelted with stones. Some of the demonstrators then made for empty houses, where they set up barricades and put up a fierce resistance against the troops, — with weapons, too, which some of the demonstrators had managed to snatch from soldiers during the early stage of the tumult and confusion (these weapons, incidentally, were only handed over later on, when the officer in command threatened to shoot all the Ukrainians who had been arrested, on the spot, if the weapons were not surrendered). A long and fierce combat raged in front of the building of the

dairy at the Brücksee, which had been seized by the demonstrators and was then encircled by Polish troops and attacked by tanks and machine-guns twice. The reason for this combat was that the texts of the Ukrainian resolutions had been taken to the building of the dairy, and, what was more, they contained the signatures of about 1,000 Ukrainians, which would have been a welcome booty for the Polish police.

After the dairy had been attacked twice by the Polish soldiers, the demonstrators who were trying to defend the building surrendered, — but only after they had burnt all the lists containing signatures.

Over 600 persons were arrested, but 450 of them were released after interrogation. At present, there are still 130 Ukrainian demonstrators in prison in Stettin, including all the "ringleaders" (at least, that is what the Polish authorities affirm). Nothing is as yet known as to the nature and the contents of the charges which are to be preferred against them".

So much for the report of the eyewitness, who, unfortunately, does not attempt to give even an approximation of the number of Ukrainians wounded in the street fighting, which was undoubtedly very considerable. In conclusion, the above-mentioned West German paper stresses that the Ukrainians forcibly resettled in former German territories after World War II constitute the "most unruly element" of the entire population of the Polish satellite state, since they are constantly determined to return to their native

country, and since the collectivization of agriculture which is at present about to be carried out in the district of Stettin will inevitably provide a new source of even fiercer disturbances.

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Metropolitan Joseph Slipy Re-Sentenced

In a trial held in Kyiv which lasted three days, Metropolitan Joseph (Yosyp) Slipy was sentenced to a further seven years' hard labour in a concentration camp. This information has been received from a person in Ukraine who is interested in and well-informed on the position of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the U.S.S.R.

The letter in question, which was written at the end of July, also contains the following information: "The three days' trial has greatly upset him (the Metropolitan). He has been sentenced to seven years in a "Labour and Correction Camp" for "secretly organizing the activity of the Greek Catholic Church". He is greatly emaciated, his beard is quite white and his hair has turned grey".

The Metropolitan Archbishop of Lviv and Galicia, Joseph Slipy, born on February 17, 1892, who in 1945 succeeded the great West Ukrainian Metropolitan Andrew (Andrey) Sheptytsky, has already endured eight years' slave labour in Russian concentration camps. On account of the serious state of his health, he recently received permission to return to his native village in West Ukraine, but was strictly forbidden to exercise any ecclesiastical functions at all.



British guests at the reception held by the ABN Mission in Taipei on September 7, 1959. Left to right: N. Maclean, M. P., Mrs. Kosyk, Mrs. Ku Cheng-kang, APACL President Ku Cheng-kang, Ch. Fletcher, M. P., Mr. Kosyk, Chairman of ABN Mission.

BOOK - REVIEWS

B. Geiger, T. Halasi-Kun, A. H. Kuipers, K. H. Menges: "Peoples and Languages of the Caucasus - a Synopsis". Columbia University, Monton & Co., 'S-Gravenhage, 1959. 77 pp.

This work is an ethnographical handbook and guide to the study of the peoples of the Caucasus and contains a bibliography and an ethnographical map of the country. It is by no means complete, but it is at least very useful as an introduction to a study of the problem in question.

Only publications by foreign authors are mentioned in the bibliography and, incidentally, not all of them. Nor are the scholars of these peoples mentioned, - not even those who are engaging in their work abroad, such as, for instance, Prof. K. Toumanoff, Father M. Tharknishvili, S. Avalishvili, M. Tseretheli and others.

Apart from this fact, however, this work comes as a welcome publication, for the young scholars who have compiled it have thus not only contributed their share towards opening up the study of the history and culture of the ancient historical peoples of the Caucasus to the Western world, but have also done scientific research an important service. And we wish them progress and success in this direction for the future, too.

Niko Nakashidze

Wilhelm Starlinger: *Rußland und die Atlantische Gemeinschaft* (Russia and the Atlantic Community). Marienburg-Verlag, Würzburg, 1957. 164 pp.

This book is the third part of a collective work by the author Wilhelm Starlinger. The first volume, entitled "The Limits of Soviet Power", appeared in 1955; it was followed by the volume "Behind Russia China", and, finally, in 1957 by the above-mentioned publication, which deals with the attitude of the Soviet Union to the Western or Atlantic community.

In it, Starlinger stresses the following point: "It is not essential to form Europe by means of adopted constitutions, as a unity of some ideology or other; it is rather more important that the USA and Europe consolidate their alliance, that they avoid all kinds of dissension from within and from without, that they not only bundle up steely weapons (petroleum and atoms), but also understand how to whet them."

Referring to the intrigues of the Kremlin in various states of the free world, the author points out that the Red Russians have not succeeded in inciting revolutions in the Western hemisphere and comes to the conclusion that the Muscovite (Russian) plan aimed at the immediate conquest of the world has failed, at least for the time being.

Moscow is afraid of annexing Berlin because it is too weak to wage war against the Western allies (p. 5). It is constantly trying to find a weak spot somewhere in the world, but so far its efforts in this respect have failed; and in the meantime another Communist power seems to be becoming dangerous for the Soviet Union, - namely Red China. But Red China is at present not yet strong enough to be able to dictate to Moscow. For this reason, these two Communist major powers are now working hand in hand for the purpose of conquering the world.

The author is convinced that without a strong Germany there can be no security for Western Europe, since Germany is an essential and component part of the latter.

He stresses the tremendous part that the USA has played in protecting the Western world, and points out that but for this fact Moscow would now dominate the whole world. Starlinger is convinced that the USA will continue to resist Red Russian aggression, because only the joint aid of the states belonging to the Atlantic community can save Western civilization. He emphasizes the fact that Germany must contribute as much as possible to the strength of the Western world, and is convinced that the Western world will triumph over the Eastern (Muscovite) danger. He very aptly exposes the true nature of the alleged struggle for peace on the part of the Soviet Russians.

This book is written in a journalistic style and does not claim to be a work of scientific research. But it is nevertheless well worth reading by all those who would like to gain more insight into current political events in Eastern and Central Europe under Soviet Russian domination.

It is, however, regrettable that Starlinger does not devote more attention to the problem of the peoples enslaved by the Russians in the so-called Soviet Union. If due support were given to these peoples, the Soviet Union or, rather, the Soviet Russian prison of peoples would be disintegrated from within. But the Western politicians fail to, or, perhaps, do not wish to perceive the Achilles' tendon of the Soviet Union, - namely the tremendous dynamic force of the national problem. W. O.

Robert Welch: *Fidel Castro Communist*. April 1959. Reprinted from "American Opinion". 50 pp.

This book deals with the dubious personality of the Cuban leader and politician Fidel Castro and his relations to the Kremlin and to prominent Communists in other countries. The reprint edition is written in the form of letters and tries to show the reader what has been going on in Cuba since Fidel Castro defeated the former Cuban dictator Battista. Terrorism under Fidel Castro has been no less than it was under Battista. The regime of Castro has brought a new system of tyranny to Cuba and has provided the Communists with an opportunity to use to advantage the unstable and atrocious conditions which prevail in Cuba under the regime of the bearded rebel. W. O.

30 Ukrainian Insurgents Sentenced to Death

The "Sunday Star Ledger" reports in its edition of September 27, 1959, that in the capital of Ukraine, Kyiv, the Russian occupants have started a new series of mock trials against the fighters of the Ukrainian underground movement. The American correspondents of the paper, Horst Pecell and Paul McKiel describe the terrorist military operations of the Russian and Red Chinese Communists, the purges carried out in the armies of the satellites and the subversive activity of the Bolshevik Fifth Column in the free world.

As regards events in Kyiv they report as follows: Mock trials against hundreds of Ukrainian insurgents, who were captured during the fighting which took place in Carpatho-Ukraine a short time ago, began here recently. The first trial ended 3 weeks ago; 30 insurgents were sentenced to death. They were shot the same day. Thousands of Ukrainians assembled in silent protest in their churches.

* * *

The Czecho-Slovakian Communists have extradited the commander of the UPA to the Red Poles. On October 9, 1959, the Polish radio station, Warsaw 2, broadcast the following statement:

"In Riashev we were all much upset at the news that the Czecho-Slovakian government had extradited Ivan Spontak, one of the chief commanders of the UPA, which was particularly active during the early years after the liberation, to our Polish public prosecutor here in Riashev."

* * *

A QUESTION TO FIDEL CASTRO

"If you, Sir, are not a Communist, then release the greatest anti-Communists of Cuba, the most loyal patriots and noblest men — Ernesto de la Fé, Victor Alegria and many others — from prison!"

* * *

ANTI-COMMUNISTS OF THE TWO AMERICAS!

"Set up committees for action everywhere under the motto

"Release de la Fé!"

Do not give in as long as the bravest and most loyal of your fellow-fighters are languishing in prison!

"Release de la Fé!"