

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Contents:

President Kennedy On Subjugated Nations . . . 1

Dr. D. Donzov (Ukraine)
“Si vis bellum, para pacem“! 2

Union for Peace and Freedom (Germany)
The Vulnerable Spot of the Soviet Union . . . 3

General F. Farkás de Kisbarnak (Hungary)
Hungary — a Russian Colony 7

N. Nakashidze (Georgia)
**How America Wanted To Annex The Caucasus
As A Colony In 1917—1920 9**

Dr. Baymirza Hayit (Turkestan)
**Russia — The Most Ruthless Colonial
Imperium In The World 11**

Dr. M. Añsysas (Lithuania)
Russia’s Perpetual Imperialistic Aims . . . 15

Banu Manta (Roumania)
**The Author Petre Dimitriiu — A Roumanian
Boris Pasternak 20**

Memorandum by ABN — Canada 23

News and Views 28

From Behind the Iron Curtain 31

FINLANDIAN INFORMATION SERVICE

*"We are as unknown, and yet well known;
as dying, and behold, we live; as chastened,
and not killed".*

II. Corinthians, VI, 9.

Raids on Ukrainian Freedom Fighters in Slovakia

Together with Russian and Polish police, Czecho-Slovakian police detachments are endeavouring to ascertain how various small anti-Communist units, which are allegedly sent from non-Communist countries, are getting into the Ukrainian S. S. R. This campaign is being carried out not so much against the said units, but in particular against persons who help them in Czecho-Slovakia and, above all, in north and northeast Slovakia. Ukrainians who live in Slovakia and do not belong to the circles that are prominent there today, as well as the members of their families, in particular in the case of mixed marriages, are under constant surveillance; they are frequently summoned to interrogations and their person and houses are searched. Correspondence from abroad is checked most strictly in Slovakia. This is carried out not in Prague but in the various capitals of the individual provinces, and photostats are made of such correspondence.

*

Reuter Press Agency reports that the former commander of a UPA detachment, Oleksander *Duber*, was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment on October 7, 1960, in Peremisch (West Ukraine). The Polish public prosecutor accused him of having played a part in the "Kuschtsch-Gang" under the alias of *Sokil* (falcon) during the years 1945 to 1947, namely in his capacity of a detachment commander of the UPA; he took part in operations in the districts of Jaroslaw, Lescheisk and Perevorsk. Sokil's detachment fought against Soviet Russian and Polish forces; in addition, he was also accused of having "murdered innocent persons amongst the Polish and Ukrainian population"!

This latter statement by the Polish public prosecutor is a gross lie, for *Duber* (*Sokil*) and his soldiers were Ukrainian patriots and disciplined insurgents.

For the past few years O. *Duber* had lived in Griffin in the district of Stettin under the name of Josef Nestor and it was here that he was arrested.

Reports about O. *Duber* were published by the Warsaw paper "Tribuna Ludu" for the first time on May 10, 1960, and later on October 7th.

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Stimmen der Nationen! Stimmen der Individuen!

Publisher: Press Bureau of the Antifolshevik Bloc of Nations
(A.B.N.)

Munich 8, Zappellinstr. 67

Editorial Staff: Board of Editors
Editor responsible: Slawa Stetzko.

Articles signed with name or pseudonym do not necessarily reflect the Editor's opinion, but that of the author. Manuscripts sent in unrequested cannot be returned in case of non-publication unless postage is enclosed.
It is not our practice to pay for contributions.

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(A.B.N.-Corr.).

Annual subscription DM 6.— in Germany, 4.— Dollars in U.S.A., 12 shillings in Great Britain and Australia, and the equivalent of 4.— Dollars in all other countries.

Remittances to: Post office Transfer account: Munich 58 000 or Süddeutsche Bank, Munich, Filiale Depositenkasse, Neuhäuser Straße 6, Account No. 300 188 (A.B.N.)

Erscheinungsort: München
Herausgeber: Presse-Büro des Antifolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen (ABN), München 8, Zappellinstr. 67/0,
Telefon 44 10 69

Schriftleitung: Redaktionskollegium
Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Slawa Stetzko.
Druck: Buchdruckerei Universal, München 5, Rumfordstr. 29



Newly elected US President John F. Kennedy in conversation with members of AFABN and of the General Assembly of the Slovak Liberation Committee, Joseph C. Trubinsky and Viktor Nesnadny.

President Kennedy For A Firm Policy

During the election campaign in the United States of America, the National Chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee (UCCA), Prof. Dr. Lev Dobriansky, who is also the chairman of the Captive Nations Week Committee, submitted a few questions to the presidential candidates in USA in order to ascertain what line of policy they will pursue towards the subjugated peoples on assuming the office of U.S. President. We are publishing below the answer given by the elected President John F. Kennedy.

Questions — As the Chief Executive, would you take steps to formulate and execute a policy toward the freedom of the dozen captive non-Russian nations in the USSR?

Kennedy: My many statements on the freedom of all peoples and

nations should indicate that we cannot afford to overlook any. If you would consult the Congressional Record as far back as 1953 (Aug. 4), you will find that I have supported ideas of freedom relating to Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, Ukraine, Armenia, and other captive nations. Then, as now, I have been of the firm conviction that we must do everything possible to keep alive the spirit of independence and freedom of these nations.

Moreover, with regard to these non-Russian nations in the USSR, let me stress again, as I did in my letter to you of October 29 (in which I congratulated one of your organizations on its 20th anniversary), that I deplore the monolith term often used by the Republican Administration in Washington, "Soviet nation", or "Soviet people". In essence, it is contrary to the Captive Nations Week Resolution enacted last year.

Question — Are you satisfied with the operations of the United States Information Agency (USIA) in relation to the captive nations, particularly those in the USSR? If not, what changes will you propose?

Kennedy: I believe much more could be done to put our message across to all the captive nations. If I am elected, this problem will be carefully studied and the necessary changes will be affected.

Question — Are you for a firm policy and action now in regard to Cuba, designed to stave off the poisonous effects of the coming Khrushchov visit? What specifically do you propose?

Kennedy: I am for a firm policy in regard to Cuba, and my recent speeches disclose what we should do now: we can constantly express our friendship for the Cuban people and our determination that they will again be free; we must firmly resist further Communist encroachment in this hemisphere, working through a strengthened organization of the American States to encourage those liberty-loving Cubans who

are leading the resistance to Castro; and we must make it clear to Mr. Castro once and for all that we will defend our Naval Base at Guantanamo under all circumstances.

Dr. D. Donzov

“Si vis bellum, para pacem“!

This phrase is neither a joke nor a paradox. In our paradoxical times it is indeed the very truth.

Since the year of the triumph of West European pacifism (1945) the world has entered upon an era of perpetual “hot“ or “cold“, international or civil wars. In Eastern Europe this era already began with the Bolshevik revolution in 1917. During the years 1917-1921 of the “hot“ and the “cold“ war of Ukraine with Russia, the West maintained a pacifist attitude. And if Moscow was prevented in those days from stretching out its “saving“ hand to the Communism of Samuelli and Bela Kun (or Kohn) and setting West Europe on fire, then it was thanks to the “warmonger“ Ukraine fighting Russia. And not thanks to the pacifist West (even the Soviet Russian memoir writers admit this fact). But by looking on passively whilst Ukraine, which only had its own strength to rely on, was conquered by Moscow, the West, as it were, opened the sally-port for the future expansion of Russia in West Europe and in the Balkans. The West wanted to establish peace, instead of which, however, it helped war. And, reversing the words of Goethe’s Mephisto, the West succumbed to the spirit “who wants to do good but creates evil“.

In 1920 Russia almost succeeded in obtaining a second sally-port for itself (in Poland); in 1945 it definitely succeeded in doing so, thanks to the triumph of West European pacifism. Indeed, the latter also made the “cold-hot“ civil wars in Poland, Hungary and East Germany possible in the 1950’s. This same pacifism also permitted Moscow to swallow up the once free Baltic states (and previously Georgia in the Caucasus, too). The pacifist way in which France played up to Moscow (during the war and in 1959) resulted in Khrushchov’s promise to “liberate“ Algeria and thus set up a Muscovite Bolshevik (“republican“) sally-base on the southern frontier of France, as once before in Spain . . . Once again, the same spirit “who wants to do good but creates evil“!

Moreover, the pacifism of the “disunited nations“ has made the war in the Congo and throughout Africa possible; the pacifism of the United States of America has led to the existence of the Muscovite satellite in Cuba and to the preparation of the communization, that is to say the Russification of the whole of South America, — to its “castration“. And the extremely pacifist and “neutral“ Nehru caused the capture of Tibet by Communist China and Russia. And, lastly, the pacifist coexistence of the West with Russia in the “United Nations“ has resulted in the Russian Hitler demanding that these nations should recognize the domination of Moscow in the Organization of the United Nations “if the world wants peace and not war“. Another triumph on the part of the spirit “who wants to do good but creates evil“!

But what does all this prove? It proves that the policy which the West has been pursuing since 1945 and which aims to strengthen peace with Russia at any price *is completely bankrupt*. It has only led to never-ending international and civil wars. Indeed, it looks as though the Western powers actually *want war* and are acting according to the motto: “si vis bellum, para pacem“.

What is the solution to this situation? — The West needs a new class of leaders, a new elite, who are concerned not only about the liberation of the African peoples

but equally about the liberation of their natural allies, the nations with a thousand-year old culture and state traditions who have been subjugated by Moscow. In addition, the West needs persons who will put a stop to the activity of subversive forces on this side of the Iron Curtain, — forces which spread anti-patriotic, anti-Christian and pro-Russian propaganda in the press, in literature, on the television, in the cinemas, in political life and at the universities and thus endeavour to undermine the morale of youth.

There must be no beating about the bush. The false nimbus with which the henchmen of the Russian Hitler surround his monstrous realm of slaves must be torn asunder. And this will be the beginning of the end of the dreadful nightmare from which the world is suffering. Only when this has been done, will the free world, which is at present infested with Russian expansion and Russian propaganda, be really free.

The Vulnerable Spot of the Soviet Union

The National Union for Peace and Freedom, Bonn, Expresses Noteworthy Opinion on Khrushchov's Behaviour in the U.N.

Moscow's anti-colonialist propaganda offensive has for the time being reached its climax with Khrushchov's behaviour in the United Nations assembly. The dangerous nature of this offensive is obvious. Its utterly mendacious arguments are addressed to people who have in part too little political experience to be able to discern clearly between truth and falsehood. In addition, some of these people are strongly prejudiced against their former colonial rulers. And some of them think they are acting wisely in making a pact with the devil of Communism, as Lumumba said, in order to drive out the Beelzebub of colonialism. They fail to realize that Communism and colonialism are identical. The colonial peoples are thus at present passing through a political danger zone, the pitfalls and traps of which they fail to recognize.

But this is only one side of the process. The other side contains certain dangers not for the developing countries and the West, but for the Soviet Union. And it is essential to understand all the aspects of this side.

The fight for the "world between" constitutes the decisive sector in the clash between East and West. And those who can rely on the "hinterland" of the developing countries have a good chance of winning the fight.

Wherein lies the danger of the liberation process of the former colonial countries for the Soviet Union? It lies in the fact that the Soviet Union itself is a colonial empire. *Its non-Russian constituent parts are striving for independence in the same way as the former colonial territories of the West have done.* The consequences for the Soviet Union would be disastrous if it were to be drawn into the eddy of the liberation movement.

Prime Minister Diefenbaker of Canada has undoubtedly defined the colonial character of the Soviet imperium most aptly and has thus dealt Moscow a blow in its most vulnerable spot. *And this weak spot in the imperialist system of Moscow must be attacked again and again.*

By doing so, a threefold aim can be achieved:

- 1) Moscow can be forced to abandon its offensive and assume a defensive position;
- 2) the developing countries can be enlightened as to the colonial and imperialist aims of Moscow's policy and can to a large extent be made immune against Communist propaganda;
- 3) the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the Soviet imperium can be won over to resistance against Moscow's colonial rule.

By a constant repetition of the truth, by continually stressing new facts and evidence, knowledge and realization of the true nature of the Russian Communist imperium will gain ground. *Colonialism is the vulnerable spot of the Soviet Union.*

In this connection, Khrushchov's behaviour in the United Nations assembly on September 23, 1960, is most instructive.

He himself robbed his attacks on Western "colonialism" of their effectiveness by admitting that during the past fifteen years about one and a half milliard people had gained their freedom — without Moscow's help — and that the small remainder of 100 million people would also gain their freedom in the near future.

Khrushchov then continued as follows: "We have no colonies, just as we have no capital investments in foreign countries. But there was a time when many of the peoples who inhabit our country were obliged to bear the heavy yoke of tsarism, of the bourgeois and landowners' system. The status of the *border-territories* of the tsarist *imperium* was practically the same as that of colonies since they were *ruthlessly subjugated* by autocracy and by capitalism".

This is an important admission, even though it only contains half the truth. With the expression "border-territories" Khrushchov resorts to the camouflaged concept used by tsarism for its colonial territories (nationalnye okrainsy). These modest "border-territories" at that time included Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, White Ruthenia, Ukraine, the Caucasus, Central Asia (Turkestan), East Siberia, and Manchuria. The alleged border-territories were thus in reality vast colonial territories, which without exception were captured by military force and held in subjugation by military force. The so-called "border-territories" comprised an area of 15 million sq. kilometres, that is to say, 70 per cent of the total area of the *imperium*, and their population numbering 80 million constituted half the population of the Muscovite empire. In addition to these border-territories, there was also a further area of 2.5 million sq. kilometres comprising the so-called "internal colonies", such as, for example, Bashkir with a population of about 10 million, — a fact which was not mentioned by Khrushchov, though it was clearly stressed by Lenin.

Khrushchov also admitted in his speech before the United Nations assembly that the metropolis

"regarded the (colonial) peoples of Central Asia, of Trans-Caucasia and other nationalities, who inhabited the Russian *imperium*, as a source of acquiring wealth".

As regards its colonial territories, the Moscow metropolis pursued a truly colonial policy. And this fact was likewise corroborated by Khrushchov in the said speech, when he affirmed:

"In the border-territories of Russia (see above) the tsarist government pursued a policy which in character was a colonial policy and only differed very slightly from what can be observed today in the colonial countries. The Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Tadjiks and the other non-Russian nationalities were referred to contemptuously as 'natives'¹). They were not regarded as human beings at all but were *ruthlessly exploited* ... the tsarist *imperium* only asserted itself by means of bayonets and subjugation".

The admission made by Khrushchov before

the United Nations assembly was amazingly frank. He thus completely corroborates our theory that the Muscovite *imperium* was a continental colonial *imperium*. It can be regarded as a point in his favour as a Russian that he talks about the colonial territories as "border-territories" and speaks of "non-Russian nationalities" instead of colonial peoples.

The question now obtrudes itself as to what happened to the colonial "border-territories" after the collapse of tsarism and the seizing of power by Lenin. Were they conceded the right of self-determination so that they could detach themselves from the metropolis and become independent? Obviously not, for they are still part of the Muscovite *imperium*, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. They today constitute 14 non-Russian "Constituent Republics", 19 "Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics", 9 "Autonomous Regions", and 10 "National Areas". This fact was also mentioned by Khrushchov in his speech before the UNO, when he said:

"In accordance with the Constitution, each of our 15 Constituent Republics has the right to remain in the Union or to secede, if it wishes to do so. The fact that there are 19 Autonomous Republics, 9 Autonomous Regions and 10 National Areas makes it possible to preserve the national characteristics, the cultural peculiarities and the independent existence of every people and every tribe".

Khrushchov must indeed have taken his audience on the occasion of the said speech for extremely naive, since he had the audacity to tell them the fairytale about the right to secede from the Soviet Union of states. He talks as though the story of Moscow's wars of colonial conquest from 1918 to 1924 were not known to the world. He talks as though no one knew that after the collapse of tsarism in 1917 all the former colonial territories proclaimed their independence and detached themselves from Moscow, as for instance, Finland, Poland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Turkestan, and even Siberia. He talks as though there was never such a thing as Finland's war of liberation under Marshal Mannerheim, which led to the peace treaty of October 14, 1920, or Poland's war of liberation under Marshal Pilsudski, in the course of which Poland achieved its independence (the treaty of Riga of March 18, 1921), or the wars of liberation of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania which finally led to the independence of these ancient civilized countries (the peace treaties of February 22, August 11, and July 12, 1920). He talks as though nothing at all is known of the ruthless subjugation of Ukraine (in the autumn of 1920), of Georgia (in February 1921), and of Central Asia (1922-24), etc. The alleged "voluntary

union" of the peoples to form the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is an idyllic legend which has not the least connection with the reality of Muscovite colonialism under Lenin, Stalin and Khrushchov. Did not the Hungarians and Poles in the autumn of 1956 "wish" to detach themselves from Moscow's colonial empire and become independent? They suffered the same fate that Uzbekistan, Georgia, Ukraine, Latvia and Tadzhikistan, etc., had previously suffered.

Unfortunately, the world is only acquainted with the events of the years 1917-1924 from Soviet accounts. It is time it was enlightened as to the grim facts of the restoration of Moscow's colonial rule under Lenin and Stalin and refused to allow itself to be deceived any longer by the Communist myths.

Khrushchov naturally cannot deny the fact that the non-Russian colonial territories still belong to the compulsory union of the Soviet imperium. He therefore tries to modify this fact and endeavours to prove that this is not so serious since Moscow's colonial policy is more humane and more progressive than that of the West. But in trying to prove this, he corroborates the existence of the colonial countries.

He chooses Central Asia as an example since the colonial state of affairs there is more obvious than elsewhere. Turkish Turkestan and Iranian Tadzhikistan were not conquered by Moscow until the years 1850-1890. Even before the collapse of tsarism, namely in 1916, a general revolt broke out there, which in 1917/18 led to the restoration of the independence of Central Asia. It was not until 1920 that the Soviet army after heavy fighting succeeded in advancing as far as the Syr Darya (Chiva-Choresm) and occupying Bokhara in September of the same year. Under the leadership of Enver Pasha, Turkestan continued its fight for independence with varying success until 1924 and in the frontier regions and in Turkmenistan until 1926.

The story of the military subjugation of Central Asia by the Soviets can be read in any history book. It is therefore futile to try to conceal the true facts.

Khrushchov's statements about an alleged progress in Central Asia under the Soviet colonial regime are ridiculous. True, there are 630 times as many tractor and threshing-machine drivers in Kazakhstan, the largest colonial territory in Central Asia, today as there were in 1926, — but what has happened to the Kazakhs who inhabited the country in 1926? Their country has been taken from them by force; Russians have been settled on their pasture-land (the "campaign for the cultivation of virgin regions"), and they themselves are doomed to die out. In 1926 the Kazakhs numbered 4 million, but in 1960 only 3.5 million. Of these 3.5 million, only

2.7 million are still living in Kazakhstan, whereas 4 million Russians have in the meantime settled there. Today, the Kazakhs are already a minority in their own country. Their future fate is sealed.

They will suffer the same fate as the Turks on the Crimea. True, there are today 300 times as many tractor drivers on the Crimea as there were in 1926, — but there are now 180,000 Turks less. The Turkish "natives" of the Crimea have been deported down to the last man and the last child and are now dying a slow death somewhere in Siberia. This is a typical example of the "humanitarian colonialism" of the Soviet Union.

Khrushchov's assertion that the colonial territory of the Komi A.S.S.R. is enjoying a golden age of prosperity, since the production of the big industry of the Komi A.S.S.R. has "increased to 109 times its previous capacity" since 1913 (!), is equally ridiculous. Everyone knows what the true facts are in this case. The "big industry" of the Komi A.S.S.R. has nothing whatever to do with the Komi Permjakens who are dying out (they now number only 0.4 million). This industry consists of the notorious coal mines of Vorkuta which were constructed by labour-camp internees from other colonial territories of Moscow under the most inhuman conditions.

Or, to quote another example, — the ancient Turkish country of the Uzbeks with its capital Tashkent, which today has a population of 900,000; and, incidentally, Tashkent is populated almost exclusively by the Russian colonial masters, whilst the Uzbeks do compulsory unpaid labour on the kolkhoz cotton plantations.

It is futile for Khrushchov to try to excuse the colonial regime of Moscow with the "industrial and cultural progress" of its colonial territories. On the contrary, the Soviet colonial regime is far more totalitarian, consistent and ruthless than any other colonial regime. What other reason could there be for the fact that since the Soviet colonial regime was established in Central Germany more than two and a half million persons have fled to the West and 700 persons continue to flee there every day. The population of the Soviet Occupied Zone of Germany decreases by 170,000 or 1 per cent every year.

These are hard facts which Khrushchov cannot obliterate, however angrily and loudly he may shout.

Colonialist from the outset, Moscow is today as imperialist as it was in the days of Ivan, Peter, Catherine, Nicholas, Lenin and Stalin.

Colonialism is the leit-motiv of Moscow's policy, and anti-colonialism is nothing but a diversion manoeuvre on the lines of the "stop, thief!" method. *Today, the colonial*

thieves are to be found, not in London or Washington, but in Moscow.

In one of his essays on the national question Stalin wrote with incomparable frankness:²⁾

"We are in favour of the secession of India, Arabia, Egypt, Morocco and the rest of the colonies from the Entente, for secession in this case means the liberation of these subjugated countries from imperialism; it means the weakening of the position of imperialism and the strengthening of the position of the revolution. We are opposed to the secession of the border-territories from Russia, for secession in this case means imperialist bondage for the border-territories; it means the weakening of the revolutionary power of Russia and the strengthening of the position of imperialism".

Moscow judges according to two different standards. It also distinguishes very sharply between the theoretical right to self-determination of its colonial peoples and the practical realization of this right, just as Lenin, too, does:

"The right to self-determination is one thing, and the expediency of self-determination, the secession of some nation or other in some case or other, is another. This is a self-evident truth".

The rulers of the Kremlin have never considered a liberation of their colonial peoples and the latter's secession from Moscow, but only and always the question of ruling and incorporating new countries and peoples. Lenin formulates this idea as follows:

"We have always advised and shall always advise all subjugated classes in all subjugated countries, including the colonies, too, not to detach themselves from us but to cling to us as closely as possible and to become one with us".

"To become one with us" naturally means to subjugate oneself to the dictatorship of the Communist Party.

"There are cases in which the right to self-determination is in conflict with another, higher right, the right of the working class which has come into power to consolidate its power. In such cases — and one must openly admit this — the right to self-determination must not be allowed to become a hindrance which impedes the realization of the right of the working class to its dictatorship. The former must make way for the latter". (Stalin)

If matters are thus, then the "Declaration on the Concession of Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples" submitted to the General Assembly of the United Nations by Khrushchov on September 23, 1960, should be worded as follows:

"1) To all colonial peoples, dependent and non-self-governing territories (as for

example, Ukraine, Turkestan, Poland and the Soviet Occupied Zone of Germany), must be conceded without delay complete independence and freedom for the setting up of their own national states in keeping with the freely expressed will and wish of their peoples (the Ukrainians, Turkestanians, Poles, Germans, etc.).

The colonial regime, colonial administration in every form (whether as a Soviet Socialist Republic, an Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, a People's Republic, or a Democratic Republic, etc.) must be abolished completely in order to enable the peoples of these territories (the Latvians, Tatars, Rumanians, Mongols, Germans, etc.) to decide their fate and the form of their government themselves.

- 2) At the same time all the bases of colonialism on foreign territory (and also the bases of the Soviet Union in Outer Mongolia, in North Korea, in Central Germany and in Albania) must be abolished.
- 3) The governments of all countries (in particular the government of the Soviet Union) are requested in all inter-state relations to strictly and faithfully observe the UNO Charter and the Declaration on the Equality and Respect of the Sovereign Rights and the Territorial Integrity of all states without exception (in particular of the states in East Europe and Southeast Europe, in the Caucasus and in Central Asia). No aspects of colonialism (nor of Soviet colonialism) shall be permitted. Nor shall any special rights and privileges whatever of any states at the expense of other states (e.g. special rights and privileges of Soviet Russia at the expense of Poland, Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, etc.) be permitted.

The time has come to demand the complete and final liquidation of the colonial regime in every form and variation (whether in the form of the "Council for Mutual Economic Aid" of the satellite states, the "People's Democracies" etc., This disgrace, this barbarism and lack of culture must definitely cease for good.

¹⁾ "Inorodsy", the real meaning of which is other or foreign horn.

²⁾ This and the following quotations are taken from the compiled quotations from Marx to Khrushchov "Theory, Tactics and Technique of World Communism" ("Theorie, Taktik, Technik des Weltkommunismus"). Published by Hans Koch, edited by Eugen Wieber, Ilmgauverlag, 1959.

Hungary — a Russian Colony

In 1945 the Russians occupied Hungary, removed everything of value and impoverished the country. Later on they aided Hungary by supplying it with loans and material but in such a way as to make the country dependent on Soviet Russia politically and economically.

Hungary was now incorporated into the Soviet Russian economic system, its production quotas were fixed by Soviet Russia, the entire Hungarian raw material reserves were exploited and the country's industry was used to serve the purposes of Russia's world-conquest plans and policy.

All this could of course only be achieved with the assistance of a Hungarian government which had been chosen not by the Hungarian people but by Soviet Russian despotism.

From 1945 onwards, Soviet Russia systematically colonized Hungary; and in this way Hungary's national economy became a Russian market-economy.

1) Hungary's agriculture was collectivized. The farmers were deprived of their private property in order to prevent any possible resistance on their part, which if it had involved politics might have had unpleasant consequences for the Russians.

A survey of the kolkhoz war against the farmers, published in the Hungarian Communist paper "Társadalmi Hét" in July this year, recently caused a considerable stir in the world press. The article describes how the farmers were forced to accept the kolkhoz system allegedly of their own free will under the slogan — "The land belongs to us and we are working for ourselves!"

The Russians resorted to force, ruthless terrorism, high taxes and other restrictions in order to deal with those farmers who still possessed private property. If these measures failed to achieve the desired result, the farmers in question were beaten and tortured in other dreadful ways until eventually their resistance was broken.

2) Hungary's industry, too, and its production of raw materials, which has been strictly fixed in quota by Soviet Russia, likewise serve Soviet Russian purposes. The latter measure has been introduced by force and is unnatural and dangerous because it is equal to exploiting to the full Hungary's natural reserves.

Hungary's uranium deposits are of considerable importance to the European and also to the Eurasian world. But these, too, have been seized and today constitute Russia's largest raw material basis for its atomic strength, that is for its nuclear policy.

3) Hungary's fuel basis has been changed from Hungarian coal to Soviet oil. For this purpose a pipeline, 2,500 miles in length, is being built from Kuibyshev to Hungary and is to be completed by 1962. At the same time, an oil refinery is being erected on a site of 400 hectares near Ercsi (Hungary). It is to receive 3 million tons of Russian oil per year. As a result of this transfer from coal to oil, one milliard kilowatts of electricity will be made available for industrial purposes in Hungary.

Thus, from 1962 onwards, Hungary will be incorporated in the Soviet Russian power supply system and in this way will be permanently linked up with Soviet Russia's national economy.

4) Not only Hungary's industry, agriculture and raw materials production, etc., however, are being colonized, but also spiritual and intellectual values, such as inventions, etc., a fact which the Russians themselves have corroborated. After the thirteenth session of the Hungarian-Russian Technical Committee, Moscow affirmed: "We have been able to use valuable Hungarian technical inventions and experience in various branches of the Soviet national economy".

How America Wanted To Annex The Caucasus As A Colony In 1917 — 1920!

The above title will no doubt come as a shock to the reader, but it is nevertheless exactly what Moscow's propaganda affirms allegedly on the strength of "historical research"! The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia has published a book in Russian entitled "The History of the Policy of the USA from 1917 to 1920 regarding Georgia". The author is the young Georgian "Party research scholar" *Givi Gambashidze*. The statements which this offspring of the Komsomol expresses certainly make one think he is in need of psychiatric treatment.

As the book has been published officially, however, it can well serve as a document to prove that the Communist rulers are not only devoid of all moral feeling and decency, but also of all normal reasoning powers. No swindler plans a coup without first of all considering the chances of success. But the Communist rulers are so depraved that they are convinced they can fool the whole world.

The above-mentioned book is regarded as so important by the Communist Party that it is even reviewed in the organ of the Communist Party of Georgia, "Kommunisti", by the lecturer in history of the Party College of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, L. Lunev (see "Kommunisti" of September 7, 1960, No. 208).

It is affirmed in this review: "History has many instances to prove that the American imperialists are enemies of international collaboration, of the freedom of the peoples, of national independence and world security".

The reviewer then adds that the author of the book has succeeded "in exposing the aggressive plans and policy of the ruling circles in the USA with regard to Georgia, on the strength of documentary evidence and records".

What in fact has this Russian agent exposed? This "historical and scientific study" contains a map which was allegedly published by the State Department of the USA in January 1919. According to this map, the Americans had the intention "of separating the present Karelian S. S. R., the territory of Murmansk, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, the Crimea, Trans-Caucasia, Central Asia, as well as the territory from the Urals to the Pacific from Soviet Russia".*) — "The American imperialists planned to inflict the fate of colonial slaves on our peoples" . . . The Americans were interested in the mineral reserves — manganese, ores and naphtha — in Trans-Caucasia and Georgia; in addition, they regarded this territory as an important strategical key-position. From the secret document which held good as a guiding principle for the American delegation at the peace conference in Paris (how the author managed to obtain this document is not mentioned in the book!), it can be seen that Georgia for the time being was to remain independent and was later to be joined with Armenia. Azerbaijan, too, was to be incorporated with Armenia. The author of the book affirms: "An American colony was to be formed which was to comprise the entire territory of Trans-Caucasia and Asia Minor".

This colony was to be divided up into provinces and the governors were allegedly already appointed. According to the author, the Georgian government at that time, which consisted of social democrats, was in the pay of the capitalistic aggressors and imperialists. He then boastfully affirms ". . . Georgia was however saved by Lenin, who helped the peoples of Trans-Caucasia and the Georgian people and 'liberated'

* If this had really been the case, we should have said "Bravo! America! You certainly had clever politicians in those days!" But, unfortunately, it was not the case!

them from the danger of being crushed by the imperialists and capitalists!" So much for the wild ravings of this Communist "research scholar"!

Such publications cannot even be explained on the grounds of Marxist dialectics. It is simply the immoral Russian Bolshevik dialectic of Lenin. And in the barbarous state created by the Russians even the state functionaries are immoral in their attitude and way of thinking.

Apart from the nonsense contained in the said book, it is also striking proof that the Russian Communist rulers are suffering from delusions.

As long as Georgia existed as an independent state (from 1917 to 1921), there was not a single American soldier anywhere in the whole of the Caucasus or in the neighbouring countries. How then were American troops going to be brought to the Caucasus, thousands of miles away, in order to occupy that country? In those days there were no troop transport planes. Would the European major powers have consented to this advance into the Near East on the part of America? And what would the English have done in such a case? Great Britain at the time was the leading major power and the Near East lay in its sphere of influence. The English troops, which came from Persia, were at that time already in Georgia.

True, there was an American Mission in the Caucasus. It was, however, not a diplomatic but a welfare mission, which looked after the thousands of Armenians who had fled from Turkey and supplied them with food. But the author of the said book now maintains that the members of this generous American mission were swindlers, spies and agents who had been sent to these countries in order to pillage them, to stir up hatred amongst the people and to carry out the preparatory work for the imperialistic aggressors. Yet it was precisely this American organization (ARA) which helped the starving population, and this at Lenin's personal request, during the terrible years of famine in Russia, when the people were so savage with hunger that, in some cases, they even ate the flesh of human beings. And now, the Russians, as is typical, express their gratitude in this way!

Why was this book published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia?

A few years ago, the Russian P. V. Kovanov, was appointed second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia by Moscow. He controls Party activity and propaganda in Georgia, that is to say, he determines the political trend of the Communist Party of Georgia. In other words he is Moscow's provincial governor in Georgia, and the Georgian Communists have no say. The first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Georgia, Mshavanadze, is merely an administrative functionary and is actually Kovanov's subordinate. It is Kovanov who is responsible for this type of propaganda in Georgia, and by means of the said book he is trying to make the Georgians believe that Russia has saved them from capitalistic slavery.

The almighty ruler of all Russians, Nikita S. Khrushchov, who behaved like a barbarian in the UNO, is a worthy head of the barbarous Russian colonial imperium as regards his ruthlessness and lack of scruples. It is indeed regrettable that such despotic states are members of the community of civilized peoples and that such tyrants are allowed to speak freely to the peoples in the free world. The former NKVD General Nikita S. Khrushchov, who has murdered thousands of persons, the Dictator of Yugoslavia, Tito, who looks very elegant in his uniform and who has the murder of thousands of Croats, Serbs and Germans on his conscience, and other such persons are received by the Western statesmen as if they were equal to other statesmen. But are they any better or more decent than, say, Eichmann?!

Nor do the civilized peoples in the free world appear to find anything strange in the fact that in this community of peoples, the UNO, there are now representatives of

those states whose peoples but a short time ago emerged from historical obscurity, whereas our ancient civilized peoples, deprived of all fundamental rights as individuals and nations, are obliged to suffer under Russian tyranny. By this we do not wish to question the right of the so-called colonial peoples of Africa to national independence, but we are merely drawing a comparison which is shaming to the Western major powers, who do not support but, on the contrary, are completely indifferent to the idea of national independence for our nations, who possess a thousand-year old culture and civilization. All this is not only very sad, but also an indication that there is something rotten in the Western world. It is indeed tragic for the Western world that there is in these troubled and fateful times no really great statesman.

The Russians are becoming more and more arrogant and ruthless. They behave and act as they think fit, whilst the West looks on resignedly. Indeed, one can say that this is an era of incompetency and irresolution. Can it be that Oswald Spengler was right in his "Decline of the West"?

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

Russia — The Most Ruthless Colonial Imperium In The World

Turkestan — a Victim

Recently certain Soviet functionaries of Turkestan, as for instance Sharaf Rashidov and Mirsa Tursunsada, tried to cover up the blots in Soviet Russian colonial policy in Turkestan and at the same time endeavoured to defend the Soviet policy with regard to Turkestan and the Orient by resorting to all kinds of fancy phrases. The Soviet Russians themselves refrained from taking part in this camouflage manoeuvre and let their proselytes rave with enthusiasm about Turkestan so as to make their statements appear more credible. Both of them thereupon began to lie in the manner found in Oriental fairy-tales, where there are "forty lies in one lie". Indeed, every imaginable kind of lie is to be found in the articles by Rashidov and Tursunsada, — exaggerations of every type, hymns of praise to the Soviet Russians, falsehoods as regards the question of the national right of self-determination, misrepresentations of the true aims of the Soviet Russians in connection with the problems of the Orient and, last but not least, hypocrisy towards their "big brother".

It is useless to try to analyse this behaviour on the part of the Soviet ideologists, since we know only too well that the Soviets will never depart from their lying propaganda which has become a dogma. Once a state like the Soviet Russian state has made propaganda part of its character and constantly tries to hypnotize the public, and if, in addition, it knows how to use the propa-

ganda apparatus, then we can hardly expect to learn the truth — especially not at present — about Soviet Russian colonialism. One must, however, at least examine the cardinal questions in this respect in order to ascertain who is the liar and who is the defamer; in order to recognize the methods used by the Soviet Russians in Turkestan; and in order to shed light on the question as to whether the statements made by the Soviet Russians are correct.

The questions which obtrude themselves at this point are:

1) Do sovereign states actually exist in Turkestan? Is there no Soviet Russian colonialism there? Is there any national self-determination right there at all?

2) Is the Soviet regime in Turkestan to be regarded as a standard pattern for the peoples of the Orient?

If we examine these two questions, we shall realize why the Soviet Russians show certain signs of nervousness.

Sovereignty is merely empty talk and not reality

Before the Soviet Russians began talking about the sovereignty of Turkestan, they invaded this country a second time and conquered it (the first time it was conquered by tsarist Russia). In order to carry out the second conquest, Soviet Russia set up a "Turkestanian front". On October 4, 1919, the commander-in-chief of this front, Frunse, issued the following order: "It is the

task of the illustrious troops of the Turkestanian front to clear the way for Russia to gain access to the cotton and the oil." (Frunse, Collected Works, Vol. 1, p. 93.) It is a known fact that cotton and oil, which one intends to take away from someone else, are typical colonial aims. This conquest made the sovietization of Turkestan possible. And in this connection one of the leading authorities of Soviet Russian ideology in the Turkestan question, Brojdo, wrote: "We know that Turkestan was sovietized by force with the aid of Russia's Red Army" ("Novyj Vostok", 1922, No. 2, p. 79).

Numerous Red Russian commanders, such as Frunse, the Marshals Bodjonnyj, Sokolovskij and Timoshenko and various others, whom Soviet literature still mentions with pride, played a leading part in this onslaught on Turkestan.

After Turkestan had been subjected to Russian rule a second time, the Soviet Russians divided the country into five republics. They subsequently proclaimed these republics "sovereign states". But they do not like to be reminded of the fact that these "sovereign states" in Turkestan are subordinated to the Soviet Russian occupation policy. If they were to admit this fact, they would be contradicting the Soviet watchwords about the right of self-determination. And their hypocrisy would be only too evident. This occupation policy continues to be applied today under the designation "the help of the big brother", i. e. the Russians. Thus the following Russians are, for instance, in command of the Soviet Russian occupation forces in Turkestan:

Fedjuminsky — General, commander-in-chief of the military command of Turkestan;

Ljashtshenko — General, deputy commander-in-chief of the military command of Turkestan;

Prochorov, A. I. — Secretary of the Communist Party organizations of the military command of Turkestan;

Lapin, V. — General, commander of the frontier security forces in Turkestan;

Kovalevsky, E. I. — General, commander of the frontier security troops on the frontiers of Afghanistan and Iran.

As long as the military command in Turkestan is in the hands of the Russians, this state of affairs can only be regarded as a continuation of the former occupation policy. Nowhere else in the world would one designate such a state as "sovereignty".

One of the arguments put forward by the Soviet Russians to justify their talk about sovereignty are the so-called "Soviet socialist achievements" in Turkestan. No one will deny that the outward appearance of Turkestan has changed during the period of Soviet rule. Modern industries and educational institutions have been set up. But

no one is likely to believe that these industries and institutions have made Turkestan free; on the contrary, they have fettered Turkestan even more firmly with Soviet Russian colonial chains. The English, the French and the Dutch, for instance, also set up such institutions in their colonies. But they were never so bold as to affirm that this process of modernization had brought national independence to the colonies. In our opinion, such "achievements", that is to say technical and educational progress, can never be a substitute for national freedom, for they do not serve the national interests of Turkestan but are instruments of the Soviet Russian power policy. If Turkestan had been independent during the past decades, its appearance would have changed in quite a different way!

The Soviet regime is conducting a policy of economic exploitation in Turkestan. This can be seen above all from the fact that economic life in Turkestan is directed and controlled by Moscow. That Turkestan's economy is under the direct supervision and control of Moscow is, incidentally, not affirmed by us alone, but is also corroborated by the Soviet leaders themselves (see Khrushchov's speech in the "Pravda Vostoka" of February 16, 1956, p. 2). When the Turkestanians, however, demand that their country should preserve and develop its special economic features and that in the first place Turkestan itself should derive benefit from the economic "achievements", the Soviet functionaries reply heatedly that such an experiment would harm the interests of the state (that is to say, Soviet Russian rule). Thus the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, Sharaf Rashidov, on August 10, 1959, made the following statement in Tashkent:

"The nationalist remnants are in evidence as regards the question of the regional limitation of economy and in particular in stressing regional interests instead of the interests of the entire state. Comrade N. S. Khrushchov severely reproached our Republic in this respect in his speech at the June plenary assembly (1959)."

("Qizil Uzbekistan", August 11, 1959, p. 3.)
Such is the sovereignty of Turkestan!

Let us now examine the internal situations in this "independent" country. More than 70 per cent of the state and Party posts are in the hands of the Russians. The Budget of the allegedly "independent" Republics is determined by Moscow (see Law on the Budget Right of the U. S. S. R. and the Union Republics of October 30, 1959). Of the 134 leading posts in the military apparatus of the Soviet Union, 129 are held by Russians and members of other non-Turkestanian peoples; there is not a single representative of the Turkestanian peoples. All diplomatic missions

are staffed by Russians; the Russian language has been officially introduced as the second mother-tongue of the Turkestanians and children must be taught Russian. The entire state security service, postal, telephone and telegraphic service and railway administration are exclusively in the hands of the Russians. And, in addition, over 5 million Russian colonists have been settled in Turkestan.

Although such persons as for instance Moskov, Minister of the Interior of the "sovereign" Kirgiz S. S. R., Babkov, Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek S. S. R., Romanov, Head Public Prosecutor of the Kirgiz S. S. R., Golonsky, President of the State Planning Department of the Turkmen S. S. R., Sadoroshny, Chief Manager of the Railways of the Kazakh S. S. R., the deputy chairmen of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (so-called vice-presidents) and the deputy chairmen of the Ministerial Council (vice-presidents) are Russians, Tursunsada and his Soviet fellow-henchmen continue to affirm "We are independent". But let them try to tell their Moscow rulers and masters: "We are independent and would therefore like to govern our people independently", — and they will see what happens to them! But they are obliged to keep silent because their "big brother" is the master in their house. Is this independence! Where — except in Turkestan, of course, — do people in a so-called sovereign state not even have the right to form a football team of their own? In 1946 a national Uzbek football team, for instance, was formed, but it was disbanded in 1948 ("Qizil Uzbekistan", January 22, 1959, p. 3) because it allegedly personified nationalism. We know of no other colonial power in the world which resorts to such drastic measures against national customs and traditions as Soviet Russia.

And another thing, Mr. Tursunsada, about which the Turkestanians complain! A teacher in the Andizhan district (Uzbek S. S. R.), Bachriddin Chalmuhammed (ov), wrote in a letter to the editor of the paper "Qizil Uzbekistan" that some people regard one as uncivilized if one wears national costume. The paper thereupon replied that the wearing of national costume (in particular of the national coat) would in any case cease, since it was not in keeping with a civilized way of living, but one could, of course, continue to wear the national coat for comfortableness when in one's own home ("Qizil Uzbekistan", November 27, 1959). We can but ask, — what other rights, if any, have the Turkestanians in their own country, if even the right to wear national costume is objected to and persons who wear it are regarded as uncivilized!

All this is nothing but degradation and

humiliation of a civilized people and a systematic adjustment of their customs and traditions to the foreign Russian mode of living. If Choplan, the martyr of the spirit of freedom, were still alive, he could quote the following lines from his poem "It Is Enough":

"It is enough, — the limits of slavery and insult have been overstepped,
The measure of humiliation and contempt is full, is more than full."

There is a saying in Turkestan — "If one conceals the illness, then death reveals it." And this applies to Soviet Russian colonialism in Turkestan. The Soviet Russians do their utmost to prove that they are not colonialists at all, but, on the other hand, they aim to be genuine colonialists even though they do try to disguise their plans. This disguised colonialism has been very apparent in Turkestan recently.

In May 1959 the Soviets held a "scientific conference on the significance for progress of the annexation of Turkestan by Russia". At this conference the Soviet ideologists affirmed that the union of Turkestan with Russia represented a stage of definite progress in the history of Turkestan. One must no longer talk about Russia's conquest of Turkestan, but must say: "Russia has reunited voluntarily with Turkestan". Thus, the tsarism once combatted by the Soviets was unexpectedly rehabilitated and the "reunion" swindle became sacrosanct.

In January 1959, the Minister of Culture of the "sovereign" Republic of Uzbekistan, Sarvar Asimov, said when opening the Uzbek Week of Culture in Moscow: "The Uzbek people bow in homage before the Great Russian people". Are the Uzbek people to kiss the feet of the Russians? If equality of rights holds good for all the peoples in the Soviet Union, why "bow in homage"?

On the same page of the paper "Qizil Uzbekistan" (of Juni 14, 1959) on which Tursunsada's article is published, there is a poem "Mother Russia" (ana Rossiya) by Ramis Babadchan, one of the Soviet court poets in Turkestan. Perhaps the poet Tursunsada would like to hear these verses once more? Perhaps he has already learnt them by heart? In any case, here they are:

"O my Russia, Mother Russia,
I am no stepchild to you,
My beloved!
I am made of your blood and your heart,
I am your child.
When you call me, I am with you,
And I answer,
Yes, my dearest Mother,
I am always ready
To fulfil the tasks you set."

Unfortunately the national poet of Turkestan, Elbek, was prematurely murdered by the Soviet Russians, otherwise he could have

compared this poem with his verses "The Gathering of the Beasts of Prey" and let the sheep ask: "Who appointed the beasts of prey as rulers for us?" To begin with, the Russians described themselves as the people with the helping hand, then as the "big brother", and now even as a mother. Perhaps they will adopt the role of father and grandfather to Turkestan in the near future! In that case the falsification of the history of Turkestan will be complete, for no other colonial power has so far shown as much hypocrisy.

On August 15, 1959, the Soviet troops in Turkestan celebrated the 40th anniversary of the formation of the Turkestanian front, but in order not to rouse evil memories they now cautiously refer to it as the foundation day of the Turkestanian military command. On the previous day, August 14, 1919, the formation of the Soviet Russian forces which were to recapture Turkestan was completed. To mark this occasion the mighty commissar and chief of the head political administration of the Turkestanian military command, the Russian Malcev, wrote:

"The Turkestanian warriors (and by Turkestanian he does not mean the Turkestanians themselves but the Soviet occupation forces in Turkestan, — author's note) will preserve and augment the illustrious martial tradition of their military command. Our armies guard the interests of the state and are standing in readiness to protect the security of our country."

("Pravda Vostoka", August 14, 1959)

The Soviet Russian forces in Turkestan thus intend to continue to protect Soviet Russian interests in this country.

And this is the sense in which the above-mentioned "scientific conference" to corroborate the Russian campaigns of conquest, the statements by the said Minister of Culture, the poem "Mother Russia" and the celebration of the day that was so tragic for Turkestan must be interpreted, for it is obvious that the Soviet Russians, with the aid of their Turkestanian prattlers and puppets, intend to consolidate and perpetuate their colonial policy.

This, indeed, is a grim equality of rights! A strange irony of truth and deceit! A stereotyped right of self-determination for the peoples! Senseless twaddle about the freedom of the peoples, and, at the same time, a grimly realistic picture of Soviet Russian policy in Turkestan.

We should at this point like to refer again to a publication by the Soviets in order to be quite precise and to show how the Turkestanians are expected to behave towards the Russians. On August 14, 1959, the paper "Qizil Uzbekistan" wrote as follows:

"One of the remnants of nationalism is disparagement of the role of the Great



The Chief representative of the Serbian Liberation Movement in the Central Committee of the ABN and member of ABN Military Commission,

General Svetomir Djukic

has passed away.

An ardent Serbian patriot, a valiant soldier during the first and second World War and a courageous champion of the right of his native country to freedom, General Djukic was obliged to spend the last years of his life in exile far from his enslaved native country.

But General Svetomir Djukic 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.

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 Communist 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.

May our loyal comrade rest in peace!

The Central Committee
of the ABN

Russian people in the history of our country. Non-recognition of the Russian people as the Big Brother is a remnant of nationalism!"

We can but ask, how long are the Turkestanians to continue regarding the Russians as the "big brother". No doubt they are forced to do so. For if they do not recognize the Russians as the "big brother", they are branded as nationalists. And the fate which a nationalist can expect, is better known to Rashidov and Tursunsada than to us. If the Turkestanians renounce their dignity as human beings in favour of the Russian element, then all is well. In that case Tursunsada, too, for instance can continue writing and talking. But if he should attempt to disregard the Russians as the "big brother", then he will promptly fall into disfavour and will be worthless to the latter. And not only we but also all Turkestanians are familiar with this Soviet rule. (To be continued.)

Russia's Perpetual Imperialistic Aims

In the following historical survey we shall show how the Russian empire from its earliest beginnings under the Muscovite princes and grand dukes, later under the tsars and now under the Bolsheviks, in the course of 600 years has developed from an insignificant Muscovite principality into a mighty imperium by means of constant wars, predatory invasions, the colonization of Siberia and the occupation of foreign territory.

This survey further shows how Russian expansion already in the era of the grand dukes and later under the rule of the tsars was directed above all towards West Europe and, by constant military aggression against Russia's neighbours, in the 19th and 20th centuries influenced the state structure of Europe, in particular to the disadvantage of Central and Western Europe.

This same political aim was continued in the 20th century by Communist Russia until, by the end of World War II, it had penetrated to the heart of Central Europe, had overrun several more independent states in its course, had incorporated them in the Soviet Union and had completely subjected a large number of states to its influence as satellites.

The Muscovite princes, grand dukes and tsars conducted their aggression with armed force under the slogan of the union of the Slav peoples, the expansion of the Orthodox Church, the protection of the Slav peoples of southeast Europe against Turkish arbitrariness, and the foundation of a southeast Slav realm under Russian protection; whilst the present Russian rulers endeavour to realize their world-conquest plans under the guise of Communism, which allegedly liberates the working masses from capitalism, and with the support of the huge Red Army which is in the hands of the Muscovite despots.

Just as in former centuries the federations formed under Moscow's influence undermined the position of the states threatened by Moscow and in several cases caused their collapse, so Russian Communism today resorts to the means of Communist propaganda in order to form new Communist cells in foreign countries with the purpose of undermining the latter from within and surrendering them to the mercy of Muscovite Communism. For this reason the method of political and military terrorism is applied, which stops at nothing, not even at the United States of America (Khrushchov, the Summit Conference, May 16th, Paris). The Communist regime is introduced with the aid of the Red Army and the MVD. Although it is alien to the majority of the population, it asserts itself by means of the bayonets of the Red Army.

This survey gives the reader an idea of the danger which threatens all the peoples who listen to Bolshevik propaganda and believe Moscow's assurances of peace, who relax in their vigilance and eventually become the victim of Muscovite Communism.

As the past history of Russia shows, Russian imperialism has always pursued a long-sighted policy and since it had no powerful enemies to fear in the east or the south, Russian imperialist policy was able to devote itself almost entirely to the West.

The aim of the Muscovite despots, princes, grand dukes and tsars was the expansion of Russian rule far into the West, to the Austro-Hungarian and Prussian borders, and in the south as far as the Black Sea, to the Caucasus and beyond.

It was a Russian principle that the Russian double eagle, incidentally of Byzantine origin, never retreated when it had gained a foothold. And if ever it was forced by military and political circumstances to relinquish territory, then this was merely

done with a view to recapturing the same territory at the first opportunity (see the Russian peace treaties with Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Roumania after the first world war).

Muscovite Bolshevism has taken over the former tsarist imperialism in an undiluted form, with the sole difference that Muscovite Bolshevism concentrates entirely on world rule. And it will never abandon this aim, unless, of course, it involves itself in a third world war and is destroyed in this way, as were former imperialists.

(Excerpts from a historical and political monograph.)

Rostyslaw Jendyk

Education and Schools in the Russian Prison of Nations

The most important factor of every science is the method by which one classifies the individual phenomena in order to arrive at a connected whole or synthesis. But there is no one method which can bring omniscience. Methods differ widely, and for this reason the reader will perhaps not be surprised if I now proceed to examine Bolshevism and its component phenomena like an anthropologist.

The science of anthropology regards man as a biological being on the basis of social processes. This definition contains two different conceptions: man as something relatively permanent in time and space, and social processes as something changeable and transient. It is obvious that a research scholar will regard man as playing a far more important role than the said processes.

Let us now consider the phenomenon with which we are concerned here, namely Bolshevism, from this aspect. I do not intend to deal with the classification of the races, since this would lead too far. I should, however, like to stress that a special group of ideas is peculiar to man's conscious thought, that is to say a group of ideas which originates from the highest categories of his existence and is strengthened by natural tendencies. Where Bolshevism originated is not so important for us; what is very important, however, is where it developed further, since in the course of time it was bound to encounter the old group of ideas and traditions and either destroy or assimilate them. To destroy them was impossible, since, as we have pointed out, the group of ideas is influenced by natural tendencies. What remained, therefore, was assimilation, which is bound to appear all the more realistic to us as Stalin devised the watchword about the construction of socialism in one country and endeavoured to realize it.

What were the fundamental ideas which prevailed in the pre-Bolshevist state system? They were orthodoxy, autocracy and the national element. Every sphere of public life was subordinated to these ideas and they

determined its course. If we reduce Bolshevism to generalizations, then we shall find the same contents under different external forms: orthodoxy corresponds to Leninism, autocracy to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the national element to the same Russian people. These parallelisms can be identified more clearly when considering the main subject of this article, — Bolshevist education.

Every social system is concerned with self-preservation. No one commits suicide of their own free will. Public education in this case achieves the same result. The Bolshevist system differs from all other systems inasmuch as it intentionally subordinates man's *entire* life to itself. Bolshevist education, one might say, lasts from the cradle to the grave. Training and drilling is carried on incessantly, not only in order to train a new human being, but also to deprive man of practically the whole of his spare time and prevent him from having an opportunity to think.

Lenin affirmed: "We state quite openly that the school as a thing apart from life and politics — is all lies and hypocrisy". In Lenin's words the emphasis is not on life but on politics, and politics, according to his conception, is the realization of the Party programme, as one says nowadays, — "in the sense of an active part in establishing Communism, in the sense of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism".

Naturally, the present level of national education was not achieved in one single attempt. Many experiments were made, but Lenin's conception was never abandoned. In his article entitled "Establishing Communism in the Schools", published in Moscow in 1960, N. K. Gongarov formulates the aims of education as follows:

"The Communist Party always considered and considers the development of national education to be one of the most important factors of the fight for socialism, for the development of production forces and for the stabilization of the socialist production

conditions. In its programme, which was drawn up under the direct guidance of Lenin, the school is for the first time in the history of mankind set a noble and worthy task, — namely to train a generation that will be capable of establishing Communism . . . Or, in other words, to transform the school as an instrument of the social class of the bourgeoisie into the instrument of the Communist rebirth of society". Lenin's doctrine, however, is not one of many, but the only scientific one which undauntedly solves all problems of this world and the beyond and fosters a belief in the future, which must be as unswerving as religious dogmas. And in this respect Leninism sets itself up as a religion, which tolerates no other religion. What is more, the Communist faith combats the other religions which lead man's thoughts into spheres that are strange to him, and introduces this idea of combatting all other religions into its system. Religion as a profession of one's faith in God raises the question, — how must man conduct himself in order to attain the aim of his earthly life, namely heaven. Bolshevism, as a substitute for religion, raises a similar question, — what qualities must man have in order to attain the aim of human development, namely Communism. Hence, according to the Bolshevist theoreticians, Bolshevist education is inseparably bound up with the exposure and defeat of the reactionary religion in order to be able to assert itself supreme.

Thus, Bolshevist education is permeated by pseudo-religious trends. Since Bolshevism is based on autocracy, that is to say on the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is obliged to resort to compulsion. This is formulated by the periodical "Neue Welt", East Berlin, 1954, as follows: "In its work which is devoted to the Communist education of the working classes, the Soviet state skilfully combines persuasive power with compulsory measures. Persuasion alone, as Marxism-Leninism teaches us, is not enough to gain a victory in the fight against the remnants of capitalism in man's consciousness; compulsory measures, too, must be applied". As already mentioned, the search for new forms of the educational and school system continued a long time; although these forms had been decided in principle in 1934, they were changed again and again. But the compulsory measures as attendant factors remained and still remain the same. They are in keeping with the nature of Bolshevist state control.

Public education in the Soviet Union begins in the earliest years of a child's life. It has two different aims: firstly, to remove children from the influence of the backward education of their parents; and, secondly, by taking care of the children, to relieve mothers of this burden and thus enable them to work in the factories and kolkhozes.

If one bears in mind the fact that to foster "uncompromising hatred towards the enemies of socialist society" is one of the most important factors of the "progressive" education in the Soviet Union, then it becomes obvious why the backward education of parents is regarded as a danger. Children up to three years are admitted to day nurseries, which at present can accommodate 2.8 million children. These day nurseries can be regarded as the first stage in the Bolshevist educational system.

In keeping with the watchword that the education and moulding of a new type of human being, the future builder of Communism, can only be achieved by socialist methods and must commence in the kindergarten, children in the second stage of Bolshevist education are transferred to the kindergartens. In 1955 there were 31,596 kindergartens in the Soviet Union with a total attendance of 1,730,911 children. Here they receive meals, are under medical supervision and are taught by women-teachers who have been trained in pedagogical institutes without having been obliged to complete a ten years' course at a secondary school. The children spend 9 to 12 hours in the kindergarten and pass the time with play and lessons. And it is here that love of the socialist fatherland and hatred of all enemies begins to germinate.

At the age of seven the little Soviet citizens begin to attend school. School attendance is compulsory; and there are now practically no persons in the Soviet Union who cannot read and write. The schools are all state-controlled and, like the kindergartens, come under the competence of the Ministry of National Education. All private initiative and religious influence is suppressed in the schools. Schooling is free of charge and serves as a means to Bolshevist training. At present the following types of schools exist in the Soviet Union:

- 1) Elementary schools with four classes for children from 7 to 10;
- 2) Incomplete secondary schools with seven or eight classes for children up to 14 or 15 years of age;
- 3) Complete secondary schools with ten classes for pupils up to 17 years of age.

The curriculum is planned in such a way that pupils can transfer from one type of school to another without difficulty; that is to say, in the lower classes the curriculum at every type of school is the same. It was announced some time ago that a future educational aim would be a general transition to the type of secondary school with ten classes and the institution of boarding-schools. This plan was to have been realized in 1960, but two years ago Khrushchov himself said that the preconditions for such a change were not yet existent: "As regards the intro-

duction of the general complete secondary school as a compulsory form of education, we are bound to ascertain on the strength of all the data available that it would at present be inexpedient to carry out such a measure".

But in spite of this fact, 1.4 million pupils in 1956 passed the school-leaving certificate. Incidentally, this examination can also be taken in evening schools for adults and persons engaged in professions. According to Khrushchov's statements, 80 per cent of the children in 1958 left the seven-class schools.

A closer study of the incomplete or complete secondary schools reveals that in an eight-class school, for instance, 1,711 hours of instruction per year are devoted to humanistic subjects, 1,565 hours to natural science subjects and mathematics, 251 hours to art, and 717 hours to practical work. The fact that so much time is devoted to humanistic subjects would come as somewhat of a surprise if one did not know what these individual subjects are. They happen to include not only languages, in particular Russian with 62 hours of instruction per week, but also history and a study of the constitution of the Soviet Union, which in other words is obviously political training. Humanistic studies, that is instruction in the classical languages, Greek and Latin, as provided in grammar schools in the West, are non-existent in the Soviet Union. Thus, there is an educational deficiency in this respect and the Bolsheviks even admit this themselves. Addressing the 13th Congress of the Komsomols, Khrushchov himself affirmed: "Persons who are engaged in useful work must be able, in their spare time, if they wish, to attend educational institutions where they can study art, painting, music and the cultural sciences".

Instead of training the soul, as one might say, Bolshevik education concentrates mainly on training the hand. In the above-mentioned eight-class schools training in work takes up 20 hours per week, work pertaining to the social order 12 hours, and practical work at the end of the school-year 2 weeks. That, at least, is what it looks like in theory, though in actual practice the hours are far more. In the spring, the children have to clear the fields of worms, — that is to say, they are obliged to do seasonal work. School-children are also organized as labour-brigades which are responsible for many hectares of land. This can undoubtedly be described as a form of regular juvenile labour!

But to return to the theoretical curriculum, or, as it is designated nowadays, the "combination of theory with practice". Writing in the "Communist" of October 14, 1958, I. Kairov states as a further reason for Khrushchov's demands to the schools: "The school must train builders of Communist society

with an all-round ability, who are familiar with the rudiments of learning and at the same time are suited for systematic physical work. The school must arouse in the young people the aim to be useful to society and to take an active part in the values which are necessary to society". What is meant here is the so-called polytechnical training.

In itself this is a very interesting idea. It is an attempt to view a general education from a new aspect and to make the young people of today familiar with the enormous development of technical science and thus adjust them to new demands. But Soviet pedagogy deals with this question in too limited a way. The pupils are obliged to work in factories, in the kolkhozes, research stations and in the school workshops not only in order to *perceive* but also to *learn* something thoroughly, namely a knowledge which they should acquire in special vocational schools. The thing which is of most importance to the Bolshevik leaders is that young persons should start working in the factories and kolkhozes immediately upon leaving school. The logical consequence of this attitude is that the general development of the personality of the pupils is neglected. And in this way the basis of every development — namely selection — is excluded. To rank manual work as equal to theoretical training and to regard qualifications in one sphere as holding good for other spheres of work is to eliminate all distinctions as far as training for higher professions is concerned. The result is that man becomes a one-sided automaton and the general cultural level is lowered.

This same trend prevails in the colleges and universities. Stalin's watchword was "cadres determine everything". He aimed to create a new class of Soviet intelligentsia which could be used more or less as the basic apparatus in various fields. Khrushchov pursues a different aim in this respect. He would like to make the intelligentsia one with the masses and thus prevent the former from avoiding posts in agriculture and industry. This, too, is the reason why students are obliged to do two years' practical work before commencing their studies.

Higher education in the Soviet Union is divided into two categories, — universities and institutes of various kinds, as for instance technical, agricultural, medical, veterinary, pedagogic, economics, law, art and sports schools. In 1959 there were in the Soviet Union 35 universities and 731 institutes, with a total number of 2.15 million students. In the Russian Republic there were 441 institutes with a total of 1,308,100 students, in the Ukrainian Republic 140 with 385,500 students, in the Uzbek Republic 31 with 90,300 students, in the Kazakh Republic 27

with 75,700 students and in the Byelorussian Republic 25 with 58,700 students. The universities have up to 12 faculties; the institutes, on the other hand, as their name indicates, are specialized. Halfway between these institutes of higher education and the lower secondary schools there are various central vocational schools.

In keeping with the Bolshevik principle, the higher educational institutes not only impart knowledge but also concentrate on political training. Political economy, Marxism-Leninism and *diamat*, that is dialectical materialism, constitute the general basis of all courses of study. During recent years atheism has also been introduced as a compulsory subject for students in their last two terms. And no student can get round this regulation.

On the whole, courses at the institutes last four to five years, at the universities five to six years. Each student has to attend about 46 classes a week, which include lectures, advanced classes and practical work in factories and research stations. After about 45 part-examinations, students take the state examination. Some of them then continue their studies as candidates for the post of assistants and lecturers. Those who aspire to the post of lecturer spend the next three or four years engaged in research work or teaching practice. It is extremely difficult to obtain a doctor's degree, which is only awarded after the candidate has published numerous scientific theses.

The general trend is technical science. In 1957, 60,000 civil engineers and 70,000 specialized engineers were trained. It is planned to train up to 200,000 engineers a year from 1960 onwards.

In 1958 there was much discussion — arising out of Khrushchov's speech — on the subject of studies at the higher educational institutes. In the "Pravda" of August 17, 1958, Eljutin, Minister of Higher Education, expressed his views on the combination of theory with practice. According to his conception, the first year of study is to be spent in industry without any interruption. During the next two years the student studies theoretical subjects and then spends a fairly long practical period in industry which makes him familiar with his special field. During this practical period he continues his theoretical studies in evening or correspondence courses. Upon completion of this practical period he returns to the institute, completes his studies in his special subject, writes his diploma theses and takes the state examination. It is obvious that students who are constantly forced to interrupt their actual studies in order to do manual work will only have the educational level of a semi-intelligentsia when they pass out of college.

We have already mentioned the fact above

that there is a certain parallel between the aim of the pre-Bolshevist system to create a uniform national element and the aim of the Bolshevik system to train and create a "Soviet" people. The Bolsheviks try to achieve this aim by far more cunning, ruthless and unnatural measures. In 1876 in accordance with the Ukas decree, all schools had to be transformed into schools in which Russian was the language of instruction. This led to the closing of hundreds of schools, as for instance in the regions of the Caucasus; whilst in Ukraine the printing of Ukrainian books was even prohibited. The Bolsheviks pursue the Leninist policy with regard to the national problem. This policy is expressed in a different way, but, as in many other questions, it still has the old traditional meaning. All textbooks used in the schools are translations from the Russian. The Bolsheviks are not in the least concerned about the fact that this measure detracts from the national features of the individual peoples. Just as dictatorship endeavours to create a uniform type in the social sense, so, too, it tries to achieve the same result in the spiritual sense. And what is more, — in the ninth and tenth classes, one hour more a week is devoted to Russian language and literature than, for instance, to Ukrainian. This aim is camouflaged with fine phrases, as for example by V. A. Dobromyslov, a Russian pedagogue, who affirms (1960): "Without a complete knowledge of the Russian language, one cannot be an active participator in the construction of Communism". But the height of hypocrisy is reached in Paragraph 15 of the law on schools, which pertains to instruction in the mother-tongue. This law states that parents have the right to decide to which school they wish to send their children. This law has aroused a storm of indignation amongst emigrants abroad and has led to much opposition and discussion at home. What person in the West would ever think of having to opt in his own country for the language in which his child is to be taught, — in its mother-tongue or in a foreign language?

This perfidious formulation, which, incidentally, was declared to be most democratic, led to something else. Our fellow-countrymen from Canada are now visiting Ukraine and convincing themselves that an attempt is being made there on the quiet to transform all the schools into Russian ones. In the lowest classes in the elementary schools instruction is given in Ukrainian, but in the higher classes Russian is already being used as the language of instruction. Since we have no official information on this subject, we must of course rate this statement as *opinion*, but it is nevertheless an opinion which speaks for itself.

The Bolsheviks are hoping for the most

success from their measure of sending young people to the virgin regions of Asia, where they are carrying out a unique experiment: they settle these young persons permanently in these regions, make them entirely dependent on the Russian language by prohibiting their own language in all schools, evening and correspondence courses, and thus plan to train and create a Soviet people out of the multi-lingual class of young people who have been uprooted from their native soil. What could be more diabolical than this plan to undermine and destroy the national element at home by removing the youth of the country and scattering these young persons

throughout Asia? Surely this is a genocide of the peoples which is being effected by far more cunning measures than even Stalin resorted to, when he tried to achieve the same result by famine and murder.

In conclusion it can be said that the curriculum and methods of teaching in Bolshevik education have a double aim, namely to create blindly servile human beings, who serve the cause of Communism and at the same time consider themselves Soviet beings, that is to say Soviet with the emphasis on Russian. And herein lies the entire meaning of so-called progress and pedagogy in the Soviet Union.

Banu Manta

The Author Petre Dimitriu — A Roumanian Boris Pasternak

Under this headline the French paper "Paris-Presse L'Intransigeante" in its edition of October 30/31, 1960, published an interview with the "Roumanian" author Dimitriu. Some months ago Petre Dimitriu "chose freedom". This step on his part was at the time regarded as sensational not only by the literary but also by the political world. And, in fact, the political consequences seem to have been more far-reaching than the literary ones, since he owed the esteem which he enjoyed not so much to his talent as to official patronage. Today, Dimitriu is 36 years of age, but he is already a veteran Communist. Furthermore, according to his own statements, he was already a member of the Roumanian Communist Party before Roumania's capitulation, that is to say when the Communist Party was still illegal there. He did now, however, win his political spurs until after the Party had seized power. From then onwards, the career of this "Roumanian Pasternak" rose to a phenomenal, dizzy height.

Already at the age of 26, this "writer" was a typical representative of the new, younger generation of Communist writers. Many of his works were on display in Roumanian bookshops and libraries. His most famous works at that time were "Pasarea Furtunii" ("The Storm-bird") and, above all, "The Family Chronicle" (in three volumes). When he was barely thirty, he was appointed head of the state publishing office. No book could be published in Roumania without his consent. It was rumoured that this young Communist potentate only gave his consent in such cases after having most carefully examined the past and the political views of the author in question.

After the publication of his novel "Drum fara Pulberg" ("Road Without Dust"), a glorification of the construction of the Danube — Black Sea Canal, Petre Dimitriu was

awarded the title of an "official author of the regime". This huge project, which he extolled in his book and which was popularly known as the "canal of death", was abandoned after a couple of years. Thousands of slave-labourers, including not only countless ideological opponents of the regime but also thousands of farmers from all over the country, were forced to sacrifice their lives in the dust of the "road without dust" merely for the illusion and futile ideas cherished by the Red rulers.

If Petre Dimitriu were really representative of Roumania's writers, then the position of present-day literature could be described as hopeless. The literary standard and norms of opinion fixed by the Party in assigning themes actually reveals such a degree of brutality and cynicism that merely to carry out such a commission faithfully is sufficient to bring disrepute on the author in question, both as a literary man and as a human being, for the rest of his life. But only very few, including the "pseudo-Pasternak", would have been prepared to sing the praises of the said project in such a manner. Even older Communists, as for instance the writer Zaharia Stancu, avoided accepting the "commission" in this case.

Strange to say, the literary products of Petre Dimitriu were translated into several languages, in the first place, however, into the languages of the Eastern sphere of influence. According to his own statements, he is the "most well-known Roumanian writer" in the Soviet Union. His name has even been included in the Soviet encyclopedia.

From 1957 onwards, Dimitriu was also allowed to visit Western countries. France, in particular, became one of his favourite destinations. Here, too, he signed numerous contracts regarding the translation and publication of his books. In various talks and

interviews on numerous occasions he affirmed that the change which Roumania had undergone both from the materialist and the ideological point of view ("a younger generation with a strongly developed socialist mentality") was a final one. After making such statements, he always returned to his "socialist country" again like a good boy. Once back in the Roumanian People's Republic again, he was *the* authority on the written word. Even the recommendations of the "Writers' Union" had to be approved by him. And this continued to be so until the spring of 1960.

Some months ago, the Western world then learnt that the "famous author" Petre Dimitriu had "chosen freedom". On the occasion of a visit to East Berlin, he and his wife took themselves off to West Berlin with a lot of luggage. After thoroughly investigating his case, the Americans, to whom he "introduced" himself, did not send him to a refugee camp but immediately recognized him officially as a political refugee.

For some months no one heard any more about him. It was not until the end of October that the reason for this became known. Petre Dimitriu had in the meantime been carrying on negotiations with the authorities of the Roumanian People's Republic to have his one-year old daughter sent to the West. When the result of these negotiations proved negative, however, Dimitriu decided to "attack".

Petre Dimitriu now describes his "socialist country" as a red hell, from which he had difficulty in escaping. Within a relatively short time he has granted interviews to various German and French papers. In the first place, however, he offered his services to Radio "Free Europe" in Munich. At present the former head of the "Writers' Union" in the Russian colonial state of Roumania is a political commentator at Radio "Free Europe". He owes this post to the head of the Roumanian department there, who, like himself, is a Communist who has gone over to the West.

Today, Petre Dimitriu, speaking from Munich, tells his Roumanian listeners at home how terrible the Communist regime is. In doing so, however, he keeps quiet about the fact that he himself up to a short time ago was not only a favourite of this regime, which is responsible for all the horror and terrorism, but also that he devoted himself wholeheartedly to contributing a very considerable share towards this Russian Communist regime of terrorism. The possibility of achieving this feat is afforded him by the Western world, which in such cases usually shows a remarkable sympathy and understanding. This manoeuvre is designated as "elastic tactics". It consists in letting well-known Communist refugees attack their own

former political fellow-partisans, since the opinion is held that no one is better qualified to attack the Communists than a former Communist.

It is quite possible that such a method may bear fruit. And there is no denying the fact that the former favourites of the regime are no doubt better acquainted than any other persons with the conditions and abuses of the Bolshevik system. The success of their "anti-Communist" campaign is not necessarily determined by their character. But at the same time and for the simple reason that most of these modern chameleons are not too scrupulous as regards moral principles (either professionally or politically), they might change their tactics again in the event of a serious situation.

But from another point of view, too, "refugees" of the type of Petre Dimitriu might constitute a danger to the Western world. Naturally, these "converts" try to get their works translated in the free world in order to circulate them. How many Communist ideas can in this way easily influence susceptible minds is a question that should also be taken into account.

Since his arrival in the West a relatively short time ago, Petre Dimitriu has been feverishly endeavouring to circulate his translated works amongst the people. The first volume of his "great novel", "The Family Chronicle", which also helped him to become "famous" in the Soviet Union, has recently appeared in Germany. The German title is "The Boyars", but there is little difference between the German and the original Roumanian version. Various alterations have, it is true, been made intentionally so as not to shock the West. In spite of this fact, however, the "superficiality" and the propagandist character of this novel are not likely to escape the attention of the observant reader or reviewer. In its edition of November 26, 1960, the "Deutsche Zeitung", for instance, comments that Petre Dimitriu in this work has used facts about which he obviously knows nothing. It is pointed out that the world of the boyars, which he describes in accordance with the principles laid down by the Party, ceased to exist long before ever he was born. He thus does not give the West a true picture of conditions in Roumania, but merely illusions built up by Communist propaganda.

But other European press organs, too, seem to have "exposed" him. On the same page as its interview with Petre Dimitriu, the French paper "France-Soir" publishes two other reports, entitled "FBI allows third Soviet spy to leave USA" and "German Bundestag deputy arrested for espionage for Eastern power in Bundestag building". It is surely not a coincidence that these three articles all appear on the same page!

NATO Conference in Paris

At the NATO Conference held in Paris from November 21 to 26, 1960, the Canadian delegation was headed by *Dr. Ivan Kucherepa* (Ukrainian-born). He is the Vice-president of the Presidium of the Conference, deputy chairman of the Political Committee and a member of the Permanent Executive Committee.

In his address Dr. Kucherepa stressed the economic difficulties which Canada and other countries are having to face as a result of Soviet Russian competition. He added that Russia, after having subjugated so many peoples, was exploiting their natural wealth and their labour, a fact which was enabling Russia to compete with the free countries on the international market.



General Norstad, Supreme Allied Commander of the NATO forces, and Canadian delegate, Dr. Ivan Kucherepa, at the Conference in Paris.

“No double standard in international affairs“

The ABN in Canada sent a memorandum and a letter to the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Hon. *Howard C. Green*, on November 18, 1960. We publish the text of the memorandum and letter below.

Hon. Howard C. Green,
Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Parliament Hill, Ottawa, Ontario.

Nov. 18, 1960.

Sir,

It was a great honour and pleasure to meet you in Toronto, November 3, 1960, after your interesting address in Masaryk Memorial Hall.

We had a rare opportunity to travel with you and Mrs. Green to the airport and to touch on many questions of great importance to us.

Unfortunately time was against us, and therefore with your kind permission we are enclosing our short memorandum covering various questions. We should be most happy to come to Ottawa and discuss the questions stressed in our memorandum if you should consider our presence desirable and advantageous.

Yours very truly,
Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations — Canada
Executive Committee
Dr. J. Kaskelis, President W. Bezchlibnyk, Secretary

MEMORANDUM

The recent development of events in the international political scene creates uneasiness and strong fear throughout the world for the future of mankind. In view of such a situation, it is fortunate that the Canadian Government not only voiced its deep concern about the increased international tension, but also submitted a series of constructive proposals aimed at the removal of the most imminent threat to world peace.

There is no necessity to consider at length the causes of this dangerous situation in the world. These causes are well known, and very recently they were once again pointed out by the Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Honourable John G. Diefenbaker, in his address before the United Nations' General Assembly, on September 26, 1960.

The aggressive imperialistic Russian policy whose principal idea is the destruction of the free world and the establishment of Moscow's hegemony throughout the world is the one and only cause of international tension which cannot be solved by peaceful negotiations. As long as the Soviet rulers adhere to their aggressive imperialistic policy, there is no real possibility to secure world peace and create conditions under which all controversial matters could be solved by peaceful means.

The spectacular performances of Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchov, at the forum of the United Nations indicate that Moscow is prepared to exploit every opportunity to undermine the positions of the Western powers and to bring about the collapse of the free world. In their action Soviet leaders are trying to exploit the universal fear of a nuclear war on the one hand, and the nationalist feelings of the peoples of Asia and Africa on the other hand. There is no one speech by Mr. Khrushchov or other Communist leaders without an attempt to intensify this fear and to strengthen the anti-Western attitudes of former colonial peoples in Asia and Africa.

In view of such Soviet tactics, the response of the Canadian Government was not only well timed, but also it was formulated in a manner which at once put Moscow on the defensive. It is regrettable, however, that this Canadian response was not enlarged on further in the general debate by the representatives of other Western countries. Nevertheless, the Soviet leaders sensed the danger and did everything to minimize the importance of the address by the Canadian Prime Minister, trying to ridicule his demand for freedom for the enslaved nations of Eastern Europe. The lengthy address of the head of the delegation of Ukrainian SSR, Russian national W. Podhornyj, and the passionate answers of other Communist bosses from the satellite countries, are the best examples and indicators of where the weakest point of the Soviet empire lies and of what Moscow is most afraid.

Mr. N. Khrushchov who submitted a resolution condemning colonialism in Africa was successful in suppressing the amendment which asked to include the condemnation of Soviet Russian imperialism and colonialism. The Western powers did not show the necessary initiative and moral strength to withstand Soviet pressure, and again the opportunity of initiative in political warfare was lost.

In view of such a development at the United Nations, it is necessary to indicate once again some principal postulates or prerequisites of victory in the struggle against Russian imperialism.

First of all, it must be realized that under no condition will Moscow abandon her imperialistic plans to conquer the world. Khrushchov's declaration that the Soviet bloc will eventually bury the Western world is not an empty boasting; it is his deepest conviction and the ultimate goal of the Russian empire. Further, it must be realized that the expectations to secure peace by way of negotiations with the

Soviet rulers are futile and are based upon the wishful thinking of some Western leaders. Moscow needs time to finalize the preparations and to extend her influence. The Western world itself provides Moscow with an opportunity to strengthen her positions in various parts of the world at the expense of the free world.

In 1939 Moscow had under her direct control approximately 180 million people; in 1945 over one hundred million people were added to her domain. At present the bloc of so-called socialist countries has under its control one billion people with a territory extending from the Elbe in Central Europe to the Pacific Ocean in the Far East. At the same time the influence of Moscow in African countries is quite widespread, and even the countries of Latin America present very convenient ground for Soviet penetration.

Such are the bare facts well known to everybody in the West, but nobody is prepared to draw the necessary conclusions. Some Western politicians often state that the Soviet leaders are not willing to go to war, as they realize the dangers of nuclear war and because of this coexistence is not only possible but even necessary. When we analyse the position of the Soviet Union in 1939 and in 1960 and when we take into consideration Soviet successes without the war as far as territorial expansion is concerned, there is no doubt that for Moscow it is not necessary to start a war. As long as the Soviet rulers remain convinced that they will conquer the world without resorting to war on the assumption that the Western world in its longing for peace will provide ample opportunity for their victory, they will not start a war. However, war will begin when Moscow finalizes her preparation and when it becomes obvious that her victory without war is impossible.

It is obvious that the Western powers are confronted with the alternative: to accept the Soviet conditions of so-called peaceful coexistence, or to initiate an action which may reverse the Soviet march toward final victory. Such problems as trade, disarmament, exchange of students, cultural exchanges, etc. are of secondary importance. The main and basic problem is who will be the winner in the gigantic struggle: the free world or Russian imperialism and Communism?

There is no doubt that victory of the free world could be secured only by elimination of the Soviet Russian empire, which could be achieved by a well planned political offensive with a clearly defined aim to create the conditions for the liberation of all enslaved nations of Central and Eastern Europe and Asia. The liquidation of the Russian empire would bring the collapse of Communist totalitarian ideology and international Communism whose existence is secured by the Soviet Russian military might.

The Soviet leaders are well aware of this danger for their empire and they remember the first months of war with Germany, when millions of Soviet soldiers went over to the Germans in expectation of freedom. Only the irresponsible policy of Hitler and the help of the Western allies rescued the Soviet regime and the Russian empire at that time.

Today Moscow is trying to become a defender of former colonial peoples in Africa and Asia. Moscow's agents penetrate Latin American countries, but the Western powers are hesitating to start their own offensive and to use against the Soviet Russian menace the most powerful weapon: effective help to all nations subjugated by Moscow who — if properly helped — could rise up against their Russian oppressors.

There is no other way of dealing with Moscow if the Western powers are willing to preserve their own freedom. The policy of appeasement or containment only, will fail in the final result and create a situation in which war will become unavoidable. It is high time for the Western leaders to squarely face the facts and to act accordingly.

against this world colonizer. What "neutral" can prove that, as compared to Russian Communist imperialism, the USA, Great Britain, France and other democratic free states, for instance, represent a danger to the whole world? The Western democracies may not have a perfectly clear conscience in some respects, but the idea that they may either at present or in future try to rule the world is quite out of the question, especially in view of the manifold character and structure of the many free democratic states and the development of the atomic age. But the idea of keeping the world in a constant state of revolution and in this way undermine its strength is a means to an end, namely to spread the Russian Communist lust of world power. It is indeed an established fact that world conquest by the Russians was not only preached by Lenin and demonstrated by Stalin to the entire world after 1945 by swallowing half Europe, but Khrushchov, too, has now openly admitted to the world that he intends to continue this world conquest and even hopes for the victory of Russian imperialism in his day. From now onwards, therefore, not only the statesmen of the free world but also every free citizen of every free state and the "neutrals", too, are responsible for world peace and for the freedom of the peoples.

Millions of peoples formerly colonized by the Western powers have gained and are constantly gaining their national freedom. On the strength of the right of self-determination, they now choose their regime and their government themselves. But how many peoples of the Russian colonial empire have so far been conceded the right of self-determination? None of them, — neither the Ukrainians, Georgians, Turkestanians, Estonians, Latvians, Slovaks, Roumanians, nor Bulgarians. Why is the right of self-determination refused to the Germans of the so-called German Democratic Republic? Why was the fight for freedom and national independence in Hungary crushed by Russian tanks at Khrushchov's orders? Why is Korea still partitioned? The fiasco in the Congo is proof of the intentions of Russian colonialism in Africa. Supplies of Russian military planes, ammunition from the Czech Communists, military trucks and radio transmitters, etc., indicate the advance of Russian colonialism in Africa, too. Surely all "neutrals" such as Sahib Chandra in India, Mr. Bläsi in Switzerland, Mr. Sörensen in Sweden, or Ali

Echmed in Egypt should by now have made up their minds whether they wish to lead a free life under their own national flag in future or a "liberated" life under the "sickle and hammer". In the event of war the citizen of the states subjugated by Russia only has his life, which has been robbed of all spiritual and moral value, to lose. Can such a citizen of a subjugated country today propagate and defend the idea of freedom of the individual, of a free family life, freedom of education, of property, of a free native country? No, never under Russian colonialism! All these ideals, which are real values that are worth making the greatest sacrifices for, only exist in the free West and in the states that are still free. In order to disintegrate the West and to play off its allies against each other, Russian Communism needs the "neutrals", too. In the imminent mighty struggle for world peace and world freedom all the neutral states are merely objects. The latter thus refuse to reason logically as far as the international situation is concerned and are acting unfairly. In the event of its further advance in Asia, Europe, America or Africa, Communism will for a few years use the "liberated" neutrals merely as a means of propaganda, but will then, sooner or later, undoubtedly incorporate them in the Russian Communist world colonial imperium and degrade them to the status of satellites. The states which are at present neutral may be sure that Moscow and Peking have already chosen a set of Red Communist governors from these neutral states who will later be responsible for each of them. From the point of international law, therefore, the idea of "neutrality" is out-of-date and no longer valid. In the event of war between the two world powers it is most unlikely that supersonic jet propellers and atomic rockets will fly a zigzag course over the frontiers of the neutral states in order to avoid violating the territorial rights or neutrality of these states. Thus, there can be no political "neutrality". Proof of this can also be seen from the fact that Russian Communist spies are constantly being evicted from the neutral states. The neutral states of today are thus faced by a vital decision. From the political, military and economic point of view, they will be confronted in the near future by the alternative of either supporting and joining the free democratic world, or else submitting to Russian Communist world colonialism as slaves and satellites.

The American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Inc., New York, recently published a pamphlet entitled "Russian Communist Empire Under Khrushchov" on the occasion of the Summit Conference. Its contents are as follows: a Memorandum to the President of the United States of America, Khrushov's Aim: To Keep Russian Empire Intact, The Crimes of Khrushchov, Captive Nations And Western Policy Toward The USSR, and Liberation: True Road To Peace.

“Captive Nations Week“ and the Russian Emigrants

To mark the occasion of “Captive Nations Week“, the “New York Times“ published an article in which it was pointed out that when President Eisenhower, in accordance with the resolution of the US Congress, last year proclaimed “Captive Nations Week“, a storm of indignation broke out on the part of the Soviet Russians. Moscow affirmed that it was ridiculous to talk about captive nations and tried to make the whole world believe that nowhere do the bells of freedom peal more loudly than in happy Hungary, in the Baltic states that are content in their self-administration, in free Poland, in Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Albania.

The Russian emigrants joined in this outburst of indignation by the Kremlin on the resolution passed by the US Congress to introduce “Captive Nations Week“. We can in a way understand Khrushchev’s anger and indignation, but what are incomprehensible to us are the protests by Prince S. Belosselski and Professor Chebotariov, who described the proclamation of “Captive Nations Week“ by the US President as a step to bring about the downfall of Russia and affirmed that by this measure the “national“ Russia, which in their opinion is to come into being after the collapse of the Soviet Communist power, was identified with the Soviet colonial imperium of slaves.

Since the beginning of last year the Russian exile press has been carrying on a fierce campaign against the “Captive Nations Week“ resolution of the US Congress, which has been adopted in the American Constitution as Law No. 26-90.

And in this connection they even attack the Cossacks. Some time ago there appeared in the Russian exile press an appeal by the president of the Russian Committee in the Republican Party of the USA, L. Nikolayevski, to his fellow-countrymen to support him in protesting against the resolution of the US Congress. L. Nikolayevski attacks all non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union, such as the Georgians, Armenians, etc., who in his opinion are on “Russian territory“.

In its edition of July 4th, the paper “Rossija“ published a letter written in the same trend by the president of the Russian emigrants to US Secretary of State Christian Herter, copies of which were also sent to President Eisenhower and Vice-President Nixon.

The pro-Soviet journal “Rossiskaja Nesavisimostj“ is particularly active in this respect. In its edition of May/August 1960, No. 12 (pp. 33-34), for instance, it published

an editorial entitled “The Separatists and Their Allies“. There was also a picture of Congressman Thomas Dodd, who was described as the “father of the resolution on the disintegration of Russia“, and beneath it were the following comments: “What has prompted this man to Russophobia, we do not know. But in any case one can assume that the hatred which Thomas Dodd harbours towards the Russian nation is not merely personal but, rather, political, that is to say it shows the general trend of the Republican Party in the Russian question. We do not know exactly to what this elastic policy of the bosses of the Republican Party will lead. But one can say for certain that the Republican bosses will in the end be forced to revise their programme and to alter their anti-Russian policy drastically. Otherwise this child’s game on the part of the Republicans with the ‘captive nations’ will go too far.“

The Russian press in Europe is even more outspoken on the subject of this resolution of the US Congress. The paper “The Voice of Russia“ (“Die Stimme Russlands“), which appears in Munich, published an article entitled “Who Needs This?“ by the chief editor, E. Derzhavyn, in its October 1959 edition, No. 83. The author of this article affirms that the central representation of the Russian exiles should have its headquarters not in the USA, where the government is at present pursuing a policy of disintegration, but in Europe. He adds: . . . “Who thought it necessary to organize the representation of all the Russian emigrants under the leadership of Prince Bielosselski in New York? And, what is more, three months after the government of the United States had unanimously adopted the resolution of hatred towards Russia and had thus declared war on the entire Russian nation by resolving to disintegrate the territory of Russia into various independent states in order to put an end to the ‘Russian imperium’ for all time.“

He then points out that those of the Russian emigrants who intend to organize a congress of the Russians in the USA for the purpose of electing the Russian representation in America . . . “have lost all feeling for national dignity and have betrayed their mighty past and illustrious history which were created by the great Russian empire, whose liquidation is now intended by ‘honourable’ American senators and Congressmen“.

So much for Russian opinions on “Captive Nations Week“. We do not know on whose help these Russian fantasists are relying in order to preserve the great Russian empire

after the collapse of the Bolsheviks. The United States of America intend to support the freedom aims of the peoples of Central and East Europe and, thus, of the ABN, and to this end "Captive Nations Week" was established.

But in conformity with its Red fellow-countrymen at home, the Russian exile press has begun to whine. These Russian emigrants protest against the anti-Soviet trend in America's foreign policy. They have failed to learn a lesson from history and are thus still living in the past and will never see their dreams realized.

News and Views

As *Mr. Wolodymyr Kosyk* (Ukrainian) has been obliged to leave Taiwan for health reasons, *Prof. Dr. Ludwig K. Katona*, Hungarian freedom-fighter of 1956, has now assumed the office of ABN representative to the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACLROC).

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In 1960 the head of the ABN Central Delegacy in Great Britain was *Prof. R. Ostrowski* (Byelorussian), in Spain *Mr. Wolodymyr Pastuschuk* (Ukrainian), in Australia *Dr. Untaru* (Roumanian), in Canada *Dr. J. Kaskelis* (Lithuanian), and in Brazil *Mr. B. Bilynsky* (Ukrainian).

The chairman of the American Friends of ABN (AFABN) in 1960 was *Dr. K. Koicheff* (Bulgaria).

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In 1960 *Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko*, former Ukrainian Prime Minister and President the ABN, and the Vice-Presidents of the ABN, *General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak*, President of the Hungarian Liberation Movement, and *Prof. R. Ostrowski*, President of the Byelorussian Central Council, as well as *Prof. Dr. F. Durcansky*, former Slovak Foreign Minister and President of the ABN Peoples' Council, spent several months in the USA and Canada for the purpose of enlightening the American and Canadian public and leading politicians there on ABN problems and the fight for independence of the peoples subjugated by Russia.

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ABN in Australia and New Zealand

The ABN Central Delegacy in Australia and New Zealand had its Special Meeting in the Croatian Hall, Sydney, on September 12, 1960.

The meeting was opened by *Mr. Lovokovic*, President of the Croatian Association in

Sydney. After he greeted the audience and especially *Dr. Untaru*, President of the ABN Central Delegacy, he introduced the main speaker, *Mr. Eric D. Butler*, President of the Australian Social Credits Movement and Director of the Victorian League of Rights.

Dr. Butler outlined the growth and progress of Communism from the days of Lenin to our times. None of the alleged objectives, he said, of either two world wars were attained, only the real ones, of which we are not told, that is the establishment of Communism through World War I, and its spreading over a large part of Europe and Asia through the Second War. Mr. Butler recalled that the first action of Roosevelt after coming to power in 1933 was the recognition of the Soviet Union at a time when Communist Russia was in a critical position, and without the financial, mechanical and engineering aid supplied by the U. S. A. could not have endured very long. The alleged objective of the European war was to aid Poland. Where is the independence of Poland now? America went to war with Japan over the question of Manchuria. The result — Manchuria is now incorporated in the Soviet Union.

Then came the most shameful event of the war, the Yalta Conference. Poland was sold to the Russians, just as was Manchuria, the two key issues of the last war. Who was the originator of the Yalta Meeting? No one other than the most intimate friend and chief adviser to Roosevelt, Alger Hiss, the first Secretary-General of the U. N. O., who was later found guilty of anti-American activities together with Harry Dexter White, the other associate of the President of the U. S. A., both chief agents of Stalin.

The war ended with Soviet Russia emerging as the sole victor of it. A great part of Europe was surrendered to it. China was abandoned to the "Agrarian Reformers" of Mao Tse Tung. As General Marshall said "with one pen-stroke I have disarmed forty divisions of the nationalist Chinese".

The "great" achievement of the post-war years has been that modern "Tower of Babel", the United Nations Organisation. We are supposed to believe that it brings peace to everybody.

The U. N. is a major instrument in the hands of the Russian Communists against the West.

Concluding his speech, Mr. Butler showed that it is not bad luck or a rule of history that was threatening Christian civilization, but directed subversion, undermining of morals and breaking down resistance.

According to his opinion the next few years will decide whether it can withstand this grave threat.

Minutes were taken by *Mr. E. Csapo*, General Secretary of the Hungarian Liberation Movement in N. S. W.

Conference in Paris

The "Conférence Internationale sur la Guerre Politique des Soviets" was held in Paris from December 1 to 3, 1960. The aim of the Conference was the strengthening of the anti-Communist front throughout the entire free world.

After the Conference had been opened and greetings had been read, including those from the French Premier Michel Debré, the session began with a lecture by the Secretary-General of the NATO, *Paul Henri Spaak*. He admitted that the NATO was merely conducting a defensive policy towards Soviet imperialism. He added that peaceful coexistence was being forced on the free world by the Bolsheviks, and said that the West could not, however, refuse peaceful coexistence to Moscow since otherwise it, i. e. the West, would be accused of wanting war. The Secretary-General of the NATO, incidentally, gave his audience an excellent characterization of the Occident; the qualities he mentioned were not exactly laudable, on the contrary somewhat depressing, but his characterization was most fitting.

Other speakers on this occasion, — *Maurice Schumann* (France), *Thomas Dodd* (U. S. senator), *Anthony Kershaw*, M. P. (England), *Matteo Lombardo* (Italy), and *Dr. Richard Jaeger* (Germany) gave a general account of Communist infiltration in the various spheres of life in the countries in question and emphasized the fact that not enough steps were being taken by either the governments or the public to protect themselves against this type of infiltration.

After the speeches of the Canadian member of parliament *Augustin Brassard* and the former Belgian Premier *Van Zeeland* on the second day of the Conference, the audience listened with great interest to the account given by *Mme Suzanne Labin* of the increase of the Communist Fifth Column in France. In the course of the discussions on individual subjects referred to in the various speeches, the question of the peoples subjugated in the Soviet Union was also raised. The *Canadian, American, Italian* and other delegates to the Conference spoke of the subjugation of Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan and other non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union.

The delegate from Latin America, *Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens*, Secretary-General of the Interamerican Confederation (ICDOC), gave an account of the anti-Communist conference in Mexico and mentioned the three organizations which had convened that conference, namely his own organization, the ABN and the APACL.

At the close of the Conference a resolution was read, in which it was proposed that a headquarters of political warfare

should be set up in the West and a centre to train the supporters of democracy.

The Italian delegate, *Prince Alliata di Montereale*, referred to the multi-national character of the U. S. S. R. and to the wish of the subjugated peoples in the Soviet Union to regain their independence, and emphasized the necessity to support these peoples in an addendum to the above-mentioned resolution. He was, however, forced to withdraw his motion by the Presidium and various pro-Russian members of the Conference. At the same time he emphasized that he would continue to uphold his opinion that the Russian imperium would one day collapse as the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy had done and that the peoples would be free. This fact, he added, must be taken into consideration by the West if it wanted to win the fight against Communism.

The Georgian delegate *L. Zourabistvili* afterwards affirmed: "If you wish to fight the Communists successfully, you must have the subjugated peoples on your side and must concede to them the right to independence. The peoples subjugated in the Soviet Union have been fighting against Bolshevism for 40 years. If you grant the right of independence to the negroid peoples, then you cannot refuse it to us. Our collaboration with you depends on your attitude towards the peoples subjugated in the USSR". His speech was greeted with great applause.

During the discussions two Ukrainians also had an opportunity to speak. Although every participator in the discussions was allowed 10 minutes, *Mr. Wolodymyr Kosyk* was requested to stop before his time was up. He had referred to Russian imperialism as the source of the Communist attack on the free world.

The President of the Hungarian Liberation Movement, *General F. Farkas de Kisbarnak*, and several Hungarian freedom-fighters likewise took part in the Conference and in the discussions.

We feel that the Conference cannot be described as successful. How, in fact, can one expect success if one fears to mention Russian colonialism and to support, at least politically, the peoples subjugated in the U.S.S.R.

It is typical that even those persons who advocate the national rights of our peoples, as for instance the American politicians and senators who voted in favour of the introduction of "Captive Nations Week" in the USA and in their declaration supported the restoration of the independence of our peoples, became confused in the atmosphere of the Paris Conference and were not even capable of defending their own resolutions.

B. W. (Paris)

Union Against Soviet Russian Colonialism in Europe

The leading Swiss paper "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" (No. 305) recently printed an open letter by Dr. Ag. Krafft (Lausanne), who advocates that a firmer stand should be taken against Soviet Russian Colonialism in Europe (as for instance in the Baltic countries). He writes as follows in this open letter: "On various occasions recently it had to be stressed that the powers in the East are not qualified to protest against colonialism in Africa because and as long as there are countless Soviet Russian colonies in Europe. The author of this letter has therefore put to a number of prominent persons the idea of founding a union in Switzerland on behalf of these Soviet Russian colonies in Europe, and several declarations of approval in this respect have already been received. What is planned in this connection is not a fighting organization of a political character, but a study group which would possibly also concern itself with aid campaigns. Similar organizations were founded at the end of the last century on behalf of the Armenians and in 1939 on behalf of the Finns, and in this latter case I myself took the initiative. The purpose of this letter is to ascertain whether the above-mentioned idea meets with considerable response or not, and to give those persons interested an opportunity to express their opinion in this respect. We here in Switzerland should realize that it is not enough to protest or to sympathize, but that under certain circumstances it is imperative that we should effectively defend our freedoms and the principles which we regard as important and inviolable."

János von Kőrödy-Katona

On November 19th, János von Kőrödy-Katona, former Hungarian member of parliament and European head of the Mindszenty Movement, celebrated his seventieth birthday. Born in Nagybánya in 1890, he took part in the first world war as an officer and was subsequently decorated with the National Defence Cross. At the beginning of his political career he joined the democratic Christian social party. In 1919 he was imprisoned during Bela Kun's terrorist regime. He was the youngest deputy to be voted to parliament in 1921. From then onwards, he played a part in the political life of Hungary.

When World War II broke out, János von Kőrödy-Katona again resumed military service. At the same time, he was also one of Cardinal Mindszenty's co-workers. With the entry of the Soviet troops, he took over the dangerous office — as a militant anti-Communist — of President of the Agrarian Party in Budapest. After having been forced by the Communists to resign from this office,

he was confined in the Andrassy prison for eight months.

In August 1949 he managed to escape from Hungary to Switzerland, where he now takes an active part in cultural life. His treatise "The History of Schools and the Educational System in Hungary" was published in Switzerland in 1952, and a series of articles entitled "Hungary Demands Objectivity" appeared in the Swiss Church Journal.

As the European head of the Mindszenty Movement, he endeavours to uphold the idea of a common Christian national past, an idea inseparably linked up with the name of Cardinal Mindszenty, amongst all Hungarians scattered throughout the whole world.

"Peking Opera Unmasked Instrument of Communist Propaganda"

The Chinese Community Centre, Catholic and Benevolent Associations recently issued thousands of leaflets with the headline "Peking Opera" *Unmasked Instrument of Communist Propaganda*, explaining the purpose of the Chinese Communists' "goodwill" mission in Canada.

Below we quote extracts from the said leaflet:

"Since their military subjugation of the mainland, the Chinese Communist tyrants have systematically sought to eradicate all vestiges of the 5,000-year old culture of China which, reflecting a happy blend of Confucian humanism and the spirit of Christ, is branded by them as bourgeois, decadent and even feudalistic. Nevertheless, for the purpose of international propaganda, they have shown no compunction in exploiting all traditional media of mass communication including the "Peking Opera" which, in the original form, represents a perfect form of theatrical and musical arts developed from the very culture which they fervently seek to destroy. This is indeed a vivid example of Communist perfidy.

In these circumstances, the avantgardes of the Chinese Communist cultural army now are coming to Canada to carry on propaganda, to foment intrigues, and to promote subversion against the Free World in general and against the Chinese communities in particular.

In exposing Hitler's big technique now adopted by the Chinese Communists, we condemn most emphatically their insidious attempt to utilize the 'Peking Opera' to defraud and deceive the Canadian public by pretensions of goodwill and friendship which are basically contrary to the ugly nature of Communism.

Let us be alert to the ultimate design of the Communists for world domination and let no one be deceived by the color and melody of the operatic performance, no part of which is of Communist origin."

From Behind the Iron Curtain



LATVIA

As reported by the Riga daily press, "demobilized specialists" of the Soviet Army, above all, Russians, are now being employed in Latvian production, — naturally only in leading posts, and accordingly numerous Latvians are being deprived of the positions to which they would normally be entitled. A Russian, Major Bahadrov, has for instance been appointed general manager of the big engineering works in Mitau; Lieutenant-Colonel Terlecky has been appointed head engineer of the railway station in Mitau, and Lieutenant Segejev has been given a leading post in the pharmaceutical industry.



LITHUANIA

Lithuanian Broadcasts From The West

The President of the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania, Dr. A. Trimakas, stated in an interview that the Lithuanian broadcasts from Madrid and Rome are picked up very well in the rural areas of occupied Lithuania, whereas reception in the towns is on the whole much poorer. The intensity with which the Soviets try to disturb these broadcasts in Lithuanian from the West is clear proof that the latter are regarded as extremely dangerous to Soviet propaganda. On the other hand, however, the broadcasts of the "Voice of America" are not disturbed as frequently by the Soviets, since they are far more colourless from the political point of view and are no longer regarded as a danger to Soviet propaganda.

New Oil Deposits In Lithuania

The paper "Tiesa" reported in its edition No. 221 that new oil deposits have been found in western Lithuania. Some time ago Lithuanian geologists in the course of prospecting discovered traces which pointed to the presence of subterranean oil deposits. Boring subsequently confirmed this assumption. It is at present being continued and it is hoped that by next year it will be possible to ascertain the extent of these oil deposits.

112 Factories Fail To Fulfil Their Quotas

J. Maniulis, one of the secretaries of the Communist Party of Lithuania, stated in the "Tiesa" that 112 big factories failed to fulfil their quotas in the second quarter of 1960. They included 49 factories which are under

the direct control and supervision of the economic council. No progress at all had been made, so he pointed out, as regards either an increase in labour efficiency or a reduction in prime costs. He added that factories in the consumption goods industry had been turning out goods of poor standard and that the construction of a building materials factory near Gargzdai and the extension of the shipyard in Klaipeda were only progressing very slowly.

Only 1,500 Party Members

On October 8th, Radio Vilna reported that the Communist Party of Lithuania in 1940, that is at the beginning of the Soviet Occupation, only numbered 1,500 members throughout the whole country (with a population figure of about 3 million). But at present the Communist Party of Lithuania, which is really only a branch of the all-Soviet Communist Party, likewise only numbers about 2 per cent of the population.

* * *

Food Crisis In U.S.S.R.?

So far, the Bolshevik press has written very little about this year's harvest, — a fact which is most unusual, since in previous years reports on this subject were published ad infinitum.

This shamefaced silence on the part of the press indicates that the harvest was by no means rosy this year. Indeed, the public was already informed in the early summer that the harvest was hardly likely to be good. Short press notices announced that there had been "heavy thunderstorms" in the countries of the U.S.S.R. which usually have a good harvest, namely Ukraine and the Caucasus, and that much of the crop had been destroyed. In the Ukrainian steppes alone, 10 million hectares of grain were said to have been destroyed. Most of this area was ploughed and planted with oats, sunflowers, maize, buckwheat and peas. Normally, the harvest was always gathered in the middle of August in Ukraine, but under the Bolshevik regime it has been deferred to the end of August. This year — partly owing to new planting — the harvest could not even be gathered in September. This fact also led to chaos in other agricultural sectors. The potato and sugar-beet harvest, too, for instance, has been delayed very considerably. At the beginning of October there were several complaints in the Kyiv papers that only about 40 per cent of the sugar-beet crop had been gathered throughout Ukraine.

In Kazakhstan, too, the harvest has been

anything but good. The so-called virgin areas have again proved a disappointment to Moscow and have only produced 800 million puds (1 pud = 16 kilograms) of grain, instead of

over 1 milliard, as expected. By September 15, only 36 per cent of the grain in Siberia had been threshed; the remainder was left standing in the fields.



A. Jurenko

Statistics and Reality

In October 1960, the Red Russian papers in Ukraine officially published the results of the execution of the so-called "State Plan" for Ukraine's industry during the previous nine months of 1960.

In making a big show of the "success" of this plan, which has allegedly been fulfilled and more than fulfilled, the Central Bureau of Statistics (both the Red Russian and the "Ukrainian" one) compares the said fulfilment with the corresponding period of last year in order to make it appear as if there has been an "inevitable" increase in the rate of production. The said Bureau, however, takes good care not to compare the results

of the plan with the fixed quotas for the year 1960. And, what is more, Moscow makes no reference whatever to the actual plan which it has imposed on enslaved Ukraine.

The reason why Moscow keeps silent in this respect can best be seen from the following table of statistics, which we publish below for the general information of our readers.

We have compiled this table on the strength of official data pertaining to the fixed plan and its fulfilment for the first six months of 1960 (as published in the journal "Ekonomika Ukraïny" — "The Economy of Ukraine" — No. 5, 1960).

Plan for 9 months and actual production of industries

Industry	Plan for 9 months	Actual production	% of fulfilled plan	Comparison with corresponding period in 1959
cast iron — mill. tons	17.7	18.1	102	110
steel — mill. tons	19.2	19.4	101	109
rolled metal — mill. tons	15.5	15.7	101	108
coke — mill. tons	22.0	22.4	101	103
iron ore — mill. tons	42.8	44.1	103	111
coal — mill. tons	127.0	129.5	101	103
naphtha — mill. tons	1.5	1.5	100	130
electric power — milliard kilowatt hrs.	35.4	36.4	102	109
wool textiles — mill. sq. metres	18.0	19.4	107	110
cotton textiles — ditto —	70.0	73.5	105	116
silk textiles — ditto —	29.0	30.4	105	110
leather footwear — mill. pairs	57.0	57.6	101	109
meat — mill. tons	0.543	0.498	91	95
animal fats — mill. tons	1.27			
skimmed milk (as milk) — mill. tons	1.125			
		In nine months' report, figures intentionally not given as quotas not fulfilled.		
		1.147	101	115

It is hardly necessary to ask why Moscow (and the Central Bureau of Statistics in Ukraine, which is controlled by Moscow) officially published only the actual production for the first nine months of 1960 and the percentages as compared to those of the corresponding period in 1959. The answer can be deduced from the above table, which shows that the percentages with regard to the alleged more than fulfilled plan are extremely low, namely one or two or, at the most, seven per cent, whereas, compared to the year 1959, they are nine, ten, sixteen and even thirty per cent. These figures are

meant to give the Ukrainian population and the Western world a false impression of the rate of production and to lead them to assume that the quotas of the plan have been more than fulfilled. The following statement by the Central Bureau of Statistics is, indeed, characteristic:

"The plan to increase labour-productivity has on the whole been more than fulfilled in the industries of the Ukrainian S.S.R." On the contrary, the plan for labour-productivity was neither fulfilled as a whole nor in part. The Central Bureau of Statistics is definitely telling lies in making such a statement, for

the plan was not even fulfilled by 100 per cent of the labour-productivity by the collectives of Vynnytsia, Dnipropetrovsk, Poltava and Cherson, whilst the collectives of Zaporizhia, Kyiv, Lviv (Lemberg), Cherkassy and Charkiv hardly fulfilled one per cent more. And that at a time when trade union and Party overseers keep a check on the Ukrainian workers night and day, when thousands of agitators and propagandists hold lectures to the latter about the necessity of increasing the labour-productivity, and when Moscow distributes decorations and even goes so far as to appoint "heroes" and "foremen".

According to Red Russian plans, the intention this year was to exert so much pressure on the Ukrainian workers that they would increase their labour-productivity by 8 per cent, but there has only been an increase of 4.5 per cent and that again is in comparison to the year 1959 and not to any previous plans.

As regards the deceptive cut in the number of working-hours per day, i. e. the transition from a seven to six hour working-day, of which the Central Bureau of Statistics in Ukraine boasts, there is an enlightening article on this subject by the chairman of the State Committee of the Ministerial Council of the U.S.S.R., Department of Employment and Wages, A. Volkov, in the "Pravda" of November 11, 1960. He affirms that in connection with the "great achieve-

ments of socialism" the U.S.S.R. will now have the shortest working-day. "A comparison of the average indexes", so he writes, "will show that by the end of 1960 the working-week in industry in the U.S.S.R. will amount to 40.2 working-hours". In the USA, as Volkov admits, the working-week amounts to 40.5 working-hours, in West Germany to 45.6, in France to 45.5, and in England to 45.8.

Volkov thus admits that in the USA a working-week now already amounts to 40.5 working-hours, whereas this figure will only be reached in the U.S.S.R. by the end of 1960. As regards West Germany, Volkov does not keep to the truth. He is relying in this respect on the faulty information of the Soviet worker, who is not allowed to visit "capitalistic, revengeful and fascist" Germany. We are better informed on this subject, since we live in West Germany and work in business enterprises there. The majority of workers commence work at 7 a. m., have a break from 10 to 10.30 a. m. for their second breakfast, have a lunch-hour from 12 to 1 o'clock, and finish work at 4.30 p. m. They thus work 8 hours a day, including Fridays. Saturday they have free. Hence, the working-week in West Germany actually amounts to 40 and not to 45.6 working-hours, as Volkov would have us believe.

It can thus be seen from the above that the Russian statistics of "facts" have as little connection with reality as Red Russian ideological propaganda has.

Publications on the Study of the Caucasus

Two important works for the study of Georgian culture by *Dr. Kita Tshenkeli*, namely "Introduction to the Georgian Language" (2 vols., 1316 pp.) and "Georgian-German Dictionary" in 10-12 serial parts of 96 pages, have recently been published in German in Switzerland.

These two works by a qualified authority on the subject in question constitute a valuable contribution to the study of the ancient Christian civilized people, the Georgians.

Both works are obtainable from the AMIRANI-VERLAG, Zürich (Switzerland), Theaterstraße 4.

A recent publication of the journal "Bedi Karthlisa" ("Fate of Georgia") is its "Review of Georgian and Caucasian Studies", No. 34/35 of its series. It contains articles in English, French and German by well-known English, French, German and Georgian scholars.

Another recent publication is "Das Sumerische und das Georgische" ("The Sumerian and the Georgian Element") by *Prof. Dr. M. Tseretheli*, which has been published in German as a separate pamphlet.

These publications are a valuable contribution towards helping to make other countries acquainted with Georgian history and culture.

The address of the editorial department of the above-mentioned journal is: Paris (16), 8 Rue Berlioz.

The Captive Nations, by Roman Smal-Stocki (New York: Bookman Associates, 1960, 118 pp., \$ 3.50).

The author intends this volume as an introduction to the study of the historical background and aspirations of the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union. He discusses nationalism in the Russian empire before World War I, during the war, and since. The final chapters analyse the non-Russian nations as a current Soviet, as well as international problem. Lev. E. Dobriansky of Georgetown University writes in his foreword: "Strangely, in this country, despite all its rich traditions of freedom, anti-colonialism, and anti-imperialism . . . we failed to support these ideas and principles in their concrete application to independent White Ruthenia, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan and several other nations that soon again were individually subverted by the imperialist successors to the Tsar." Notes, bibliography, index.

THE KREMLIN ON A VOLCANO

by
Jaroslaw Stetzko

Published by the Information Bureau of the American Friends
of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Inc., USA
1959

Hon. Michael A. Feighan
U. S. Congressman

A NEW BATTLEGROUND OF THE COLD WAR

Published by the A. B. N. Press and Information Bureau
Munich 1960

THE TRUTH ABOUT A.B.N.

by
Niko Nakashidze

Published by the A. B. N. Press and Information Bureau
Munich 1960

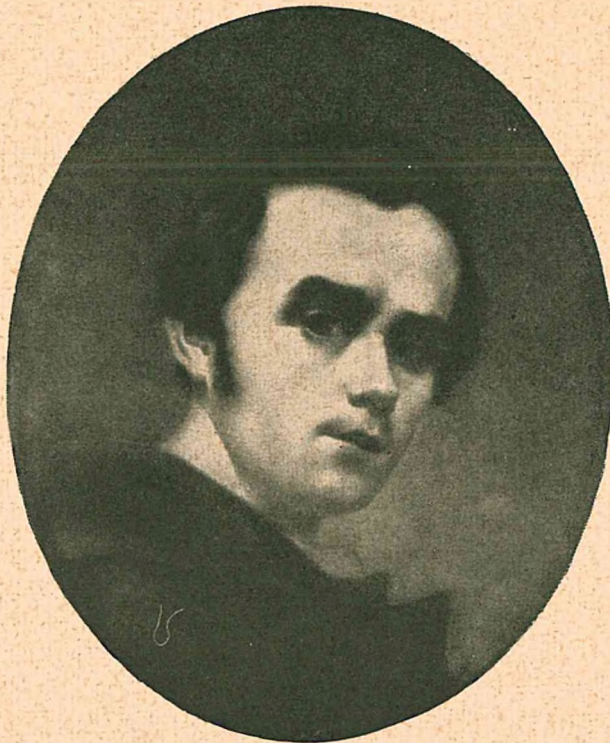
ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

TARAS SHEVCHENKO

EASTERN EUROPE'S CHAMPION OF LIBERTY



1814—1861

“When will we receive our Washington,
With a new and righteous law?
And receive him we will some day . . . !”

Shevchenko

Verlagspostamt: München 8

March-April 1961

Vol. XII • No.

2

UKRAINIAN INFORMATION SERVICE

U.S. Public Law 86-749

Authorizing the erection of a statue of TARAS SHEVCHENKO on public ground in the District of Columbia

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

APPROVED SEPTEMBER 13, 1960

ABN CORRESPONDENCE *Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

Publisher: Press Bureau of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations
(A.B.N.)

Munich 8, Zeppelinstr. 67

Editorial Staff: Board of Editors
Editor responsible: Slawa Stetzko.

Articles signed with name or pseudonym do not necessarily reflect the Editor's opinion, but that of the author. Manuscripts sent in unrequested cannot be returned in case of non-publication unless postage is enclosed.
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Annual subscription DM 6.— in Germany, 4.— Dollars in U.S.A., 12 shillings in Great Britain and Australia, and the equivalent of 4.— Dollars in all other countries.
Remittances to: Post office Transfer account: Munich 58 000 or Süddeutsche Bank, Munich, Filiale Depositenkasse, Neuhäuser Straße 6, Account No. 300 188 (A.B.N.)

Erscheinungsort: München
Herausgeber: Presse-Büro des Antibolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen (ABN), München 8, Zeppelinstraße 67/0, Telefon 44 10 69

Schriftleitung: Redaktionskollegium
Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Slawa Stetzko.
Druck: Buchdruckerei Universal, München 5, Rumfordstr. 29

Hon. Michael A. Feighan On Russia

DEAN MANION: In 1953, during the last days of his life, Senator Robert A. Taft reminded us that we can do nothing that will be effective about domestic disorders "until we come to grips with our foreign policy upon which all other policies depend".

Unless the next Presidential Administration really comes to grips with Communism, everything else that it does will be beside the point.

Ironically, the Congress of the United States has always had a much more realistic appreciation of the Communist menace than has been evident in our State Department. The most discerning appraisals and estimation of the Red conspiracy have come from Senators and Representatives of both political parties.

For years I have been greatly impressed with the intelligence, consistency and candor of the distinguished and learned Congressman Michael A. Feighan, of Ohio, on the subject of Communism. He is definitely on the target of this destructive enemy and I hope that his precise and timely shots will be ever more widely heard during the important months ahead. Congressman Feighan, it is a pleasure to welcome you to the Manion Forum.

We must aim at Dismemberment of Russian Empire

MR. FEIGHAN: Thank you, Dean Manion. I am pleased to take part in the Manion Forum which provides a real public service through frank and open discussions of the great issues of our times. We have reached a point, in the development of our Nation, where frankness of views and bold action in support of our ideals are imperatives for survival.

The national election campaign is now over. The people have spoken. A new President will assume responsibility for the direction of our national and international affairs in January.

Our national problems are many and complex. But our international problems are more urgent and demanding. If we are to meet the challenge posed by imperial Russian Communism on the march, we must be a united people, a determined people, and a people prepared to make sacrifices for the cause of peace with justice.

Nothing less will do, for the threat we face is present and clear. In this struggle there will be but one winner. There is no possibility of a stand-off or a tie, known better as a status quo. The loser will not be a loser in the classical sense of previous wars, because this is an ideological conflict — a conflict between ways of life. Either our free way of life will triumph throughout the world, or it will perish and be replaced by a global, Red dictatorship, controlled by Moscow.

Khrushchov has sharpened the edges of the issue by declaring publicly that "Communism will bury us". No sane person can doubt that he means to do just that

HOUSE RESOLUTION 524

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

RESOLUTION

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

to us. We must win total victory for freedom's cause or face death as a nation, in the struggle with the Russians. They leave us no alternative.

The great question before us as a united people is: What must be done to win this total victory for freedom's cause?

There is no simple answer. There are no easy ways. There is no panacea. There are, however, some fundamental courses of action which we must take to set the stage for freedom's victory. They are:

First: We must strengthen our military defenses to the point that no one can question whether we have a large measure of superiority over the Russian aggressive bloc. This means a flexible defense capability ready to meet total war or local brush fire wars and in a state of readiness to act immediately.

Second: Our basic national security policy must be overhauled. We must completely reorganize the governmental instruments for making, executing and evaluating such policies.

We have been drifting aimlessly, if hopefully, in the ideological storm which grips the world. One day we are against, the next day we are leaning toward an acceptance of Communism as a necessary evil, and the third day we don't know what we stand for and neither do our allies.

This confusion and uncertainty must be replaced with a realistic policy directed at bringing about the total defeat of imperial Russian Communism.

Third: We must rid our national life of the fear of war — an undue fear which has been created and stimulated by the Communists — a fear which has brought about a paralysis of our political initiative.

This fear of war must be replaced with a deep conviction that we *can* win a just peace. Fear of war has never prevented war, but it has caused wars.

The Russians expect that our fear of war will lead to compromises of our basic moral and political beliefs, that our will to resist will be weakened, that we will accept grave injustices against entire nations as a condition of peaceful co-existence and that these corrupting practices will lead to our eventual surrender. We must not permit this to happen.

Fourth: We must return to our historic role as champion of the national independence movement. We must cause the nations now under colonial rule to look to us for leadership, rather than looking to Moscow in desperation. This may cause us some criticism from a few allies in NATO. But this is easier to bear than the contempt we shall inherit from the peoples of the earth by turning our backs on our fundamental political beliefs.

The gathering storm in Africa will break with greater violence and bloodshed unless we persuade some of our allies that colonialism is dead. The era of representative self-government is here.

Latin America must be helped

Fifth: We must awaken to the deep social revolution now taking place in all the republics south of the Rio Grande. Long exploited people are seeking their rightful place in the economic sun. Grave injustices in the social order of this vast region are moving the common man to a point of desperation, thus providing the fertile ground for Communism or other forms of dictatorship.

We must make an honest examination of the extent to which American big business interests are responsible for this dangerous situation.

Where there is exploitation of workers or exploitation of natural resources without a fair return to the well being of the country from which they are removed, corrective action must be taken.

We must make it clear that the image of exploiting American business interests south of the Rio Grande is not a true image of the people of the United States.

Similarly, we must prevent our economic assistance in this area from being channeled through the local exploiting class, all too numerous and senseless to the needs of the people. Our objective must be to direct self-help to the people in the form of capital and know how to start new businesses, new industries and new outlets for the talents and energies of anxious peoples. The security of the Western Hemisphere demands that we act now, before it is too late.

Sixth: The gathering storms of political revolution behind the Russian Iron Curtain must be given our serious and constant attention. The 20 odd captive nations, held in colonial bondage by the Russians, have known freedom and national independence in this century. The people of these nations know the meaning of liberty and they will not be denied its blessings.

I refer to the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union — such as UKRAINE, the BALTIC STATES, GEORGIA, ARMENIA, TURKESTAN and IDEL-URAL, as well as the newly added colonies such as POLAND, HUNGARY, ROUMANIA, BULGARIA, CZECHO-SLOVAKIA, YUGOSLAVIA, ALBANIA, CHINA, EAST GERMANY, NORTH KOREA AND NORTH VIET NAM.

The vast majority of people in all these captive nations await the opportunity to throw off their Communist chains, to regain their freedom and national independence. The Russian nation comprised of not more than eighty million people, stands alone in opposition to these national independence movements. The Russian people support the despotic regime in power because they know no different way of life.

But eighty million Russians cannot long contain the freedom aspirations of hundreds of millions of non-Russian people in the captive nations.

We must be prepared to give bold support to any and all freedom revolutions behind the Iron Curtain and we must fan the spark of freedom from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean.

Our national security policy should be pointed toward the peaceful dismemberment of the Russian Communist empire.

So long as the Russian Communist empire exists, the threat of war and death for our Nation hangs over us.

A dismembered Russian empire will hold out no threat of war, but will provide the international climate for a lasting peace with justice.

Seventh: We must take a new and realistic look at the United Nations. Khrushchov has threatened to wreck that body unless it is reorganized to suit his purposes of world conquest. Here we are faced with a clear choice. Will we let him wreck the U. N. or will we cause the Russians to be expelled from membership in that body.

Russians must be thrown out

The choice is simple. The Russians must be expelled from membership in the United Nations.

This objective can be accomplished by forcing a choice upon the Russians. Either they abide by the standing General Assembly Resolution on Hungary or be expelled from membership for flagrant, adamant and persistent violations of the letter and spirit of the U.N. charter.

The General Assembly Resolution on Hungary condemned Russian aggression against that nation and called for the immediate withdrawal of all Russian military, political and economic elements from Hungarian soil. Four years have now passed

during which we have done nothing to cause the Russians to abide by that Assembly decision. We should act on this matter now, before Khrushchov either reorganizes the U. N. to serve better his evil purposes or causes the complete collapse of that body.

Eighth: We must not be deluded by the myth of a split between Moscow and Peiping. The Russians need the Red Chinese and the Red Chinese need the Russians if they are to hold their empire of fear together.

Russian propaganda now warns the Western World to beware of Red China, hoping that we will accept a status quo with them, or worse, that we will be frightened into a mutual assistance pact with Moscow.

If Russia really fears a threat from the East, she should remove her chains from the captive nations and allow these nations to re-establish their national independence so they will have something to fight for should a conflict with Red China come. This is the only valid test of a split between Moscow and Peiping.

Ninth: We must be done with summitry, personal diplomacy and so-called journeys to understanding. Summitry is nothing but a Russian device to associate the high office of the President of the United States with the bloody handed leaders of Communism.

This device has lowered our prestige and respect among the peoples of the world while at the same time bringing false respectability to the leaders of Communism.

Personal diplomacy is a practice suited only to kings, monarchs and despots, entirely unsuited to our constitutional form of representative self-government.

Personal deals are the end product of personal diplomacy. Journeys to understanding have been exposed as cheap, partisan, political maneuvers, timed to delude the American people before a national election year.

Disaster awaits us if the next President of the United States exposes his high office to these degrading practices. We need a summit conference of freedom's cause, limited to leaders of nations that are truly free, to hammer out a global program for freedom's cause.

This conference should be held in Washington as soon as possible after the new President takes office. It is time the road posts of the world pointed to Washington as the oracle of peace with justice for all nations.

Finally, we need to recognize the meaning of the revolutionary age in which we live. A deep political and economic reformation is taking place in the world around us. Long dormant peoples and civilizations have awakened to the opportunities and challenges of this mid-20th century. A new world order is in the making.

We have it within our power to lead the way in shaping a better and happier world for future generations of Americans.

As we face this challenge, let us remember that we are a nation born in the revolutionary spirit. Let us not forget that life or death for our Nation will be measured by the devotion we give to the great moral and political principles which unite us as a free people.

(Manion Forum Network, Dec. 1960)

A documentary biography of Taras Shevchenko, entitled "Europe's Freedom Fighter, Taras Shevchenko, 1814—1861, Ukraine's poet laureate and national hero", has been published as Document No. 445. 86th Congress of the USA, 2nd Session, House of Representatives, by the United States Government Printing Office, Washington, in 1960. We publish excerpts of this document on pages 28—31.

The Greatest Idea of the 20th Century

It is with considerable scepticism that one usually hears and reads superlatives. And this is hardly surprising, for the press, the radio and the television nowadays so often use superlatives which then turn out to be nothing but exaggerations, empty platitudes and ridiculous nonsense. If in spite of all these misgivings I use a superlative in the title of this article, then I do so for a serious reason.

During the past decades and years there have been and still are today many political conceptions for the solution of part-questions and also of the entire complex of questions concerning the present international situation. But none of these conceptions can solve the main question at issue in the present political situation.

The most vital question at the moment is how to win the cold war against Russia for the freedom of the peoples. There are various political conceptions for the solution of this question, but so far all of them proved erroneous. Moscow's conception is one that so far has led almost exclusively to success and victory for Moscow. There is no other big conception to oppose Moscow's conception. There are only ideas for part-solutions or for false solutions, — that is to say, with one exception, namely the political conception of the ABN.

The political conception of the ABN came into being during World War II, when it became obvious to the founders of the ABN that the alliance between the Western democracies and Soviet Russia was bound to bring disaster to Europe and the rest of the world. Political events since the end of World War II have fully corroborated these fears. Although it has been plain to the leading politicians of the free world and to the broad masses for years that all political conceptions in the 20th century, with the exception of the Russian conception, have failed, the political leaders of the Western powers still refuse to adopt the only possible and natural counter-conception, namely that of the ABN.

No one has been able to refute the correctness of the ideas of the ABN and of the entire political conception. Indeed, this conception has never had to be altered. It is as natural and clear as any really great idea, and, incidentally, the Soviet Russian rulers fear it more than any other political conception.

The aim of the ABN is to do away with the Communist despotic system and to disintegrate the Russian imperium into free and independent national states. And the ABN intends to realize this idea in the entire Soviet Russian sphere of influence, too.

This conception is based on the right of self-determination of the peoples and applies to the actual conditions in the Soviet Russian sphere of influence. There can be no doubt about the fact that all the peoples subjugated by Russia wish to restore their own sovereign national states. It is therefore ridiculous for anyone to deny that these ancient civilized peoples are striving for complete national freedom and independence, and, at the same time, to affirm that the population of the Congo, Ghana or of any other former or still existent colonial territory in Africa want to be politically independent. There is, moreover, sufficient concrete proof of the freedom and independence aims of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union and the satellite countries. According to the principles of the right of self-determination, those peoples, too, have a right to free and independent states who have never previously been nationally independent; but in our case the peoples concerned are all ancient civilized peoples who possessed their own sovereign national states prior to Russian Communist aggression and expansion. The conception of the ABN is thus based not only on the laws of nature, but also on history and on international law.

ABN demands the restoration, or, to be more explicit, the liberation of those

states which already existed as sovereign states prior to Russian expansion. Whether we quote as an example Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Byelorussia, Esthonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Roumania, Slovakia, Hungary or Bulgaria, etc., all the peoples and countries concerned in this case are those which were independent national states before they were incorporated in the Russian peoples' prison. All these peoples, who today are languishing under the Russian Communist yoke, have never renounced their statehood and their national freedom. With the exception of the Russians themselves, none of these peoples have of their own free will chosen the Communist system of despotism. Both Russian supremacy and Communist dictatorship could only be enforced in these countries by violence, namely by means of the Russian armies. This is also one reason why Moscow hypocritically calls the Russian imperium the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics", in order to camouflage the conquest of the non-Russian peoples and countries, and why Moscow after World War II did not venture to incorporate the newly captured countries and peoples in the Soviet Union officially, but, at least on paper, allowed them to continue to exist outside the Soviet Union. But this procedure, which is only meant to deceive the free world, cannot alter the fact that all the satellite countries with their Communist puppet governments are only provinces of the "Great Russian" imperium.

The masses and at least the leading political circles of the free world should realize at last that the non-Russian peoples subjugated by Moscow are not only opposed to the Communist ideology and dictatorship but also to Russian and every other kind of foreign rule. All these peoples aim to restore their free and independent states and wish to lead their own free life in them. This, incidentally, is also an answer to the question of possibly setting up supra-national state structures. According to the consistent application of the right of self-determination of the peoples, they are at liberty to form state unions on a large scale with other peoples and states in their own interests and under certain conditions.

In the opinion of the ABN, this question should, however, be left exclusively to the individual peoples after their liberation. No one has the right to try to bind our peoples before their liberation to a solution of this kind, or to force them to accept it after their liberation. All conceptions to the contrary constitute an abuse and violation of the right of self-determination of the peoples.

Such is the conception upheld by the ABN! It is logical, lucid and in no way ambiguous. Morally and politically there can be no objection to it, unless one wants to disregard the principles of democracy, of the right of self-determination of the peoples and the trends of the times. This is the only conception which can save the world from the danger of Communism and Russian imperialism and can ensure a sound and healthy development, in the spirit of the successful national anti-Bolshevik fight for freedom, in the present Russian Communist sphere of influence.

From the outset, ABN has resolutely upheld and proclaimed this conception. In the early years, we were regarded as extremists and fantasists. But since then, the free world has been robbed of many of its illusions and has gained in experience. More and more clearly does it now recognize the true character of Russian imperialism. And more and more leading political personalities in the countries of the free world are now acknowledging the truth of the ABN conception and are beginning to support the ideas of ABN. In doing so, however, they often discreetly conceal the fact that these are the ideas of ABN.

The ideas upheld by ABN are common property for the entire free and freedom-loving world. The key to the realization of these ideas, however, lies in the hands of the authorized spokesmen of the ABN. And only a summit conference with the leading personalities of ABN, the legal spokesmen and representatives of the non-Russian peoples subjugated by Moscow, can point the way to a victory over Moscow.

Turkestan as a Stepping-Stone of Russian Propaganda

Soviet contact organizations for Asia and Africa

From day to day and from year to year, Soviet activity in the Orient is increasing. However transparent it may be, it nevertheless is to some extent successful.

To this end Soviet Russia uses Turkestan, the most compact Moslem country in the U.S.S.R. with 25 million inhabitants, which, on the strength of its central position, has ancient cultural and religious ties with its Islamic neighbours. Since Russia has no cultural and ethnographical relations with the Orient, it now penetrates the Islamic countries via Turkestan and is establishing contacts here. Moscow has thus very astutely invented a new terminology for Turkestan. It rarely speaks of "Central Asia" but, rather, of the "Soviet Orient". In this way it makes it obvious that it has concentrated its entire Orient policy in Turkestan and that the Orient is now divided into a free and a Soviet Orient. In this connection, however, Moscow constantly takes good care to talk about the alleged independence and "freedom" of the Soviet Orient and to proclaim the "fight against colonialism" in speeches and articles.

Since 1955 the Soviets have spared neither pains, work nor expense in order to establish contacts in the Orient. To this end, trustworthy Turkestanian Communists have been trained and employed, whose task it is to get into touch with Asia and African politicians, with representatives of the intellectual world, with the working classes and with the clergy. The following Soviet organizations have been formed since 1955 in order to facilitate these contacts:

"Soviet Solidarity Committee for the Asian and African Countries", "Soviet Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries", "Soviet Committee for Cultural Relations with the Arab Orient", "State Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries in the Ministerial Council of the Soviet Union", "Soviet Peace Committee", "Soviet Committee for Contacts with the Permanent Bureau of Asian and African Writers", "Soviet Committee for the Defense of Freedom", and writers' unions in the five Soviet republics of Turkestan.

It would take up too much space to list all the Soviet contact organizations, for they are countless in number. In addition, there are also special Soviet organizations for every individual Oriental people, such as, for instance, — and we mention only a few — "Society for Soviet-Iraki Friendship", "League for Ceylon-Soviet Friendship", "Soviet-Indian Friendship and Cultural Relations", "Society for Soviet-Indonesian Friendship", "Society for Soviet-Afghan Friendship", "Society for Soviet-Japanese Friendship", etc., etc.

All these organizations are represented in the five Soviet republics of Turkestan, that is Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tadzhikistan, Kirgizstan and Kazakhstan, as so-called independent organizations, as for instance the "Kazakh" or "Uzbek Society to Promote Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries". They have their own heads, their own presidiums and own administrations, but in reality they are merely branch-organizations which act according to Moscow's instructions. In this way Moscow wishes to show the alleged independence of the Soviet republics, but, at the same time, stress that these republics allegedly consist of five different peoples who can establish contacts with the free Islamic countries of their own free will and independently. In reality, however, there is only *one* Turkestanian people with a common language, culture and tradition.

If one bears in mind how many Soviet contact organizations there are in the Orient — and they can all be multiplied by the outwardly independent organizations of the

five Soviet republics of Turkestan, one realizes how much importance the Soviet Russians attach to these contacts. The same also holds good in the case of the Caucasian Moslems.

In addition, each of these organizations is divided up into special sections for special spheres. The "Society for Friendship with Peoples of Uzbekistan" consists of special sections for theatre, music, films, architecture, exact sciences and photography, and Soviet scientists, artists and journalists, at the instructions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, play an active part in the work of these sections.

It is the task of all these Soviet societies to strengthen friendly and cultural relations in the Orient, from Afghanistan to Indonesia, in the Soviet sense and to establish contacts with these countries. They very astutely make use of various methods in carrying out this task. For instance, they send delegations to Asia and Africa, they arrange congresses for the Asian and African peoples in Tashkent, they organize writers' congresses, they despatch Soviet literature, gramophone records, culture films, documentary pictures about the alleged Soviet progress and achievements in the Soviet republics of Turkestan, they exchange information, they arrange special evenings on the occasion of national days of other states in Tashkent, and they celebrate the anniversaries of outstanding scholars and artists of the peoples of Asia and Africa.

Naturally, delegates from the countries in question are invited to these functions. And the governments in question have usually no other choice but to send delegates to functions at which their national days or their national heroes are celebrated.

On such occasions, agitators are employed by the Soviets who know the country in question from personal experience and are familiar with conditions there and with the mentality of the population. The main theme of the occasion is then the "fight against Western colonialism" and "friendship with the Soviet Union". They talk about the so-called freedom and independence of the Soviet republics of Turkestan, which are held up as an example to Asia and Africa.

Sharif Shirinbaj(ev), the chairman of the "Uzbek Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries", formulated these tactics as follows:

"Foreign visitors to Uzbekistan, in particular guests from the Orient, do not conceal either their enthusiasm or their amazement at our achievements and ask us the reason for the economic and cultural development of the Republic. We make no secret of the fact that the basis of our achievements lies in the socialist order, in the Leninist policy of national equality, in brotherly mutual aid and in the friendship of peoples."

It is perfectly obvious that the Soviet Russians wish to influence the intellectual elite of the Orient in their way of thinking by means of these contact organizations and to use them as an instrument in winning over the masses. They concentrate their attention in particular on young persons, since they are convinced that the next generation is of far greater importance than the present one.

The Soviet Russians are well aware of the strong influence of the clergy on the population of the Islamic states. In order to establish contact with the mullahs, imams, sheiks and muftis, that is with the Islamic clergy, they have founded four centres of Islam under their atheistic system, namely the following:

"Central Bureau for the Spiritual Administration of the Moslems of Turkestan" (for Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tadzhikistan, Kirgizstan, Kazakhstan), the "Central Bureau for the Spiritual Administration of the Moslems of Trans-Caucasia" (for Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia), the "Central Bureau for the Spiritual Administration of the Moslems of North Caucasia and Daghestan", and the "Central Bureau for the

Spiritual Administration of the Moslems of the European part of the Soviet Union and Siberia" (for the Tatars, Chuvashes, Bashkirs and Siberians).

The representative and religious head of each of these "Spiritual Administrations" is a mufti, who is likewise appointed by Moscow and is trustworthy enough to disseminate Soviet propaganda and policy in the Orient. So far, all the persons appointed to this office have carried out these tasks to Moscow's satisfaction. In order to be able to control and coordinate the work of the central bureaus and muftis more easily, a presidium consisting of the four central bureaus and muftis was founded. It comprises 15 members, most of whom are members or adherents of the Communist Party and have russified names.

The population is by no means disposed towards these "Red Muftis", for they are, after all, only provincial governors, as it were, of Moscow.

The extent to which Soviet attempts to establish contacts with the Orient have succeeded can be seen from official reports. According to the data given in these reports, 874 foreign delegations numbering 4716 persons, mainly from the Asian and African countries, visited Turkestan and, in particular, Uzbekistan during the years from 1956 to 1959.

All the Soviet contact organizations in Turkestan, even though they may have different names and heads, in principle have the same aim and task: to effect the infiltration of the Communist ideology in Asia and Africa and to conceal the colonial status of their own country, Turkestan. They collaborate closely with the Soviet embassies in Asia and Africa, which help them to establish contacts. It goes without saying that Soviet Russian foreign policy reaps the benefits of the activity of these questionable "organizations of friendship".

A. Furmar

The Revolutionary United Front in Soviet Concentration Camps

Soviet concentration camps can rightly be described as a Soviet Union on a smaller scale. And in this respect I am speaking from five years' experience. Even in the smallest concentration camps one came across practically every nationality, whose native countries are occupied by the Russian Bolshevik colonial imperialists, — from Ukrainians to Armenians. In addition, there were also prisoners from the satellite states, that is to say Bulgarians, Poles, Hungarians, Koreans, Roumanians and persons from East Germany. People from East, Central and Southeast Europe, from Central Asia and the Far East were thus concentrated in an extremely small area. And each camp was a true copy of the Russian colonial imperium.

Since the majority of prisoners, prior to being sentenced, had played an active part in the national fight for freedom of their peoples — either as members of the underground or in the ranks of the insurgent armies, the camp in which they were now imprisoned was to some extent characterized by the atmosphere of a concentrated political

elite. The social origin of the individual was immaterial. Whether they were students, officers, common soldiers, peasants, scholars, clergymen or workers, they all had a common past and a common present, — a radical and uncompromising fight against Russian Bolshevik colonial imperialism. They also had a common aim, — the forcible annihilation of the regime. And they were unanimously agreed as to the means by which this was to be achieved, — namely by a revolution!

The camp was thus a collecting point for national revolutionaries from all the subjugated countries. Contrary to the intentions of the secret police, the setting up of concentration camps had led to a positive result, namely the creation of a united front by the most courageous and cleverest prisoners.

The strongest revolutionary liberation army against Moscow after 1948 consisted of the political prisoners, that is to say those who had been sentenced to a penitentiary or "katorga", and for this reason it was called the "Katorshnaja Armja" or penitentiary army. In the summer of 1953, when the first

big riots broke out, this army numbered over twenty million men and women. After the war there were only two armies which were capable of seriously undermining the power of the Russian Bolshevik colonial regime. These were the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) under the leadership of General Taras Chuprynka and the "Katorshnaja Armija", which was distributed throughout the entire Soviet Union and was concentrated in the important industrial areas (Vorkutbas, Kusbas, Kazakhstan).

From 1948 onwards, the centre of gravity of the liberation fight thus shifted more and more to those regions in which the interned national revolutionaries were concentrated. The secret police had planned to isolate the latter, but exactly the opposite had occurred. The concentration of the "nationalist elements" proved advantageous for their concentrated counter-attacks. Whatever fighting methods the "Katorshnaja Armija" used — strikes, sabotage, assault or riots, their effects made themselves felt far beyond the confines of the camps. The riots of 1953 shook the foundations of the entire imperium. Government headquarters in Moscow were obliged to send their "most successful and outstanding" subjugation generals to the areas in which the riots had broken out. These generals were headed by the Chief Public Prosecutor Rudenko, with whom the legal representatives of the Western democracies shook hands in Nuremberg in 1946!

We should like to stress once more, — the "Katorshnaja Armija" not only fought for the interests of the prisoners; it was also for over a decade the legitimate army of the united revolutionaries of all the subjugated peoples, and hence it fought for the all-embracing aims of all the national liberation movements in the Russian Bolshevik colonial regime, for freedom, independence and democracy. The most important precondition for this revolutionary united front behind barbed wire was solidarity, — solidarity of peoples and of individuals. Solidarity was the only solid basis on which a victory could be attained, — a truly international solidarity!

Which were the most significant national groups in the united front? Mention must in the first place be made of the Ukrainians. The Ukrainian underground leaders in Vorkuta estimated at the beginning of 1953 that at least one-fourth of the Ukrainian people was incarcerated in the concentration camps at that time. Hence, there were about ten million Ukrainians in the "Katorshnaja Armija" in 1953.

The Lithuanians (about half a million prisoners) came second, the Georgians and North Caucasians (Cherkessens, Ossetians, Daghestanians), likewise numbering about

half a million, came third, and the Latvians (about 300,000) fourth. Next in order of importance as regards numbers were the Estonians, Turkestanians (Turkmens, Uzbeks, Tadzhiks, Kazakhs), Tatars, Armenians, Byelorussians, Azerbaijanians, Buriats and Persians. The satellite states were represented above all by the Hungarians, Roumanians, Poles and East Germans. Czech, Albanian, Croat, Slovak and Bulgarian prisoners in the Soviet concentration camps were relatively very few in number, owing to the fact that the majority of interned freedom fighters of these countries were imprisoned in the concentration camps in their own occupied countries. Although they numbered millions, the German and Japanese prisoners-of-war only played a very small part in the riots and strikes. The reason for this lay, in the first place, in the fact that they were prisoners-of-war and not political fighters; and, secondly, they were for the most part interned in special camps, where they had no possibility of establishing direct contact with the "Katorshnaja Armija".

As has already been stressed, the Ukrainians constituted the largest contingent within the revolutionary united front. Their importance lay not only in their numerical strength, but also in the fact that their contingent combined three factors of vital significance to the revolutionary fight: 1) the masses; 2) the elite; 3) the leadership, — namely the three most essential parts of a strong army. Soldiers, officers and professional revolutionaries came from the ranks of the Ukrainians. They had all, at some time or other, engaged in active combat, — apart from those who were very young and had only joined the political underground as schoolchildren or students after the war. At least 70 per cent of the Ukrainian prisoners had belonged to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). A cadre of a few thousand functionaries of the OUN constituted the ideological backbone of the contingent. There was no campaign, no strike, riot or act of sabotage in which the Ukrainians did not play a leading part; and this was the case in Vorkuta as it was in Norylsk, Kingir, Taishet, Karaganda, Wiatka, Mordovia, Kolyma and Inta.

With the exception of small misunderstandings, which were, however, always settled very quickly, the collaboration of the Ukrainian contingent with the other national contingents in the united front was excellent. The Baltic, Caucasian and Central Asian groups accepted the claim to leadership of the Ukrainians, though it must be stressed that it was precisely these smaller groups which produced many an excellent leader. Cooperation with the prisoners from the satellite countries was likewise good. It was indeed gratifying to see how the Ukrainians

collaborated with the Poles and the Germans without the least trace of resentment. The Ukrainians had on previous occasions suffered much injustice at the hands of both the Poles and the Germans, but this grim past was forgotten in camp and all that counted was the daily opposition against the subjugators.

I do not intend to discuss the Russians (who constituted the smallest contingents in all the camps) in detail. If the Russians behaved like chauvinists and decried the other nations as "traitors to the fatherland" and "separatists", they were automatically boycotted. It must however be admitted in all fairness that some of them allowed themselves to be converted in the positive sense and joined forces with the revolutionary united front of the non-Russian peoples.

The first proof of the excellent way in which the revolutionary united front functioned was the riot in Vorkuta in 1948, an incident about which practically nothing is known in the West even to this day. It was, incidentally, the first operation of the "Katorschnaja Armija", at a time when dreadful physical hardships were endured. The riot was planned and organized by a former colonel of the Red Army by the name of Metchetejev. He had been sent to the concentration camp for having expressed nationalist views; he soon held a leading position in the Caucasian underground front in the camp, for he was a Caucasian. In September 1948, during the Berlin blockade (the prisoners were convinced that war was about to break out), Metchetejev effected a breakthrough from the camp with shock-troops, disarmed the guards, liberated the camps nearby and then marched eastwards, towards the Urals, with an army of 70,000 men, which by now also included many deportees and former soldiers of the Red Army. He intended launching a partisan campaign in the impenetrable forests of the Urals, but twenty-four hours later the secret police carried out an attack with heavy ammunition and aircraft, and in spite of its heroic resistance, the army was annihilated in the tundra. No prisoners were captured.

The fact that a riot broke out was due not only to the activity of Metchetejev, but also to the initiative of the leaders of the Ukrainian front in Vorkuta. The bulk of the 70,000 strong army consisted of Ukrainians and without their active cooperation a riot would never have been possible. Metchetejev's personal courage and tactical skill would have been of little avail, had not the leaders of the Ukrainian underground agreed to his plan. But the latter had been in favour of launching an attack because of the general international situation. In the subsequent

riots, too, everything depended on the decision of the Ukrainians.

What is the position of the revolutionary united front today? A certain change has undoubtedly taken place. But it is a change for the better. And a number of incidents are proof of this. Since the middle of last year the Soviet Union is being disturbed by a wave of strikes, which are concentrated mainly in Siberia and Ukraine. There have been strikes by workers in industrial concerns in Rostov, Nikolajev and Charkov, and in the Siberian industrial towns of Kemerovo and Barnaul. In addition, there was also an armed riot in Temir Tau in October 1959.

Never before has there been such a wave of strikes in the Soviet Union. Indeed, it is the most gratifying and promising indication of the present liberation fight against Moscow. And it is also proof that the revolutionary united front of the concentration camp prisoners and deportees continues to exist and has even increased in size. Incidentally, the fact must also be taken into account that, as a result of the partial disbanding of certain camps during the years 1955 and 1956, the freedom fighters who were released on the strength of the amnesty were given an opportunity to establish close contact with the "free" population and thus mobilize them for the fight for freedom. These freedom fighters were not allowed to return home but were obliged to continue working in the vicinity of the camps in which they had been interned. This applies in the case of Kemerovo and Barnaul, both of which are situated in areas of former concentration camps and are now populated mainly by nationalists released on the strength of the amnesty, by persons deported during the war and by young persons deported during recent years. There can be no doubt about the fact that former concentration camp prisoners played an important part and probably the leading part in organizing and carrying out the strikes in Barnaul and Kemerovo.

The strikes in the Ukrainian towns are undoubtedly the work of the underground front of the Ukrainian nationalists which is becoming increasingly active. Just as was the case in the riots of 1948, 1953 and 1954, the main burden of the fight for freedom is today, too, borne by the Ukrainian nationalists. The decisive battles of the future peoples' revolution will in any case be fought in Ukraine and Siberia. The revolutionary united front lives on, both inside and outside the concentration camps. And it is an important means of paving the way for the victory of the subjugated peoples over Russian Bolshevik colonialism!

Intensified Attack of KGB*) on Fighting Ukraine

During the past few years massed attacks by Moscow on the revolutionary liberation movements of the subjugated peoples of East Europe and, in particular, on the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) have been in evidence. Indeed, in the years 1959 and 1960 they assumed immense proportions: the murder of Stefan Bandera, a defamatory campaign against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), lies circulated with regard to the "Nightingale" battalion, and mock trials for war crimes at which the OUN and the UPA were accused of the murders committed by the NKVD and the Gestapo.

All these methods are intended as a means to defame the fighters for freedom, truth, justice and national independence. But this campaign has not had the desired results. The fight against Bolshevist Russia continues. The prisoners in the concentration camps, the majority of them Ukrainians, rise up against Russian tyranny, the Ukrainian workers in the towns go on strike (a fact which is corroborated by the foreign press) and in this way demonstrate their fight for the national and social rights of their people.

The establishment of "Captive Nations Week" is proof that in the United States of America, too, the idea of the liberation of the subjugated peoples is gradually gaining ground. True, "Captive Nations Week" has so far not led to any practical results, but a manifestation of this kind nevertheless has a certain moral and ideological value.

The OUN in particular appreciates moral and ideological values, on which practically the whole course of history actually depends. The ideas of Christian Kyiv, of militant Ukrainian liberation nationalism and, in fact, the idea of Ukraine are — and have again and again proved to be — stronger than the false Russian ideas that have been introduced by force. The Russian Bolshevist system has failed to re-train and change the Ukrainian people, the Ukrainian individual and still less the youth of Ukraine. In Temir Tau (Kazakhstan) Ukrainian youth even resorted to an open revolutionary fight. Moscow has not succeeded in destroying the national consciousness of the young people of Ukraine by forcibly removing them from their country, nor in killing their faith in God and in Ukraine. There is sufficient proof of this fact even in the Bolshevist press. Indeed, all this is perfectly understandable, for the Christian faith has existed in Ukraine for over a thousand years and as a religion cannot simply be removed from the world or exterminated in man's heart. Not even the forcible introduction of a false anti-Christian doctrine throughout a period of forty years can succeed in doing so.

Ukrainian militant nationalism is united with faith in God and hence has become an invincible force; together with similar dynamic movements on the part of other subjugated peoples, it has developed into an explosive force in the Russian imperium, and even murder and treachery, Russia's unchangeable methods, have failed to conquer it.

When the Russian Bolsheviks fail to achieve the desired results by means of physical terrorism, they resort to provocation, defamation, cunning and treachery, etc. But what do they achieve by such methods? What did Judas achieve by betraying Christ? The Judases of this world do not prove the inadequacy of an idea; they are merely proof of the wretchedness of their souls or of the vile methods of the

*) Committee for State Security — Editor's note.

tyrants. Not they, but the heroes who in the fight save the last bullet for themselves so as not to fall into the hands of the hangmen alive, convince us that the ultimate victory belongs to them and their successors.

Moscow did not achieve the desired success with the murder of Stefan Bandera. The liberation movement has not been crushed but continues to grow; the fight goes on and the OUN will continue to be active not only in Ukraine but also in all other parts of the Russian imperium where there are deportees.

In order to break the moral resistance of the people, Moscow organizes mock trials and other public occasions, at which it causes hired traitors and agents to appear and defame and deny the liberation idea. The KGB assigns special roles to all these persons, thus increasing their importance. This, too, is an old method out of the arsenal of the GPU-NKVD, but it is too notorious to have any influence whatever on the people or to have any significance as evidence. Did not Marshal Tuchatchevsky admit in court that he was an agent of the German Reichswehr? The founders and leaders of the Bolshevik Party — Kamenev, Sinoviev, Rykov and Budharin — have to be the un-“admitted“ agents of foreign espionage centres! Was not the head of the NKVD, Jagoda, reproached with having been an English agent? Was Beria not reproached with the same thing? The MVD, too, produced scores of witnesses to “prove“ that some person or other who happened to be in their hands had played a particularly dangerous and treacherous part, but who is likely to believe this!

We might very nearly have even witnessed the trials of Malenkov, Kaganovich, Zhukov and Molotov on a charge of being spies of the CIA of Allen Dulles. Even Khrushchov, after a conversation on the phone with Stalin, was never sure whether he would get home alive, or whether he would not admit, if brought to trial, that he had been Hitler's agent. No one is likely to believe that the testimony given by persons in the pay of the MVD is true.

All the efforts on the part of the KGB today are intended to prove that the OUN and the UPA no longer exist and, what is more, that there is no longer any basis for resistance. But the compulsory testimony of the persons arrested by the MVD and the statements of the persons hired by the MVD are contradictory to the feverish extermination activity of the MVD and to the resolution of the Party regarding the need for increased vigilance towards “bourgeois nationalism“.

Foreigners who return from Ukraine and tourists again and again corroborate the fact that the OUN continues to be active there. Further proof of their activity can be seen from the riots carried out during the Hungarian revolt and the simultaneous acts of sabotage in the Carpathians, where transports of troops and ammunition were intercepted between Western Ukraine and Hungary and had to be diverted via Roumania, riots on the part of Ukrainian nationalists in the concentration camps at Vorkuta, Norylsk, Magadan, Mordovia, Kingiri, Karaganda and Temir Tau in 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956 and 1959, strikes in Ukraine, which even foreign observers have reported, and countless trials, etc. Is there really no basis for an underground movement? What is the meaning of these insurrections? What is the meaning of the mass deportations that are carried out? Why did the young persons who had been deported to Kazakhstan revolt in Temir Tau in October 1959?

It has been stressed again and again in the resolutions of the Central Committee of the Party that the “nationalist traitors“ are active everywhere; and that the Party members must be vigilant, since the nationalist monsters constantly grow new heads. Is there no basis for the nationalist underground movement? Why then does the Soviet Russian press affirm that institutes, administration, economy, schools and even the army are infested with nationalists? What is more, — the official organ of the Soviet Ukrainian “government“, “Radianska Ukraina“, in its edition of Septem-

ber 29, 1960, No. 228, reported on a "republican" conference in Kyiv, which was attended by the regional prosecutors, the regional Party secretaries, the presidents of the regional courts, the public prosecutors of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic and the entire U.S.S.R., the Minister of the Interior of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic and other high-ranking police commissars. The subject of this conference was the strengthening of the "Soviet legal order". What is meant by this? Was this conference not directed against the OUN? If the Ukrainian underground movement no longer existed, it would not have been necessary to summon the chief prosecutor of the U.S.S.R., Rudenko, and his co-workers from Moscow to Kyiv for some trivial matter or other! Or did all these Bolshevist functionaries assemble for a funeral repast? Were they celebrating the alleged liquidation ten years ago of a certain organization, or were they discussing how to continue combatting this organization? All these contradictions clearly prove that the proverbial mendacity of the Russian Bolsheviks in this case was not thorough enough.

What is Moscow aiming at in this respect? It wants to prevent the West from rightly assessing the Ukrainian underground movement. The latter is not to be regarded by the West as a decisive factor in the world fight against Bolshevism. In fact, the national anti-Communist movement is to be discredited in the eyes of the West. But the West is at long last beginning to become better acquainted with the national revolutionary movements in East Europe. And the free West is thus taking the first step towards destroying the Russian Bolshevist imperium. In order to nip this understanding in the bud, however, Moscow circulates all these lies in public. By means of treachery, mendacity, provocation and a lot of shouting, Moscow thinks it can drown the sound of thunder from the underground.

Time has also been a factor which has been taken into account by Moscow when circulating all these lies and fabrications regarding the "Nightingale" battalion, etc. Today, colonialism is discussed the world over and in particular in the plenum of the UNO. In order to divert the attention of the free world from a discussion on Soviet Russian colonialism, Moscow resorts to blaring forth propaganda and maintains that all is in order in its imperium and that its peoples are perfectly content with their lot. This, too, is the reason why the Soviet Russian police makes use of various people, or even resurrects some persons from the dead, or forces nonentities to give testimony and to repent of their previous activity and affirm that the Soviet regime is an excellent regime. But all this Russian treachery and cunning cannot break the backbone of the national revolutionary movements in the Soviet Union. The fight continues and is steadily assuming greater proportions, so that it now even includes disillusioned Communists. Did not the Hungarian Communist Maleter take sides with the Hungarian nationalists against Russia? Are there not men such as Maleter amongst the Ukrainians, too? We have but to recall the fact that Ukrainian soldiers — the famous Volhynian Regiment — dealt the first blow against the tsarist regime in Petersburg.

OUN — these three letters symbolize the national fight for freedom and state independence. And in this respect it is not the individual who plays a decisive part, even though some individuals may weaken when tortured. The weakness of a minority is by no means proof of the weakness of an eternal Christian idea! It is the people as a whole that is the deciding factor which guarantees the strength of the idea of independence. Individuals fight and die, a few give up, but the idea lives on for ever. It is realized by the millions fighting under the leadership of the revolutionary OUN, and the spirit of resistance of these millions cannot be broken, nor can they be physically or morally crushed. The OUN is the spokesman of these millions at home and abroad alike and, as far as Moscow is concerned, is as unattainable and as invincible as the people of Ukraine itself. Many enemies of the Ukrainian

people have on numerous occasions affirmed that they would destroy this national revolutionary organization, but again and again life has proved its vitality. And this vitality continues to exist beyond all doubt even today.

We are aware that Moscow will intensify its attacks again and again and that these attacks will assume new forms, but this will all be in vain. We have already won many victories and suffered many defeats, but in the end victory will be ours, for we uphold the most progressive and most just idea of our age: freedom for nations, freedom for individuals, with God for our country and with God against the Antichrist of Moscow; for the destruction of the last and most ruthless peoples' prison in the world; for the national independent states of all nations, against slavery, and for a free and productive life!

D. Kosmovic

Russian Colonialism in Byelorussia

A Brief Historical Survey

Of the 200 million peoples controlled by Russia in the Soviet Union, only about 70 million are Russians. The remaining population consists of numerous other nationalities, of which the largest in Europe are the Ukrainians with a population of about 45 million, and the Byelorussians with a population of about 18 million in their ethnographical territories of 317 000 sq. kilometres (but only 12.5 million people in their present political boundaries with an area of 210 600 sq. kilometres). According to the tsarist Russian census of 1897 ("Bolshaya Sovetskaya Enciklopediya, 1927, pp. 353, 385) and as proved by Prof. Karsky in his work "Byelorussians", Vol. I, Warsaw, 1903, p. 189-190, there were 10 300 000 Byelorussians in their own territories, which number should have been at least doubled if not trebled in the course of a hundred years, since the total number of Byelorussians recorded in the 1851 census was 17.9 million. In 1919 to 1921, about one-third of the Byelorussian ethnical territory was annexed by the Russian S.S.R. with a population of slightly over 5.5 million people, who were recorded as Russians.

The Byelorussians are a people completely distinct from the Russians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians and Poles, with their own individual language, culture, traditions and history, which go back to earliest times. The present capital of the country is Minsk.

At the time of the Russian revolution, in December 1917, the Byelorussian National Congress, consisting of 1872 delegates representing every party, convened in Minsk and formed the first Byelorussian Government. On March 25, 1918, the Council of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic (with the rights of a parliament) proclaimed the independence of Byelorussia as a free, sovereign,

democratic Republic within its ethnographical territories. Equality, freedom of religion, conscience, speech and press, the right to hold meetings, and free use of language were guaranteed to all people living in Byelorussia, regardless of their race, religion, nationality or social status.

But this newly created state of Byelorussia — a country which for centuries had been obliged to endure Polish and later Russian domination, — since its army was young and small and received no assistance from any other country, was soon defeated by the Bolsheviks. They promptly occupied Byelorussia and in 1919 formed the Soviet Byelorussian Republic, with a government appointed by Moscow. The government of the Independent Byelorussian Republic was forced to go into exile (Prague, Czecho-Slovakia).

Later, by the Treaty of Riga on March 18, 1921, the Byelorussian territory was divided between Soviet Russia and Poland, both of them hostile to Byelorussian independence and both of them intentionally endeavouring to misrepresent Byelorussia's history, political and cultural movements and progress. About two-thirds of Byelorussia were annexed by Soviet Russia and about one-third by Poland.

On June 27, 1944, when a favourable opportunity presented itself, the Second General Congress was convened. Once more it proclaimed the Independent Byelorussian Democratic Republic (1039 delegates), thus confirming all the decisions reached by the First Byelorussian Congress of March 25, 1918, but, once more, this Republic was abolished after the Soviet Russian victory.

From the very outset, the principle proclaimed by the Bolsheviks of national self-determination by the people was ignored by

the Soviet Russian regime in Byelorussia. In 1919, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic was established, within diminished ethnographical boundaries and with a government that was entirely dependent on Moscow. Defeated and dispersed loyal Byelorussians formed guerilla units and hit back at the Bolsheviks, whose official statistics admitted that during the early years following the Revolution there were about 50 such organized units operating in the territory of the Byelorussian Soviet Republic. The strongest insurrection occurred in the Slutsk district (November 1920), where 10 000 troops, after several victorious combats with the Bolsheviks, were forced to retreat into Poland, since they had no more supplies of ammunition. Some of them were then interned in Poland, whilst others returned to Soviet Byelorussia. The last Byelorussian patriotic guerilla unit was destroyed by the Bolsheviks in the autumn of 1929, in the Dukor-Rudenski region, 30 kilometres from the capital, Minsk.

National movements, especially in Ukraine and Byelorussia, were strong, and the Communist Party was forced to give a certain amount of freedom, not political, but in regard to the development of cultural life, which was flourishing fast. Byelorussian literature expanded rapidly, since it had a large number of writers and poets, mainly of peasant origin. Thousands of elementary and secondary schools and a number of colleges and universities were opened, many scientific and cultural societies were founded, and countless books, periodicals and papers were published. It was a period of renaissance in Byelorussian literature, art, science and culture. But, unfortunately, it only lasted until 1930, when the Communist Party, afraid lest national motives might be deeper and stronger than social ones, changed its national policy. Simultaneously, it introduced the collectivization of agriculture and began to suppress the cultural life of Byelorussia.

The first victims of this change were members of the leading Byelorussian intelligentsia; high officials, as for instance, Zhylunovich (First Byelorussian Prime Minister), Pryshchepau (Minister of Agriculture), and the outstanding Byelorussian statesman, Adamovich, — about thirty persons in all — were removed from office and replaced by Russians. Some of these persons were liquidated, others were sent to concentration or hard-labour camps, whilst others committed suicide. Later, a similar fate befell many famous Byelorussian scholars, professors, and scientists, about 60 persons in all, who included the Vice-President of the Byelorussian Academy of Science and the founder of the Institute of Byelorussian Culture. About 80 famous writers and poets of the older generation and about 600 young writers, poets and journalists were likewise liquidated.

In his article (in Russian) entitled "Byelorussian Culture and Totalitarianism" (p. 109), published in Munich, Germany, in 1953 by the Institute for the Study of the History and Culture of the U.S.S.R., V. Sedura states: "Between 1930 and 1936, several thousand of the most talented representatives of the Byelorussian intelligentsia were arrested and sent to concentration camps. Out of more than 500 poets and writers, who belonged to the All-Byelorussian literary association "Maladnysk", there was left only one man, — Yakimovich, a writer of children's books. Of the literary association "Polymia" only one writer was left, namely Yakub Kolas, whilst from the "Uzvyshaba" association, only three remained." The author then quotes the names of many Byelorussian writers and poets who disappeared from active cultural life for ever.

The books of the writers and poets who were arrested were prohibited, confiscated and burned. At the same time, Moscow also prohibited the celebration of traditional ceremonies, customs and popular holidays, as for instance Christmas, Easter, Kupala, etc., as well as the singing of national folk-songs and the wearing of national dress.

There followed the forcible collectivization of agriculture (from 1929/30 onwards), when about one and a half million Byelorussian peasants, who since they were deeply rooted in national traditions, opposed these measures and were arrested. They were sent without trial to hard labour and concentration camps (in some cases, whole villages), or were deported to north and east Siberia, where, as a result of inhuman living and working conditions, the majority of them perished within a few years' time.

About one million Byelorussians died of starvation during the artificially created famine of 1932-33.

When Soviet Russia occupied part of the Byelorussian territory formerly (between the two world wars) occupied by Poland, about 200 000 Byelorussians were deported to remote regions of the Soviet Union between 1939 and 1941.

During World War II and the early post-war years, about 1.8 million Byelorussians perished as a result of Soviet guerilla activities, German reprisals, normal casualties of soldiers and civilians during the war, and arrests and deportations by the Soviet Russians after the war. Altogether there were about five million Byelorussian victims of the Soviet Russian regime and of the atrocities of the secret police. Of this number, only about one million Byelorussians are still alive in Siberia today.

Since 1930 Soviet Russia has been permanently using about 15 million people in hard labour camps. Indeed, its economy is to a large extent based on the principle of unpaid

labour. This is a government institution, as it were, for when these labourers die, they are replaced by new prisoners. Arrests and deportations are thus continual and quite "normal" from the point of view of the Soviet Russian government.

The religious policy of the Communist Party is notorious, and the following figures regarding Byelorussia speak for themselves. Byelorussian Bishop Aphanasius (formerly Secretary of the Holy Synod), now living in Argentina, in his book "The short historical outline of the Byelorussian Autocephalous Orthodox Church" gives the following data. Before the Revolution, in the Byelorussian provinces of Minsk, Magilev and Vitebsk-Polotsk alone, there were 2445 Orthodox churches and 23 monasteries. By 1941 every one of them had been closed down. All the bishops, priests and monks were arrested, tortured, shot to death or sent to hard labour or concentration camps. Some of the churches were destroyed, others were converted into warehouses, storehouses, cinemas or living quarters. In 1930 the Bolsheviks destroyed the last remaining buildings

that were still in good condition and turned the oldest monastery, that of Baryslahleb, where in the course of time thousands of persons have worshipped God, into a stable.

In conclusion, we should like to point out that deportation of the Ukrainians, Byelorussians and other nationalities has in the past frequently been carried out en masse (sometimes the population of entire villages, or groups of neighbouring villages), whilst the Russian population has been spared in this respect. They have never, or almost never, been deported in masses, and, in proportion to the other nationalities, the number of Russians arrested and deported is strikingly low. The present population of Siberia, which is a conglomeration of different nationalities, consists, in addition to natives, mainly of Ukrainians, about one million Byelorussians, various peoples of the Baltic States, almost the entire population of the Caucasus, countless Hungarians and other nationalities, but only a comparatively small number of Russians, especially in the far north and east, where living conditions are more severe and difficult.

Parallel Between Czarist and Bolshevik Empires

On December 5, Ambassador Tingfu F. Tsiang, Representative of the Chinese Delegation, during the debate on colonialism at the U.N. General Assembly session gave an excellent analysis of the growth of the Russian empire under the Czarist system, with especial emphasis on the Russian drive of conquest in Asia.

"With Mr. Khrushchov as our authority, we can conclude that Russia, at least up to the Revolution of 1917, had a colonial empire, differing but little from the other colonial empires of the world. What he called 'border lands', 'held together only by bayonets and subjugation' included Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Bessarabia, Ukraine, the Caucasus, Central Asia, Eastern Siberia and parts of Manchuria. They covered 15 million square kilometers of land, or about 70 per cent of the total area of the Russian Empire. That is the heritage left by Czarist Russia to Soviet Russia. The all-important question is: 'What has the Soviet Union done with this heritage?'"

In stressing the uninterrupted tradition of Russia as an empire, either under the Czars or the Bolsheviks, Ambassador Tsiang continued:

"At the time of the Revolution of 1917, all former colonial areas of Russia rose in revolt and declared their independence. Some succeeded, some failed. Finland, under Marshal Mannerheim, won her war of independence which was sanctified by the treaty of October 14, 1920. Likewise Poland, under Marshal Pilsudski, by the treaty of February 22, August 11 and July 12. But not the other colonial areas. *Ukrainian independence was suppressed in August 1920, Georgian independence in February 1921, Central Asian independence through a long campaign that lasted from 1922 to 1924 . . .*"

Speaking on the policies of the Kremlin in the non-Russian republics, Ambassador Tsiang said:

“Or let us take Ukraine. According to official Soviet statistics, the population of the Ukrainian Republic is 2.8 times less than that of the population of the Russian Republic, but the number of students in higher schools in Ukraine is 3.6 times less than in the Russian Republic, the number of books and journals per year is 7 times less. There was a time when the culture of Ukraine was ahead of the culture of Russia. One cannot possibly argue that the present state of Ukrainian culture is due to its old backwardness.”

A. Magoma

The North Caucasian State

The freedom-loving North Caucasians defended their liberty and their homeland by joint efforts against invaders of different ages — against the Huns, the Persians, the Mongolians and others. The most fateful of these invasions, however, was that brought by Russian expansion, which began in the eighteenth century. Russia's persistent desire to reach the “warm seas” caused anxiety, not only to the peoples of the Northern Caucasus, but to the Ottoman Empire, as a result of which events connected with the Russo-Turkish wars exercised a great influence upon the political fate of the Northern Caucasus. For example, the Treaty of Belgrade, concluded between Russia and the Ottoman Empire in 1739, fixed the frontier between Russia and the Northern Caucasus along a line running parallel to the river Don at a distance of “ten hours' horse-ride” to the south. At this time, the area inhabited by the North Caucasians amounted to 270,000 square kilometers, and had a population of five million.

After the partition of Poland and the annexation of the Crimea in 1783, the next object of Russian aggression was the Caucasus. During the Caucasian War (1785-1864), the population of the North Caucasian state, under the leadership of their legendary heroes Sheikh Mansur, Ghazi-Mullah, Hamzat-Bek and Shamil, and subsequently that of the Circassian *Mejlis*, or parliament, put up a remarkable resistance to the Tsarist armies. During the Crimean War (1854-55), almost half of the Tsarist army, i. e., 300,000 men, was held down in the Caucasus. The sympathies of the whole of liberal Europe were on the side of the Caucasians. The European press of the time was full of expressions of admiration for the men who were blocking the path of Russian expansion toward the Dardanelles and the countries of the Near and Middle East. Even Karl Marx, despite the fact that the ideal for which the North Caucasians were fighting was not in accord with the principles of philosophical materialism, exclaimed: “The brave Circassians have once again inflicted several serious defeats. Nations, learn from them what people can do who want to remain free!” The war assumed an especially bitter character in the 1840's, after the Russians without any pretext had violated the treaty of friendship signed by General Feze on behalf of the Russians and by Imam Shamil.

Despite all efforts, the Caucasian War ended in disaster for the North Caucasians. In 1864, the Tsarist government expelled to the Ottoman Empire more than one million Caucasians, mostly Circassians, whose descendants are still living in isolated colonies in Turkey and the Arab countries. After this expulsion, the evacuated areas were settled by Russians.

The Northern Caucasus never became reconciled to the Russian conquest. The fires of revolution constantly smoldered beneath the surface, to break out afresh whenever the Russian Empire was in a critical situation or engaged in an international

war. The most important of these outbreaks were the risings of 1877-78, during the Russo-Turkish War, and the rebellion of 1906 after the Russo-Japanese War. The 1917 Revolution, too, bore a decidedly national character in the Caucasus, as in other parts of the Empire. In these regions, the purpose of this upheaval was not simply to replace the Tsarist regime by another government seated in St. Petersburg or in Moscow. The Northern Caucasus was primarily anxious to secede from Russia and recover its former sovereignty.

After the overthrow of the Tsarist regime, the first congress of representatives from all the peoples of the Northern Caucasus was summoned in May 1917 in the city of Vladikavkaz (later Dzauzhikau, now Ordzhonikidze). This congress was attended by five hundred delegates elected by a universal, direct and secret poll. A similar congress was held in the following September at Vedeno. These congresses drew up and approved a constitution for the North Caucasian state and elected a "Central Committee of the Union of Mountain Peoples of the Caucasus", which was entrusted with the tasks of acting as a temporary national government and of proclaiming the formation of an Independent North Caucasian state: this was done on May 11, 1918.

The world was informed of this event through the European telegraph agencies, and the new republic was accorded recognition by the "central" states of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey and by certain others. The new parliament and government had their seat in the town of Temir-Khan-Shura (now Buinaksk).

At first, Chicherin, Commissar of Foreign Affairs in the Bolshevik government, sent a note to a number of countries protesting against the proclamation of the new state, in spite of the fact that the April 1917 Bolshevik conference had adopted a resolution recognizing the demands of the non-Russian peoples of the former Russian Empire and in spite of the declaration of the rights of the peoples of Russia to "free self-determination and the formation of independent states", issued by the Council of People's Commissars on November 15, 1917. Later, however, the Soviet government recognized the independence of the Northern Caucasus and informed the North Caucasian Minister of Foreign Affairs, G. Bammat, accordingly.

Similar recognition was also received from the headquarters of the Russian Volunteer Army which was fighting the Bolsheviks, and an agreement was subsequently signed regulating relations between this Army and the new republic. However, both Denikin's army and the Bolsheviks broke the agreements which they had signed, as a result of which the North Caucasians found themselves obliged to wage war against Denikin in February — April 1920 and against the Bolsheviks throughout the period from August 1920 to May 1921. Both Denikin and Todorsky, who at one time was in command of the Red troops fighting in this area, describe in their memoirs how they had to put out enormous forces against the North Caucasians, and pay tribute to the heroism with which the local population defended every inch of its territory.

In 1920-21, the Bolsheviks established two autonomous republics in the Northern Caucasus — that of Daghestan and the Mountain Republic. The complicated history of this latter republic, which contained as many as seven different peoples, is well summarized by Walter Kolarz (*Russia and Her Colonies*, London, 1956, p. 183):

"The disintegration of the Mountain Republic started in September 1921, when the Kabardinians were given a special autonomous province (oblast). In January 1922, three more peoples seceded from the Republic. The Balkars were made to join the Kabardinian Autonomous Province and the Karachay and the Cherkess (Circassians) were given a joint autonomous province. In December 1922, the Chechens were induced to set up an autonomous province of their own, which left only the Ossetins

and the Ingush in the Mountain Republic. In July 1924, both these peoples were endowed with separate territorial units of their own. The experiment of a united North Caucasus Republic was thus finally terminated. Administrative changes... continued even after the end of the Mountain Republic. In April 1926, the Karachay-Cherkess Autonomous Province was divided into two provinces; and in January 1934, the Ingush merged with the Chechens into a single autonomous province."

In December 1936, the Kabardinian-Balkar, Chechen-Ingush and Northern Ossetian Autonomous Oblasts were transformed into autonomous republics, thereby achieving a greater degree of self-government. This involved story is a clear example of the principle *divide et impera*. A colonial regime was set up, the country's natural resources were pillaged, religion was subjected to determined persecution, and members of the clergy and intelligentsia were killed or deported in their thousands, accused of "national deviations" and "bourgeois nationalism".

In spite of these oppressive measures, the local population continued to resist the regime, and between the two world wars several rebellions were put down by the Red Army with the aid of its air force. During World War II, the North Caucasians attempted to recover their independence, but with the withdrawal of the German forces they were unsuccessful, and were severely punished. In fulfilment of a decree issued on February 11, 1943, the Bolsheviks, in November 1943 and in February 1944 respectively, rounded up the entire population of Karachay-Balkaria and Chechen-Ingushia and also part of the population of certain other regions of the Northern Caucasus, and despatched them to Central Asia. The number of people affected is approximately one million.

Since the death of Stalin, certain concessions to local aspirations and grievances have been made by the central government. At the Twentieth Party Congress, Khrushchov condemned the genocide inflicted upon the peoples of the Northern Caucasus as a crime perpetrated by Stalin, and promised to return those expelled from their homelands by 1960. Some of them have, indeed, returned, but this process is proving extremely protracted. Moreover, those returning do not receive the property that formerly belonged to them; instead, they are housed in camps and put to work in factories, sovkhozes and kolkhozes. In view of the continued resistance to the regime and the obvious desire of the North Caucasians to live together in a united community, attempts are made to ease relations by condemning Stalin for his dismemberment of the North Caucasian republic, alongside certain local Communist leaders, executed by the central authorities in the thirties for "national deviations". Congresses of teachers, writers and journalists are organized; centenaries and other anniversaries of North Caucasian poets are marked by suitable celebrations.

It will be seen, however, that these are only half-measures. Practical steps such as the return and rehabilitation of exiled and expropriated peoples are carried out reluctantly and incompletely: the social and economic significance of the present treatment of these unfortunate people will be obvious. Condemnation of past policy in the dismemberment of the North Caucasian republic is of little avail if nothing is done to restore its former unity. The significance of the concessions such as those we have just mentioned lies rather in the determined opposition which provoked them than in their actual content.

Speaking generally, it may be said that the opposition put up by the North Caucasians to Russian — first Tsarist, later Bolshevik — aggression has been fiercer and more prolonged than that offered by almost any other people affected. Scarcely any other nation, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, has made more sacrifices on the altar of its freedom and independence.

“The Third Force”

Neutralists are not a Separate Force

Khrushchov's suggestion that the Secretariat of the United Nations should be reorganized on the lines of the principle of the triumvirate (the Western, the “socialist” and the neutralist bloc of states) has made the problem of the “Third Force” a current one in the world. According to the opinion expressed by Western politicians, this “Third Force” is to be found in the newly established states of the Asian and African continents.

We, however, are of the opinion that this statement is an illusion. It would only be true if it were solely a case of the further existence of the two largest blocs of states, namely the Western and the “socialist” blocs. If only these two blocs existed, the countries of the Asian and African continents, after gaining their sovereignty, would have been forced to develop further of their own internal strength; with regard to international relations, they would have been obliged to form an opinion of their own and in that case, as far as the United Nations, for instance, was concerned, they would have turned to either the one or the other bloc. So far, however, they have put forward no fundamental suggestions of their own in the UNO; hence Khrushchov would like to use them as “dialectical material” for his own aims.

But a preservation of the “balance” is impossible, although many a politician in the West would welcome such a thing and would be only too glad to accept a coexistence with Bolshevism if the latter would leave them in peace.

But neither the Russian nor the Chinese Bolsheviks desire peace. Khrushchov himself refutes his propagandist proclamations about the “peaceful coexistence of the two social political systems” by his prophecies about “the imminent collapse of capitalism” and its “transition” to Communism. According to Khrushchov, this “transition” will not occur mechanically, but will be effected by revolutionary means, — in other words, with the aid of the Bolshevik forces that have already been organized in various states. Khrushchov is of the opinion that the “peaceful coexistence” will in no way prevent the “class conflict” in the world, which in his view is identical with the greatest possible extension of Bolshevik influence.

It is perfectly evident that Bolshevism, in its urge to rule the world, will not come to a halt at the frontiers of the “neutralist” countries, but, on the contrary, will try harder than ever to penetrate them, since it regards precisely the Asian and African con-

tinents as the most favourable soil for itself and its subversive plans. In that case there will no longer be any room for neutralism in the newly established states of Africa and Asia. The very nature of Bolshevism involves the urge to eliminate and destroy any second or, rather, “third force”, that is any neutralist force or, in fact, any force that differs from itself.

The most striking example of this theory is afforded by the greatest neutralist of our day, the Indian Prime Minister Pandit Nehru. After the establishment of the sovereign Republic of India, Nehru adhered to strict neutrality between “East and West”. But his neutralist attitude suffered a tragic collapse when the Chinese Communists occupied the Indian frontier regions in the Himalayas. Though Nehru still appears to adhere to his former attitude, he actually does so only in words. He continues to propagate the idea of neutrality at international conferences, but, in practice, in his own country he has gone over to developing and increasing the heavy industry, in particular steel production, and to speeding up the armament process. In view of the present situation, everything will depend on the further steps taken by Chou En-lai. It is even possible that Nehru may deviate from his all too peaceful (and almost capitulation) tactics, in which case the much-discussed possibility of the existence of a “third force” would be excluded. He would then go over to the Western side, for only in this way will he be able to preserve India's independence.

By this example we wish to stress that neutrality in the states of Asia and Africa depends solely on the tactical manoeuvre of steering a middle course. This is clearly evident from the methods used by Nasser in the United Arab Republic; on the one hand, he arrests the Egyptian Communists, whilst on the other hand, he accepts roubles from the Kremlin for the construction of the Assuan Dam. And both partners pretend to be unaware of the secret intentions of the other. Nasser would like to make use of the present “East — West” conflict in order to speed up the development of the national economy of Egypt, but at the same time does not want to turn down any possible alliance with the free world; the Kremlin cherishes the hope of turning Egypt into a hotbed of unrest for the Near East and Africa. Financial and technical aid is the bait which the Kremlin uses in order to win over the masses in Egypt.

The President of Ghana, Nkrumah, clearly expressed his opinion of the nature of the

"third force" in Africa, when, at the Pan-African Conference two years ago, he warned the delegates of the African states, when they were attacking "Western imperialism", against a far worse imperialism, namely Eastern, Russian Bolshevik imperialism.

We do not think it likely that the newly established states of the Asian and African continents will assume the role of a permanent "third force"; in our opinion, this force is to be found amongst the peoples subjugated by Soviet Russian imperialism. In an interview for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), the President of the ABN and former Prime Minister of Ukraine, Jaroslaw Stetzko, recently expressed the following view:

As a result of the development of liberation nationalism all over the world, the political conception of greater territory has become outmoded. We are today witnessing a new phenomenon in the world order, which is expressed in the formation of new national organisms. One can only talk about a "Third Force" in the following connection: the national liberation idea triumphs everywhere in the world over the imperial conception. This process is also reflected behind the Iron Curtain, in the last and most ruthless imperium, the Russian imperium, that is to say the U.S.S.R. with its satellite countries. Russian imperialism suppresses the national liberation process and thus retards the final victory of the idea of the national state independence of the peoples living within the frontiers of the U.S.S.R. and in the so-called satellite countries. Because of their political attitude, these anti-Communist nations in the Russian imperium constitute a special force which will destroy the Russian Communist prison of peoples from within.

Certain of the recently founded states of Africa and Asia, which yesterday were still dependent on the European mother countries, are today foolishly orientating themselves towards the Muscovite centre, that is towards the Russian imperium. Thus the "Third Force" of Asia and Africa is not identical with the "Third Force" of another type and of another attitude, namely that of the subjugated peoples behind the Iron Curtain. These are uncompromisingly opposed to Russian imperialism and Communism and hence constitute the real "Third Force". As long as the new states of Asia and Africa do not share this attitude, they cannot be regarded as a "Third Force". It would be contradictory to regard them as such, since they support Moscow with their votes in the forum of the United Nations Organization. As long as these states do not join forces with the subjugated peoples in the Russian imperium in uncompromisingly opposing Moscow, there can be no question of their being a "Third Force".

The characteristic factor of the "Third

Force" is a total negation of Bolshevism, the severance of all relations with it and an uncompromising fight against it. Balancing between "East and West", between two forces, cannot be regarded as the essential feature of the "Third Force". The world is now faced by the option of either being overwhelmed by Bolshevik enslavement, in which case our entire culture and civilization would be destroyed, or of effecting the victory of freedom, justice and God's truth throughout the whole world.

The potential strength of the subjugated peoples in the U.S.S.R. can be assessed by Khrushchov's rage in the plenary assembly of the United Nations, namely during the speeches by the Canadian Prime Minister Diefenbaker and the Philippine delegate Sumulong. Both of these statesmen reminded him of the present Russian colonialism, that is to say, they both attacked the vulnerable spot of Bolshevism.

It is the foremost task of the West to expose to the whole world the mendacious system of Russian colonialism in its entirety and in its historical development. The imminent threat of Bolshevism would thus be diverted and the illusion of the successes of the Kremlin, an illusion which hovers about so many centres of unrest in Africa and Latin America, would be destroyed. These peoples would then realize what fate awaits them if Bolshevism scores another victory.

The special significance of the peoples subjugated by Russia as the "Third Force" lies still more in the active and passive resistance within the U.S.S.R. If the statesmen of the West already regard Africa with a certain amount of fear, since there is always the possibility of a direct attack on the part of the Bolshevik rulers, how great then would the fear be with which Moscow would regard the territories which it rules, if the peoples of these countries were to receive the universal support of the whole world for their resistance movements?!

Khrushchov affirms quite rightly that this is the era of the collapse of empires. But it would be completely erroneous to make an exception for the "socialist" camp.

By its support in general of the developing countries, the West corroborates the fact that a collapse of the empires is imminent. This can also be assumed if the millions of people behind the Iron Curtain are mobilized and their anti-Russian and anti-Communist resistance and their underground activity are supported and strengthened. But the precondition for this is that the attitude of the free world towards the national liberation movements in the U.S.S.R. should undergo a fundamental change. These peoples must have the assurance that they will not be deserted in their life and death struggle.

Poison-Gas – the New Weapon of the U.S.S.R.

For some time now and with considerable success the U.S.S.R. has been sending this extremely dangerous weapon to the West, though most persons in the free world refuse to realize this fact, — no doubt because these poison-gases are not chemical but psychical in character, since they affect not the body but the soul of the victims.

The victims in this case are all the peoples, whilst the sorcerers who use this gas are frequently prominent personalities of the West, — professors, writers or politicians. This weapon, incidentally, destroys the resistance of every nation against Moscow's despotic power far more rapidly and thoroughly than any other military weapon of our day. And this is a matter which must by no means be taken lightly!

When the "pacifist" press of a Western country, which calls itself "democratic", for instance demands a *one-sided* cessation of the use of atomic bombs, it poisons the soul of its people with the drug prescribed by Moscow so that the latter may be able to swallow the longed for booty more easily. When certain "democratic" politicians in the name of peace exhort their country to withdraw from some defensive bloc or other of the West and to declare itself "neutral", they are poisoning the soul of their people with the same Muscovite "drug", intended to paralyse the resistance of the said people. And the same result is achieved by those "democratic" politicians who protest against "American colonialism", but say not a word of criticism about Moscow's tyrannical rule over millions of non-Russian peoples.

This same poison, prepared in Moscow, is also dispensed by these politicians when they try to gain support in the West for the Bolshevist henchmen, Lumumba or Castro (sometimes, too, for their boss), whilst at the same time seeking to mobilize public opinion against "evil totalitarians and dictators" like Chiang Kai-shek and Federal Chancellor Adenauer. In this way they dull the intellect of their fellow-countrymen to such an extent that the latter, in view of the threatening world conflict, imagine their arch-enemies to be their friends and their possible allies to be their foes.

In persuading the neighbours of the United States to assist Castro with loans and goods, these same "democratic" press-men and politicians are betraying their own people and aiding the vanguard of that ruthless despotic power which threatens the independence of the United States, Canada and South America.

When the professors of certain universities in the West invite members of the Soviet Russian embassies, who advertize Russian despotism, to hold lectures before the students of these universities, they are dispensing this vile poison to the young minds of their own country, thus confusing youth in its ideas to such an extent that it is obliged to assume that Satan is good!

And the same poison is administered by the supporters of Khrushchov who denounce as "public enemies" all those who tear the "democratic" mask off the face of the pro-Moscow adherents, and by those who praise the Russian "paradise" either on the wireless or on television. The most chauvinistic, despotic and rapacious power in the world, the U.S.S.R., is represented by these poisoners as being the most peace-loving of all peoples and nations.

Thus these "democrats" and "pacifists" of the West by various means and methods poison the minds of the whole generation, paralyse their psychical resistance against the conqueror, kill their patriotism, demobilize them spiritually and demoralize them.

The world is entering upon a phase of civil wars. In every country of the West,

Moscow supports those forces which are preparing the downfall of their own nation to the advantage of Russia. And what about the West? It supports neither the anti-Russian forces in its own domain, nor in other free countries, nor in the U.S.S.R. The West not only ignores the anti-Russian forces in Hungary, in the Balkans, in East Germany, in Asia, in the Baltic countries, in Poland, in Ukraine and in the Caucasus, but also shuts its eyes to the activity of the evil force which in the West itself produces and spreads the poison-gases of anti-patriotism and Russophilism. Even Russia's shock-brigade in the West — the Communist Party and its press — is not prohibited in every country in the West.

What will all this eventually lead to? — The Russian poison-gas campaign is making the nations psychically stupid and blind to the imminent danger which threatens from the East. As for the leading class in the West, — it should constantly bear in mind the saying "fortune favours the brave"! The Russian campaign is entirely ruthless as far as those who want peace and appeasement at any price are concerned.

The fact must always be borne in mind that the instigators of the Communist revolution in Russia in 1917 were the intellectuals, as for instance Lenin-Ulyanov, or Trotzky-Bronstein, or Dostoievsky and L. Tolstoy, as well as the Russian "Catos" with their money. Deceived by their false propaganda, the proletarian masses of the towns, whose minds had been dulled by said propaganda, then followed in their footsteps and helped their future hangmen to seize power in the state.

And, summing up, — it is obvious that the West urgently needs new leaders.

Dr. Baymirza Hayit (Turkestan)

Russia — The Most Ruthless Colonial Imperium In The World

(Conclusion)

II

Another problem which appears to be causing some anxiety amongst the Soviet Russians is the training of the national intelligentsia of Turkestan. It is an established fact, as the Soviet Russians know, that there are some educated persons amongst the Turkestanians, including doctors of various sciences.

To their numbers must now be added Chulanov, the first Turkestanian (Kazakh) to be awarded the degree of doctor of political economy ("Kasachstanskaja Pravda", October 31, 1957, p. 3). And it is no longer a secret that these Turkestanian men of learning do not even cover the minimal needs of intellectual life in Turkestan. Russian intellectuals continue to constitute the majority in Turkestan. In 1957 for instance there were 3,770 students at the Kazakh State University in Alma Ata, but of this number only 1,550 were Kazakhs ("Partijnaja Shizn Kasachstana", No. 6, 1959, p. 76). Of the 10,135 students who took the final examinations at the School of Medicine in Tashkent (in the course of 30 years), only 2,349 were natives, i. e. Turkestanians ("Qizil Uzbeki-

stan", July 9, 1958, p. 1). We do not intend to discuss this question any further here. Otherwise the Soviet Russians might get annoyed at themselves, and we must after all show some consideration for Tursunsada, since, as a poet, he finds it especially difficult to understand Soviet statistics. He finds it easier to write poetry than to seek the truth.

Another point which is both interesting and amusing is the nature of the composition of the "parliament" in a "sovereign state" of Turkestan. Of the 450 deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh S.S.R. (a kind of Soviet parliament of the yes-men), only 186 are Kazakhs ("Partijnaja Shizn Kasachstana", No. 8, 1959, p. 15). Such a state of affairs is only to be found in Turkestan.

Tursunsada and other Turkestanians, too, know exactly what would happen if the national intelligentsia in Turkestan were to demand the nationalization of their country, which should really be a self-understood thing, as for example the appointment of their own fellow-countrymen to posts in the state apparatus, the protection of the purity of

their national language against the influence of Russian, the preservation of national traditions, and the instruction of children in their mother-tongue; in that case the Soviet authorities would oppose such aspirations and would designate them as signs of "bourgeois nationalism", which must be combatted at once ("Kommunist", Moscow, No. 13, 1959). Moreover, the Soviet Russians affirm and they also act accordingly: "The Party (i. e. Communist, — author's note) principles have no national borders and cannot have any. If we come up against persons of a savage disposition who violate the laws of the Soviets, then their nationality is all the same to us and we deal with them in the severest manner possible" ("Kommunist Kasachstana", No. 7, 1957). To talk about "sovereignty" after making such statements, is simply ridiculous.

We have no reason to assume that the Soviet Russians have abandoned or are likely to abandon their theory of the year 1922 on the independence of Turkestan. They told us in those days:

"The fight for the independence of Turkestan is nothing new to us, but it has nothing whatever to do with socialism."

And now they are trying to tell us:

"The sovereignty of the nations is subordinate to Communism. Communism has no national rights. In Communism the nations will no longer exist."

This is the ultimate aim of the Soviet Russians: Turkestan is to be absorbed into the Russian element, and the Russians as champions of Communism are to assume the hegemony over all the peoples and to consolidate it at the expense of the non-Russians. In this connection I should like to quote a popular saying in Turkestan: "The thief affirms until his death that he is innocent."

The "Soviet Wonder" in Turkestan and its shadow in the Orient.

Not only Tursunsada but also most of the Soviet propagandists who occupy themselves with the problem of Turkestan and the Orient are of the opinion that the "achievements" of the Soviets in Turkestan could be an example to the Orient. Spurred on by the example of Turkestan, the peoples of the Orient should get enthusiastic about the Soviet regime. Of course it is easy for the Russians to put on a bold front in the Orient, since they possess Turkestan. This fact allows them scope for action in the Orient. And just recently, in particular, they have been skilfully using Turkestan as an advertisement in the Orient in order to gain supporters there for the Soviet regime. To this end, Moscow is constantly sending Turkestanian Soviet functionaries, as for instance Muchitdinov, Rashidov, Tursunsada, Bahchanov and others, on trips to the countries of the Orient in order to create the im-

pression there that they are representatives of a free Turkestan which "lives voluntarily in the Union of the Socialist Republics" . . . What the thoughts of these Turkestanians are when they appear in the Orient at Moscow's orders, we do not know. Perhaps they are only interested in not losing their position in Turkestan. Perhaps they return from the Orient with bitter feelings because they have realized that in reality they are only couriers of Moscow and because they have been able to convince themselves of the fact that a number of former colonial peoples in Asia and Africa have actually succeeded in attaining their national freedom, whereas Turkestan is still fettered to Russia. On the other hand, however, it would be most unusual if the Soviets could not find a few dozen opportunists and fanatics in the ranks of their colonial peoples who are prepared to put up a theatrical show.

The fact that the Soviet Russians possess Turkestan has enabled them to assert themselves in Asia as an Asian power. Hence, too, it is not surprising that a colonial power like Russia has been given a seat in the permanent Council for the Solidarity of the Asian and African countries in Cairo. Moreover, the possession of Turkestan affords the Soviets a possibility to carry on a systematic infiltration among the Afro-Asian peoples, in particular amongst the intelligentsia there. Recent highlights in this respect were the Afro-Asian Film Festival arranged by the Soviets (in August 1958), the Conference of Writers of the Afro-Asian countries (in October 1958), and, thirdly, the Seminary for the Co-operative System in the Afro-Asian countries in Tashkent (in September 1959).

Countless persons from the Orient — statesmen, tourists, journalists, economic experts, men of learning, etc., — visit Turkestan. They are all invited to the Soviet Union for a certain purpose. They are then shown Turkestan and in particular the Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan. And what do these persons from the Orient see? They see the "Soviet Wonder" in Turkestan. And what does this "Soviet Wonder" consist of? Of modern buildings, model kolkhozes, theatres, clubs, factories, schools, co-operative institutions, Turkestanian Soviet functionaries who are by nature friendly and hospitable and their Russian controllers, historic towns like Bokhara and Samarkand, and, last but not least, countless statistics on the "Soviet achievements". Naturally, all this makes a great impression on the persons from the Orient, all the more so as they are shown round and enlightened entirely onesidedly from the propagandist point of view in the sense of the Soviet colonial power and have no opportunity to see the other side of the picture. The "Presidents" and "Vice-Presi-

dents" of the Soviet Republics of Turkestan, who are nothing more and, in fact, are not allowed to be anything more than merely provincial governors controlled by Moscow, are always present in the foreground. The unsuspecting free people from the Orient are of course taken in by such puppet-shows on the part of the Soviets, since they have no idea that the latter are merely playing a game with them. And if the "Presidents" and "Vice-Presidents" tell them, "we are sovereign states and belong to the Soviet Union of our own free will", the foreign guests are obliged to believe them. The Soviet Russians know exactly how to deal with someone who is unbiassed.

The guests from the Orient are for instance also received in audience by the Red Mufti of Turkestan, Babachan(ov), who gives them the impression that "Islam is, after all, free". Such is the facade which is presented to visitors from the Orient.

But what the visitor does not realize at all, or only comprehends with some difficulty, is the internal situation in Turkestan. The following aspects of the situation in Turkestan are bound to be overlooked by a foreign observer who is not acquainted with the language of the country, living conditions there and the Soviet tactics of deception:

- 1) Russia's colonialism in Turkestan; absolute rule on the part of the Russians by controlling all spheres of state life, the Russification process (the economic aspect of this process: settlement of Russian colonialists; the cultural aspect: compulsion to learn the Russian language, introduction of the Russian script for all Turkestanians, hegemony of Russian intellectual life, introduction of Russian as second mother-tongue), the occupation policy conducted by the Soviet Russian armies.
- 2) Efforts to combat and crush the national characteristics of Turkestan: intensive measures to combat Islam, atheistic training of the youth of the country, schism of the classical intellectual life of Turkestan into a "reactionary", i. e. nationally conscious, and a "progressive", i. e. pro-Soviet Russian trend, fostering of "socialist realism" in literature and of a culture which is only national in outward form.
- 3) Efforts to change the Turkestanians into servants of the Russian element and of Communism and to force them to believe in a voluntary union of Turkestan with Russia and in the Russians as the "big brother".
- 4) Constant efforts to combat the national demands of the Turkestanians (preservation of their national language intact, transfer of state and economic administration to the Turkestanians, independent

Turkestanian economy, preservation of national spiritual and cultural values in their entirety, national independence aims) on the pretext of internationalism and friendship of peoples.

- 5) Enforcement of Soviet Russian rule by terrorist measures (constant control of individuals by the Soviet Russian security service, arrests, executions, deportation of Turkestanians if they upset the aims of the Soviet state by demanding the rights which are their due).
- 6) Destruction of the national Islamic social structure (by compulsory collectivization, compulsory domiciliation for the nomads, proletarianization of all social classes, concentration of all means of production in the hands of the state in order to make everybody employees of the state, introduction of slave-labour methods, abolition of private property).
- 7) Exploitation of the economic wealth of Turkestan (Turkestan to be changed into a raw materials supply centre for the Soviet Union and at the same time increased concentration of production of finished goods in the Russian industrial towns, control of economic sector in Turkestan by the Russians, increased employment of Russian technical experts in industry and mechanized agriculture in Turkestan, fostering of a relation of economic dependence on the part of Turkestan by the Soviet Russians on the principle that if the Turkestanians do not fulfil the quotas fixed, then Russia will not supply them with consumption goods).
- 8) Destruction of the uniform national individuality of Turkestan (partition of the country into five territories on the pretext of having made five "socialist nations" out of them, the isolation of one national group from the other by endeavouring to introduce a separate historiography and an independent written language for each group and by forcibly resettling Turkestanians to Siberia or to other parts of the Soviet Union).

The Soviet Russian leaders are determined that this internal situation shall not become known abroad and especially not in the Orient. And most visitors to the country receive no answers to any questions they may put in this respect. The Soviet Russians are endeavouring to preserve Turkestan as a bridge for their Oriental policy and this country is to be the stage for the Soviet phantasmagoria in the Orient.

It is hardly necessary for us to discuss the question as to whether and to what extent the people in the Orient are aware of the game which the Soviets are playing with the Oriental peoples, or realize the tragedy of Turkestan and the Soviet infiltration from

this country into their own countries. The free peoples in the Orient must decide for themselves what attitude to adopt towards the Soviet Russians. We have no intention of assuming the role of lawyer to the Oriental peoples. But we have a special reason for exposing the efforts of the Soviet Russians and their Turkestanian puppets in the Orient.

The more the Russians influence the Orient, the worse will the situation in Turkestan become, for the Russians will consolidate their powerful position in Turkestan in accordance with the extent to which they intend to be active in the Orient. From the religious, cultural, historical and geographical aspect, the fate of Turkestan is closely bound up with that of the free Orient, but not with that of the Russians. And even the Oriental peoples who have finally become free will not be able to affirm that their own house will be spared if the house of their neighbour is on fire. Recent Red Chinese action against India (the frontier question) was clear proof of this fact, and the constant pressure exerted by the Soviet Union on Iran is a warning sign from the

house that is already on fire in the Orient, namely Turkestan.

The free Orient is in a position to determine its state and social system itself. Subjugated Turkestan, likewise part of the Orient, cannot however do so, since the colonial lords and masters refuse to give their consent. The inclusion of Turkestan in the present Oriental policy of the Soviet Russians is an abuse of its colonial dependence and its historical and cultural affinity with the Orient. Under these circumstances, Soviet assertions to the effect that Turkestan "shines like a bright star for the young states of Asia" since "the triumphs of the peoples of Middle Asia (Turkestan) arouse the pride and enthusiasm of the people of the Orient", that "Turkestan points the way to them", and that "Soviet Middle Asia will continue to shine like a constant beacon for the Asia peoples" will refute themselves as wild flights of imagination. But if the free Orient allows itself to be deceived by the Soviet bait — Turkestan, then its peoples will inevitably suffer the same tragic fate as Turkestan.

Mobutu — The Anti-Communist Fighter

A courageous deed in the midst of the chaos which prevails in the Congo deserves especial comment, — namely the deed of Colonel Mobutu, the young chief of general staff of the Congolese army. Colonel Mobutu had the courage to evict the agents of Soviet Russia and of other Communist-ruled states from the Congo. He also had the courage to arrest and imprison Communist agent Lumumba. Whilst the United Nations was engaged in futile discussions, Mobutu got to work and threw the personnel of the Soviet Russian and Czecho-Slovakian embassies out of Léopoldville and put Lumumba and his clique into prison. As he was boarding the plane, one member of the Soviet Russian embassy said in threatening tones: "We shall be back again soon!"

But young Colonel Mobutu was not afraid. He acted resolutely without worrying about what Soviet Russia would say to his action. He cleaned up the nests of Communist subversive activity and insisted that the members of the Communist diplomatic missions and their advisers leave the country at once.

Mobutu the statesman rightly recognized the so-called diplomats and "technicians" from the Soviet Russian sphere of influence as spies and agents of Russian colonialism. His mind has not been dulled and confused by Communist ideology. He is perfectly aware — in fact, much more so than many a statesman in the West — of what the "unselfish

help" of Soviet Russia really means. And he knows that an even worse colonialism emanates from Russia. He fights for the independence of his country, which he wants to liberate not only from the Western colonial powers but also from the menace of Russian colonial rule.

Colonel Mobutu's action is worthy of admiration and also inspiring. The Western Major Powers, whose actions are determined by their opportunism and leaning towards coexistence, can certainly look to Léopoldville as an example, where a courageous Congolese officer, who has neither considerable military nor political experience, has dealt "invincible Soviet Russia" the biggest rebuff since the end of World War II.

The reaction of the Western powers to Khrushchev's insolent tactics in the United Nations is enough to make one ashamed if one compares it to the courageous action of this freedom-loving Congolese officer. In spite of the enormous means of power at their disposal, the Western Major Powers are not capable of such courageous and radical action, *since they lack white Mobutus.*

We wish the Congolese freedom-fighters every success in their efforts to consolidate their newly attained national independence and trust that they will not be deprived of their freedom again under new — that is Russian — colonialism. J. C.

Taras Shevchenko, Europe's Freedom Fighter

Dr. Clarence A. Manning

(Columbia University)

Poet Laureate of Ukraine

The importance of Shevchenko cannot be overemphasized. He was the greatest of the Ukrainian poets and he was more than that. He was the first writer who was purely and thoroughly Ukrainian, who dared to dream of a Ukrainian language and literature that would be completely separate from Russian and would have an independent place in the world.

He had started his career with the romantic dreams of perpetuating the memory of the conflicts between the Kozaks and the Poles and of reviving the old days when the free Kozaks were able to carve out a precarious liberty for themselves and their people. Experience and observation taught him that that was impossible. He always valued the positive ideals of the old days, he realized the courage and the heroism of the leaders and still more of the ordinary man of the time. But he soon saw that that was not enough and that those days would not return. It was necessary to build for the future, and he considered all that had passed since that fateful treaty of Pereyaslav the unfortunate consequences of a mistake.

That led him to differences of opinion with many of his most intimate friends, for some of them were hoping against hope that there could be some settlement on the lines proposed by the great Bohdan.* Shevchenko did not believe it possible and he dared to express his beliefs. To him a free Ukraine meant exactly what it said, a Ukraine that would be completely independent in every sense of the word, that would not be subject to interference by any foreign ruler, especially the Russian tsar.

Immortal Poet of the Slavonic World

He had an ardent democratic and revolutionary faith in the common people and he recognized that they were the very backbone of the Ukrainian stock. In his lifetime he was friendly with many more enlightened members of the Ukrainian nobility and with many of the conservative writers of Russia. Never did he compromise his beliefs that the new order was to be founded upon the rights of the common man who must be educated to enjoy his new privileges. His ideas were often in close agreement with those of the Russian radicals, but he did not have much personal contact with them for his belief in a liberal and radical solution of the Ukrainian question on its own territory shut him off from their refusal to recognize the Ukrainians as distinct from the Russians.

He was a peasant, but he realized also that all was not well within the peasant communities and in the peasant way of life. They were cruel and merciless to one another, for example, in their dealings with girls who had transgressed the moral code, and it was impossible to blame all this upon the external oppression to which they were subjected. It was perhaps a result of serfdom and of self-projection but it was an attitude that needed to be changed if Ukrainian life was to be enlightened. He felt from his own experience what the people could achieve if they were awakened to a sense of their own responsibilities, and he worked in every way to help them. He understood the need of education and of progress, and he did not try to conceal what he felt with the result that he gave us realistic pictures of peasant life, avoiding both undue idealization and excessive condemnation of the people's weaknesses, for he knew that much of this was due to ignorance.

Born a serf, and later a soldier in the Russian army, he accomplished with few opportunities for formal education an amazing amount. He took the Ukrainian language as it had been developed by Kotlyarevsky and his followers and by the force of his own genius made it into a language capable of expressing the most refined emotions and fully adequate to all the needs of modern literature. He voiced in that language and in no other the thoughts and aspirations of his people. He had completely separated Ukrainian from Russian and started it along an independent course, and he had made himself its greatest literary master. Taras Shevchenko, the son of a serf with his fanatical faith in the victory of democratic ideals and despite all obstacles, made himself one of the great poets of the Slavonic world, and his fame will live as long as that of any of his contemporaries in the other literatures. No one of them believed more firmly or voiced more clearly an unyielding and uncompromising belief that democracy, truth and freedom would win the day and no one worked harder or suffered more to bring it about.

* Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, head of Ukrainian Cossack State, 1648—1657.

Professor W. K. Matthews

(University of London)

The Man and the Symbol

Personality and reputation are not commensurate terms, for although they are obviously connected, the connection between them is not organic. A man may be greater or less than his reputation, and his reputation may grow or diminish in harmony with the fluctuating fashions of thought. Essentially a man's reputation is not a projection of his personality, as the branch is of the tree, but rather a reflection, like his image in a mirror, and this being so, it is determined by the nature of the reflecting surface — here the human environment — which is clearly subject to the influence of place and time. The career of Taras Shevchenko illustrates all these things, except the ebb of a reputation, for in the ninety years since his death his fame has grown unabated with the turbulent growth of Ukrainian self-consciousness. Today he is still the symbol of his country's unslaked passion for freedom from tyranny in all its forms as he once became in the first flush of youthful ardour.

The advent of Shevchenko was sudden and startling and carried the more responsive of his compatriots off their feet in a wave of fervent admiration. Such a poet had not been known in Ukraine before. His vivid, singing, emotional verse, both lyrical and narrative, had a familiar ring and movement, for it was the language of Ukrainian folk-song with its recognisable epithets, subtle stressing, and simple charm of manner. And yet it was not folk-poetry. The poet's personality shone through the words with an unmistakable radiance, and it was the personality of a man who loved his country not only in the aureoles and heroisms of its past, but even more in its contemporary state of abject humiliation. This man, moreover, was

acutely aware of social and national injustice and was not afraid to indict his people's enemies and to make them feel the sting and lash of his tongue. Here apparently was another Burns, yet, all in all, Shevchenko was more influential than Burns, for the latter lived and died in the Age of Enlightenment, when interest in the lot of the downtrodden was only just beginning to win the attention of serious, compassionate men.

The Burns-Shevchenko Comparison

The comparison with Burns, whom Shevchenko knew at least by repute, is instructive. The differences between the two poets are probably as considerable as the similarities, and perhaps the most glaring difference is that of legal status. Although a man of the people, Burns was a free man, whereas Shevchenko was born a serf, who obtained his freedom only at twenty-four and only to enjoy it for nine out of the forty-seven years of his life. This is a fundamental fact in Shevchenko's biography and cannot be too often or too strongly emphasised. It set the tone of his poetry; it inclined him to identify himself with the meanest of his compatriots, who till 1861 were the chattels of mainly Russian landowners; it gave him his strong feeling for the soil of Ukraine; and it enabled him to see clearly the social and national evils which beset his unhappy country.

Shevchenko also differs from Burns in being an artist not only in words, as Burns was, but with brush and pencil. Indeed, Shevchenko the artist was as widely known in his own time as Shevchenko the poet. And there is a third point in which the two poets are different: Burns' freedom was never circumscribed and marred by imprisonment.

whereas Shevchenko's freedom was merely a brief interval in a life of ignominious duress.

Patterns of Shevchenko's Verse

We can now briefly review the subject-matter of Shevchenko's verse. Like the technique which it informs, this is varied, but can be reduced to a number of dominant patterns. There is, first, the recurrent theme of the seduced girl, which obsessed Shevchenko and may have been partly suggested to him by both Russian and Ukrainian authors, but the obsession of the theme was due to the fate of his first love, the village-girl Oksana Kovalenkova. Less personal are the historical themes centered in the exploits of the Cossacks and the haydamaks, which may be resolved into symbols of the struggle of the Ukrainian people against foreign oppression. Shevchenko's very life is bound up with the theme of the exile's longing for his homeland, which is as intense in the lyrics of his St. Petersburg days as in those which he wrote in the Caspian steppes.

Other attitudes which show no slackening of intensity are those of opposition to the Tsarist order and of anti-clericalism, the second of which has led the Soviet critic to diagnose atheism in Shevchenko. Opposition to Tsar and Church, as the executive organs of Russian tyranny, which supported the minor, if no less galling tyranny of the Russian landowners, was innate in our poet, whose childhood knew the hair-raising stories of his grandfather and whose manhood had felt the heavy hand of Nicholas I and his henchmen.

The Personification of Ukraine's Thirst for Independence

We began this essay with an attempt to detach Shevchenko from his reputation and we have considered him apart from it. Let us now consider him as a symbol, for this is one of the forms which a man's reputation may invest. All Shevchenko's literary work is closely bound up with his love and longing for Ukraine. It is only in the concrete visual detail of painting that his thoughts seem at times to be completely removed from his native landscapes and memories. Now it is the patriotic aspect of Shevchenko's work, especially of his poetry, which first endeared him to his compatriots and has since made him the personification of the Ukrainian's thirst for liberty and independence.

One might interpose here that the patriot Shevchenko of, say, the celebrated "Testament" (Zapovit) of 1845, in which he calls on his own to bury him and to rise and break their chains, and, echoing a passage of La Marseillaise, "To spatter freedom with evil enemy blood", — that this Shevchenko is

only a fragment of a much larger whole, that his patriotism is only one aspect of his many-sided personality. There is no denying that his patriotism plays a highly important part in his poetry and has been rightly chosen by nationally-minded Ukrainians for special emphasis.

But the realisation of the ideal expressed in Shevchenko's words is prevented by circumstances for which Ukrainians themselves are not collectively responsible. An intolerant alien power still presides, as it did in Shevchenko's time, over the destinies of their country and has even succeeded recently in uniting under its control all the Ukrainian-speaking lands. The presence of that power has led to an exodus of Ukrainians from Ukraine in moments of crisis since the emancipation of the serfs after Shevchenko's death made collective movement possible. In consequence of this a notable part of the Ukrainian people now lives outside the national frontiers. The existence of such a body of emigrants is a sure sign of an abnormal state of things at home.

Shevchenko's story is that of his native land in microcosm. No wonder then that his inspiring words are especially treasured by all those of his compatriots who have experienced the bitter anguish of exile and who still love and have not lost their faith in a regenerate Ukraine.

New Attacks by Man-Hunters on Jaroslaw Stetzko

During the past three months there have been intensified attacks on the part of the Russian Bolsheviks against Jaroslaw Stetzko. One of these attacks directed against the former Prime Minister of Ukraine and present President of the Central Committee of A.B.N. was, for instance, broadcast on December 25, 1960, in the Bolshevik radio from Kyiv.

The Russian Bolsheviks do their utmost to disparage the Declaration of Independence of June 30, 1941. In this connection they even go so far as to defame and decry the late Stefan Bandera.

The Bolsheviks apparently cannot forgive Jaroslaw Stetzko for his political activity. And his visits to the Far East, Spain, the USA and Canada in particular are a thorn in their flesh. In the said radio programme, incidentally, considerable comment was devoted to the testimony given by Jaroslaw Stetzko before the House Committee on Un-American Activities of the US Congress. This activity on the part of Jaroslaw Stetzko and the activity of the Ukrainian emigrants is obviously causing the Bolsheviks considerable uneasiness.

National Hero of Ukraine

Shevchenko's poetical works exercised a powerful influence on Ukrainian literature and the Ukrainian national movement. A. Grigoriev, the well known Russian literary critic, called Shevchenko "the last bard and the first great poet of a great new Slavonic literature". These words convey some idea of the place that Shevchenko occupies in Ukrainian literature. On the other hand, Kulish, speaking at the burial of the poet, said: "all that is really noble in Ukraine will gather under the banner of Shevchenko".

His volume of verse, the *Kobzar*, has been, since its first appearance, the most widely read book in Ukraine. It is a kind of national Gospel. The memory of the poet is the object of exceptional veneration, and the day of his death (which is also his birthday) has ever since been celebrated as a national holiday.

The grave of the poet is an object of pious pilgrimages. As early as 1876, Emile Durand, a French scholar visiting Ukraine, wrote (in the "Revue des deux Mondes"):

"The grave of the poet is never solitary. As soon as the first sunbeams in the spring have melted the snow that covers the country, pilgrims of a new fashion, merry lay pilgrims, come from all sides and stop at the foot of the barrow. They make their meals in the open air sitting on the grass, recite and sing the poems of the poet according to their free fancy. It would be impossible to find elsewhere a poet to whom the almost illiterate crowd would thus render homage such as is usually reserved for sanctuaries or saints."

World Acclaim of Hero

This homage has increased considerably since then. The popularity of Shevchenko and his influence is not limited to his native country. In 1860, his poems were translated into Russian by the best Russian poets. Several new editions and translations have since appeared, not only in Russian, but also in Polish, Bulgarian, Serbian, Czech and other languages. Bulgarian literature especially was influenced to a great degree by the poetical work of Shevchenko. The Bulgarians had fought so long for their national independence that they, more than others, found sympathy with his ideas of national independence.

Besides the translations into Slavonic languages, there are also those in French, German, English, Italian, Swedish. In England there appeared in the *Westminster Review* (1880) a biography of Shevchenko, and in 1911 a collection of Shevchenko's poems in a beautiful translation by E. L. Voynich, with a biography of the poet, was produced. A. J. Huter published in Winnipeg, in 1922, a volume of his excellent translations of Shevchenko's poems with biographical fragments; and in 1933 there appeared, also in Winnipeg, a volume of Ukrainian Songs and Lyrics, translated by Honore Ewach, which contains half a dozen of Shevchenko's short lyrical poems.

The name of Shevchenko is to his countrymen a symbol of national sentiment and of aspirations to national independence. Likewise, his work is for a foreigner who would wish to know the life, the soul and the spirit of the Ukrainian people, a true mirror which marvellously reflects the spiritual image of Ukraine.

Shevchenko Belongs to European Literature

Born in 1814 in Ukraine, on the right bank of the Dnieper, as the son of a serf, Taras Shevchenko had a hard childhood and youth, and was in turn a cowherd, the lackey of his land-owner, a painter's apprentice, a decorator, and a member of the staff of the Petersburg Art Academy.

As he had no chance to advance to a better station in life since he was a serf, but, at an early age, already showed great promise of poetic and artistic talents, Ukrainian and Russian friends of his, who were lovers of art and belonged to the liberal-minded society of Petersburg, released him from serfdom in 1838 by paying the price of 2500 roubles for him.

He was thus able to pursue his study of painting in Petersburg and in 1847, since he was well acquainted with the research and study of ancient works of Ukrainian art and monuments, he received an appointment at the newly founded university in Kyiv. Here he joined the Slavophil group of the "Cyril — Methody Brotherhood" and wholeheartedly supported the idea of the rebirth of the Slavs, that is to say, of the Ukrainians, too. In the same year, however, he was arrested for writing anti-tsarist articles.

He spent the next ten years, from 1847 to 1857, as a prisoner and as a common soldier in various frontier garrisons in Central Asia. On the strength of a special decree issued by the Tsar, he was neither allowed to write any poetry or other literary works, nor to engage in any form of art. Some of his superiors, who were kindly disposed towards him and tried to get this prohibition relaxed, were punished.

In 1857, after the disastrous Crimean War and a change of ruler in 1855, Shevchenko returned to the European part of Russia, but he was not allowed to visit his native country, Ukraine. He took up his abode in Petersburg, which was less dangerous for a man of his views. Broken physically, but mentally still amazingly alert, he died in 1861 — unmarried.

It was only after his death that he was allowed to return to his beloved Ukraine. In keeping with his wish, he lies buried on the banks of the Dnieper, beneath a hill close to Kaniv.

Shevchenko is the great national poet of Ukraine. His earliest poems were written in the 1830's and the first edition, entitled "Kobsar" ("The Troubadour") and published in St. Petersburg in 1840, immediately made him famous. Further editions contained new supplements to this first collection and, to this day, are, together with the Bible, the

most popular book of the Ukrainian nation. Up to the present, his works have been published in the U.S.S.R. alone 337 times in 39 languages, the total number of copies amounting to over 8 million.

In addition to tender lyrics, frequently autobiographical in content, he has written numerous ballads, historical poems, lyric epics, political and social verse, and some dramas in verse.

His lyrical work "Dumy" ("Pensive Thoughts"), most of which he composed in secret whilst a prisoner and which he then included in the later editions of the "Kobsar", made most impression.

In the era of political slavery which was Ukraine's fate after the Battle of Poltava in 1709, Shevchenko's poetic personality ushered in the dawn and a hitherto unparalleled highlight of modern Ukrainian literature.

Originally a romanticist, the injustice which he himself had experienced personally prompted him to fierce protest against all national and social pressure. His ideal is the "truth", not only in the sphere of knowledge and criticism, but also in the field of morals, religion and politics; his weapons (and here he adheres faithfully to the art of painting) are words and song; many of his poems have been set to music and have become national songs.

In his national and native works he deserves especial credit for having "refined" the "peasant language" used hitherto, that is to say he made it a literary language. Though his predecessors had contented themselves with a language which might be described as a "south Russian dialect" and was limited to travesties, fairy-tales and allegories for its literary needs, Shevchenko, however, climbed the heights of a prophet, whom it was impossible to overlook as regards his language, contents and ideas.

In addition to his significance for the literature of his own country, he overcame all literary barriers and hence belonged to European literature, too.

Shevchenko found his literary sources of inspiration in the Bible, with which he was extremely familiar and which he often cast in a new poetic mould, in old Ukrainian epics, ballads and folksongs, which he used in a masterly way and developed still further in style, in the philosophy of the Ukrainian mystic and thinker, Hr. Skorovoda (died in 1794), whose treatises, circulated in manuscript form, he copied down and studied as a boy; and, finally, in the classical and contemporary literature of foreign peoples, with whose poets he felt an ever stronger affinity during the last, lonely years of his life.

Mayor Sedita Urges Break-up Of Red Empire

On January 22, 1961, the Ukrainian community in Buffalo, together with other American citizens, celebrated the 43rd anniversary of Ukrainian Independence. The main speaker on this occasion was the Mayor of Buffalo, Frank A. Sedita. He appealed to Americans to declare their solidarity with the noble ideals of the Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko, whose 100th anniversary falls this year. In order to honour the poet in a fitting way, Mayor Sedita declared 1961 the Shevchenko Year. On this occasion he issued a special proclamation to the effect that January 22nd he observed as Ukrainian Independence Day.

The "Buffalo Courier" of January 23rd writes as follows about this celebration:

'None will be free until all are free'

It is time American foreign policy recognized the world cannot exist half enslaved and half free and took action "to bring about the peaceful dismemberment of the Russian Communist empire," Mayor Frank A. Sedita said in a message yesterday. Delivered by H. Buswell Roberts, senior deputy corporation counsel, the mayor's message was given at a Ukrainian Independence Day program held in the Common Council chambers of City Hall.

"For all too long our Department of State has engaged in a false distinction between the first victims of this (the Russian) conspiracy and those who fell victim in somewhat recent years," the mayor told members of the Buffalo branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and representatives of other captive nations' organizations.

"All non-Russian nations now under the heel of Moscow are equal victims of the new colonialism," he said. "None will be free until all are free. This is the nature of the struggle in which we are engaged."

Our allies behind the Iron Curtain, said the mayor's message, were sorely disappointed by our failure to support the revolts for freedom in East Germany in 1953, in Poland in 1956 and Hungary in the same year.

'Need To Re-Win Confidence'

"Much of our prestige on both sides of the Iron Curtain was lost when we turned our backs on these historic opportunities," he declared. "There is an urgent need to re-win the confidence of our allies behind the Iron Curtain. This should be a first-priority task of the Kennedy administration. I am confident that it will be."

The mayor's message cited four lessons to be learned from events since Ukrainians proclaimed their independence Jan. 22, 1918, only to be conquered later by Russia:

1. Treaties mean nothing to the Russians, and the U.S. will receive the same treatment from them as did the Ukraine on "any treaty or agreement entered into with the Russian Communists."

2. The U.S. is "marked out for conquest, and it is time we began to take political action against the Russians consistent with this clear and present danger."

3. Petty differences and selfish interests must be put aside, and "dedication and a willingness to sacrifice must replace the aimless drift which has characterized our foreign policy in recent years."

4. Peaceful co-existence is the road to "peaceful surrender. We must accept the reality that the only sound basis for our new foreign policy is the peaceful dismemberment of the Russian Communist empire."

Khrushchov's Role Scored

It is possible the national spirit in the Ukraine has reached such a head that Moscow will resort to another crime against humanity in an effort to prevent a revolution. said Sedita. "Khrushchov was a direct co-conspirator in the man-made famine of 1932-33 and he would not be above a repeat performance."

The observance also noted the 100th anniversary of the death of the Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko, to whom a monument is being erected in Washington.

,Not Given up Struggle'

Responding to the mayor's message, **Dr. Nestor Procyk**, vice chairman of the Buffalo chapter of the UCCA, said the Ukrainian people have not yet given up their struggle for freedom.

It is not their problem alone, he said, but "a problem of a score of captive non-Russian nations who one by one fell prey under marching boots of Muscovite aggression and which, by now, become an external problem of America and the entire world."

News and Views

News from ABN

The General Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) has informed the Secretary-General of the Bulgarian National Front, **Dr. Kalin Koicheff**, (New York), of the resolution of the Central Committee of the ABN regarding the unanimous confirmation of the membership of his organization in the Central Committee of the ABN.

Science — True and False

For some years, it has been necessary for scientific journals in the free world to maintain an ambivalent attitude towards the achievements of scientists in the Soviet Union. On the one hand, there is no doubt that, in the past few years, some very remarkable progress has been made in the fields of physical and biological science by research workers in the U.S.S.R. and satellite countries. On the other hand, scientific editors in the free world cannot but be aware that the theoretical background of such research is dictated by the Party, instead of being deduced, in the true scientific manner, from the facts discovered as the research advances. It therefore becomes the duty of those same editors who justly report and praise the achievements of "Soviet" scientists, to condemn the regime which financed these achievements, whenever they find proof that its policy is opposed to true scientific progress.

Such a condemnation is to be found in the editorial: "Scientific Freedom in the Soviet

Union", which appeared recently (January 1961) in the British scientific monthly, *Discovery*. The article in question was occasioned by the "hypothesis", of A. Agrest, published early in 1960 in the Soviet Union, a "hypothesis" which states that many mysteries of the past, including the "Baalbeck terrace" of stone slabs in the Libyan desert, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, and even the disappearance of the library of Ivan the Terrible, can be "explained" by attributing them all to visitors from Outer Space. Such a theory would, in the West, be dismissed in a few scathing phrases by all serious scientists. But Agrest's article was published in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, a fact which implied that the "hypothesis" must have received some official approval. Therefore, in spite of the fantastic and unscientific nature of this theory, no-one dared criticize it publicly for almost a year. At last, a meeting of the Academy of Sciences declared the hypothesis "harmful and therefore dangerous". Immediately, the Soviet scientists hurried into print to add their criticisms, as soon as possible, to the official voice of the Academy!

To anyone familiar with Soviet "freedom", such an incident is hardly surprising. What is, however, more important, is the effect it produced on an independent, outside observer — the Editor of *Discovery*. The timing of the criticisms, the initial silence followed by the flood of unscholarly criticism, once the Academy gave the official line, did not pass without his notice. He calls it "a remarkable demonstration of 'scientific freedom'." pointing out that "such a situation could never have arisen in those parts of the world where scientists are free" (our emphasis). Summarizing his conclusions, he says: "The strides made in science everywhere —

no less in the Soviet Union — have been directly proportional to the freedom of its practitioners to assert and dispute without waiting for the official position. This incident in the Soviet Union indicates that fear of the State still takes precedence over the regard for honesty and integrity". A condemnation, surely, not of the scientists, but of the regime under which they are forced to work.

It is the practice of Soviet propagandists to claim any achievement in the field of science made by a subject of the Soviet Union as an irrefutable proof of the superiority of the Communist system, to use progress to glorify their regime. But it is not easy to deceive those whose lives are dedicated to the search for truth. The Agrest affair has revealed, once again, that the Western scientists are not deceived.

Vera Rich

Appeal to "Collective Conscience"

"No free country can be surrendered to an aggressor without this measure resulting in other acts of aggression against other parts of the world", — this is stated in the final communique of the first Conference of the Anti-Communist Countries of Asia, which convened on January 18th and 19th in Manila and was attended by the Foreign Ministers of the Philippines, Korea, Free China and the Republic of Vietnam.

The communique addresses a moving appeal to the "collective conscience of mankind" to strengthen the will of the free world against the "inevitable threat" of international Communism and to find a solution in the Laos crisis.

It also voices a strong reproach against the United Nations, who so far have not seen fit to admit the Republic of Korea and the Republic of Vietnam to their organization, and appeals to the free nations to put an end to this injustice.

In conclusion, the communique announces the intention of the members of the conference in Manila — possibly to be joined by Thailand, Malaya and Pakistan, too, — to found an alliance which will enable them to have one joint vote on international committees.

Please do not offend us!

Harblock's cartoon (1940 The Washington Post Co — Chicago Sun-Times, Wed., Dec. 7, 1960): "We Extend Our Hand To All Still Struggling Under Colonialism", depicts the Russian dictator Khrushchov as the hangman of Hungary, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, East Germany, Roumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Lat-

via, Esthonia and Lithuania. The list of named unfortunate nations is in Khrushchov's left hand, whilst his right hand strangles their throats.

The apparent aim of this cartoon, in addition to stressing the fate of Russia's satellites, is to give the beholder an idea of the future ordeal of those "still struggling under colonialism", who still believe in the "sincerity" of the Russians. Russia makes use of the natural trend for freedom of those who still have the status of colonies and it also uses nationalism in order to undermine the Western world, which appears to be deaf and blind to the fate of the subjugated nations in the Soviet prison of peoples. It is a well-known fact — unfortunately, however, not realized by everyone in the free Western world, — that as soon as some nation or other comes under Soviet Russia's "protection", the annihilation of all its national elements commences immediately and proceeds in such a ruthless way that the average person is unable to visualize it. In this respect, one only needs recall the cold-blooded genocide of the non-Russians who have been wiped out by the Soviets as "enemies of the people", "bourgeois nationalists" and "enemies of internationalism".

True, Harblock's cartoon is smart, but it would be even more expressive and effective if it were based on the idea of a freedom that is indivisible. It would be more acceptable if it did not offend the nations subjugated earlier than those on the list in Khrushchov's hand. — nations that were already exposed to the Soviet Russian extermination policy a long time ago.

It is hard to believe that the author of the cartoon has never heard of the existence in the Soviet Russian prison of peoples of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Byelorussia, Cossackia, the Idel-Ural, Turkestan, Moldavia, Karelo-Finland and Ukraine. *M. Threecross*

Moscow's Subversive Activity in the Developing Countries

The First Conference of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee was held on October 11, 1960, in Stalinabad, the capital of the Tadzhik S.S.R. It was attended by representatives of all the Central Asian republics, of Kazakhstan, of the Caucasian republics and of several autonomous republics of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, as well as by representatives from Moscow and Leningrad. Foreign guests included delegations from India, Japan, the United Arab Republic, Iraq, Afghanistan, Algeria, Guinea, Somaliland and Kamerun. A large group of students from Afro-Asian countries, who are studying in the Soviet Union, was

also present. The main speech of the Conference was delivered by the chairman of the Solidarity Committee, Mirzo Tursunsada.

Here are some of the points that he stressed:

Six thousand students from thirty different countries of Asia and Africa are studying in the Soviet Union.

As from October 1, 1960, the Soviet University for the Friendship of Peoples has commenced its activity.

The Soviet Union is aiding the construction of 383 concerns and projects in 22 countries of the world. 95 of these building projects are located in "non-socialist" countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Central Asian and Caucasian Soviet republics entertain countless cultural relations with Afro-Asian countries, namely as follows: the Kazakh S.S.R. with 12 such countries, the Turkmen S.S.R. with 10, the Uzbek S.S.R. with 15, the Tadzhik S.S.R. with 11, the Kirgiz S.S.R. with 11, the Armenian S.S.R. with 10, the Azerbaijan S.S.R. with 12, and the Georgian S.S.R. with 15 Afro-Asian countries.

In 1958 and 1959, delegations from thirty countries of Asia and Africa visited the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

The following points were mentioned by other speakers in addresses and discussions:

Numerous Uzbek scholars and experts, in particular on questions pertaining to irrigation, improvement of soil fertility and development of agriculture in mountainous regions, have been sent to work in Afro-Asian countries.

During the past few years the Afro-Asian countries have received financial assistance from the Soviet Union to the value of over 10 milliard roubles, for which valuable equipment was supplied, including a laboratory for nuclear physics to the United Arab Republic and to Iraq. The Soviet Union is training the scientific cadres for nuclear physics from these countries. More than 85 concerns, including 6 engineering works, 6 metal works, 12 oil, chemical and other factories have been erected in the United Arab Republic. In Afghanistan 15 industrial projects have been built and are now operating.

In order to assist the erection of the combine in Bhilaj, India, the Soviet Union has supplied 105,000 tons of technical and electrical equipment, over 130,000 tons of metal construction parts, 160,000 tons of fire-proof parts and various other material. Over 400 Indian specialists have been trained in the Soviet Union for their jobs in this combine.

Political Humour

Hobnailed Shoe as New Year's Present for Nikita

A group of Bulgarian emigrants sent Nikita Khrushchov a heavy hobnailed shoe as a New Year's present, along with a letter worded as follows:

"The Bulgarians in exile take the liberty, Your Excellency, of sending you a shoe as a New Year's gift, which you will be able to use as a Marxist-Leninist argument at Summit conferences without being obliged to stand on the platform barefooted.

Our ancestors gave the ancestors of Your 'Excellency' the Cyrillic script and thus opened the door to Christian culture for the Russian people. We should like to remain loyal to our ancestors and give the "first citizen" of the Russian imperium a fitting present, which we regard as the symbol of the political and mental attitude of the leadership of the Soviet Russian state.

*A group of Bulgarian emigrants
of the Bulgarian National Front (BNF)."*

Nikita and Alexander

Khrushchov is not the first Kremlin boss to conduct politics at an international conference with a shoe in his hand. A parallel to Nikita's behaviour in the UNO in New York on October 12, 1960, was already supplied by Alexander I at the Congress of Vienna (Sept. 1814 to June 1815). When Talleyrand asked the Tsar to renounce part of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, Alexander pulled off one of his boots and angrily smote the table with it. A contemporary memoir-writer commented on this as follows: "What an undignified behaviour before the heads of state and foreign delegates!" History does not record whether Alexander's boot — like Khrushchov's shoe — was of German origin.

At the Stalinabad Conference 122 persons were elected members of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee. Twenty-five representatives from the Central Asian and Caucasian republics, from Kazakhstan, from a number of autonomous republics of the R.S.F.S.R. and from Moscow and Leningrad were elected members of the Presidium. The Tadzhik poet and member of the Academy, Mirzo Tursunsada, was re-elected chairman. His deputy, A. W. Sofronov, was likewise re-elected.

By means of the Soviet Solidarity Committee of the Afro-Asian countries, Moscow endeavours to intensify its ideological influence on these countries. And what about the counter - measure of the West?

From Behind the Iron Curtain



SLOVAKIA

The Prague puppet government has for years been doing its utmost to spread the Russian language and literature amongst the masses in the countries of so-called Czecho-Slovakia. Since the incorporation of Slovakia and the Bohemian countries in the Soviet Russian sphere of influence in 1945, Russian has been taught in the schools as the most important foreign language and as a compulsory subject. For the past ten years at least, "people's courses in the Russian language" have been held for adults. More and more efforts are being made by the Communist Party and its affiliated organizations to recruit more persons for these courses by means of propaganda and coercive measures. In addition, the regime propagates the reading of Russian books, not only in translated editions but also in the original language. By various coercive methods the Communist organizations are endeavouring to increase the number of persons who order Soviet Russian books and subscribe to Soviet Russian papers and journals. Amongst persons attending the said "courses in the Russian language", for instance, the supporters of the regime managed to get over 26,000 new subscribers to Soviet Russian papers and journals in the countries of so-called Czecho-Slovakia in 1959 alone. (No exact figures in this respect are available for the individual countries of this artificial state structure.) All these efforts on the part of the Communist dictatorship have as their aim the intellectual and lingual Russification of the population.

The houses which are being built in Slovakia under the Communist dictatorship are extremely poor. The inside walls are too thin and the outside walls are usually in need of repair after only a short time. The interior installations, in particular, are very faulty and complaints are constantly being made about the water pipes and drainage, which as a rule do not function properly, and also about the electric wiring. In fact, complaints about the newly erected dwellings and settlements are becoming so numerous that even the Communist press can no longer ignore them completely. The Communist papers in Slovakia publish letters of complaint by their readers as well as articles criticizing the building methods there comparatively frequently.

As a result of the administrative reorganization, many civil servants in Slovakia have been transferred from the posts which they held so far to industrial production (mines, factories and kolkhozes). The political trustworthiness of the civil servants concerned was the deciding factor. All persons were dismissed from their posts in the Slovak state administration who, from the point of view of the Communist ideology and the Czecho-Slovak state structure, were regarded as untrustworthy, that is to say, for the most part anti-Communists and Slovak "bourgeois nationalists". Thousands of civil servants in Slovakia were affected by these measures.

A big "purge" was recently held in the Communist Party in Slovakia. About 30,000 members and candidates for membership were thrown out of the Party on account of untrustworthiness.

The Communist press in Slovakia is publishing more and more attacks on religion. In practically every edition, the "Pravda", the central organ of the Communist Party of Slovakia which is published in Bratislava, publishes an article propagating atheism. Even in its Christmas edition of December 24, 1960, it published a provocative editorial which was clearly hostile to the Christian religion.

An "all-state" conference of leading functionaries of the engineering and armament industry was held in Dubnica (Waagtal) in January 1961. The possibility of increasing labour productivity in this industrial sector was the main question discussed at this conference.

Shoes for export to the Soviet Union and its satellite countries, as well as to some of the newly founded African states are now being manufactured in Batovany (now called Partizanske).



UKRAINE

The Revolutionary Fight in Ukraine Continues

It has been learnt from reliable French sources that the revolutionary activity of the Ukrainian underground continues unabated. In Western Ukraine, in the districts of Ternopil, Drohobytch and Uzhorod, that is to

say in those areas in which the Bolsheviks have strong fortifications and ammunition depots. Ukrainian revolutionaries recently carried out numerous raids. They blew up various powder and ammunition magazines. Police detachments and special Bolshevik military units encircled these areas. Combats between the partisans and the Bolsheviks lasted from November 5th to 11th, 1960. Artillery and tanks were used to fight the insurgents. There were casualties on both sides. In spite of the concentration of the Bolshevik military units, a number of insurgents succeeded in breaking through the encirclement and moving southwards, in all probability to Slovakia. The insurgents who managed to get away are said to have taken some Bolshevik officers with them as prisoners and hostages.

* * *

News has also been received from *Azerbaijan* that anti-Bolshevik activity there is on the increase. In many places the Bolsheviks recently discovered secret Moslem mosques; they arrested a number of Moslems suspected of religious activity. The Bolsheviks have likewise recently begun to evict the Azerbaijani population in large numbers in the direction of Birobidzhan. These new deportations from the Moslem countries of the U.S.S.R. are proof of the growing anti-Communist and anti-Russian feeling amongst the subjugated peoples of Asia.

The Underground Church in Ukraine

In its edition of November 25, 1960, the French weekly, "La France Catholique", publishes some interesting news about the Catholic underground Church in Ukraine. The author of the article in question is George Dex.

He first of all reports briefly on the Ukrainian service which was held in St. Peter's, Rome, on November 13, 1960, by Archbishop Ivan Bucko, the Apostolic Visitant in Rome for the Ukrainians living in West Europe. He then proceeds to mention the persecution and liquidation of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine in 1945. He adds that this Church, however, still exists today and continues its work in secret and underground. As proof of this fact he quotes an article in the paper "Pidkarpatska Pravda", which is published in Stanislawiv. This paper sharply attacks the "miserable remnants" of the Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine. The article in question, which is entitled "Under the Vaults of Old Churches", admits that a priest by the name of Pavlonis holds prayers and services for the Greek-Catholic Ukrainians in a church dating back to the 17th century. These persons constitute a kind of community and pray in the Ukrainian language.

The "Pidkarpatska Pravda" then mentions the fact that the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic

priests engage in an underground activity. They move from place to place, hold services in secret in farm-houses, baptize children, preach, and exhort the faithful to remain loyal to the Pope and the Vatican. The paper even gives the names of some of these priests, as, for instance, Soltys, who was known as "Uncle Hnat". This priest was found out and was tried before a court. He had received his instructions from the "Father Superior", — a fact which proves an ecclesiastical hierarchy continues to exist even in secret. The "Pidkarpatska Pravda" decries the Ukrainians as persons who reject the Orthodox Church of Moscow and designates them as traitors, religious fanatics and shady individuals, etc. But these accusations cannot conceal the fact that the Ukrainian people continue to put up a fierce resistance against the enemy in every sphere of life.

The Fight for Freedom Continues

In spite of Bolshevik terrorism and extremely difficult conditions, the fight of the Ukrainian nationalists against the Russian Communist occupants of Ukraine continues, even though lying propaganda affirms that there is no longer any underground fight going on in Ukraine. There is, however, plenty of proof that the Ukrainian people are still continuing their fight. We can read between the lines of the numerous letters which reach other countries from Ukraine.

A letter received from Berezhany states: "I wrote my letter some days ago. But the trial of a girl who was arrested at Easter lasted three days. There were three people accused altogether. The girl comes from Shumlany and is called Maria Poltdhak. One of the prisoners came from Bokiv and the other, Petro, from the district of Stanislawiw. Maria's brother Stefan was in contact with them, with the two brothers K., and with this brigadier from Shumlany, where the bunker was located. Stefan betrayed them. At the trial he gave Maria all the blame. He also said that in the wood near Shumlany there was a milk-can which was full of underground papers and pamphlets, as well as guns. Yesterday the police searched for this milk-can and did not return until late at night. The sentences passed by the court were as follows: Maria was sentenced to 15 years, — 5 years prison and 10 years hard labour; one of the other accused was also sentenced to 15 years prison".

This letter was posted in Berezhany.

*"We are as unknown, and yet well known;
as dying, and behold, we live;
as chastened, and not killed".*

II. Corinthians, VI, 9

China Freedom Day

To

Mr. Ku Cheng-kang, President, APACLROC, Taipei, Taiwan

Dear Mr. Ku Cheng-kang,

January 23rd is the anniversary of the historical day on which thousands of Chinese prisoners-of-war in Korea refused to return to Red China and chose freedom instead. This was a huge manifestation of the desire for freedom of the millions of Chinese who are ruled by Communist tyrants.

Moscow's Fifth Column in the West, many a political and intellectual nihilist try to make out that the Communist regime in Red China stands for progress in the life of the Chinese people and stress the alleged economic achievements and constructive work effected in that country.

The thousands of Chinese prisoners-of-war, by choosing freedom, have, as the spokesmen of the entire nation, proclaimed the national wish and the urge to freedom of the Chinese people subjugated in Red China to the civilized world.

The Communist sphere of the world can only continue to exist as long as the Russian colonial empire has not been destroyed. With the collapse of the Russian Communist imperium and the liberation of the peoples subjugated in the Russian colonial empire, world Communism will disappear and all peoples will attain freedom and national independence.

We are convinced that the Republic of China under the leadership of President Chiang Kai-shek will liberate the Chinese people who are at present being tormented by the Communist tyrants and will also help the other Asian peoples, who are suffering under the same yoke, to attain their freedom.

(Prince Niko Nakashidze)

ABN Secretary-General

Memorandum

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, speaking for over 2,000,000 American citizens of Ukrainian descent and background, submitted a memorandum to the United Nations General Assembly, XVth Session.

In view of the persistent attempts of Nikita Khrushchov and his communist puppets in the United Nations to investigate Western colonialism as a pretext to advance their communist expansion and aggression, the Ukrainian Congress Committee proposes at the United General Assembly Session the following:

(1) To call for a full-scale United Nations investigation into Russian communist aggression against Ukraine and all other formerly independent non-Russian nations now held in bondage both within and outside the Soviet Union;

(2) To demand free elections under United Nations supervision in Ukraine and in all other captive nations, which would allow the non-Russian people of these countries to make their choice between freedom and independence on the one hand and Russian colonial subjugation on the other;

(3) To propose to the United Nations General Assembly to adopt a resolution call-

ing for the withdrawal of Soviet troops and political police from Ukraine and to return all Ukrainian political deportees and exiles from Siberia to Ukraine, and allow them to resume their lives under a system of freedom and democratic government, elected by the free and unfettered people of Ukraine.

They appeal to bring up the matter of Russian colonialism and domination of Ukraine for a thorough and exhaustive discussion in the United Nations. In doing so the Charter of the United Nations would be upheld, which calls for the protection of the fundamental rights of men and women everywhere and of all nations, large and small. These rights have been grossly and brazenly violated in Ukraine by the Soviet government, a member of the United Nations. The Soviet Union should be exposed in the United Nations as a violator of the U.N. Charter and the jailer of the captive nations. In defiance of the will and desire of these nations.

Because of these crimes against the Ukrainian people committed by the Soviet government under the leadership of Nikita Khrushchov, the UCCA asked to challenge the good faith and moral right of Mr. Khrushchov in his role of "liberator" of the African and

Asian peoples. The United Nations and humanity at large stand to win a great moral victory if the present Russian colonialism is brought up for investigation at the current XVth Session of the United Nations General Assembly.

This memorandum touched the very core of Russian colonialism and imperialism, and in fact the weakest spot of the Russian totalitarian empire. It gave an analysis of Russian conquests and included a list of non-Russian nations who proclaimed their independence in 1918 and were crushed by the

Soviet Russian army in the course of 1920 till 1924, such as Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Cossackia, Democratic Republic of the Far East, Georgia, Idel-Ural, Turkestan, Ukraine. The memorandum then refers to the subjugation of the three Baltic Republics, Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia, and Finnish Karelia in 1940, and showing that the additional list of Poland, East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Albania, Bulgaria, Outer Mongolia and North Korea comprises the present Russian Communist Empire.

BOOK - REVIEWS

Dieter Friede: "Der verheimlichte Bismarck" ("The Secret Bismarck"). Holzner Verlag, Würzburg, 1950. 208 pp.

The idea prevails on the whole amongst the German public that the Russians were kindly disposed towards the Germans and that Germany enjoyed great prestige in Russia. The opinion was held that failure to renew the "Reinsurance Treaty" of 1887 with Russia on the part of Germany led to disastrous consequences for the latter country in 1890, and that, as a result of this "false" policy on the part of Emperor Wilhelm II, the first world war broke out and Germany suffered a defeat.

German political publications after the first world war and constant attacks directed against the Kaiser right up to the present time have helped to spread these views.

An attempt was made to prove that it was only the dismissal of Bismarck which led to this false and disastrous policy and that Russia would never have declared war on Germany if the said treaty had been renewed.

But anyone acquainted with internal conditions in Russia and with the nature and policy of Russia realized only too well that such views as these were merely confusing and fundamentally wrong.

An excellent book has recently been published, in which the author, by means of authentic documents, shows how unfounded these views were and proves the ignorance of the average person in this question. With the aid of irrefutable data, he enlightens the reader as to Bismarck's true thoughts on Russia and the brutal hatred of the Russians towards the Germans. The book contains much informative material inasmuch as it clearly shows that Bismarck and other European statesmen and politicians recognized the true policy of Russia and were well aware of her conquest and expansion aims and plans.

The title of the book, "The Secret Bismarck", is indeed most fitting, for it can hardly be assumed that those German Russophil politicians and writers who advocated a German-Russian alliance were in ignorance of all this (if so, they must have been very dull-witted). Hence, they intentionally kept silent and thus committed a monstrous crime against the people. On the other hand, it is obvious that even some great politicians, as for in-

stance August Bebel, knew nothing at all about internal conditions in Russia. After the murder of Tsar Alexander II (the Tsar who liberated the Russians from serfdom and introduced the progressive reforms in jurisdiction and who, in "gratitude", was then murdered by the Russians, who later hurled themselves voluntarily into Bolshevik barbarity and slavery and dragged down countless peoples and millions of individuals with them), August Bebel made a speech in the German Reichstag. He justified this murder and said: "For a more vile, a more violent and more brutal system than the one that exists in modern Russia, cannot be visualized in any other country". This was true, but he had not foreseen that in the same Russia, in the name of his friends Marx and Engels, an even more vile, more violent and more brutal system would come into being, which would rule half the world and countless peoples.

Karl Marx, however, realized this fact and knew that Russia's expansion would prove fatal for the civilized world. (In this connection see the excellent book by the same author — "The Russian Perpetuum Mobile", and the book by Prof. I. A. Doerig, "Marx Contra Russia".)

With true German thoroughness the author has collected all the historical material on this subject and has thus done the free world a great service. The reader will gain an insight into conditions at that time, as they really were, and into the thoughts of the responsible men of Europe as regards the future. He will also learn a great deal about the attitude of the Russians towards the Germans. The crimes which Russia later committed against the German people, however, are known to sufficient eyewitnesses of our day.

The English reader will no doubt be interested to hear what the Empress Victoria, the wife of Frederick III, wrote to her mother, the great Queen Victoria, in 1877: "If Russia is allowed to have a free hand, it will be the ruin of the world. Some power or other must keep it in check, since Russia stands for neither freedom nor progress, neither enlightenment, nor humanity, nor civilization . . ." And: "Russia is the only power which is indeed to be feared . . ."

And this is still true today! Many politicians of our day do not realize this, unlike this wise woman in her day.

Not only every German but everybody else, too, who is not indifferent to the fate of Europe and of the free world, should in his own interests read this excellent political book.

N. N-dse.

From a Letter to A.B.N.

It was indeed good of you to send me a copy of Nakashidze's "The Truth about A.B.N."

I have read it with great interest and consider it an admirable booklet; it ought to open people's eyes. Thank you so much for it.

*Very sincerely yours,
J. F. C. FULLER
Major-General*

Ukrainian in Kennedy's Government

President John F. Kennedy's new government will also include a Ukrainian, namely Dr. Osyp Kharyk, who has been appointed Deputy Minister for Aviation. Dr. Osyp Kharyk was born in Kenmore, Canada, of Ukrainian parents and is now forty years of age. In 1942 he went to the USA and in 1948 became an American citizen. He has been engaged in aviation research in the USA since 1959 and is the chief scientist in this branch. He was formerly professor of this subject at the Institute of Aeronautics, California.

Ukrainian Appointed Counsellor in Canada by Queen Elisabeth II

It is reported by the Canadian press that Ukrainian parliamentary member I. H. Mandzuk has been appointed Counsellor by Her Majesty Queen Elisabeth II. I. H. Mandzuk was for some time a teacher in Manitoba. In 1934 he completed his law studies and began practising as a solicitor in Oakbourne. In 1958, as a member of the Conservative Party, he was elected to the Canadian Parliament.

ABN-Publications

- 1) Jaroslaw Stetzko: HOW TO LOCALIZE AND WIN THE WAR AGAINST RUSSIA
- 2) Jaroslaw Stetzko: AN IMPERIALIST RUSSIA OR FREE NATIONAL STATES?
- 3) Jaroslaw Stetzko: THE KREMLIN ON A VOLCANO
- 4) Oleh Martovych: UKRAINIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN MODERN TIMES
- 5) Oleh Martovych: NATIONAL PROBLEMS IN THE USSR
- 6) Michael A. Feighan: A NEW BATTLEGROUND OF THE COLD WAR
- 7) Niko Nakashidze: THE TRUTH ABOUT A.B.N.
- 8) Jaroslaw Stetzko: THE ROAD TO FREEDOM AND THE END OF FEAR
Major-General J. F. C. Fuller: FOR WHAT TYPE OF WAR SHOULD WEST PREPARE?
Prince N. Nakashidze: THE LEGAL POSITION OF THE NON-RUSSIAN NATIONS IN THE USSR
- 9) * * * : UKRAINIAN FOREIGN POLICY, Comments on the 4th Conference of the Units Abroad of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists

Publication of the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation

- 10) * * * : TRUTH ON THE MARCH

Contents:	Hon. Michael A. Feighan On Russia	1
	<i>Dr. Ctibor Pokorny (Slovakia)</i>	
	The Greatest Idea of the 20th Century . . .	5
	<i>V. Kajum-Khan (Turkestan)</i>	
	Turkestan as a Stepping-Stone of Russian Propaganda	7
	<i>A. Furman (Germany)</i>	
	The Revolutionary United Front in Soviet Concentration Camps	9
	<i>S. S.</i>	
	Intensified Attack of KGB on Fighting Ukraine	12
	<i>D. Kosmovic (Byelorussia)</i>	
	Russian Colonialism in Byelorussia	15
	<i>A. Magoma (North Caucasus)</i>	
	The North Caucasian State	18
	<i>Dr. D. Donzov (Ukraine)</i>	
	Poison-Gas—the New Weapon of the U.S.S.R.	23
	<i>Prof. Dr. C. A. Manning, Prof. W. K. Matthews, Prof. D. Doroshenko, Prof. Dr. Dr. H. Koch</i>	
	Centennial of T. Shevchenko, Ukraine's Poet Laureate and National Hero	28
	Mayor Sedita Urges Break-up of Red Empire	33
	News and Views	34
	From Behind the Iron Curtain	37
	Book Reviews	40
	Ukrainian in Kennedy's Government . . .	41

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Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

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GEORGIAN THINKER AND NATIONAL CHAMPION
OF FREEDOM



1837—1907

"Unfortunately, the world is created in such a way that the highest human possession — Freedom — can only be attained by fighting and bloodshed."

Verlagspostamt: München 8

May-June 1961

Vol. XII • No.

3

GERMAN INFORMATION SERVICE

The UKRAINIAN REVIEW



Published by
The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.,
49, Linden Gardens, London. W.2.

Rostyslaw Jendyk: The Era Before
Shevchenko

D. Doroshenko: Taras Shevchenko - The
National Poet of Ukraine

D. Horniatkevych: Shevchenko The
Painter

V. Svoboda: Shevchenko And Censorship

Taras Shevchenko: Selected Poems,
translated by Vera Rich

Jaroslav Stetzko: Spiritual Rebirth Of
The Occident

A. Furman: Behind Barbed Wire

Documents of Independence

O. Orlykovsky: Ukraine's Diplomatic
Relations With The Byzantine Patri-
archate

F. A. Sedita: None Will Be Free Until
All Are Free

Russian Colonialism Under Attack

Hands Off Western Ukraine

Shevchenko Statue In Washington

Book Review

Ukrainian Chronicle

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Presiden der Nationen! Presiden der Industriestaaten!

Publisher: Press Bureau of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations
(A.B.N.)

Munich 8, Zeppelinstr. 67

Editorial Staff: Board of Editors
Editor responsible: Slawa Stetzko.

Articles signed with name or pseudonym do not necessarily
reflect the Editor's opinion, but that of the author. Manus-
cripts sent in unrequested cannot be returned in case of
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Annual subscription DM 6.— in Germany, 4.— Dollars in
U.S.A., 12 shillings in Great Britain and Australia, and the
equivalent of 4.— Dollars in all other countries.

Remittances to: Post office Transfer account: Munich 58 000
or Süddeutsche Bank, Munich, Filiale Depositenkasse, Neu-
hauser Straße 6, Account No. 300 188 (A.B.N.)

Erscheinungsort: München

Herausgeber: Presse-Büro des Antibolschewistischen Blocks
der Nationen (ABN), München 8, Zeppelinstraße 67/0,
Telefon 44 10 69

Schriftleitung: Redaktionskollegium

Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Mrs. Slawa Stetzko.

Druck: Buchdruckerei Universal, München 5, Rumfordstr. 29

Russia in Asia and Africa

Tasks and Methods of Soviet Liaison Agents in Asia and Africa

In order to influence the intellectual world of the Orient, the Kremlin has founded a whole squadron of inter-state "friendship organizations" and has entrusted various Turkestanian functionaries with the task of establishing contact with the Asian and African peoples. The Soviet Russians themselves do not as a rule directly engage in this activity, but make use of trustworthy Communists of Turkestan for this purpose, since the country and people of Turkestan have from time immemorial been closely bound up with the Orient.

These specially selected liaison agents naturally come from the ranks of the Communist Party. They have been thoroughly trained in every branch of knowledge pertaining to the Orient in special schools. They are thoroughly familiar with the history, the ancient and modern literature, the customs and traditions, the language and the mentality of the said peoples. The central headquarters of these schools are located in Tashkent. Agitators who are to pose as members of the Islamic faith attend so-called Islamic seminaries, as for instance in Bokhara, where they are instructed in the doctrine of Islam and in the methods of Communist infiltration activity.

Once they have completed their training, they pose in the Islamic world as priests, politicians, poets, writers and scholars of the Orient. They enthuse about the "free and independent" Soviet Republics of Turkestan, criticize Western policy, glorify the Soviet regime and invite guests to visit Tashkent.

When abroad, the so-called "priests" miss no opportunity of attending divine service; they quote the Koran and occupy themselves with religious problems. If one asks them anything on politics, they skilfully evade the question by affirming that they are priests and not politicians. And this is where the political cadres take over. Their tasks are various, and each cadre has its own sector of activity. In Irak and Syria, for instance, it has often been ascertained that the political, military and economic cadres attend services at the mosques although they belong to the atheist movement in Turkestan.

When abroad, they wear the Turkestanian national dress which they never wear in their own country.

Moscow's Fifth Column in the Islamic World

Who are these liaison agents whom Moscow employs in the Orient? We should like to mention a few of the most prominent by name.

Nuruddin Muchiddin (ov), a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the "Commission for Foreign Affairs of the Nationalities' Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.", for many years well-known as a Turkestanian Communist, has been entrusted with the task of co-ordinating and controlling Soviet policy in the Orient. In 1958 he visited Cairo as personal guest of the President of the United Arab Republic and had lengthy talks with both Nasser and Kuwatli. When in October 1959, during a visit to Indonesia, he affirmed in a speech that he made at the "Gadja Mada" University that the Soviet Union supported the Indonesian claim to West New Guinea, the professors, the representatives of the government and the army present on this occasion, as well as the students greeted his assurances with thunderous applause.

It was on this occasion, too, that he proclaimed "peaceful coexistence as the basis of Soviet foreign policy" and once again declared war on colonialism.

During the Afro-Asian Writers' Congress in Tashkent in 1958, which was attended by countless foreign delegates, he affirmed:

"Without any ulterior motives we Soviet people have helped the peoples of Asia and Africa like their brothers and shall continue to help them. We have supported their fight for independence and shall continue to support it..."

It is understandable that these and similar promises met with great applause on the part of many of the Asian and African delegates.

A similar propaganda is conducted by Sharaf Rashid(ov), former President of Uzbekistan and now First Secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan. In 1955, as so-called "President" of Uzbekistan, he accompanied Khrushchev and Bulganin to India, Burma and Afghanistan. Subsequently he paid several visits to China, Mongolia and the Oriental countries, and in December 1957 he attended the "Solidarity Conference of the Asian and African Countries" in Cairo as the head of the Soviet delegation.

Abroad, Rashid(ov) poses in whatever role seems to be most appropriate at the moment. In Cairo and at the Afro-Asian Writers' Congress in Tashkent in 1958 he posed as a writer although he was officially "President". In India, however, he appeared as "President". When Mr. Macmillan was in Moscow on a state visit in 1959, he was obliged to pay an official visit to Rashid(ov), who as Voroshilov's deputy was at that time acting as President of the Soviet Union during the latter's absence.

Rashid(ov)'s tasks consist, on the one hand, in acting as spokesman of the Soviet government in Asia and Africa and, on the other hand, in actively furthering and supporting contacts and friendship organizations. His mode of speech is very flowery and full of sayings. Addressing the Asian and African writers, he said:

"Friends! Our friendship towards you is greater than mountains, more precious than gold, firmer than iron and more powerful than a hurricane!"

And, further,

"The community of the peoples is the greatest creative power there is. One tree does not make a garden, and one stone does not make a wall."

With such expressions as these he endeavours to exhort the peoples to friendship with the Soviet Union. Rashid, who like many other prominent Turkestanian Communists has russified his name and now calls himself Rashidov, affirmed in the lengthy speech which he made when he attended the Afro-Asian Solidarity Congress in Cairo in December 1957 as a writer and which was received with great enthusiasm by the delegates: "The subjugation of other peoples is alien to the nature of the Soviet state."

He described Russian economic aid for Asia and Africa as follows:

"The only condition we make is that we should be allowed to help unconditionally."

And he went on to praise the Russian people as "always ready to help and noble-hearted, a people that unselfishly wishes to help all peoples out of kindness and affection". On every occasion he always praises the Russians and tries to present them in as favourable a light as possible in the Orient. In his own country he is known as the "Russian slave"!

Another important liaison agent is Babadjan Gafur(ov), former First Secretary of the Communist Party of Tadzhikistan and now director of the Institute for Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences in Moscow. It is his task to co-ordinate, guide and politically activate Soviet Oriental research. In June 1957 he attended the World Orient Congress in Munich as the representative of the Soviet Union. Under

his guidance young specialists are trained, who are then sent to Asia and Africa and who take part in the congresses of the Asian and African peoples and foster contacts with the delegates on these occasions.

Mirza Tursun Z a d a , who travels about in the Orient as the agent for Soviet infiltration of the Asian and African intellectual world, is the chairman of the "Soviet Solidarity Committee of the Asian and African Countries" and a member of the "Soviet Peace Committee". In his capacity as a poet he takes part in cultural events in the Orient and on these occasions it is his task to stress the relations which exist between the intellectual class of Turkestan and of the Orient on a cultural basis. He constantly quotes "Soviet Asia" as a striking example of Soviet achievements. He is extremely eloquent; he is not without a certain literary talent and speaks several languages fluently. He is regarded as one of the most trustworthy Communists in Turkestan and an active opponent of Islam in his native country.

In the course of their activity these well-known liaison agents of Turkestan, who serve Soviet Russian interests in Asia and Africa, have acquired a large trained staff to assist them. This staff includes the following persons:

M u s a h a n (ov), deputy chairman of the Soviet Trade Unions Federation, is a trained trade unionist, whose special task it is to influence the trade union movement in Asia and Africa. On January 25, 1960, he attended the Asian and African Congress in Tunis as head of the Soviet delegation.

Sulfia I s r a i l (ova) is in charge of the "Soviet Committee for Contacts with the Permanent Bureau of Asian and African Writers". Her task consists above all in actively influencing the women's organizations in Asia and Africa. She is a talented poet and a member of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan.

M. R a c h m a t (ov), the chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Tadzhikistan, is frequently sent to the African countries as the head of Soviet delegations. In this capacity he headed the Soviet delegation which attended the celebrations held to mark the proclamation of independence in Togo.

Abdul R a s h i d (ov) has been the head of the Soviet Propaganda Branch-Office for the Near East in Cairo since 1958.

Sarwar A s i m (ov), deputy chairman of the Ministerial Council of Uzbekistan, plays an active part, above all, in the Asian and African congresses that are held in Tashkent.

Some of the trained liaison agents have already been appointed ambassadors to the newly founded African states, as for instance Dzhabbar R a s h i d (ov), hitherto Secretary and member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tadzhikistan. He has been Soviet Ambassador in Togo since June 25, 1960. K i l i t c h has been sent to Tunisia as Soviet Ambassador.

Imperialists against Imperialism

On the grounds of the alleged struggle of the Soviet Union against imperialism, all these Soviet liaison agents affirm both at home and abroad that Turkestan formed a "voluntary union" with tsarist Russia. Actually, congresses dealing with the theme "The voluntary union of Turkestan with Russia and its significance as regards progress" were held by Soviet historians and politicians in Uzbekistan in the summer of 1959. This falsification of history is propagated by the press, the broadcasting stations and by lectures both at home and abroad. The aim of this misrepresentation of facts is, on the one hand, to gloss over the hostility of the Turkestanians towards the Russians and, on the other hand, to lead the Oriental peoples to believe that Turkestan is not a colony of Russia. The fact that Turkestan has become the centre of Russia's policy regarding the Orient and the meeting-place

of Asian and African delegations is intended as proof that Russia is not a colonial power.

Contacts with the clergy of the Islamic world are established by Ziyaeddin Babahan(ov), known as the "Red Mufti" of Turkestan. He studied at the "Workers' University" in Moscow and in 1957 was appointed Mufti by the Soviets on the death of his father, who had held this office. He has been thoroughly trained both in Communist ideology and in Islamic doctrine. He is at present regarded as one of the most important and influential men for establishing contacts with the clergy of the Orient. He has paid numerous visits to the Asian countries and he makes a practice of inviting high Islamic dignitaries of the Orient to Tashkent. On several occasions he has visited Mecca during the season of pilgrimages, when thousands of Moslems from all over the world meet there, in order to establish contacts. He is an ardent supporter of Soviet home and foreign policy, attends international congresses, issues protests against "Western imperialism and colonialism" and exhorts the peoples of the Islamic world to take joint action against the CENTO, SEATO and NATO.

In connection with the Near East crisis in July 1958, he issued various appeals, which contained statements such as the following:

"We wish to assure the brothers and sisters of Irak, the Jordan and Lebanon that in this hour of temptation the peoples of the Soviet Union are with you; our hearts are filled with anger against the instigators of the provocation and military aggression... We Moslems of the whole world must, above all, unanimously join with all the sincere-hearted people who demand that the American and British troops be withdrawn from Lebanon and the Jordan without delay..."

These and similar appeals are printed in various languages and circulated in the Orient in the form of pamphlets and leaflets and by the broadcasting stations and the press. Subsequently, the authors then visit these countries themselves.

Since the tragic colonial status of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union and the extent to which Islam is persecuted there are on the whole not known to the Asian and African peoples, the latter are liable to believe the Soviet slogans of the liaison agents and to sympathize with Soviet Russia. Unfortunately, the Soviet Russians, in spite of their obvious mendacity, have succeeded in achieving a certain success with their propaganda, as for instance at the First Soviet Solidarity Congress of the Asian and African Peoples, which was held in Stalinabad, the capital of the Soviet Republic of Tadzhikistan, in October 1960.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY IN HONOR OF TARAS SHEVCHENKO

President John F. Kennedy, in a telegram on March 25, 1961 to Prof. Roman Smal-Stocki, President of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, expressed his admiration for the great Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the poet's death. The telegram was worded as follows:

I am pleased to add my voice to those honoring the great Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko. We honor him for his rich contribution to the culture not only of Ukraine, which he loved so well and described so eloquently, but of the world. His work is a noble part of our historical heritage.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

No Compromises!

Freedom can only be saved by courageous and resolute action

The past year brought Russia considerable triumphs in the field of world politics. After years of subversive activity the Russians succeeded in gaining some clear victories of far-reaching political significance outside Europe. In this connection mention must above all be made of the setting up of a pro-Russian and pro-Communist government, the dictatorship of Fidel Castro, in Cuba, and of the attempts to incorporate the Congo, immediately after the proclamation of its independence, in Moscow's sphere of influence.

The free world has so far been unable to overcome the consequences of this Russian policy. In Cuba that adventurer Fidel Castro continues to rule as the exponent of Russian Communist aggression. In the Congo it has so far been impossible to put a stop to Communist subversion.

The fact that the crisis in and about the Congo still continues and alarms the world can not only be counted as a success on the part of Moscow's diplomacy and Communist propaganda, but also reveals that the Organization of the United Nations and the free world have failed miserably. In this connection the fatal attitude of the organs of the UNO must be stressed in particular. Had the latter not insisted on the absurd fiction of the legitimate rule of Lumumba and supported him for so long, a consolidation in the Congo would have been arrived at earlier. This became obvious after the liquidation of Moscow's agent, Lumumba. Had he not been removed in this way, then in all probability a coalition government, in which he played a decisive part, would have been formed much earlier in the Congo, as was suggested by US delegate Stevenson. This would have led to the gradual bolshevization of the Congo. And the example of China and a number of East, Central and Southeast European states after World War II is clear proof of how disastrous such a development would be.

Nor were the fears of certain influential political circles and of the entire press of the free world, namely that Lumumba's death would lead to his political victory in the Congo, realized. Actually, the situation is quite different. After Lumumba's death the anti-Communist political leaders in the Congo found a joint political solution. This solution would no doubt already have been applied in practice and the Communist menace in the Congo would have been eliminated, had not the representatives of the UNO once more intervened and tried to force the unreasonable and irresponsible decisions of the UNO onto the people of the Congo. In spite of all these blunders on the part of the organs of the United Nations, the situation in the Congo has already obviously improved. There is no longer any acute danger of this territory falling a victim to Communist infiltration.

Moscow, however, is not content with its triumph, gains and provocations so far, but is resorting to new diplomatic intrigues and methods of attack. On the one hand, it is endeavouring to make up for its defeat in the Congo by inciting unrest in Angola, and, on the other hand, it is doing its utmost to incorporate Laos in its sphere of influence.

And what can we now observe in Laos or, rather, with regard to Laos? Once again a weak, vacillating and compromising attitude on the part of the leading powers of the free world. The government of the USA is prepared to negotiate and confer with the Russian and Chinese Communists. So far, however, all the conferences in which the representatives of the Soviet Russian government participated, resulted either in new triumphs for Russia, — or in failure. One is therefore justified in

fearing that a conference "at summit level" about Laos will again result in a victory for Russia and for Communism. Or, at best, it will fail completely.

A Western victory in Laos and in other countries bordering on Asia is only possible if the West resorts to a political offensive and to active, including military, support of the underground movements in the countries subjugated by Russia in Europe and Asia. In local and, as it were, peripheral conflicts, the West will always get the worst of it if it does not support the cause of freedom actively and wholeheartedly. Furthermore, it is high time that the leading politicians and the public of the free world realized that the cold war against Russian Communist expansion cannot be won by illusions, compromises and concessions, but only by courageous and resolute action.

Into World Space Without God

The murder of millions of people, the slave labour of scores of millions, the misery and suffering of hundreds of millions, espionage, theft of foreign inventions, abduction of foreign scientists, — these are the methods to which Moscow resorts in its attempt to outdo the free world in its technical achievements. The inventions of the German scientists abducted by the Red Russians, the naive and incomprehensible action on the part of the Americans in abandoning to the Russians whole laboratories of the Third Reich containing V-1 and V-2 bombs, the betrayal of the secrets of American and English research institutes by people like Hiss, Pontecorvo, Rosenberg and others, whose number is unlimited, have enabled Moscow to carry on further research of its own. What the West achieved by great mental efforts, by huge financial investments and expenditure of energy in the field of technical inventions, Moscow turned to its own use, without any efforts and by means of treachery, theft and robbery. And then it used all these achievements as its own starting-point. But not content with this, however, it forced the inventors of other nations, whom it had enslaved, to work for its aims. Ukrainian scientists (for example, the famous nuclear physicist Kapytzia, who was engaged in research in England and after the international scientists' congress in Moscow was detained by the secret police, the NKVD, is now working in Soviet Russian research institutes as a British subject of Ukrainian origin), Georgian, Polish, Hungarian, Turkestanian, German (from the German Democratic Republic), Czech and Bulgarian scholars, as well as scientists from the Baltic countries and, of course, Russians, too, are all working on Moscow's technical inventions. The Soviet Russian imperial complex numbers more than 300 million inhabitants, including about 90 million Russians, whilst the "remainder" consists of peoples who have been enslaved by Russia, as for instance Germans, Poles, Ukrainians, Czechs, Bulgarians, Georgians, Lithuanians, Turkestanians, Slovaks and many others. Hence all the scientific achievements of these peoples are being stolen by Moscow and put down to its credit. In view of the above facts, Major Gagarin's flight into space is hardly an achievement on the part of Moscow (if the information spread by Moscow is really true), but, rather, the result of the efforts of scientists from the whole world, of their brains, their research and the great risk to their lives which such work usually involves. It is an established fact that cynical and predatory Moscow did not know the secret of the construction of the atom and hydrogen bombs; for this reason it did not hesitate to steal this secret with the aid of its spies . . .

On more than one occasion scientists of various nations, with trembling hearts and because of their belief in God, revealed a tiny part of the secret of this world so that treacherous and godless Moscow could boast to the world in the name of the Anti-

christ that what had been achieved in God's faith — and what it had very often stolen — was a victory of the allegedly higher system of atheistic, totalitarian and tyrannical Communism over the free order of society.

Actually, the distance of 200 miles, which the small Soviet space-ship covered from the earth into space, is not such a miracle after all, for compared to the universe it is nothing. It is far less than a thousandth part of the distance between the earth and the moon, let alone the distance of 92,800,000 miles between the earth and the sun. And the sun and our planetary system are only like a speck of dust amidst the myriads of stars in the Milky Way, which is likewise only a spiral mist in the entire stellar system.

In view of this fact, man should neither be presumptuous nor conceited. For he will never discover the secret of the universe. He should humbly bow to the Almighty, for He alone is the beginning and end of existence and the *eternal, ultimate secret*.

The conceited atheists of Moscow, enemies of mankind and mass murderers, will suffer the fate that they deserve. No one has the power to defy the Almighty. The Bible tells us what happened to the conceited blasphemers who revolted against God. Divine justice will deal with the blasphemers of the Kremlin in the same way. S.

Missed Opportunities

Deeds not Words are Needed

Comment on recent events in Cuba

In their first serious attempt to overthrow the tyrannical regime of Fidel Castro, Moscow's henchman, the Cuban freedom fighters have suffered a defeat. Yet it is not so much their defeat as rather that of the USA, which, it is true, supported the landing of the Cuban resistance fighters in moral, political and technical respect, but did not have the courage to join forces with the Cuban people in fighting for a victory against the tyranny of Fidel Castro and his clique, which is solely an agency of Moscow. It is not so long since the American Radio "Free Europe" urged the freedom-loving Hungarians to rise up in revolt against Moscow, but when they heroically did so, they were left in the lurch and betrayed. Surely one gains a similar impression from the unsuccessful landing of the Cuban freedom fighters from the territory of the USA to liberate their native country, Cuba.

One could understand the USA fearing possible psychological complications in Latin America if its government intervened with armed force, but one cannot understand why the strongest power in the world should fear Russia. The greatest danger is that Khrushchov extends his rocket base, that is to say, a bridgehead, about 93 miles away from New York. And the USA tolerates such a thing. . . .

Surely no serious-minded and honest-thinking politician in any freedom-loving country would ever suspect the USA of wanting to occupy Cuba. Hence this type of action can be carried out far more easily by the USA than by any other major power of the West, not to mention Russia. In our opinion, the USA, when it became obvious that the landing troops of the insurgents were not adequate, should have landed marine light infantry and helped the Cuban people to effect their liberation, and then subsequently left the liberated country again. Indeed, this help could have been requested by a *new* Cuban government, which should, of course, have been recognized when the landing was effected. Volunteers from both Americas should have joined forces with the Cuban liberation army. In that case the USA would have been able to exercise an encouraging power of attraction. The traitor Kadar "begged" the Red Russian army for help; the Russians in a treacherous manner overpowered Maleter,

Nagy and other freedom fighters and ruthlessly crushed the heroic Hungarians, whereupon a graveyard silence reigned. Even the Americans at present keep silent in the forum of the United Nations about this dreadful massacre of the Hungarian people. The Americans were in a position to help the Cuban people to gain their *freedom*, and hence they should not have hesitated one moment to give their armed assistance. Once the American troops had withdrawn again after the liberation of Cuba, no one would ever have dreamt of assuming that they had landed in Cuba in order to crush or economically exploit that country. The failure of the landing is a moral disgrace for the USA in the eyes of the whole world. To think that Moscow carries off a victory so close to the coast of the USA! Is President Kennedy unaware of this incredible disgrace of the fighting forces of the USA, which is clear proof of the indecision, fear and failure to assert themselves of leading American factors or of their infiltration by hostile elements? Is it possible that the Pentagon does not realize how much its power has been disgraced? It will now be far more difficult to undertake a similar action either in Cuba or elsewhere.

Did Mao Tse-tung by any chance hesitate when he set about *crushing* the freedom of Tibet? And in the above-mentioned case the Americans would have *brought freedom* with them. How else can one liquidate tyranny, save by armed force? After the revolts in Hungary, in Tibet, in Poznan, and on the part of the Ukrainian political prisoners in the Russian concentration camps in Siberia, who is likely to trust the USA any longer? Moscow managed to help Fidel Castro even though he was thousands of miles away, but the USA did not even have the courage to actively support the insurgents who were only about 90 miles away. Surely Moscow would hardly have adopted a passive attitude, had it been in the position of the USA!

Not only Cuba but also Albania, a territory bordering on the Russian sphere of influence, is clear proof of the complete failure of the psychological "war" conducted by the USA. From the geographical point of view the Albanian Communist tyrants are isolated from the USSR and, if the USA applied its liberation policy in the proper way (an occasion for which hundreds and, indeed, thousands of Albanian patriots, for instance in Italy, are waiting), could be wiped out within a few days. But the USA maintains an incomprehensible inactivity. Let us imagine the case of a country with a similar geographical position close to the USSR and with such a weak democratic regime, which does not depend on the people as the Communist regime of Albania does! The Communist agents would long since have assumed the reins of government. Meanwhile this whole farce of a conflict of the Communists of Albania with Khrushchov is intended to lull the West into naively believing that the Communists of Albania can be played off against Khrushchov. A liberated Albania might be an important bridgehead for the USA in the near future. Why therefore should one not divert attention from him by illusions, apart from "an existing conflict with Khrushchov"?

Of what value then is the present psychological war of the USA and its principles? How does the USA think it can overcome Bolshevism and the aggression of Red Russian imperialism, if it leaves Hungary, which recently rose up against Russian subjugation, Poland, Ukraine, Tibet and even Cuba to the mercies of Russia? The USA has not only abandoned the liberation policy, which is the only thing that can save the world from the Bolshevik deluge, but also the constraint policy. This was clearly proved by the latest compromise of the USA in Cuba. If the American marine infantry had landed in Cuba and wiped out Fidel Castro and his clique within a few days, then the entire Cuban people would have certainly risen up against Castro. The Red Russians and their agents would no doubt have cursed the "imperialism of the Yankees" (which they do in any case) for a time, but at least the USA, thanks to its efforts and determination to protect freedom, would have won the

respect of the whole world. And the liberated countries of Africa and Asia and their peoples would have also respected the USA all the more. For a person who is undecided is not held in very high esteem by anybody, however great his material and technical means may be, if he does not make use of them at the right time.

True, President Kennedy made a fine-sounding statement on April 20th, *but the question at issue in this case was not a statement but the landing of American forces together with the insurgents of Cuba* . . . Young, energetic and intelligent, President Kennedy has disappointed us very deeply as a man of prompt action and bold decision. For deeds and not words are needed at present!

What business has Russia in Laos, Congo or Cuba? How does the West come to allow Russia to have a say not only in Laos and Congo, but also in the American hemisphere, *in Cuba itself*, right next-door to the strongest power in the world?!

Why does the USA not see to it that it has a say in the affairs of Ukraine, Georgia or Turkestan? Even Poland has long ago been recognized as an inviolable part of the Russian sphere of influence!

Although the Russian agent Fidel Castro is readily setting up a Russian rocket base against the USA in close proximity to that country, Mr. Stevenson in the UNO has apparently already forgotten the Hungarian October revolution and the revolt in Tibet!

Khrushchov is interfering with and threatening the USA in Cuba, which he now controls, and the government of the USA is afraid to give the least hint of any support on its part for the revolutionary liberation movements in the USSR with the aim of disintegrating the Russian colonial imperium!

O tempora! O mores!

Whither is the West steering?

S.

Appeal for All-American Solidarity with the Liberators of Cuba

The Directive Committee of the "Inter-American Confederation for the Defence of the Continent" appeals for All-American solidarity with those who are already fighting courageously and with those who will go to Cuba in the near future in order to liberate this fellow-nation from execrable, cruel and ruthless tyranny.

This is a problem which not only concerns the Cubans, but also all peoples in our hemisphere. And it would be naive to believe that the Red dictators will listen to sensible reasoning or to peaceful arguments.

As two writers, a Spaniard and a Chilean, Mr. Enrique Castro Delgado and Mr. Enrique Castro Farias, have so aptly affirmed, — violence must be met with violence; for, unfortunately, the Reds understand no other language save that of violence.

And in this case to apply violence is solely to defend the life and freedom of a people that has fallen into the clutches of one of the most depraved and irresponsible henchmen of Moscow and Peking.

It is the irremissible duty of all free people of America in this fateful hour, in which all differences between political parties should be overcome and all should unite for one common ideal, to help the Cuban patriots both morally and materially.

Mexico D. F., April 14, 1961

Admiral Carlos Penna Botto, President (*Brazil*). — Salvador Diaz Verson, Vice-President (*Cuba*). — Jorge Prieto Laurens, Vice-President, in the capacity of Secretary-General (*Mexico*). — Manuel Orellana Portillo, M. P., Finance Department (*Guatemala*). — Dr. Carlos A. Bambaren, Member (*Peru*).

Solidarity With The Cuban People

April 20, 1961

To The Vice-President of the Interamerican Confederation for Defence of the Continent, Salvador Diaz Versón, Avenida 16 de Septiembre No. 2 Altos, Mexico I, D.F. (Mexico).

Dear Sir,

The Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), the co-ordination centre of the national revolutionary liberation organizations of the peoples of Europe and Asia who are subjugated by Russian colonialism — the Committee "Free Armenia", Bulgarian National Front, Byelorussian Central Council, Cossack National Liberation Movement, Croatian National Liberation Movement, Czech National Committee, Esthonian Liberation Movement, Union of the Esthonian Fighters for Freedom, Georgian National Organization, Hungarian Liberation Movement, Hungarian Mindszenty Movement, Latvian Association for the Struggle Against Communism, Lithuanian Rebirth Movement, Rumanian Free Front, Organization of Serbian Nationalists, Slovak Liberation Committee, National Turkestanian Unity Committee, Ukrainian Hetman Union, Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists — welcomes the liberation revolt of the Cuban people against Communist tyranny and through you desires to convey to the Cuban freedom fighters its best wishes for every success of their just cause.

The Cuban freedom fighters, who have decided to overthrow the terrorist regime of the Russian agent Fidel Castro, are fighting not only for the freedom and independence of their own country but also for the victory of the universal freedom of the individual and the independence of the peoples against the ever-increasing grim and ruthless Russian Communist tyranny.

We hereby declare ourselves to be in complete solidarity with the fight for freedom of the heroic Cuban nation and exhort all freedom-loving individuals and peoples throughout the world to actively support this nation in its fight. The victory of the fight against Fidel Castro's clique of tyrants will be a considerable step forwards as regards warding off the danger which Russian imperialism represents for the whole of America and the rest of the world.

Our common aim is and will continue to be the disintegration of the Russian colonial imperium into independent national states as the surest guarantee of a lasting peace in the world. The unchangeable aim of the Kremlin despots is to set up a Russian world colonial imperium. But wherever people fight for the freedom of the individual and the independence of the nation against Communism, which is intended as a camouflage for Russian colonialism, they are fighting against the setting up of a Russian world peoples' prison, intended to embrace all continents, and slavery of the individual.

Long live the brave Cuban people! Long live the free and independent Cuban Republic! Long live freedom! Down with Communism and Russian imperialism!

Freedom-loving peoples and individuals all over the world, unite in the fight against Russian colonialism and Communism for the freedom of the individual and the independence of the peoples.

For the Central Committee of the ABN:

Jaroslav Stetzko (Ukraine), President, former Prime Minister,

Prince Niko Nakashidze (Georgia), Secretary-General,

Prof. Dr. F. Durcansky (Slovakia), President of the Peoples' Council of the ABN,
former Foreign Minister,

Dr. D. Waltscheff (Bulgaria), former Secretary of State,

Dr. Ctibor Pokorny, Chairman of the Organizing Committee.

Active Coexistence in Practice

On April 12, 1961, Moscow's agents for the third time tried to wreck our offices by planting a bomb.

The Soviet Russians have designs upon us, since they know that we are the strongest and also the most active organization in the fight against Russian tyranny and Communism.

They want to destroy us physically, and should this plan not succeed, then at least we are to be put out of action. The purpose of such attacks on their part is to cause alarm amongst the public, to provoke the latter and incite the authorities to take steps to prohibit our activity.

Part of the press in the German Federal Republic has swallowed the bait of this provocation; it has described these attacks as a jungle war, in which the differences between emigrant organizations of various political trends are the question at issue.

This is a vile defamation of the emigrant organizations of the subjugated peoples. Differences between the emigrant groups have never been fought out in this vile manner, nor has terrorism ever been applied.

It is not the emigrants of the subjugated peoples, but KGB agents who carry out these criminal and provocative acts.

During the past years a number of persons of different nationalities have been murdered by MVD and KGB agents in Munich alone; an Azerbaijani politician (incidentally, the police in this case gave the name of the murdered man as that of the murderer, and vice versa); the body of a Byelorussian journalist, whose throat had been cut, was found in the River Isar; a young Russian woman disappeared, and her body, too, was recovered from the Isar. Then there was the dreadful murder of the former Slovakian Foreign Minister M. Cernak. The murderers were never traced. Under mysterious circumstances the great Ukrainian national fighter, S. Bandera, was treacherously murdered by Soviet Russian agents. The competent Chief Commissioner of Police on this occasion informed press representatives that the matter did not concern him in the least. Such a statement is indeed significant. A crime occurs in his administrative district and the chief of the police shows not the least interest! Why? Because the victim was a foreigner or a nationalist?! This certainly strikes one as extremely strange!

In this connection we should like to point out that under the Weimar Republic all emigrants enjoyed the protection of the authorities, even though the Ministers of the Interior and the Chief Commissioners of Police in Prussia and Berlin, for instance, were always social democrats.

It has frequently happened that Communist Party rowdies have tried to break up meetings held by the emigrants; but the police has always dealt with them drastically. On such occasions the press never attacked or in any way blamed the emigrants. But now, the situation is apparently different!

Attempts have been made to turn us out of our premises. Indeed, a certain lawyer in the German Federal Republic would be willing to undertake this task and would spare no trouble merely to get us turned out. He affirmed that our activity is to blame for the fact that we are exposed to attacks. If we were to keep quiet, he added, nothing would happen to us. It is surely obvious whose interests this Federal republican lawyer is representing!

E. Kirchpfering, that wise old man of the Bavarian social democrats, told me about an incident in his life. He was the editor of the party paper somewhere in Prussia and was sentenced to a month in prison on account of a certain article. When he was released, the governor of the prison gave him the following advice in his parting words: "young man, leave people alone and they won't harm you!"

The representatives of democracy in the press are now demanding that we should act according to this motto. True, it contains a certain wisdom, but only for the slow and humdrum sort of fellow and not for us national fighters. Hence we cannot comply with the request of said representatives.

We shall never cease to fight for the freedom of our individuals and peoples. In fighting against the Russian colonial imperium and world Communism, we are fighting for the salvation of the civilized world and for the highest democratic ideals.

N. N.

Moscow's Latest Attack On The Exiles

(A bomb planted by the KGB recently exploded on the premises in which the ABN has its offices.)

The Bolshevik rulers have never ceased to fight against the emigrants and political refugees living in the free world and in particular in Germany, where the bulk of the political exiles collected after World War II. From the outset the Bolsheviks aimed to destroy the individual national groups morally and physically, to disintegrate them, intimidate them, cause confusion amongst them and undermine their political views. In 1945 and 1947 they did their utmost to get hold of as many active persons as possible, above all, Ukrainians, Baltic nationals, Hungarians and others, in order to either persuade them to return to their native countries, or simply to abduct them by force. With the aid of the Occupation authorities at that time, they unfortunately managed to realize this aim to a considerable extent. On various occasions high-ranking American, French or English officers naively believed the Russian MVD agents and cold-bloodedly sent individual patriots and also whole groups, who had been designated by the Russians as Fascists, to Russian concentration camps or to their death.

When the West in due course realized that the same concepts have a different meaning in the West and in the East, that "Fascism" in Moscow's vocabulary is not Fascism as we conceive it, and that the alleged crimes of the political emigrants were hardly ever "crimes" but merely the designation given in the Russian imperium to their love of freedom and their democratic attitude, repatriations by force ceased.

The Russians were now obliged to take into account the fact that there existed in the free world countless anti-Bolshevist forces from various East European countries and that these would continue to exist and would possibly also conduct an active fight. It was only a question of time until these national forces in exile were organized as movements which established constant contact with their native countries once more, became accustomed to the new way of life in a free economy and thus represented a growing threat to Moscow's aggressive policy

and also to the existence of the Red Russian imperium. In order to eliminate this danger or at least to diminish it, the Kremlin adjusted itself to these new circumstances and resorted to new methods. It first of all sent out a number of agents, who wormed their way into emigrant groups and then either launched their campaign immediately, or else kept quiet for the time being and waited for further orders. To begin with, these agents confined themselves to propagandist activity, to attempts to blacken individual exile politicians morally, and to the dissemination of agitational rumours. Naturally, they also did plenty of spying amongst the emigrants.

It goes without saying that the Bolshevik agents were able to carry out these tasks without much difficulty, since their activity was not punishable according to German laws. As a Munich public prosecutor informed us, a Russian agent can only be prosecuted if he engages in an activity directed against the German Federal Republic or against the NATO allies, or commits a crime; propagandist activity and spying amongst emigrants, however, do not come under this category.

The exile groups therefore had no other choice but to protect themselves against these spies and agitators. Now and again incidents of violence occurred, but the emigrants were always the guilty party, for — and they had no choice in the matter — they had resorted to violence. But at least such measures helped in so far as the Russians no longer ventured to attack the emigrants openly or to resort to acts of terrorism against them.

But in the course of time the situation changed. The number of emigrants in Germany dwindled more and more, as the majority of them emigrated overseas. The political leaders, however, remained in Germany, which, geographically, was closest to the native countries of all the emigrant groups.

The Russians could now resort to new methods once more, which no longer consisted in propaganda, agitation and defamat-

ion, but also in open terrorism. Threatening letters were sent, active political fighters were shadowed, bombs were planted in various buildings belonging to the national institutions, persons were abducted, and individual exile politicians were attacked and murdered. The list of these incidents is a long one. Most of them occurred in Munich, but other towns in Germany and also in Austria were involved, too, in this respect.

Only a few of these incidents, however, were considered worth-while mentioning by the German press and radio, and only when it was a case of murder or a bomb attack. Abduction is seldom mentioned in the press, and still less so, agitational or subversive activity. Unfortunately the perpetrators could not be traced in any of these cases.

The latest crime occurred in Munich, at No. 67 Zeppelinstrasse, in the early hours of the morning of April 12th. Some person or other, who obviously received his orders from Moscow, planted a bomb on the premises in which the ABN also has its offices; the bomb was placed against the window of the printing works "Cicero", where the Ukrainian weekly "Schlach Peremohy" and other exile publications are printed. It exploded at 2-55 a.m. and caused considerable damage. Fortunately, there was no one in the offices or on the street at that hour, and no casualties occurred. One of the printing presses was put out of action and windows were smashed to bits. In view of the financial position of the printing firm and publishing firm, this damage represents a considerable loss to them. That, of course, was Moscow's intention.

The purpose of these criminal acts of terrorism is to intimidate and cause serious losses to the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), to the Ukrainian liberation move-

ment "Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists" (OUN), and to their members and co-workers. The most tragic loss was the death of the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Stepan Bandera, who was murdered by poisoning on October 15, 1959. One can also assume that the treacherous Russian perpetrators harbour another intention, namely to incite the German population against the Ukrainian and other emigrants. Indeed, the opinion has already been voiced on more than one occasion, — "Why are the German inhabitants endangered by 'foreigners'?" Is the state going to wait until casualties occur before it intervenes?"

Individual papers have even made the most of such opinions, though in doing so, they have forgotten that they are regarded as anti-Bolshevist organs and have overlooked the fact that they may be exposed to the same sort of incidents and attacks some day.

The Bolsheviks will never abandon their policy of aggression, and if there were no political emigrants in Germany, then they would simply attack the Federal Republic, the German parties, publishing firms and the German people more violently.

It is high time that this struggle of the East European emigrants ceases to be regarded as something which does not concern the free world and that the latter realizes that such attacks are also directed against the positions of the free peoples. One should refrain from labelling those who are attacked as the guilty and should endeavour to repulse the aggressor.

It is obvious that much of the damage done by Bolshevist agents could have been prevented, had the police of the countries in question taken the necessary precautionary measures.

W. Lenyk

CANADIAN PRIME MINISTER ON SHEVCHENKO

A century has passed since the death of Taras Shevchenko, the great Ukrainian poet and it is most fitting that a monument in his honor is to be erected on the grounds of the Manitoba Legislature. As a poet he not only enriched the literature of his people but inspired them with new hope for freedom. What he sought for them, he sought no less for the oppressed everywhere in the world.

The seventieth anniversary of the arrival of Ukrainian settlers in Canada is also being celebrated this year. The labour and devotion of these pioneers on the western prairies have meant much to the Canadian epic and the contribution of them and their descendants to the economic, cultural and public life of Canada has been a worthy one.

On behalf of the Government of Canada I should like to send warm greetings and every good wish to all Ukrainian democratic organizations and Canadians of Ukrainian origin on the occasion of these memorable anniversaries.

Ottawa, 1961.

J. Diefenbaker, Prime Minister

40 Years Under Russian Bolshevik Rule

When the revolution broke out in the Russian tsarist empire in 1917, the non-Russian peoples subjugated in this empire immediately came forward and demanded the restoration of their national rights to self-administration. The Russian democracy, however, had no intention of recognizing these rights; not only did its spokesman A. Kerensky categorically reject such a step, but he also threatened to resort to drastic measures to prevent the restoration of such rights.

But then the Bolshevik revolution broke out and the "democratic Russian empire", too, collapsed. The same Russian "democracy", whose power A. Kerensky had used as a threat, now hounded him and his clique out of Russia. In place of the Tsar, Lenin became the absolute ruler of "all the Russ". The non-Russian peoples detached themselves from Russia and set up their national states.

The fact that the proclamation of the independence of Georgia was delayed and not carried out until May 1918 was mainly due to political circumstances at home and abroad.

Trans-Caucasia was the hinterland of the Turkish front. The Bolshevik military rabble that had been put to rout and was retreating from the fighting front and the Russian troops stationed in the country represented a grave danger to the country. It was imperative that they should be warded off and evicted in order to protect the country from being plundered and devastated and the population from being murdered. The front was exposed to an attack, and the Turks now advanced in order to occupy Trans-Caucasia. In the country itself the workers' and soldiers' councils of the social democratic party were in power. They still believed that the Russian "democracy" would redeem democratic principles. But when the Bolshevik revolution broke out, these deceptive hopes were shattered. An attempt was now made to establish a Trans-Caucasian Federative Republic. It was proclaimed in March 1918, but it only existed for three months, since the differences were too great to be bridged within a short time.

It was not until May 28, 1918, that the independence of Georgia was proclaimed. The Turkish menace had been warded off thanks to German intercession and support, and the frontiers had been safeguarded.

In the course of time Georgia was recognized *de jure* by all the European states, as well as by Japan, Thailand, and by some Central and South American states. The existence of the restored state of Georgia was thus determined by international law.

The Republic of Georgia was now to be admitted to the community of the states of the civilized world, that is to the League of Nations. This question was discussed in the League of Nations in November and December 1920. The British delegate, Lord Cecil, was decidedly in favour of Georgia's admission, and he had a fervent supporter in Fr. Nansen. But the other British delegate, Frischer, was definitely opposed to the idea, and in this he was supported by the French. There were 10 votes in favour of Georgia's admission to the League of Nations and 13 votes against it (including those of the newly founded states of Cuba, India, Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia); the rest (including Poland, Roumania, Belgium and Sweden) withheld their vote.

Incidentally, it is interesting to note that on the previous day there were only 5 votes for and 27, respectively 24, against the admission of Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia.

The main reason why Georgia was not admitted to the League of Nations was Article 10 of the Statutes, according to which each member-state was to be protected against aggression and its freedom defended.

Britain's policy was at variance. Whereas Lord Curzon was in favour of the independence of the peoples who had detached themselves from Russia and advocated the idea of supporting them, Lloyd George was all for recognizing and entering into diplomatic relations with Bolshevik Russia. When Moscow's delegate Krasin came to London, Lloyd George told him that Britain was not interested in the Caucasus.

Moscow now had a free hand and made preparations to effect the incorporation of the Caucasus. For this purpose the Caucasian traitors were furthered. For Stalin and his Armenian associates, Mikoyan and Karachan, the latter at that time deputy of the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Tchitcherin, this question was a "matter of honour", for if their countries were not part of Russia, then they were foreigners in the Kremlin. Stalin could not get over the fact that Georgia was not Bolshevik; it was a blow to his pride. In addition, he also had a personal matter to settle up with his Georgian fellow-countrymen. He had been obliged to leave Georgia. The Georgian workers for the most part belonged to the social democratic party; this party, that is to say the miners in Tchitouri and the dock and factory workers in Batumi, had greeted him with catcalls and had jeered at him. He now wanted to take his revenge and sacrifice his country for this purpose.

Although Stalin and Trotsky hated each other (Trotsky called Stalin "the Caucasian savage"; Stalin was aware of this and accordingly Trotsky had to suffer bitterly!), — the latter in his capacity as the People's Commissar for War, — were united for this purpose. The 11th Army was designated as the special army to conquer the Caucasian countries.

There is a certain significance in the fact that former tsarist officers and members of the general staff, as for instance Hecker, Levandovski, Egorov (all of whom were later shot), constituted the high command of this army. Trotsky's calculations proved to be correct. He knew that he could rely on them in this case, for it was a question of subjugating the Caucasus to Russia again. It was obvious that these tsarist officers would serve this cause wholeheartedly and fulfil their duty.

After General Denikin's White Army had been defeated and the Cossack territories had been occupied, the North Caucasus was conquered. The Russians then advanced to the frontiers of Trans-Caucasia.

The notorious traitor Sergo Ordsonikidze was appointed political commissar of the Russian 11th Caucasian Special Army. He sent telegrams with fictitious reports to Moscow stating that insurrections were constantly breaking out in Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia, that the governments of these countries, which were in the pay of the "imperialists and capitalists", were ruthlessly crushing these revolts, and that the workers and farmers there were "asking for help".

In a secret agreement which was reached with Kemal Atatürk, it was stated that Turkey raised no objections to the occupation of the Trans-Caucasian countries by Russia.

Although the Russian troops had advanced as far as the frontiers and danger was imminent, the governments of the Trans-Caucasian countries were incapable of concluding a military pact and forming a joint defence staff. The Armenians in particular were opposed to this idea. A pact of this kind had already been concluded between Azerbaijan and Georgia, but it was more or less ideological in character and was practically ineffective.

In the middle of April 1920, the Russian troops advanced into Azerbaijan and that same night seized the capital, Baku; they then pushed on at great speed. This was a most successful surprise attack, thanks to the utter incapability of the government. The Azerbaijanian troops were rushed and disarmed. True, there was some resistance in various places, but it was merely an act of desperation and, in any case, entirely futile.

Georgia was now encircled in the north and southeast by the Russian army.

Soon after the occupation of Azerbaijan the Russian troops advanced on Georgia. Their proclamation stated that "the Azerbaijanian Red troops are fighting for the liberation of the Georgian workers and peasants from the bondage of the capitalists and their hirelings".

This attempt on the part of the Russians, however, failed. They encountered the fierce resistance of the Georgians and, after suffering heavy losses, were forced to retreat. They immediately offered to conclude an armistice. Instead of using the tactical victory of the Georgian troops to advantage strategically and letting the victorious troops advance further, the Georgian socialist government obligingly accepted the suggestion of an armistice. The complete annihilation of the Russian troops would have been certain, for throughout the whole of Azerbaijan, that is to say in the rear of the enemy, revolts would have broken out, as was already the case in the province of Gandja.

At the armistice negotiations the Russian delegation was headed by the Georgian Communists S. Ordsonikidze and B. Lominadze (the latter, together with other persons, was later shot at Stalin's orders). Instead of these two men being arrested as traitors to their country, they were recognized as authorized representatives of the Moscow government.

Prior to this war a delegation had already been sent to Moscow to clarify relations with Russia. The negotiations were protracted and secretly sabotaged. But finally the treaty was concluded and signed on May 7, 1920.

Lenin for the time being did not want a military conflict to ensue, since he knew that these countries had many sympathizers in Europe and that the European socialists in particular, that is the 2nd International, were on their side. A military conflict would have interfered with Lenin's efforts to get the Western Major Powers to recognize Bolshevik Russia.

According to this treaty, Russia without reservation recognized the independence of the Georgian state, its sovereignty and the inviolability of its frontiers and at the same time renounced all material claims to Georgia. In spite of all this, however, the Bolsheviks endeavoured to subjugate Georgia by other means. The Azerbaijanian incident was only the first attempt in this direction.

Nevertheless, the Georgian government believed the promises that had been made on paper. It was convinced that relations with Russia had now been clarified and settled and that Georgia's existence was secure. But it was very soon to be bitterly disillusioned in this respect.

In November 1920, Red Russian troops carried out a surprise attack on Armenia and Azerbaijan and occupied both countries.

Georgia was now completely encircled. But still no orders for complete mobilization were issued there. The Russians were well informed in this respect, for the Russian embassy had its headquarters in Tiflis. During the night of February 11, 1921, the Russian troops launched their attack on Georgia. The Georgian troops put up a fierce resistance and the Russians were repulsed again and again; tactically the Georgians gained a victory, but they could not use this victory strategically as the Russians were attacking on four sides, from the northwest, north, northeast and south. They brought up new reinforcements again and again. In addition, the Turks attacked the Georgians from the rear and tried to seize Batumi. But here they were repulsed. By the beginning of March 1921 the whole of Georgia was occupied. The Georgian government left the country and went into exile.

The brutal violation of Georgia aroused indignation and protest all over Europe; violent speeches protesting against Russia's conduct were made in all the parliaments and in the League of Nations, but they were of no avail. Georgia's fate was sealed.

After the occupation of Georgia, Trotsky wrote a pamphlet attacking the Georgians. It was directed primarily against the social democrats, but at the same time it also attacked the whole nation. Its contents were as vile, malicious and cynical as Trotsky himself was.

A "government" was formed which consisted of the traitors to Georgia who had returned from Russia. By April 1921 this "government", in order to prove its friendship towards Turkey and to win the latter's confidence and favour, had already ceded three Georgian regions, namely Artwin, Ardagan and Olty, to Turkey.

There now began the most terrible and most tragic era in the whole history of Georgia since the invasion of the Mongols. Bolshevik Russian rule there began with the physical extermination of the Georgian people. And this system continues unabated. But what was and is even worse is the system of dominating the soul and mentality of the people in order to make them creatures with no will of their own, to level them down to one common standard and make them tractable. (The author was living in Georgia at that time.)

Insurrections broke out all over the country; and partisan wars continued from 1921 to 1924.

Reprisals were taken ruthlessly. Mass arrests, deportations and executions were the order of the day. In May 1923, numerous former generals, officers and clergy were shot. In the provinces, leading personalities of the intelligentsia and the farming class

met the same fate. In 1924 a national revolt broke out throughout Georgia. It was the spontaneous reaction of the people to the cruel subjugation which they could no longer endure.

This revolt was crushed with all the brutality that is characteristic of Bolshevism. Thousands of persons were shot, including many who had already been in prison for some length of time and had not taken part in the revolt at all. Thousands of persons were deported to Siberia.

In his memoirs Trotsky states that Stalin affirmed at a session of the Politbureau that Georgia must be "ploughed up". Georgia was now ploughed up and, indeed, most thoroughly. Stalin's emissary, S. Ordsonikidze, took good care that this was the case.

At that time the chief editor of the journal "Geopolitik", Prof. Dr. E. Obst, was visiting Georgia and he later described his impressions. In answer to his question as to whether it was really true that thousands of persons had been shot, a high-ranking functionary replied that if necessary, still more would be shot.

The Georgian nation was overwhelmed by this catastrophe. Its backbone was broken, as the Georgians themselves said. People were driven to the depths of despair, and in order to save their bare physical existence there was no other alternative but to resign themselves to the situation. Arrests, deportations and terrorism continued unabated and, in fact, in the 1930's they assumed even more dreadful proportions with the introduction of the kolkhoz system. Farmers were ruthlessly arrested, deported or shot by the thousands. Conditions were so terrible that the veteran Communists Macharadze, Zchakaya and Zerzvadze sent telegrams to Moscow begging that reprisals should cease.

The later waves of terrorism which occurred under Beria in the years 1935 and 1937 were even worse. Hundreds of intellectuals, scholars, writers, poets, artists, engineers, agronomists and doctors, etc., were shot. And then it was the turn of the Party functionaries, too. Practically all the old leading Communists (that is to say the old Bolshevik guard) were executed on account of "national deviation".

Khrushchov later had many of these persons who had been executed by Stalin and Beria "rehabilitated". But then, he could afford to be magnanimous in this respect since the dead could no longer be a danger to him. At the time, however, when they were murdered, he kept silent as a loyal servant of Stalin and condemned them.

Such was the national, political and social misery and despair of the Georgian nation when World War II broke out.

The Georgian soldiers went over to the German side en masse. But their hopes were not fulfilled. After the war the Georgian people, disappointed and embittered, secluded itself.

In the meantime a new generation has grown up. These young people, however, are not Bolshevik nihilists and, though they have been trained in the Communist spirit, are nationally conscious and proud of being members of an ancient historic and cultured nation.

It was this feeling and this national consciousness which in 1956 prompted the young people of Georgia to revolt against Russian rule and to hold demonstrations in the streets. By their attitude on this occasion they showed that they were willing to defend their national values at all times. And many of them sacrificed their lives for this cause.

The young scholars of Georgia, the sons of peasants and workers, describe the illustrious past and the cultural achievements of the nation and their general trend is to stress that the Georgian nation is an integral part of the European world. The modern literature of Georgia at present is definitely permeated with national feeling.

Naturally, there are plenty of hirelings and functionaries who are servile to Moscow, but the Georgian people as a whole refuses to have anything to do with them and is biding its time.

Economically the country is being exploited by the Russians to the utmost. In fact, the country is teeming with Russians. Of the 4.5 million inhabitants, only 2.7 million are Georgians. When the independence of Georgia was proclaimed, the population numbered approximately 2.2 million. In view of the natural and normal increase of population in the course of forty years, the Georgian population should now number at least 3.5 million. What has become of all these people? These figures alone reveal the tragedy of this nation. It is obliged to endure indescribable conditions. All the fruits of its labour are exported to Russia. But the Georgians refuse to allow themselves to be degraded to the level of kolkhoz animals and factory slaves. They are determined to be free individuals and a sovereign nation again some day. It is true that the Georgians are obliged to rely on their own strength as a people, but they do not allow themselves to be disheartened by this fact. They know that so many peoples cannot remain under Russian rule for ever. They know that in Asia and Africa numerous peoples have recently established their own states, — even peoples who never before possessed a state of their own. And they also realize that though Russia is the only existing colonial imperium in the world now

left, it will some day collapse as all the others have done.

There is considerable bitter feeling amongst the subjugated peoples towards the Western world. There is a good reason for this. We do not wish to reproach anyone, but it is indeed a disgrace to the civilized world that it expresses indignation at the murder of someone in an African state but remains completely unmoved by the murder of thousands of persons of the subjugated peoples. It is disgraceful that the tyrants and hangmen of our peoples should be received with open arms everywhere, and tragic that our peoples should be forgotten and ignored. But this state of affairs will be avenged some day!

In its edition of February 22, 1961, the organ of the Georgian Communist Party, "Komunisti", to mark the occasion of the anniversary of the "liberation" of Georgia from dependence on the "capitalist imperialists", published a lengthy article about the "illustrious history" of the 11th Army, which conquered Georgia. The author of this article is the Russian Party historian M. Traskunov.

The article affirms that Nikita S. Khrushchov was at that time a political commissar in the 9th Division, which, together with the 20th Division, seized the capital of Georgia.

Moscow's hireling and emissary, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, V. Mshavadze, said in his speech that at that time, namely in 1921, when the "illustrious 11th Army entered the country in order to liberate the Georgian peasants and workers from slavery, N. K. Khrushchov belonged to its ranks; the Georgian people are aware of this fact and for this reason esteem him all the more".

He knows that he is telling lies and he knows only too well how much the Georgian people hate him and Khrushchov. But the captive Georgian people are forced to listen to and tolerate such lies in silence.

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

II. Corinthians, VI, 9.

The Enslavement of Rumania Continues

Changes in the state order — Preparations for "emergency"

On March 5th this year parliamentary elections and the elections for the people's councils were held in the Rumanian People's Republic. In one of his election speeches Party boss Gheorghiu Dej announced that the next parliament would be authorized to introduce important "constitutional changes". These changes were already decided at the first ordinary session of the "Big National Assembly" on March 21st.

This session lasted four days, from March 21st to 24th. There was "debating and voting" on the law to amend Section III and Articles 43, 44 and 75 of the present constitution.

The changes that have been introduced can hardly be described as original and they do not come as a surprise. And in keeping with the regime in the East bloc, they are not the result of any Rumanian initiative. The initiative in this case has been taken by the council of the Warsaw Pact. The decisions which have led to the said changes in the Rumanian constitution were reached at a session of this council, which was held at the end of March in Moscow. The questions dealt with on that occasion were partly connected with the problem of the "prevention of war". And in this respect it was unanimously agreed that it was imperative that the war potential of the East bloc should be increased.

A closer study of the said changes reveals that formally, too, more power is now to be concentrated in the hands of the Party leaders. The following amendments have been made:

The title of Section II of the changed constitution was: "The Supreme Organ of the State Power of the Rumanian People's Republic" (that is in the singular). Article 22, the first Article of this Section, designated the Big National Assembly as the supreme organ of the state power. In the new version the designation "The Supreme Organs of the State Power" is now used. According to the amended text, these now include, in addition to the old legislative organ, the newly established State Council. It can be seen from the text that the supreme state power will in future be twofold. Actually, the Big National Assembly will play a less important part than was formerly the case. The new organ, in which the Party boss has the role of leader, is now the actual holder of all the state power.

The State Council is merely the successor of the former Presidium of the National Assembly. Hitherto the latter formally also

had the authority to carry out the functions of the legislative body "in the interval between sessions" (in reality, however, at all times). The president of the Presidium was at the same time President of the state and hence represented the Rumanian People's Republic in matters pertaining to other states. His actual significance, however, was relatively slight and mainly of a formal nature. He had to sign the decrees drawn up by the Party and to confer decorations, etc. In comparison, the State Council has far more important competence, including the legislative field, too.

The importance of this new organ as compared to the Big National Assembly can in the first place be seen from the new version of Article 38. This Article provides that in the event of a state of emergency the State Council can exercise all the legislative powers by virtue of the constitution. It is easy to guess who determines whether a state of emergency exists or not.

On the strength of its actual functions and its composition as regards members, the State Council is the most important organ of the state power. Its competence, for instance, includes both legislative and also judicial and executive powers. Within the scope of its legislative function, for example, it is empowered to issue decrees (Article 37). And such decrees are, of course, legally valid even before they have been ratified by the legislative body. Furthermore, the laws passed by the National Assembly must in future be signed by the president of the State Council in order to become legally valid (Article 34).

Finally, the leading role of the State Council is also emphasized and strengthened by a personal union: the president of the Big National Assembly (at present Stefan Voitec) is also the Vice-President of the new organ. This question, too, is settled by Article 34.

In the field of executive power the State Council has the extremely important authority of being able to control the entire activity of the government. It can both appoint and dismiss Ministers. The Presidium which has been abolished was solely authorized to make personnel changes in the government in the interval between two sessions. Moreover, such measures had to be ratified subsequently by the National Assembly. The State Council can now appoint the entire government in a "state of emergency". According to the constitution, the Prime Minister must in any case be a member of the new organ.

The State Council can now also determine when a state of emergency exists. The abolished Presidium of the Big National Assembly also had this authority but only in the interval between two sessions of the legislative body. Now, a state of emergency can be determined at any time.

The State Council can now appoint the supreme commander in chief of the army, can proclaim a state of general mobilization and declare war.

In the judicial field, too, the new organ now has a greater competence. The State Council can, for instance, appoint and dismiss the president of the Supreme Court of Justice, its members and the Public Prosecutor. Formerly, only the Big National Assembly had this competence. In addition, the State Council controls the entire body of judges and prosecutors. Never before has any one organ had such extensive competence, as is now the case with the State Council.

The State Council is comprised as follows: a president, three vice-presidents and 13 members. The Presidium also had a secretary and 15 instead of 13 members. This change, however, is not very significant.

As a result of these structural changes, Gheorghiu Dej now holds the reins of the three most important institutions of the state in his hands: the Party, the government and the State Council. His right-hand men are Chivu Stoica and Gheorghe Apostel. Gheorghiu Dej personally presides over the State Council. The Prime Minister is Georghe Maurer, hitherto president of the Presidium and formerly a member of the camarilla of King Carol II. The first deputy Prime Mi-

nister is "his man", Gheorghe Apostel, number two of this three-man team. Other deputy Prime Ministers are Emil Botnaras, military expert and close friend of the Party boss; Petre Borila, constant escort of Gheorghiu Dej on his travels in Rumania and abroad, who is responsible for the secret service; and, lastly, General Alexandru Draghici, who is also in charge of the department of internal affairs.

In the economic sector the following deputies have been appointed: Alexandru Barladeanu for trade, and Alexandru Moghioros for agriculture. Both of them are trustworthy friends of the Party boss.

It is obvious from these structural and personnel changes that Moscow is intent upon extending the authority and power of the executive body. These measures might also be regarded as preparations for "a state of emergency". The entire state power is at present concentrated in the hands of one person, who enjoys the complete confidence of the Kremlin.

Number three of the three-man team, Chivu Stoica, now holds the office of secretary in the Party Secretariat. The dynamic element of this organ, however, is Nicolae Ceausescu, who might possibly become Gheorghiu Dej's successor as head of the Party. His right-hand man is a Communist of the younger generation, Mihail Dalea, former ambassador in Moscow and probably one of the confidential agents of the Russians in the Party Secretariat.

But now more than ever, Gheorghiu Dej is in a position to control the fate of the Rumanian People's Republic with absolute power and unchallenged.

A. Furman

Stolen Glory

Who organized the insurrections of the prisoners in Siberia?

It is an established fact that it is a typical characteristic of the Russians to adorn themselves with borrowed plumes. In everyday life this is normally called theft. The Russians, however, not only steal material values but also spiritual values from other peoples. To designate Moscow, the hothed of barbarity and slavery, as the "Third Rome" is, indeed, blasphemy. This city, within whose walls stand such grim edifices as the Kremlin, the Lubjanka and Butirskaja, has no right to compare itself with Rome or Byzantium. But the Russian people, impaired by dreadful inferiority complexes, in its perverse greed does not even hesitate to claim as its own the fame and glory of foreign peoples that have been subjugated by it. *The revolts in Vorkuta and Norylsk are in the*

first place the unforgettable, glorious deeds of one people, namely the Ukrainians. This is a historical fact which cannot be refuted. But notorious Russian shamelessness cannot even desist from distorting and falsifying this historical fact.

On November 20, 1960, an article appeared in the Frankfort NTS organ "Posev" which bore the title "New Eyewitness Report on the 1953 Vorkuta Revolt"; in this article a certain R. M., allegedly a Yugoslav (probably a member of the White Guard or of Vlassov's army who has lived in Yugoslavia for some time), affirms that the revolts in Vorkuta and Norylsk were the work of the Russians! This is, of course, an infamous lie and deserves a fitting answer. I think I am qualified to give the members of said organi-

zation in Frankfort this answer, since I was interned in Vorkuta for five years and took part in numerous riots and strikes. All the other Germans who were imprisoned with me in Vorkuta can corroborate my testimony.

In the first place, I wish to refute an assertion that is repeated again and again in the above-mentioned "historical document". Mention is made of the Vlassov soldiers, who allegedly stood in the foremost ranks of the insurgent front. What was the part which they played in reality in this respect? They were actually only a minority in the contingent of Russian prisoners, who likewise only constituted a minority of the total contingent of prisoners; in Vorkuta approximately 10 per cent. The majority of the Vlassov soldiers adopted a passive attitude politically. Indeed, some of them regretted having joined the Vlassov army. They sent petitions to Stalin and Voroshilov, for the most part in vain. Others conducted themselves bravely during the riots, but no more so than thousands of Ukrainians, Baltic nationals, Caucasians and Turkestanians. Tribute to whom tribute is due!

The Vlassov men *never* operated as a compact bloc. They played no outstanding part in the central strike committees. The leading positions were always held by Ukrainians or other non-Russians. Like all Russians, the Vlassov soldiers were by no means in sympathy with the national revolutionary aims of the Ukrainians. They joined in the strikes because they hoped for a change in the social structure of the prevailing system. But the destruction and disintegration of the Muscovite Bolshevik colonial imperium was *not* on their programme. For this reason the Vlassov soldiers could never have taken over the leadership of the other prisoners, even if they had wanted to do so, for the majority of the prisoners were both anti-Bolshevist and *also* anti-Russian.

One can thus say that the part of the Vlassov men in Vorkuta was insignificant compared to the part played by the Ukrainians, Baltic nationals, Caucasians and Turkestanians. Eighty per cent of the prisoners were Ukrainians, who belonged to the OUN and the UPA. And the leadership, training and organizing of the insurgent masses lay in the hands of these men. Those who affirm anything to the contrary are either liars or agitators.

At the beginning of said article in "Posev" mention is made of a riot at shaft No. 9 in Vorkuta, supposed to have been started by 570 Vlassov soldiers on June 10, 1950. They allegedly overpowered the MVD guards at the shaft and in the camp, then marched to the northern Urals and from here succeeded in reaching Siberia and subsequently the frontier.

Did this riot really happen? I never heard

anything at all about it. During the five years that I was interned I made the acquaintance of hundreds of prisoners who had been in Vorkuta since 1944 and in the course of the years had got to know practically every camp. The "camp veterans" knew all about every strike and every riot and every large-scale insurrection on the part of the prisoners. Every prisoner in Vorkuta would have been bound to know about such a big riot involving 570 men, which, it is alleged, took place at shaft No. 9 in 1950!

Nor do former prisoners in Vorkuta such as Josef Scholmer ("The Dead Return"), Dieter Friede ("The Russian Perpetuum Mobile"), Bernhard Roeder ("The Katorga"), whom I know personally, appear to have known anything about the alleged riot of the "570 Vlassov soldiers", for they make no mention at all of this fact in their accounts of life and events in the camps.

Nor does it seem credible that only the 570 Russians set off on the "march to the Urals", and not all the rest of the prisoners from shaft No. 9! If, as R. M. affirms in "Posev", there were sufficient arms, ammunition and food supplies available, why did not the other prisoners, too, set off with them? Because they wanted to remain slaves, or because they were afraid? This can hardly be assumed. No prisoner, whether Ukrainian, Russian, German or Turkestanian, whether armed or unarmed, whether hungry or not, whether clad or naked, would have remained behind in the camp, once the guards had been overpowered. Every one of them would have broken out!

The statement that the "570 Vlassov soldiers" set off for Siberia in order to reach the frontier, is likewise incredible. Which frontier, — the Soviet-Chinese one? That would have been senseless, for in 1950 China was already Communist. Or did they want to get through to the Persian or Afghan frontier? One can hardly believe that the Vlassov soldiers would have harboured such a utopian idea, for, like all other prisoners, they, too, realized that it was impossible to get through West Siberia, which was traversed by prohibited zones and penal colonies. — and illegally, on foot, and in a crowd of 570 men, at that! In 1950 West Siberia was one of the most important armament centres of the Soviet Union and was sealed and guarded accordingly. Any attempt at mass escape from the northern Urals a few thousand kilometres southwards was doomed to failure from the start; in fact, it was equal to suicide.

Has R. M. invented this riot on the part of the "570 Vlassov soldiers"? Not exactly, but he has certainly confused it with another riot! What R. M. tries to represent as the heroic deed of the Vlassov soldiers, was in reality the heroic deed of a Georgian pri-

soner, Matshutadze, who in September 1948 effected a break-through from his camp with shock-troops, disarmed the guards, liberated the camps nearby, and then, with 60,000 men consisting of political prisoners and deportees, marched towards the Urals, but not for the purpose of proceeding through the whole of Siberia from there, but in order to launch a partisan campaign in the Urals.

Of what nationality were the 60,000 soldiers of Matshutadze's army? Seventy per cent of them were Ukrainians. The remainder were Caucasians, Lithuanians, Byelorussians and Turkestanians. Naturally, there were also some Russians amongst them. We do not wish to deny this fact. But they only constituted a small minority in this army of prisoners, the leadership of which lay in the hands of a Caucasian nationalist.

And now to the subject of Norylsk. "At the end of June 1953 we learnt of the big riot in Norylsk and of the dreadful manner in which it had been crushed. It must be stressed that the contingent of prisoners in Norylsk was purely Russian."

This is an infamous lie. The part played by the Russians in the leadership of the riot in Vorkuta was very slight, but in Norylsk it was even more insignificant, for here the leadership was almost exclusively in the hands of the Ukrainian nationalists. The contingent of Russian prisoners in Norylsk was practically the smallest, and accordingly they only played a very small part in the whole riot.

In the spring of 1956 I shared a cell in the prison in Bautzen, in the Soviet Occupied Zone, with some German prisoners who had taken part in the riot in Norylsk and, later, in the riot in Tashet, too. Looking back on the riot, they openly admitted that it would never have succeeded in breaking out, had it not been for the huge number of Ukrainian prisoners who participated in it and for the ideological and political preparations which were carried out by the Ukrainian underground front.

In January 1956 the "Federal Headquarters for Home Defence" in Bonn published two reports on the riot in Norylsk. One had been written by Professor Herbert Passin of the University of Ohio and had been based on the testimony of numerous Japanese prisoners-of-war. The other report was by a German prisoner who had himself taken part in the riot. The fact that both reports tally as far as essential details are concerned and that an official department in Bonn did not hesitate to publish them, adds to the historical value of these documents. We quote the following significant passages:

"The large majority of prisoners were Ukrainians, many of whom had taken part in one or other of the constant Ukrainian resistance movements against the Russians

(p. 348). . . The main percentage of prisoners in camps 1, 2, 3 and 6 in Norylsk were natives of Ukraine, in camps 4 and 5 natives of the Baltic countries, and a smaller percentage were Russian nationals . . . The percentage of the individual nationalities amongst the prisoners also determined their share in the incidents. Where the Ukrainians were in the majority, the initiative in internal camp leadership naturally lay in their hands; and similarly where the majority of the prisoners were natives of the Baltic countries, these were responsible for the leadership." (p. 357—358)

"As was frequently the case, criminal prisoners ("blatnois") were put into some camps as support for the NKVD and in order to cause confusion and discord amongst the political prisoners by terrorizing them. In the second camp the "blatnois" were liquidated at the decision of the strike committee. During the night six "blatnois" were stabbed to death, with the result that the rest of them cleared out of the camp as fast as they could. Two Ukrainians voluntarily took the responsibility for this action in order to shield the others. Next day the whole of camp No. 2 unitedly went on strike." (p. 359)

"When the strike in Camp 5 broke out, there were several thousand prisoners interned there . . . As in most of the other camps, the majority were Ukrainians. In addition, No. 5 camp also contained several dozen Ukrainians who in 1952 had taken part in a riot in a camp in Karaganda and had later been sent to Norylsk. They seemed to constitute an important crystallization and focal point of the strike and led it in daring . . . One night, soon after their arrival in the camp, four prisoners, who were known to be spies of the MVD camp administration, were murdered. It was never discovered who had murdered them. This incident, however, had certain results. It undermined the supervision of the MVD camp administration over the camp and its internal affairs. And it scared the adherents of the camp administration and the secret agents. What was more, it showed the rest of the prisoners the grim determination of the Ukrainians and the success of their methods in this respect. This of course made them more disposed to recognize the Ukrainian leadership." (p. 350)

"The prisoners in Camp 4 also heard the machine-gun fire. Everybody was convinced that the courageous and unyielding Ukrainian leaders were being subjected to isolation, punishment, or perhaps even worse. The machine-gun fire seemed to indicate that they were being shot on the spot (p. 352) . . . In Kairkan camp No. 5 it also seemed to have been Ukrainians who assumed the leadership of the strike. It has been reported

from there that as a prelude to the strike a number of spies and informers, who had been sneaked in by the camp administration, were murdered." (p. 353)

In neither of these two eyewitness reports is there a single word about a Russian leadership!

R. M.'s account of the riot at shaft No. 29 in Vorkuta, in which he himself allegedly took part, is also a mass of lies and falsifications. There is one contradiction after another. At the end of his account, for instance, R. M. admits that the majority of prisoners in Vorkuta were non-Russians, allegedly for "administrative" reasons, so he affirms, which is, of course, ridiculous, since there was a non-Russian majority in all the prison-camp regions in the Soviet Union. In the same breath, however, he denies that of the 3,600 prisoners at shaft No. 6, *only* 300 were Russians. In reality the Russians numbered even less, for the Muscovites generously counted the White Russians as belonging to the Russian contingent, much to the annoyance of the White Russians.

R. M. gives a very confused account of the incidents which led to the riot at shaft No. 29; the only point that is clear is that the Russians from the very beginning were *against* the idea of a general strike and were only forced to agree to the calling of a general strike under the ever-increasing pressure of the masses, who were determined to put up a fight. R. M. cannot refrain from reviling the members of the first provisional strike committee as agitators and informers, even though those who survived after the massacre of August 1st were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Naturally the Russians were against this strike committee, since it consisted mainly of non-Russians! If this strike committee had not been formed (it later disbanded and was succeeded by a general representation of the prisoners), the Russians would actually have achieved a success with their tactics of delay and intimidation ("The Chekists are instigating the strike, but we refuse to join in!") and, instead of the general strike, a fierce civil war would have broken out in the camp — non-Russians against Russians. And in that case the victory would have been gained by the MVD.

But who, then, were the leaders of the "camp defence", which according to R. M. was allegedly a Russian underground organization? Its leader was a Ukrainian called Komichev. If the "camp defence", which was the name given to the joint underground organization of all the prisoners at shaft No. 29, had actually been a purely Russian group, the 5,000 Ukrainian prisoners would from the outset have refused to obey its orders. The Ukrainian prisoners only obeyed the instructions of their Ukrainian leaders!

There were, of course, Russians amongst

the leaders of the "camp defence". The Ukrainians acted quite rightly when, at the time of important preparations and of the decision itself, they, for the present at least, disregarded their own anti-Russian feelings against the enemy who was most dangerous at the moment, namely against the armed Chekists. Tactical forbearance is not the same as lack of principles. The Russians amongst the leaders of the camp defence at shaft No. 29 had not had to fight for their position, but owed it, rather, to the tactical necessity of the hour. They were merely tolerated by the Ukrainians and other non-Russians.

The fact that some spies and informers in the guise of supporters and friends managed to gain a footing in the strike committee for a short time during the turbulent days prior to the riot, is not surprising. This sort of thing happened elsewhere, too. But these elements were soon exposed, tracked down, driven out of the camp or killed. One of the worst of them, an ambulance-man by the name of Joseph Repetzky, was thrown out of the camp by the OUN leader Ivan Krupa and landed in the barbed-wire fence, where he was then shot by the Chekists. Instead of admitting that the Ukrainians showed a courageous and uncompromising activity in exposing the MVD agents, R. M. launches forth into disparaging and cynical remarks about the Ukrainians, whom he designates as "Zsapadniks" in the typical Chekist jargon. Nor has he any scruples about repeating the tale which was also circulated in other camps, namely that the Ukrainians intended to cut the throats of all the "Kazapes" (Russians)!

Although it was only a grim and invented tale, it nevertheless contained a grain of truth. For it proved that its originators, that is to say the Russians, during the insurrection felt that they were a hopelessly isolated *minority*, who lived in constant — and justified — fear and dread of measures of retaliation on the part of the huge anti-Russian and anti-Bolshevist majority. In order to hide their panic and their fear and, at the same time, to pose as heroes, they invented tales of this kind.

The opinion which the Russians held about Beria and his plans is likewise typical of their isolation. This erroneous opinion also led to their absurd attitude prior to the strike. Whereas the overwhelming majority of the 300,000 prisoners in Vorkuta were all in favour of starting a riot without delay, the Russian minority tried to *hold up* this revolutionary development.

But one thing is obvious, namely that there could not have been a more favourable opportunity for the prisoners and deportees to launch an attack than the summer of 1953! The Russian minority alone hesitated. It realized that the impending insurrection

was not social but *national* in character and that the majority of prisoners regarded the general strike merely as a *transition* to a revolution which was bound to end in the forcible annihilation of the Russian Bolshevik colonial imperium.

"Unconditional cessation of the discrimination of the non-Russian nations" and "the independence of the countries forcibly annexed by Russia", — these two demands were also contained in the programme of the insurgents of Norylsk. This was likewise the case in Vorkuta, Kingir, Taishet, Wiatka and Karaganda. Indeed, they were the main demands, and the fact that they were not mentioned in negotiations with the MGB generals was not proof of cowardice but of tactical astuteness. The Chekists were well aware of these demands. Thousands of Japanese prisoners-of-war, who were interned in Norylsk, have mentioned these demands in their reports. And the Germans who were imprisoned in Norylsk can also testify to this. Both these demands are printed in the documents compiled by Bonn under the title "The Strike of Norylsk".

The editors of "Posev" are likewise aware of these demands, but there is no mention at all of them in the said "historical document" which this paper published in its edition of November 20, 1960. If one cannot eliminate the truth, then the only thing to do is to hush it up. And this is the treacherous method to which the NTS imperialists resort. But in the end the truth will be victorious, as it always has been.

It certainly strikes one as strange that a former internee at shaft No. 9 does not consider the acts of sabotage which occurred during the winter of 1953/54 worth mentioning. Or does he refrain from mentioning these acts of sabotage, in the course of which a meeting of the camp administration was blown up and various important pieces of equipment in the shaft were destroyed, because they were carried out by Ukrainians?! Nor does he mention the results of the "Italian strike" in practically all the other shafts in Vorkuta. The prisoners downed tools, fewer and fewer trains conveyed coal to Leningrad, and the quotas were not fulfilled. This mass sabotage of the state plan was no less effective than the open riot at shaft No. 29.

R. M.'s assertion to the effect that all persons under age who were amnestied were allowed to return to their native country and district, is equally false. Ninety per cent of the young Ukrainians were *not* allowed to return to their own country but were forced to settle in Vorkuta. Only the Russians were allowed to return home. The statement that "all former national differences of opinion vanished amongst the prisoners in the camps" is likewise false.

There were no "national differences of opinion" even previously; there was only the national fight for freedom. But R. M. is afraid to admit these facts. How can the national fight for freedom of the non-Russian peoples have vanished if one of its causes still exists, namely the Soviet Union and hence Russian colonial imperialism?

There are many dark chapters in the history of the Russian emigrants since 1945. And the "historical document" published in the NTS organ "Posev" of November 20, 1960, is undoubtedly one of the darkest. The Russian imperialists in Frankfort, who live as guests in a country whose eastern part has become a victim of perpetual Russian predacity, have stretched out their hands to snatch the laurels rightly belonging to the heroes of Vorkuta. They should feel ashamed when they think of those Russian prisoners who perished in Vorkuta, who were murdered by their own fellow-countrymen and at the command of their own "government", which had no scruples whatever about murdering Russians too for the preservation of Russian colonialism! The fame and glory belongs to all those who fought voluntarily in the ranks of the insurgent front, irrespective of which nation or which race they belonged to. *Indeed, we could not talk about the fame and glory of Vorkuta at all nowadays, had it not been for those brave, wise and selfless men who, in the spirit of Khmel-nitzky and Mazeppa, of Petlura and Chuprynka, by self-sacrificing underground activity paved the difficult path on which the masses in the summer of 1953 then proceeded to carry out their big revolt, — and the overwhelming majority of these masses were Ukrainians. Honour and glory be to these martyrs, and everlasting shame to all those who as robbers attempt to defile this sacred martyrdom!*

*In honour of the Centenary of the Death
of TARAS SHEVCHENKO
poet of Ukraine and champion of liberty,
we are pleased to announce that
The Mitre Press (London)
will shortly publish a selection of the poet's
works under the title*

SONG OUT OF DARKNESS.

*This selection, newly translated into English
verse by Vera Rich and with critical essays
by the late Prof. W. R. Matthews and V.
Swoboda, will sell at 16 / — (\$2.50), and will
be of especial interest to all who cherish
the cause of liberty.*

*Copies may be ordered now from
The Ukrainian Bookshop, L 9,
Linden Gardens, London W. 2
and patrons are graciously invited to
subscribe in advance.*

Congressman Flood for House Captive Nations Committee

A month ago, the Hon. Daniel J. Flood of Pennsylvania introduced, in the House of Representatives, a resolution calling for the creation of a special permanent committee to deal with the captive nations in the grip of Soviet Russian tyranny and enslavement.

Congressman Flood cited the effectiveness of Captive Nations Week celebrations during the past two years, pursuant to Congressional resolutions and Presidential proclamations, and said that evidence was overwhelming that the activities connected with the Captive Nations Week observances here had provoked violent reactions in the Kremlin, proof that Moscow felt deeply vulnerable on the point of the enslaved nations.

Under the terms of the Flood resolution, the House would set-up a special committee to deal exclusively with the problems of the captive nations on a permanent basis, with a view to ultimately restoring them to freedom and independence.

Congressman Flood was joined by many of his colleagues in the House of Representatives, from both parties, who supported the resolution and made statements in support of it. In the opinion of Congressman Flood the implementation of such a resolution would be a major deterrent to outright aggressions by the Kremlin. He contended that Khrushchov knows that his empire is built on quicksand and the captive nations would become a great liability in the event a war erupts between the USSR and the West.

Many Congressmen who supported the Flood resolution argued that the establishment of such a permanent committee on the captive nations in the House would in effect encourage not only Americans whose ancestors have come from the captive nations, but all Americans, to take a very deep and personal interest in the fate and plight of the enslaved nations. The principal function of such a House Committee on the Captive Nations would be to inform the American people on the state of affairs within the Soviet Russian communist empire and to assist the United States Government with expert knowledge and information in the formulation of its policy regarding these captive countries. Above all, the establishment of such a committee would indicate that the U.S. is not only concerned about the plight of the captive nations, but that it is doing something in order to alleviate their suffering. It would be a moral booster for the captive nations in their struggle against Soviet Russian colonialism and imperialism. It would demonstrate to the captive nations that American support and sympathy for the cause of their liberation is not merely an academic gesture, but a serious concern.

Inter-Parliamentary Union Attacks Russian Colonialism

At the Spring Congress of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in Geneva the question of colonialism gave rise to fierce attacks against the Soviet Union. In a draft resolution on the abolition of the colonial system throughout the whole world, the British Parliamentary delegation affirmed: "In the opinion of all impartial observers, the Soviet Union is the greatest imperialist power of our day".

The German delegate, Mommer, socialist, supported the opinion of the British delegation and demanded that the right to freedom, self-determination and independence should be conceded not only to young states but also to the ancient peoples of Europe.

The Liberian delegate Thomas, who presided over the session, admonished the

participants of the Conference to refrain from introducing matters in the debate which were "not connected with the subject" (sic!).

Thereupon the Belgian delegate stood up and said that colonialism was not confined solely to Africa and Asia. He stressed that the Inter-Parliamentary Union must combat colonialism everywhere in the world, in the Soviet Occupied Zone of Germany and in the satellite states of the Soviet Union alike.

The Soviet delegate Borissov tried to counter these remarks by affirming that it was only thanks to the help of the Soviet Union that the East European states had been able to achieve a rapid economic progress.

To this the Indian delegate remarked "If the British had remained in India and brought our country prosperity, we should have no right now to talk about British colonialism!"

It can be seen from the above arguments that the Russians never succeed in representing their brutal imperialism as a voluntary union of the peoples whom they have subjugated.

Hubert Wolf

The Slovak Republic In Reality And Law

When on March 14, 1939, according to orders and in the name of the Slovak nation and the Slovak parliament, President Dr. Josef Tiso proclaimed the independent sovereign Republic of Slovakia, a wish cherished for a thousand years was at last fulfilled. The only people who declare that the existence of the Slovak Republic is invalid are political opportunists and forgers of history. Similarly, the assertion that the Slovak Republic was a totalitarian state is an infamous lie. President Dr. Josef Tiso said on the occasion of the founding of the state: "We, the government, the parliament and the Slovak nation as a whole, have no intention whatever of setting up a totalitarian state; it is our fundamental principle that the state power should be subordinated to the laws of moral principles and justice." And this principle was adhered to. It is an established fact that from 1939 to 1945, the Slovak Government, in spite of the country being at war with the Soviet Union, always respected this highest and unwritten law of humanity and, in accordance with it, set about building up and consolidating the Slovak Republic constitutionally. As early as 1938 and 1939 Slovakia was already threatened by danger, when it had only just begun to fight for its sovereignty by democratic means.

The young state of Slovakia was obliged to submit to various acts of violence on the part of neighbouring states, for it was only in the act of setting up its own executive power and was therefore too weak to defend itself against the injustices inflicted on it by its neighbours. Indeed, at that time it was questionable whether the young Republic of Slovakia would be capable of existing at all.

In view of these facts, Dr. Josef Tiso, Prof. Dr. Tuka, Prof. Dr. Durcansky and other

Slovak patriots were in an extremely difficult position and had to do their utmost, without compromising the national and Christian state, to reach an agreement with Germany at that time. This agreement was effected. By their political foresight Dr. Josef Tiso and his Foreign Minister at that time, Prof. Dr. F. Durcansky, prevented the national ruin of the Slovak people and saved the Slovak Germans from a tragic fate amidst the political chaos and explosive condition of Europe. Documents and historical facts testify to the rebirth of a free sovereign state, — a rebirth which was effected entirely in keeping with the principles of international law and cannot be ignored by the history and conscience of the world.

It is an established fact that not only the Czech Government but also other neighbouring states, in disregard of the right of self-determination and international law, quite shamelessly endeavoured their utmost to gain ascendancy over the Slovak nation, a people with their own civilization and culture and orientated politically and economically solely to the Western world. It must not, however, be imagined from the foregoing statement that the Slovak nation and the Slovak emigrants today bear any malice or hatred for this reason towards their neighbours who in the meantime no doubt view matters more sensibly. Their unreasonable attitude towards Slovakia in those days and the injustices which they committed against that country should no longer hold good today. If we now recall the founding of the Slovak Republic, we do so not in the spirit of intolerance towards neighbouring peoples but in order to ascertain the political mistakes which were made at that time and must not be repeated in future, that is to

say, when the Slovak Republic is liberated. In those days, both prior to and after the Munich Agreement, there were many conflicting interests with regard to Slovak independence.

There was never any talk in the Munich Agreement of recognizing the right of self-determination or the independent state of the Slovak nation. In fact, the existence of the Slovak nation was to be disregarded completely. In the Nuremberg Trials and on the strength of the documents produced on that occasion, it was perfectly evident that the Slovak Republic was set up in complete agreement with the will of the Slovak people.

The Slovak question must never be merely an internal "Czecho-Slovakian" question, nor is it any longer *merely* a Central European question, for it has become an *international* question. For this reason it must be stressed once more that the independence aims of the Slovak people had no connection whatever with any initiative on the part of Germany and Hitler.

By the founding of the Slovak Republic on March 14, 1939, the entire Slovak nation professed its adherence to the political truth and to the political right to sovereignty. This is furthermore corroborated by the fact that on December 8, 1938, the British diplomat, Mr. Newton, reported as follows to his government in London from Prague: "...There is no question of Hitler, that is Germany, being interested in assisting the Slovaks in setting up their independent state..." In a document of the British Foreign Office of March 13, 1939, it is stated: "...Germany has no interest in intervening as regards the partition of the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia in favour of Slovakia". On the contrary, the decision reached in Vienna was against the interests of the Slovak nation and certain Slovak territories were ceded to Hungary.

There was at that time no democratic Major Power which would have selflessly helped Slovakia to attain sovereignty. European policy at that time was determined exclusively by France, Italy, Germany and Great Britain. Hence the Slovaks were obliged to safeguard the existence of the newly founded Slovak Republic politically in some way or other. They therefore aimed to negotiate for a German guarantee for the inviolability of the Slovak Republic, to which Germany subsequently agreed.

But this guarantee in no way made the Slovak Republic, as is wrongly affirmed, a pawn in Hitler's hands. On the contrary, Slovakia was a free, sovereign country, which was recognized *de jure* and *de facto* by numerous states, including the Soviet Union and the Vatican. Nowadays the West is only too glad to overlook various facts, but these

facts regarding the Slovak fight for freedom cannot be eradicated. When Lord Runciman, for instance, at the request of the British government examined the situation in the Czecho-Slovakian Republic, he established contact with the Czechs, the Hungarians and the Carpatho-Ukrainians in Czecho-Slovakia at that time, but he refused all contact with the Slovak delegation. It looks as though this attitude is being repeated at the present time. Apparently the Western democratic states and, above all, the USA have not sacrificed enough blood and money for the political and military mistakes which they made in the last two world wars. The free democratic states of the world have no reason — and this fact was proved by the Nuremberg International Tribunal — to continue to ignore the *de jure* existing Slovak Republic. It is the duty of the mighty democratic West and in particular of the USA to see to it that the Slovak Republic is restored and takes part in international political events as a partner with equal rights in the community of peoples of the world. For this reason the Slovak nation and its representatives in the free world urgently demand political help. In this connection we should like to stress that the USA for instance would not have been able to assert itself successfully against British supremacy had it not been helped by foreign States too, namely by France and Spain, in its fight for freedom.

The truth is that a great injustice was done to the Slovak nation in 1945 when the Slovak Republic was handed over to the Czech Communists and Moscow's Bolshevik governors without protest and counter-action, — a state of affairs which has continued up to the present time. On March 14, 1939, and shortly afterwards, the opinion was voiced that the Slovak people would never be capable of an independent economic existence. The British Consul Pares in Bratislava informed his government that the Slovak Republic would soon collapse, at least as far as the financial sector was concerned. Even Germany and Hitler were informed by a memorandum from Dr. Woermann that the economic existence of the new state seemed very questionable. But the actual truth, namely the existence of the Slovak Republic from 1939 until the occupation of 1945, set the rest of the world right on this point. In spite of the fact that the country was at war with the Soviet Union, commerce, trade and industry prospered. The currency was stabilized and foreign trade increased from year to year. Moreover the status of the Slovak Republic from the point of view of international law was indisputable. Twenty-seven states recognized the Slovak Republic *de jure* and three *de facto*, and the majority entertained diplomatic relations with it.

In its present state, too, the occupied Slovak Republic and thus the Slovak nation come under international law. The occupation of this country by the Czech and Russian Communists is therefore a violation of international law.

The legal Slovak representation is in exile and in accordance with international law and

in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, this representation should be acknowledged as the Slovak government in exile. The Slovak Republic proclaimed on March 14, 1939, continues to remain the highest form of state existence and expression of will chosen by the Slovak nation, for which it is prepared to make every sacrifice.

Anton Maly (Slovakia)

Self-determination in Africa and the Yoke in Europe and Asia

A Communist conference recently held in the Kremlin was attended by 81 delegations of the Communist parties from various countries. After three weeks of conferring, two resolutions were eventually passed. One contains directives for the subversive activity of the Communist parties. The other resolution was designated as an "appeal to the nations of the world". In these resolutions the Communist leaders endeavour to suggest to the public of the free world the idea that a "peaceful coexistence" between two social systems in the world is possible.

By these resolutions the Communists wish to demonstrate their unity and strength, to show that the Kremlin is the international Communist centre, and to force political "coexistence" on the free world.

As the representative of the Russian imperium, Khrushchov, for tactical reasons, advocates a political "coexistence". His conception has also been accepted by the satellite states of Russia and the Communist parties in Europe — with the exception of Albania. Since Albania, as is known, is completely controlled by Moscow, it can be assumed that the Communist puppet government of Albania with the consent and, in fact, at the orders of the Kremlin to a certain extent detaches itself from the latter's political views in order to deceive the free world as to the actual attitude of Albania and the true intentions of Moscow, for Albania occupies a very important strategical position in the Mediterranean complex. Like all governments of Moscow's satellites, the Communist government of Albania is not acting in the interests of the Albanian people but in the interests of the Russian imperium.

As regards Titoist Yugoslavia, it agrees with Khrushchov's coexistence policy and, on the other hand, also receives plenty of help from the West.

The leaders of the Chinese Communists seem to hold the view that the victory of Communism over the whole world can *only* be realized by a revolution of the Communist proletariat, that is to say by a war on the part of the Communist world against the "capitalist" world. This view is approved of above all by the Communist parties in Alba-

nia, Asia, Africa and Latin America, a fact which in principle is in keeping with Khrushchov's actual coexistence policy, which has also been approved of by Red China.

It is moreover typical of the development of the political situation in the world that whereas, on the one hand, the colonies of the Western powers with the latter's help are conceded self-determination and independence, the European peoples with a thousand-year old culture and tradition, on the other hand, as for instance the Slovaks, Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, Croats, Serbs, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Georgians, Ukrainians, East Germans and others, who have been forcibly subjugated under the Russian colonial system, are refused self-determination and independence. What has the free world done so far towards the liberation of these European peoples? Is it right to ignore these peoples in this way? Or are they being punished for living on European soil, for possessing a culture of their own, for once having been in the position to form independent states of their own and having defended their state independence?! What steps is the UNO, whose charter explicitly recognizes the right of the peoples to an independent state, taking in this respect?

This applies not only to the European peoples subjugated by Russia, but also to the peoples of Asia who are suffering under the same yoke and who likewise possess an ancient culture and tradition and in the course of their history have given proof of the fact that they are capable of forming independent states of their own.

It is high time that the leading statesmen of the free world came to their senses and opposed Russian aggression and the Russian urge to expansion before it is too late. It is high time that one considered not only the welfare and the freedom of the African peoples, but also the welfare and freedom of the European and Asian peoples subjugated by Moscow and supported their fight for freedom. Only the annihilation of the Russian colonial imperium and the liberation of all the peoples subjugated by it, can ensure the freedom and the peaceful development of the rest of the world!



Declaration of the Seventh Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL)

The Seventh Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, attended by delegates from Australia, Burma, Republic of China, Hongkong, Iran, Japan, Jordan, Republic of Korea, Macao, Malaya, Nepal, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Ryukyus, Singapore, Thailand, Turkey, and Republic of Vietnam, and by observers from Ceylon, India, Indonesia, North Borneo, Saudi Arabia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Liberia, Madagascar, Morocco, United States of America, Lebanon, Anti-Bolshevik-Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) and other International Organizations, and held in Manila, Republic of the Philippines, May 2-5, 1961, expresses deep appreciation for the warm hospitality shown the participants by the Philippine Government and people and the Philippine Chapter of the League. The Conference also pays its respects to President Carlos P. Garcia for his leadership of the Philippine people in their defense of freedom and democracy.

The Conference has given careful and detailed consideration to the current international situation. It holds that the worldwide Communist movement, which destroys human freedom and obstructs social progress, shows numerous signs of decline and disintegration. Many serious crises have occurred in the Communist bloc in the interval since the Sixth APACL Conference at Taipei last year. Such phenomena as internal power struggles, ideological confusion and divergences, economic depression and unprecedented famines, together with popular discontent and opposition arising out of Communist misrule, are evidences of the rapid decay of the Communist system. This cannot be concealed by Communist pretense that all is well nor by resort to military threats.

The international Communist conference held at Moscow last November had a double purpose. On the one hand, it was aimed at resolving internal contradictions and at strengthening the leadership of the *Russian* Communists in the world socialist

camp. On the other hand, it identified the United States as the principal enemy and launched a general offensive against the free world in the hope of averting Communist internal crises. Different tactics of aggression were adopted for different regions of the world. In Europe, the Communists called for the launching of a cold war peace offensive to sow seeds of disunity among the NATO Powers. In Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the Communists pretended to be sympathetic to the anti-colonial movement and called for the formation of national democratic united fronts in order to strengthen their infiltration, subversive activities, and peripheral wars. For this task, the Chinese Communists were assigned the chief role. Inside democratic countries, the Communists called for a social revolution to create popular unrest and along with the simultaneous waging of parliamentary struggles, sought to capture political power without resort to armed warfare.

Much of the free world has failed to realize the essential weaknesses as well as the dangers of the Communist offensive, but, on the contrary, has been complacent and inclined to make concessions. This has made it possible for the Communist bloc to increase its provocations and aggressions. The perilous situation in Laos, dissensions in the Congo, the progressive Sovietization of Cuba, and the greater insecurity of many countries may all be traced to the failure to check *Communism and Russian imperialism* in any serious way.

Communism is the common enemy of the free world, and to cope with such a hostile force it is essential to give up all ideas of compromise and appeasement, to strengthen unity among the free peoples, and to cooperate in the anti-Communist struggle. In particular, we appeal to the United States as leader of the free world to take a firm stand and not to permit further territorial gains by Communism. It is, at the same time, incumbent upon the Asian, African, and Australasian peoples to close ranks and work for their own freedom and security.

Considering the present international situation, we set forth the following suggestions and recommendations for the consideration of the peoples and governments of the free world:

First, we should intensify our efforts to expose the internal crises within the Communist bloc and its aggressive intrigues following the Moscow Conference. We should point out that the so-called "national liberation wars" and "national democratic united fronts", in particular, are merely devices to communize and enslave the Asian and African countries.

Second, we should firmly uphold the national independence and territorial integrity of Laos, oppose any attempts to divide the country or to permit the Pathet Lao to take part in any coalition government, and call upon the United States and other free world countries to take a firm stand at the forthcoming Geneva Conference. We call upon the SEATO POWERS and all free countries of Asia to render effective assistance to Laos if that threatened country cannot be saved by other means.

Third, we re-emphasize our sympathy and our support for the African countries in their efforts to maintain their national independence and freedom, and call upon the United Nations to take effective measures to prevent Soviet Russia and the Chinese Communists from interfering in the internal affairs of the Congo for the purpose of communizing the whole country. Adequate safeguards must be provided for the independence and national unity of the Congo area.

Fourth, we should lend all-out support to U.S. President Kennedy's firm stand against international Communist intervention in the Americas. We call upon all democratic countries to stand forthrightly for the genuine freedom and independence of Cuba and the Cuban people.



Fifth, we consider *the Chinese Communists to be Russian puppets* who, already condemned by the United Nations as aggressors, are imposing a tyrannical system of “people’s communes” on the Chinese people of the mainland and reducing them to starvation, and who are actively intensifying their infiltration and subversive activities in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. To admit such a regime to the United Nations would run counter to the purposes and spirit of the UN Charter and would paralyze or destroy the international organization created to maintain world peace and justice. Recognizing the Government of the Republic of China to be the only legitimate government representing the Chinese people, we firmly oppose both the admission of the Chinese Communists to the United Nations and the so-called “two China” proposal. We pledge our full support to the Republic of Korea and the Republic of Vietnam in their applications for UN membership.

Sixth, for humanitarian reasons, we support the movement initiated by President Chiang Kai-shek of the Republik of China for relief of the starving people on the Chinese mainland and call upon public opinion throughout the world to demand that the Chinese Communists open their ports and roads for the transportation of relief materials into the famine areas and to stop the continued exportation of foodstuffs. We also call upon the nations of the free world to refrain from buying any foodstuffs exported by the Chinese Communists at the expense of the starving people on the Chinese mainland.

Seventh, we call upon the democratic countries of Asia and Africa to close ranks and create or strengthen regional systems of collective security. We also call upon the economically advanced countries of the free world to strengthen their economic and technical assistance to the Asian and African countries for the betterment of the people’s livelihood in order to frustrate Communist infiltration and seducement.

Finally, *we call upon the governments and peoples of the free world to give more assistance to the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain in their fight for freedom and national independence, to proclaim a policy of liberation for the enslaved peop-*

les, to support organizations formed by escapees from the enslaved nations, to give political asylum to refugees choosing freedom, and to grant immediate recognition and assistance to anti-Communist regimes that may be set up behind the Iron Curtain.

These are goals not only of the APACL, but of all lovers of freedom the world over. We firmly believe that with the wholehearted cooperation of freedom-loving peoples everywhere, the day will come when mankind will enjoy the full blessings of a free and peaceful life. This League solemnly pledges itself to the earliest possible achievement of such an international order.

Resolution on giving support to enslaved peoples in their struggle for freedom and national independence

The Seventh Conference of the APACL

Recognizing that the only effective way open to the free world to arrest infiltration and subversive activities of the Communist bloc lies in giving encouragement to the enslaved peoples shut behind the Iron Curtain in their anti-Communist national revolutions, so as to bring about the overthrow of the tyrannical Communist regimes from within and thus thoroughly root out Communist intrigue of infiltration and subversive activities;

Noting the preliminary good results achieved in the movement which has been pushed forward by the League over the years in support of the struggle for freedom by the enslaved peoples and realizing that to meet the new situation resulting from the growing intensity of struggle against *Communism and Russian imperialism* by the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain, there is an urgent necessity to step up this movement;

RESOLVES:

(1) To pledge anew the determination of the League to give support to the enslaved peoples in their fights *for freedom and national independence* and to firmly oppose any attempt to fall to the Communist intrigue of "peaceful coexistence" and to recognize the fruits of Communist aggression.

(2) To appeal to various democratic countries of the free world to announce a *policy of liberation* of the enslaved peoples, to give aid to the exile organizations of the peoples of the captive nations, to provide political asylum to the peoples of the captive nations who have fled for freedom, and to accord instant recognition to any anti-Communist regime.

(3) To step up radio broadcast and all other forms of publicity by disseminating progressive conditions of the free world, its faith in freedom and its determination to give help to enslaved peoples in the countries behind the Iron Curtain, so as to encourage the enslaved peoples in their struggle *for freedom and national independence*.

(4) To step up contacts and cooperation with all those civic bodies and organizations of the world in support of the enslaved peoples so as to unite their efforts for the promotion of solidarity of all anti-Communist forces of the world in support of the enslaved peoples.

(5) To expand the scope of the "Freedom Day", a day celebrated each year in commemoration of the regaining of freedom by 22,000 Chinese and Korean anti-Communist POWs on January 23, 1954, and also the *Captive Nations Week sponsored by the U.S. Government*; and declare this day and this week separately as a day and week for

collective action in support of the enslaved peoples in their struggle *for freedom and national independence* so as to enhance the political and social impact of this movement.

(6) That all member-units of the League should urge all governments and peoples concerned not to take any action which may dampen the ardour in the struggle *for freedom and independence* by the enslaved peoples and instead, to give them spiritual encouragement and material help.

(7) That the member-units of the League should do everything possible to expand the scope of the movement in support of the enslaved peoples in their struggle *for freedom and national independence* and exchange material and views among them from time to time.

APACL for Disintegration of Russian Colonial Empire

The Seventh Conference of the APACL

Noting that 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 all the free peoples of the world;

Calling attention to the fact that these policies have led, through direct and indirect aggression, to the subjugation of the national independence of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czecho-Slovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, Bulgaria, East Germany, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, north Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Cossacks, Turkestan, north Vietnam, and others;

Realizing these submerged nations look to the Free World 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, Moslem, Buddhist, Jewish, and other religious freedoms, and of their individual liberties;

Aware that it is vital to the security of the Free World that the desire for liberty and independence on the part of the peoples of these conquered nations should be steadfastly kept alive;

Certain that 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,

RESOLVES:

(1) To express its solidarity with the captive nations struggling for their liberation from Communist domination, and to condemn Soviet Russian colonialism in all its forms and implications.

(2) To urge the governments of free countries to insist firmly in the United Nations and elsewhere on the right of self-determination and national independence *of all nations and peoples* subjugated by world Communism directed by Moscow and Peiping.

(3) To call upon the free world to defend itself and free the enslaved through the mounting of a common and united effort, this to be brought about by the collaboration of all freedom-loving organizations and individuals without regard to any other differences or difficulties between their peoples.

(4) *To assure that this League shall constantly strive for the freedom and independence of all peoples and nations throughout the world, supporting such movements until national enslavement has been terminated for all time.*

Resolution toward the Settlement of the Laos Situation

While realizing the security of Laos may affect the security of Southeast Asia, it is resolved that each delegation is requested to appeal to its own government to stand by Laos in the political settlement to the effect that

- (1) Laos must remain free and independent.
- (2) No division of Laos will be permissible.
- (3) And the APACL sound the call to all free nations in ASIA to be ready to act positively if necessary, to meet force with force to preserve the goals outlined in (1) and (2) above.

And Further RESOLVE to warn the Communist despots in their mad scramble for world domination that the APACL and the nations forming it will henceforth no longer allow the Communist bloc to get any further inch of territory in Asia and will support and/or defend to the death the right of self-determination of any territory or country in Asia today.

Annual Convention of AF ABN

The AMERICAN FRIENDS OF ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS INC. elected the following officers for the year 1961/62 at its annual convention on March 18, 1961 in New York City.

PRESIDIUM: *Dr. Gabor de Besseney*, President, Washington D. C.; *Mr. Ante Doshen*, New York, Vice-President (Croatia); *Mr. Method Balco*, New York, Vice-President (Slovakia); *Mrs. Ulana Celewych*, Chicago, Vice-President (Ukraine); *Dr. Nestor Procyk*, Buffalo, Secretary (Ukraine).

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL: *Mr. Ignatius Bilinsky*, Philadelphia, Chairman (Ukraine); *Mr. Charles Andreanszky*, New Jersey, General Secretary (Hungary); *Mr. Michael Bez*, New York, Vice-Chairman (Byelorussia); *Mr. John Galaboff*, New York, Vice-Chairman (Bulgaria); *Mrs. Olga Gevay Hoebel*, New York, Vice-Chairman, (Croatia); *Mr. Albert Kalme*, New York, Vice-Chairman (Latvia); *Mr. Wendell Cermansky*, New York, Treasurer (Slovakia); *Mr. Russi Slaveikov*, Bulgaria; *Mr. Damian Georgieff*, Bulgaria; *Mr. Wladimir Pielesa*, Byelorussia; *Mr. Ignatius Bilyj*, Cossack; *Dr. Michael Ujhelyi*, Hungary; *Mr. Erno Horvath*, Hungary; *Mr. Leons Rumaks*, Latvia; *Mr. Victor Niemanis*, Latvia; *Mr. Frank Alexis*, Lithuania; *Mr. John Kulhan*, Slovakia; *Mr. Damian Korduba*, Ukraine; *Dr. Stephan Halamay*, Ukraine.

The AFABN Inc. maintains active chapters in Chicago, Ill., Cleveland, Ohio, Buffalo, N. Y., Rochester, N. Y., Philadelphia, Pa., Washington D. C., Flint, Mich., and Detroit, Mich.

The convention of the AFABN Inc. approved new approaches to the present administration in Washington, voted full support to Congressman Daniel Flood of Pennsylvania with his resolution on a permanent Congressional Committee on the Captive Nations, voted for expansion of the organization into Canada and Mexico, voted full support to Mr. Kersten in his efforts to organize the Anti-Communist World Congress, edition of a regular publication (bulletin), and a long series of new recommendations for strengthening and enlarging the organization.

Temporary address: AFABN Inc., P. O. Box 449, Wall St Station, New York 5 N. Y.

Obituary

Prof. Achmed-Nabi Magoma

On March 26, 1961, the President of the North Caucasian National Committee in exile, Professor A. Magoma, passed away unexpectedly in his 63rd year.

His ancestors belonged to the group of closest supporters of the great leader in the fight for freedom of the Caucasus, Imam Shamil, and it was in this spirit that A. Magoma was brought up.

When the Russian revolution broke out in 1917 he took part in the fighting against the Russian White and Red armies, though he was still only very young at that time. After the occupation of the North Caucasus by the Russians he went to Georgia, where he fought as a volunteer against the Soviet Russian troops. After the occupation of Georgia he emigrated to Turkey and later to Czecho-Slovakia, where he graduated as a civil engineer at the College of Technology in Prague. Subsequently he was appointed a lecturer at this College.

During World War II he looked after thousands of North Caucasians who had been driven to seek refuge in Germany, and since then he had been the permanent President of the North Caucasian National Committee. Indeed, after the war he was the recognized head of all the North Caucasians in exile. He enjoyed the esteem and respect of all the national organizations of the subjugated peoples in exile.

Prior to his death he was a lecturer at the private School of Technology in Munich and was extremely popular amongst all his students.

Representatives of all the political national organizations of the peoples in exile, of German organizations and of various official departments attended his funeral.

His death is a great loss to us. We shall always honour his memory as a noble-minded man and a courageous fighter for freedom.

From Letters to ABN Members

Mr. H. Matei Hojbota, Rumanian National Representative in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Canada, sent a Memorandum and a letter to the US President and to the Prime Minister of Canada. Below we publish the letters he received in reply.

Dear Mr. Hojbota:

January 11, 1961

I want to thank you for your Memorandum and the very friendly message you sent me after my election to the presidency.

I am most heartened by the many expressions of good will which I have received from abroad. I am sure that they reflect a broad unity of purpose throughout the world community. I hope that my record during the next four years will sustain your confidence.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

/s./ John F. Kennedy.

October 19, 1960

Dear Mr. Hojbota:

Thank you for Memorandum and your letter regarding my speech at the United Nations, General Assembly, September 26, 1960, in New York.

I am most appreciative of the commendation of the group you represent, and in view of your interest, I enclose a transcript of this address. I am,

Yours sincerely,

/s./ John G. Diefenbaker.

7th October, 1960

The Right Hon. R. G. Menzies, Prime Minister of Australia,
c/o. Australian Embassy, Washington, D. C., U.S.A.

Sir,

Your magnificent speech for the cause of peace with justice at this session of the United Nations Organization, has found a general and grateful approval with all our people in Australia, who know very well from their own experience the tactics of the Soviets' "Divide et Impera"-policy.

Your discourse was at the very level of your high civic integrity which, unfortunately from time to time, is prevented by political foreign factors from manifesting itself in all its splendor.

It is now imperative that deeds follow words, at least in Australia, because to quote Edmund Burke, "... all that is necessary for the triumph of evil, is that good men do nothing ..."

Wishing you very well indeed, I remain,

Yours faithfully,
Dr. C. I. Untaru, President.

(Written in New York) 13th October, 1960.

Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.)

Central Delegacy for Australia and New Zealand.

Dear Dr. Untaru,

Very many thanks for your letter of good wishes which you sent to me following my speech at the United Nations. It is encouraging to receive messages such as yours.

With best wishes to your members, Yours sincerely,

(R. G. Menzies).

Prime Minister, Canberra.

Anonymous Document Urges Anti-Communist Subversion

The United States Army dissociated itself from a suggestion being circulated by a senior officer that guerillas be trained to overthrow Communist Governments in Eastern Europe and elsewhere.

An anonymous study has been sent to other officers by Lt.-Gen. Arthur Trudeau, Army Chief of Research and Development. In a covering letter, he pointed out that it had "no official standing as doctrine."

The author of the document wrote: "We must find a way to overthrow a Communist régime in power short of general war and even short of limited war. I still see no reason why we should accept a tyrant government in Laos, Belgian Congo or any Latin-American country.

"The Soviets apparently do not fear that they will start a general war when they assist Communist rebels in Laos. Why should we fear general war in providing assistance to freedom fighters in Eastern Europe?"

"The people are on our side here. We could do this overtly."

Training refugees

He added that if the Communists could support a Communist government "in our backyard" America could support free go-

vernments in Eastern Europe or in any area dominated by Communists.

Refugees from Cuba and Iron Curtain countries could be trained as guerilla forces under American leadership. Efforts should be made to subvert Communist armies. Gen. Trudeau did not name the author in his covering letter.

The document itself says the Defence Department's most 'knowledgeable' men on guerilla warfare were Air Force Brig.-Gen. Edward Landsdale, an assistant to Mr. Macnamara, Secretary of Defence, and Slavko Bjelajac, who is attached to the Army's Special Warfare Division.

This Division has 1,800 men, mostly parachute troops, trained in guerilla and counter-guerilla warfare. The number is to be increased in the next few months to about 4,600.

Instructors' role

Available to Fight

The Administration is putting fresh emphasis on the usefulness of the Special Service units, with South-East Asia particularly in mind.

The men are supposed to act as instructors to friendly forces, but it is generally

assumed that they are available to fight alongside them if the need arises. The Central Intelligence Agency also has its experts in this field.

It is reported to have been actively encouraging the training of anti-Castro groups planning military action in Cuba. Americans are said to be training Cubans in camps in Guatemala and at a jungle training school in the Panama Canal Zone.

(Daily Telegraph and Morning Post)

"Coexistence — a Means of Continuing the Fight"

Knoeringen on Moscow's aims

In a speech which he made in Bonn on April 17th, SPD (Social Democratic Party) deputy chairman von Knoeringen said that the conflict with Communism and its ideology was not past but still lay in front of us. He added that it was alarming to see how superficially the theory and practice of Communism was disposed of nowadays in the Federal Republic. He most definitely did not agree with the opinion that a synthesis of

the political regimes would eventually be reached between the East and the West. Communism, he stressed, had so far not relinquished one jot of its totalitarian demands.

Coexistence, so he pointed out, for the East was only a means to the total victory of a Communist world system. "There is only one alternative against Communist aims, namely a global alliance in the framework of the United Nations which is determined to defend and guarantee the freedom of all peoples and the inviolability of the human dignity of the individual." He added that the insurmountable difference between Communism and the democratic world lay in their contradictory conceptions of man's nature and character. This difference could not be overcome by external forms of social and cultural adjustment. Communism was determined to make the individual a part of the collective, Mr. von Knoeringen said, and it could not give up this demand without destroying itself.

We have been affirming the same thing for years, but the super-democrats always rejected our views as reactionary.

From Behind the Iron Curtain



GEORGIA

At the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, the first Secretary, V. Mshavanadze, held a speech in which he referred to the dreadful mismanagement in practically all the industrial and agricultural concerns in the Republic.

Corruption, embezzlements and theft of state property have assumed enormous proportions. All this is facilitated by the fact that there is not sufficient supervision and control, since many of the Party and state functionaries are themselves involved in and encourage these offences, and, what is more, get rich in this way.

Mshavanadze added that such phenomena were possible because "the competent heads of the Ministries, factories, of the public prosecution, the police and the courts are not acting as they should". ("Komunisti", of March 18, 1961, No. 65)

Under the system of coercion the individual is forced to resort to self-help. He wants to enjoy the fruits of his labour, instead of receiving alms from the state.

The same paper reports that at the 4th plenary session of the Central Committee of the Georgian Young Communists, the main speakers were the head of the Political Bureau of the Trans-Caucasian military district, F. Steptchenko, the Military Commissar, Sh. Vassadze, and the head of the Department for the organs of the administration of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party, M. Vepkvadze.

This fact is indeed significant. The Communist youth of Georgia seems to have little inclination to "defend the fatherland". Nor does it seem willing to bow to the public order of the Communist state.

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the occupation of Georgia by Russia, all the Georgian political organizations in the countries of the Western world have directed a joint appeal to the civilized world.

In this appeal an account is given, from the aspect of history and international law, of the restoration of the Georgian state and the recapture of Georgia by the ruthless Russian power, and the political situation in Georgia since the occupation of the country and also the fight of the Georgian people against the occupants are described.

Intensified Religious Persecution

The persecution of priests and lay brothers which has been going on for the past fifteen years has recently been intensified considerably. 700 priests and 500 lay brothers have been arrested.

The ever-increasing pressure exercised in Hungary by the "state power" (alias AVO) reflects the general nervousness which is spreading more and more in the countries behind the Iron Curtain. Western observers estimate the number of persons arrested in March as between 1000 and 3000. In Budapest alone as many as 200 priests were arrested, whilst in other parts of Hungary the number of arrests is estimated at another 500. In the dioceses of Szekesfehervar, Pecs and Eger the wave of arrests has assumed proportions hitherto unheard of. In the district of the town of Krisztinavros, which is known to be particularly religious, as many as 200 Catholics have been arrested. The present "purge" seems to be concerned only with the Catholics, for so far there have been no reports about any arrests of Jews or Protestants.

The Second Five-Year Plan

Although this plan has been in operation since January 1st this year, it has only just been brought up before "parliament".

This fact is apparently intended to prove to us that the "rule by the people" is really a "scientific", in fact, a super-dynamic apparatus.

We, however, cannot imagine how a *plan* can be put into operation before it has been thought out and discussed. Not wishing to appear malicious, we should merely like to emphasize the deceptive, puppet role of the "people's representations" behind the Iron Curtain. This puppet-show run by the rulers of the satellite states is not only in evidence in the "parliaments" but also in the various delegations of these countries which appear in the UNO and elsewhere. How long are we going to have to put up with these illusionists and mountebanks, whose vote in the supreme international forums gives an entirely false picture of the true proportion of votes in the world. No one, not even a Minister who belongs to the Communist Party, is allowed to have an opinion of their own (if one can talk of an opinion of one's own in this case!) on any question.

Length of Officers' Training Reduced

Although service in the army has been facilitated since the Hungarian revolution, countless officers are still fleeing from Hungary.

The length of training for officers has been reduced. In 1956 the military academy "Rakoczi Ferenc" in Matyasfold was already transferred to the former cadet school in Huvosvolgy and has now been incorporated in the general officers' training school. The training for air force officers has been temporarily suspended and the air force officers' training school in Miskolc has been disbanded. In this connection it is stressed that Hungary has no independent air force of its own. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that at the May 1st parades last year planes bearing the Hungarian nationality mark were flown by Russian pilots.

* * *

The collectivization of Hungary's agriculture has now been completed and 90 per cent of the total area under cultivation, that is about 4 million hectares of land, are administered by the so-called socialist sector. More than 1,200,000 farmers have become kolkhoz members.

A decree of the Central Committee states that the completion of socialization represents a big step towards building up a socialist economy.

In practice, however, the difficulties with which Hungary's agriculture has been trying to cope for years have only been aggravated still more by complete collectivization.

* * *

Only 23 per cent of all the young workers in Hungary belong to the youth organization KISZ. At a congress of this organization which was recently held in Budapest, J. Kádár said in his speech that in the Hungarian revolution undoubtedly the "majority of the Hungarian youth had been poisoned by the views and theories of the counter-revolution", and that many of the loyal Party comrades had even been dazzled. He added that there was no denying the fact that youth today was egoistic, indifferent towards the state, and also religious and full of ideals. He also expressed his dissatisfaction at the fact that the number of young persons who were members of the KISZ youth organization was so few.

* * *

The new prospectuses of the official Hungarian travel agencies give the quotas for journeys abroad in 1961. For the 600 places available for visits to Switzerland, as many as 30,000 persons have so far registered from Budapest alone. On the other hand, however, there is little interest in tours to the Eastern states.

* * *

In 1960 the Hungarian Communist police, AVH, violated the frontier regulations at the Austrian border seventeen times. On five occasions they fired across the frontier and on two occasions they crossed over into Austria.

The first atheistic periodical, "Világosság" ("Light"), appeared in Hungary a short time ago. It is published by a special committee of the Communist Party.

An atheistic exhibition was opened in Debrecen in December 1960.

* * *

Two Hungarians managed to flee to Austria in a sealed railway truck which contained maize.

* * *

The Hungarian Communist government is extremely alarmed at the increasing rural exodus of young persons from the villages. The Budapest Radio recently admitted that young people could only be tempted to stay in the villages if life in the kolkhozes was completely modernized and they were sure of receiving a good wage. It was also suggested that Sunday dances should be held in the villages and television sets and jukeboxes installed there.



SLOVAKIA

In Bratislava a "Mothers' School" has been opened by the Communist regime. It is the first school of its kind in Slovakia. The purpose of this school is to teach mothers and future mothers how to bring up their children in the spirit of the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

*

An exhibition, "40 Years of Political Posters in Slovakia", was opened in March this year in the capital of Slovakia. Only Communist posters were exhibited and only those that were in keeping with the present line of the Communist Party. In order to revise, enrich and embellish the history of the Communist Party in Slovakia, a number of posters which had been printed recently were put on display as "historical documents" of the earliest fighting days of the Party. As was the case on previous occasions when similar Communist exhibitions have been held, the public showed little interest for this one.

*

The Communist press in Slovakia is launching more and more attacks against religion and, in particular, against the Catholic Church. Defamations against the Slovak Republic and its former representatives, as well as against the Slovak political emigrants in the free world are also published frequently in Communist papers.

*

The Communist regime is increasing its pressure on the private farmers in order to compel them to join the kolkhozes. In spite of the desperate resistance put up by the Slovak farmers, over 80 per cent of the

entire area under cultivation in Slovakia has already been collectivized. The Communist Party is determined to effect the collectivization of the entire Slovak agriculture at any price in the course of this year.



UKRAINE

Another Death Sentence on OUN Member

The broadcasting station of the West Ukrainian town of Stanislaviv on March 3rd this year announced that the death sentence had been passed on Dseman, a member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). The trial of Dseman was held in public, that is to say the public were allowed to be present. It took place in the town of Tovmatsh nearby. The accused came from the village of Oleshytchi. It was disclosed at the trial that Dseman joined the OUN in the summer of 1944. His superior was Jaroslav Vodoslavsky, known by the name of "Zorian". During the trial Roman Pryszniuk, who was also a member of the OUN and had collaborated with Dseman, also gave evidence.

After the war Dseman moved to the Donets Basin (in 1956), where he lived until he was arrested by the Russian police in 1960. According to the Bolshevik report of the trial, Dseman always carried a gun on him. It is obvious from the broadcast commentary on the trial that the "witnesses" who were summoned to give evidence at the trial spoke a horrible mixture of Russian and Ukrainian with a fake "Galician" accent, specially for the benefit of the public.

The accused was sentenced to death by shooting, a verdict which was allegedly greeted by the public with "thunderous applause".

Fight for Freedom Continues in Ukraine

We recently received another report from Ukraine to the effect that a trial had been opened in Peremysl against Mychailo Koval, a member of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). These trials (against Dseman in Tovmatsh and against Koval in Peremysl, as well as against other members of the Ukrainian resistance movement) clearly prove that the Ukrainian people are as determined as ever to continue their unequal fight against the Russian occupants until Ukraine has finally been liberated.

Death Sentence Upheld against UPA Commander I. Shpontak

On March 8, 1961, the Warsaw Supreme Court of Justice heard an appeal in the case

of Ivan Shpontak, the commander of a UPA unit, who was sentenced to death by the district court in Peremysl. The Supreme Court upheld the decision of the first court, that is death sentence.

Ivan Shpontak, called "Zalizniak", was a commander of the UPA battalion "Bastion", which operated in the district of Riashiv (Rzeszow) after the end of World War II. Towards the end of 1947 Shpontak went to Czechoslovakia, where he lived under another name until he was arrested in 1958. The Czech Bolsheviks extradited him to the Poles and he was then sentenced to death by the court in Peremysl. His appeal was turned down by the Supreme Court in Warsaw.

Forty Years Fighting against Ukrainian Nationalism

On March 3rd this year the Kyiv Radio broadcast greetings from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine to the so-called 5th Congress of the Society for Disseminating Political and Cultural Knowledge. The Congress was attended by a large "number of the intelligentsia, industrial innovators and agriculturists of the Republic" (i. e. Ukraine). In their message the Russian overseers of Ukraine appealed to the members of the Society to combat Ukrainian nationalism:

"A combat sector of the activity of the Society is and should always be to ruthlessly expose all phenomena of bourgeois ideology and Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, to increase political vigilance, to oppose the remnants of the past in the consciousness of the population, and to help the Party in moulding the individual in Communist society."

From which statements it can be seen that Ukrainian nationalism continues to be a danger to Moscow of which it is extremely afraid!

BOOK - REVIEWS

V. Baczkovski: *New Colonial Empire. An Answer to Khrushchov's Speech at the United Nations on September 23, 1960.*

In this pamphlet (the publication is lithographed and the author has not indicated the place or year of publication) V. Baczkovski endeavours to give the lie to the statements made by the Soviet Russian Premier Khrushchov before the United Nations Assembly on September 23, 1960, namely that the peoples of the so-called Soviet Union have experienced a fantastic progress, both economic and cultural. The author stresses that between Western and Soviet Russian colonialism there is a considerable difference, which can be summed up as follows: Western colonialism is dying out, whilst Soviet Russian colonialism is continuing to grow in its ambitions and in its ruthless dynamism. The author proves these facts on the basis of accurate data, most of which is quoted by the press of the Soviet Union itself.

Baczkovski emphasizes that the "Pyramids" of the Soviet Russian achievements on the economic

sector, the "Chinese walls" of industrial successes, as was the case in Egypt under the Pharaohs and in China of old, are deeply irrigated with the blood of many millions of slaves of non-Russian descent, and with an ocean of tears shed by mothers and children.

On page 24 he says: "Communists are now trying to bring the same sort of progress, based upon rivers of blood and sweat, to the peoples of former colonial and half-colonial countries. Let all informed and wise men strive to help the peoples of Asia and Africa to avoid such a horrible fate. Let all of us work and pray that the all-merciful God will guide them to build their future without concentration camps, without mass murders of political opponents, and without diabolic "hashish" of incessant propaganda, and without degradation of religion and of the spiritual freedom of man."

The pamphlet exposes the true nature of Russian imperialism, which is, unfortunately, not rightly assessed by the West. The fact is stressed that there are no seas or oceans separating the ethnic Russian "motherland" from the Russian colonies; this makes Soviet Russian colonialism a far more deadly phenomenon than any other colonial system.

When speaking of progress and achievements on the economic sector, one should take the following facts into consideration:

In the Soviet Union there is an enormous gap between the huge costs and the achievements in almost every sector of economy. This involves not only the uneconomical use of financial and material resources, but also the "human material" used. The establishment and consolidation of the Russian Communist regime cost the colossal price of about 40 million human lives. In this connection the author refers to the artificial man-made famine in Ukraine in 1932-33 and also in the Cossack lands.

V. Luzhansky

Invasion Report Constanza Maimon-Estero Hondo. Communist Aggression Against The Dominican Republic. Printed in the Dominican Republic. Ciudad Trujillo, 1959. 254 pp.

Red Russian infiltration in Latin America and in the Caribbean area by means of Moscow's agents is regarded with serious alarm by all those who love freedom and hate enslavement. Hence, this book, which "is presented as an international public service by the Caribbean Anti-Communist Research and Intelligence Bureau in the Dominican Republic", sets out to trace this infiltration in the invasions that take place throughout the Latin American territories.

Recent events and the visit of Mikoyan, who is Khrushchov's deputy, draw attention to what is happening in the Caribbean countries, which constitute a spring-board for Red Russia in her endeavour to gain possession of Latin America and then endanger the USA. From this point of view, the book is of considerable value to all those who wish to follow the dramatic events now being enacted in those parts of the free world that are important to us.

The book contains many interesting cases illustrating the present political situation and underground activities in the Dominican Republic, which is part of the free world, as well as a wealth of pictures, documents that could be seized, lists of captured enemies, and letters, etc., that are all highly informative.

W. Kapotivsky

Dmytro Donzov: *Der Geist Russlands. ("The Spirit of Russia").* With an Introduction by Major-General J. F. C. Fuller. Schild-Verlag, Munich-Löchlhausen. Documentary Series, No. 5, 1961. 96 pp.

The extremely active publishing firm of Schild, whose publications include "Das goldene Feld" ("The Golden Field"), a novel about Ukraine, "Die

Wahrheit über Malmédy" ("The Truth about Malmédy") and numerous other works, has recently published a very useful and interesting book about the real spirit of Russia and the character of the present tensions between East and West. The author, Dr. Dmytro Donzov, is a well-known Ukrainian scholar, political thinker and publicist of the older generation, whose works are also widely known abroad.

His historical, sociological and political analysis of the complex "Russia" and of the relations between West and East is excellent. Had this work of his been read before World War II (and I mean, of course, by the statesmen who determine the fate not only of Europe but of the entire Western world), then there would not have been as many serious political mistakes made during the last war and the political map of Europe would now be quite different.

The true nature of Bolshevism is frequently not recognized, or not rightly assessed by the West. Donzov regards Bolshevism as one of the purely Russian phenomena which (like other Russian messianisms that have existed so far) merely serves to deceive and lull the Western world as to the true character of Russian imperialism.

On pages 79—80, the author writes as follows: "... Russia's aim always remains the same — the demoralization of the community in question, its disintegration into the countless number of "grains of dust", as Katkov conceives them, which is an essential precondition for Russian rule in Europe.

Whether it is question of Russia's foreign or home policy, the same thing can be ascertained everywhere. By encouraging such social classes as the scum of the proletariat in the West, Russia endeavoured and in the first place still endeavours to win over to her side such elements abroad, who only worship the ideals of equality and who for the sake of its realization are even prepared to submit to foreign absolutism, that is their own death, since they easily fall a victim to Russian demagogy...

One thing is certain, namely that Russia in the course of her thousand-year old history has so far shown herself incapable of adopting the ideas of the Occident as her own and that all her efforts to imitate the West have proved in vain. Yet this is not her true aim. Threateningly, she stands aloof amidst the nations of the West and makes no attempt to conceal her intention of swallowing each of these nations one after another, or of crushing or breaking them. Will the West hurl a fitting answer at Russia?"

Yes, it is indeed a question of "to be or not to be" in the case not only of Europe but of the entire West, including many of the peoples of Africa and Asia.

The author is convinced that Russia, this artificial conglomeration of peoples, would not in the least be able to put up an effective resistance against a united West. "The reasons for the success with which Russia so far managed to get rid of all conquerors were not military and strategical but political in character" (p. 86).

On page 92 Donzov adds: "The legend about the impossibility of defeating Russia — a legend which the Russians find very pleasant — should be abandoned at last. It is really only a legend. The lack of determination on the part of the West to overthrow the Moscow monster is another matter. But there should be no talk of the impossibility of doing so."

In his Introduction to this book Major-General J. F. C. Fuller of Britain affirms: "What are the components of the Russian messianism, of the spiritual nomadic element which nowadays threatens to extinguish Western culture and thus the Western way of living? The answer to this question is to be found in this learned and fascinating book. Here, Dr. Donzov thoroughly examines and explains the factors which constitute messianism."

The author clearly proves that the ideology of Russian Communism and of tsarist Russia are merely two different forms of the same phenomenon: and behind this there is the eternal Russian imperialism against the West, an imperialism now disguised as Communism. V. Luzhansky

Comments on the Space Flight

No Electricity

The fact will be forgotten for a while that 60 per cent of the households in the USSR even in these modern times have no electric light and that the Russian Communists are carrying on the biggest slavery ever heard of in the history of mankind. It will be affirmed once more that the Soviet Russians "are not so inhuman after all". This will no doubt be the greatest victory of the Soviet space flight.

Paul Mayerer, Offenbach/Main.

Fooled!

It is already obvious that the whole world has once again been completely fooled by the Russians. The whole swindle will come to light when, in the near future, the first person from the free world undertakes a space flight.

Martin Schneider, Frankfurt/Main.

An Achievement of the Party?

Your paper is very objective! That is why you point out that in 1946 all German aviation scientists available were forcibly transported to the Soviet Union by the Russians. Now, everything is supposed to be an achievement of the "Party" and the Russians.

Wissing, civil engineer, Hannover.

Where is God?

I personally have never discovered a watchmaker inside a watch. Nor is God to be found either on Venus or two milliard astronomical years away at the end of the universe. (Is there such a thing as the "end" in this case?) Man will never find God, but God finds man.

Edmund Meyer, Sülfeld near Gifhorn.

Limits are set

At the most we shall never get beyond the threshold of the universe, however much scientific achievements may develop, for the infinite vastness of the universe has set limits to science. It is impossible to grasp the stars.

Arnold Kössler, Hamburg.
(From readers' letters to "Bild")

MEMORANDUM

TO

THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE ASIAN AND AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Sirs,

The Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), the coordination centre of the national revolutionary liberation organizations and underground movements of the peoples subjugated by Russia, would in the first place like to express its satisfaction at the fact that numerous countries of Africa and Asia have in recent times succeeded in attaining state independence. We congratulate the peoples of these countries on this occasion and sincerely wish them a prosperous future in their own newly established national states.

At the same time, however, we consider it to be our foremost duty to warn the governments of these countries and, above all, those peoples of Africa and Asia who have not yet gained their independence, against the deadly danger of Russian Communist expansion and aggression. As members of peoples who are today languishing under Soviet Russian despotism, we are indeed fitted to utter this warning, since we are speaking from personal experience.

Since the Communist October Revolution in Russia, the government in Moscow has been using the Communist ideology solely as a weapon for Russian imperialism, just as the concept of the so-called "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" merely serves as a camouflage for the Greater Russian realm of despotism.

The outbreak of the national liberation revolutions in the Russian tsarist imperium in the spring of 1917 resulted in the collapse of the Russian peoples' prison. All the subjugated peoples of the former tsarist empire then proclaimed their independence and established or restored their own national states.

Thus, Ukraine, with a population of 45 million, on January 22, 1918, proclaimed its own national state, with the seat of government in Kyiv; Georgia, with a population of 4 million, did likewise on May 26, 1918, with the seat of government in Tiflis; similarly, Latvia, with a population of 2.1 million, on November 18, 1918, with the seat of government in Riga; Esthonia, with a population of 1.2 million, on February 24, 1918, with the seat of government in Talinn; Lithuania, with a population of 2.7 million, on November 11, 1918, with the seat of government in Vilnius; Byelorussia, with a population of 8 million, on March 25, 1918, with the seat of government in Minsk; (statistical figures have been taken from the official Soviet statistics, which have been falsified much to the disadvantage of the non-Russians.) the Union of the North Caucasian peoples, with a population of 3 million, on May 11, 1918, with the seat of government in Vladikavkaz; Azerbaijan, with a population of 3.7 million, on May 29, 1918, with the seat of government in Baku; Armenia, with a population of 1.8 million, on May 30, 1918, with the seat of government in Erivan; Turkestan, with a population of 23 million (according to the census of 1959 and including the foreign settlers there), on December 7, 1917, with the seat of government in Tashkent; and Idel-Ural, Cossack Lands and Siberia likewise proclaimed their independence in the years 1917 and 1918.

The Russian Communist government in Moscow was at first obliged to recognize the sovereignty of the restored states. Immediately after consolidating its power in the ethnical Russian territory, however, it gradually began to recapture these states, namely by means of the brutal military force of its Red Army. Thus the following were subjugated again: the Cossacks in 1919, the Byelorussians in January 1919, Idel-Ural in 1919, the Union of the North Caucasian peoples in 1920, Turkestan in 1920, Siberia in 1920, Azerbaijan in 1920, Armenia in 1920, Ukraine in the winter of 1921, Georgia in 1921, Latvia in 1940, Esthonia in 1940, and Lithuania in 1940.

In this way and only in this way the Russians succeeded in subjugating these countries anew and forcibly incorporating them in the Soviet Russian imperium, after all these peoples had put up a desperate resistance in grim and courageous combat. But in the end they were obliged to surrender to Soviet Russia's military superiority, especially as the Western powers adopted a negative attitude towards their fight for independence and supported the reactionary Russian imperialistic "white" generals, instead of furthering the disintegration of the Russian imperium in every form and colour. Since then, that is to say since 1922, the name "Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics" has been misused merely to camouflage Russian tyranny over all these countries and it is a gross contradiction of the true will of these peoples.

Russia has not, however, contented itself solely with these conquests. In the years between the two world wars, the Moscow government, concealed behind the Third International, constantly endeavoured through the agency of the Communist parties which it controlled to enslave further European and Asian peoples by means of instigated riots, civil wars and similar forms of unrest. But in no other country did the Communist parties succeed in winning over the masses and seizing governmental power against the determined will of the peoples.

It was not until World War II and by making use of the situation in the post-war years that Moscow's imperialism managed to incorporate a number of other European countries in the Russian Communist sphere of influence, and then only after the said countries had been conquered and occupied by the Red Army.

Thus, in 1940 the Baltic States, — Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia, with a total population of 6 million, were directly incorporated in Soviet Russian territory. There followed Albania, with a population of 1.4 million, in the years 1944 and 1945; Bulgaria, with a population of 8 million, in 1944; Roumania, with a population of 18.2 million, in 1944; Hungary, with a population of 9.9 million, in 1945; Slovakia, with a population of 3.5 million, in 1945; Bohemia, with a population of 8.7 million, in 1945; Poland, with a population of 27.6 million, in 1945, and, finally, a third of Germany, with a population of 17 million, in 1945. All these countries were incorporated in the Russian sphere of influence by means of armed force and against the will of the peoples concerned.

That this is by no means a case of spontaneously formed Communist governments, still less of a voluntary membership of the peoples in question in the so-called "East bloc", can be seen from the fact that the Communist rulers in these countries on every occasion, even today, quite openly admit that the so-called "liberation", that is in reality the Soviet Russian subjugation, of their countries would have been impossible without the invasion of the Soviet army.

And that this is likewise stressed by the Communist rulers in all the Soviet Russian so-called satellite countries proves again and again that the enforcement of the Communist regime there would hardly have been possible without the support of various non-Communist leftist elements of the so-called "People's Front Governments". We should, however, like to point out in this connection that all these

collaborators of Communism have without exception, as thanks for their help, either been executed or sent into exile, once the Communist dictatorship has stabilized its position.

Finally, mention must also be made of the fact that the governments that are servile to Moscow in the subjugated countries have also resorted to this same method against the orthodox Communist leaders whenever the latter have attempted to protect their own national interests against totalitarian Russian colonialism. Thus in all the so-called satellite states various Communist leaders, who had served the cause of Communism, have been executed or imprisoned as "National Communists". as for instance the Deputy Prime Minister of Bulgaria, Traicho Kostoff, whilst all his supporters were put into prison and into concentration camps; further, Rajk and Prime Minister Imre Nagy, in Hungary; Dr. Vladimir Clementis, Foreign Minister in Prague, Dr. Gustav Husak, president of the Slovak National Council, and Laco Novomesky, Minister of Schools and Cultural Affairs, in Slovakia; the supporters of Rudolf Slansky, First Secretary of the Communist Party in Czecho-Slovakia, etc.

A similar process was, incidentally, also carried out in all the non-Russian countries of the USSR in the 1930's, when the leading functionaries of the Communist parties in these countries were liquidated on account of "national divergence".

Nowadays all the Communist states of the so-called "Warsaw Pact" are merely independent on paper. In reality they constitute provinces of the Greater Russian imperium and are led by puppet governments appointed by the grace of Moscow, whilst their entire economic potential and human material serve to increase the Russian war-machine in the interests of Russian Bolshevik world-conquest plans.

Russia, however, is already endeavouring to gain a firm foothold in Asia, Africa and Latin America by means of Communist agents, in order to prepare the future incorporation of these parts of the world, too, in its sphere of influence. In this respect it is relying on the Communist government of China, which for the time being affords it a certain amount of cover in the rear. It is also a known fact that Soviet Russia is endeavouring to influence the countries of the Orient through Turkestan (the Soviet Republics of Uzbekistan, Kirgizstan, Turkmenistan, Tadzhikistan and Kazakhstan) in the heart of Asia, a country which belongs to the Asian group of culture. In this connection it must be stressed that the Western major powers, who wrongly assessed the truly Communist movement of Mao Tse-tung, are to some extent to blame for the fact that Communism, with Moscow's aid, has conquered the Chinese mainland. North Korea, North Viet Nam and Tibet likewise fell victims to Bolshevik aggression, and in this way the Russian Communist sphere of influence in Asia was able to expand.

Today, Soviet Russia is the largest colonial power in the world and it is the only colonial imperium which, at a time when one colonial country after another outside Europe is gaining its freedom and independence, refuses to let its colonies be infringed. Whilst we are experiencing the end of the Western colonial era in Africa and Asia, Russian colonialism continues to be orientated towards complete world conquest in a constant offensive.

In its determination to preserve its colonial empire and to gain new colonies in Asia, Africa and Latin America, Russian imperialism, camouflaged by world Communism, constantly makes use of lying catchwords. It promises the peoples who so far have had no experience of Bolshevism, such things as social justice, freedom and sovereignty, only to give them terrorism, national subjugation and slavery next day. To this end, countless agents of the Fifth Column are engaged in subversive activity in all the continents and countries of the world. And this global infiltration is

financed by means which are extorted from our subjugated peoples by slave-labour with blood and tears.

Meanwhile the Moscow rulers have set big hopes in particular on the young independent states of Africa and also on the peoples of Asia, who have not yet realized the true character of Russian imperialism and of brutal Communist terrorism. Moscow is relying on the inexperience of the peoples situated a long way from the frontiers of the Bolshevik hell, who are ignorant of the true conditions in the so-called "Soviet Union" and its "satellite countries". The despots of the Kremlin make no secret of the fact that they are trying to win over the young African and Asian states to Russian Communism, that is to say that they are in reality intending to subject them to a new and ruthless Soviet Russian colonial rule.

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), which represents the fight for freedom of the peoples subjugated by Moscow and is the coordination centre of this fight, feels in duty bound to draw the attention of the prospective victims of Russian Communist aggression in Africa and Asia and the governments of the world that is still free, as well as public opinion the world over, to the imminent danger of Communist infiltration, behind which, in reality, Russian Bolshevik expansion is concealed.

The A.B.N. is fighting for the liquidation of Communist dictatorship and Russian Bolshevik alien rule everywhere in the world, for the disintegration of the Russian imperium and the restoration of the independent states of all the subjugated peoples in the entire Soviet Russian sphere of influence.

The A.B.N. is fighting for the freedom and independence of all subjugated or oppressed peoples, irrespective of their subjugators and oppressors. Our international organization not only opposes Communism, which merely serves Moscow as a means to an end, but also and above all Russian imperialism in every form as a primary and basic cause. We demand for our peoples those rights which all peoples on earth justifiably demand and which most of them already possess: independent national states, that is to say the liberation and restoration of their sovereign states which have been subjugated by Russian aggression.

We should be only too pleased to furnish you and your governments with further information, both on the true conditions in our countries which have been subjugated at various times in the Russian Communist sphere of influence, and also on the ways and means of our fight and on its individual aims.

We are convinced that you will recognize the imminent danger which Soviet Russian expansion represents for your country or your state and will therefore resist all Moscow's intrigues. In view of our mutual interests, we trust that you will not fail to adopt all the necessary defence measures in order to protect your people against the insidious influence of Russian Communist agents and to safeguard the freedom and independence of your country.

In conclusion, we venture to express the hope that in your own interests you will support our liberation fight against Russian Bolshevik tyranny. For it is a fight for your own and our future in true peace and genuine freedom.

April 1961

**For the Central Committee of the
Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A. B. N.)**

On the occasion of President Kennedy's reply to the Soviet dictator Nikita Khrushchov, the President of the Croatian Liberation Movement has sent to the President of U.S.A. the following letter:

Buenos Aires, April 19th, 1961.

To His Excellency
JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY, President of the U.S.A.
Washington, D.C.

Your Excellency:

The Croatian Liberation Movement incorporating more than two hundred Croatian organizations acting in exile on all continents of the free world applauds Your Excellency's manly answer to the Premier of the Soviet Union, Mr. Nikita Khrushchov, in connection with the present events in Cuba.

We consider your Excellency's reply to be a brilliant document in these fateful times, for in it the great democratic and freedom loving tradition of the American Nation has again become manifest.

Therefore, Your Excellency's answer has encouraged the hopes of all nations deprived of their freedom and ruled by Communist dictatorships that the day of their liberation is nearing.

All these peoples see in Your Excellency as head of the greatest democratic country, a powerful protector of the ideals of freedom for which all nations enslaved by Communism are so fervently longing.

Among such nations are also the Croats who much against their will were unlawfully and forcibly incorporated into the artificial state called Yugoslavia, and who are now ruled by a Communist dictator.

Tito, Josip Broz, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, who has for sixteen years been despotically ruling the nations of that artificial state, makes use of any opportunity to condemn the endeavours of the peoples oppressed by Communism to regain their freedom. On his way to Africa he has condemned the fight of the Cuban patriots, and given full support to the Communist Bloc by accusing the true democracies, and, above all, the American nation for their moral support to the freedom-loving Cubans.

The Croatia Liberation Movement most energetically opposes Communist dictator Tito's attitude, for the Croat nation approves the struggle of any people for its freedom.

Therefore, I would like to assure Your Excellency, that all members of the Croatia Liberation Movement are ready to do their share in the common struggle for the highest principles of freedom and democracy in the strong belief that the Croats will also achieve their freedom and national independence in our own democratic Croatian state.

Your Excellency:

We would like to express herewith our deepest respect, and our best wishes to Your Excellency's person.

For the Croatian Liberation Movement
Dr. Stjepan Hefer, President.

Contents:

<i>V. Kajum-Khan</i> (Turkestan)	
Russia in Asia and Africa	1
<i>Dr. Ctibor Pokorny</i> (Slovakia)	
No Compromises!	5
<i>S.</i> (Ukraine)	
Into World Space Without God	6
Deeds not Words are Needed	7
A Bomb planted by the KGB recently exploded on the premises of the ABN . . .	11
<i>N. Nakashidze</i> (Georgia)	
40 Years under Russian Bolshevist Rule . .	14
<i>Banu Manta</i> (Rumania)	
The Enslavement of Rumania Continues . .	18
<i>A. Furman</i> (Germany)	
Stolen Glory	19
<i>Hubert Wolf</i> (Germany)	
Congressman Flood for House Captive Nations Committee (USA).	24
The Slovak Republic in Reality and Law . .	25
Declaration of the 7th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) .	28
From Behind the Iron Curtain	36
Book Reviews	39
Memorandum	41

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations!

Freedom for Individuals!

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

STEFAN STAMBULOFF

BULGARIA'S CHAMPION OF FREEDOM AGAINST
RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM



Regent of Bulgaria from 1886 — 1887

Prime Minister from 1887 — 1894

CONTENTS:	Stefan Stambuloff	1
	<i>Hon. Michael A. Feighan (USA)</i>	
	The Gordian Knot	2
	<i>Hon. Frank A. Sedita (USA)</i>	
	A Powerful Deterrent To War	6
	<i>Jaroslav Stetzko (Ukraine)</i>	
	Fear Of One's Own Strength	8
	<i>Hon. Gordon Churchill (Canada)</i>	
	"Freedom Knows No Dying"	12
	<i>Niko Nakashidze (Georgia)</i>	
	Moscow's Offensive	14
	<i>Dr. Tetsuzo Watanabe (Japan)</i>	
	Russian Subversion in Japan	16
	<i>Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens (Mexico)</i>	
	Incredible Blindness in the Case of Russianized Cuba	19
	<i>A. Furmann (Germany)</i>	
	The Last Hour of Colonialism	21
	Common Aims and Co-ordinated Strategy	23
	June 30th, 1941	29
	<i>Ahmed H. Shahab (Indonesia)</i>	
	The Communist Party of Indonesia and the Belief in God	30
	<i>John R. Brown (Great Britain)</i>	
	Russian Empire Held Together By MVD Force	32
	How To Meet The Russian Challenge	33
	New ABN Delegation for Australia	36
	From Behind the Iron Curtain	37
	Book Reviews	39

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

Publisher: Press Bureau of the Antiboldshevik Bloc of Nations
(A.B.N.)

Munich 8, Zeppelinstr. 67

Editorial Staff: Board of Editors
Editor responsible: Slawa Stetzko.

Articles signed with name or pseudonym do not necessarily reflect the Editor's opinion, but that of the author. Manuscripts sent in unrequested cannot be returned in case of non-publication unless postage is enclosed.
It is not our practice to pay for contributions.

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Annual subscription DM 6.— in Germany, 4.— Dollars in U.S.A., 12 shillings in Great Britain and Australia, and the equivalent of 4.— Dollars in all other countries.

Remittances to: Post office Transfer account: Munich 58 000 or Süddeutsche Bank, Munich, Filiale Depositenkasse, Neuhäuser Straße 6, Account No. 300 188 (A.B.N.)

Erscheinungsort: München
Herausgeber: Presse-Büro des Antiboldschewistischen Blocks der Nationen (ABN), München 8, Zeppelinstraße 67/0, Telefon 44 10 69

Schrieffleitung: Redaktionskollegium
Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Mrs. Slawa Stetzko.
Druck: Buchdruckerei Universal, München 5, Rumfordstr. 29

Stefan Stambuloff

The founder of the state independence of Bulgaria and its liberator from Russian tutelage

“His force of character, his undoubted patriotism, his brilliant eloquence, and his disinclination to accept office — a rare characteristic in a Bulgarian politician — combined to render him one of the most influential men of Bulgaria.”

(The Encyclopedia Britannica on Stambuloff).

A freedom fighter already in the era of Turkish alien rule, a tribune of the people and a leader of the liberals during the Russian occupation regime after the liberation, President of the people's representation, subsequently Regent and for many years head of the government during the critical time when the independence of the newly created Bulgarian principality was greatly endangered, Stefan Stambuloff, like no other statesman of his country, personifies the indomitable will of the Bulgarian people to national freedom and independence of their state, which was constantly threatened by the overt annexation aims of the Russian “liberator”.

It was thanks to Stambuloff's outstanding qualities as a statesman, his firm hand in home policy and his diplomatic skill in foreign policy, that all massed attempts at intervention on the part of Russia in order to make the young Bulgarian state tractable, both during the period of unification of North and South Bulgaria as well as after the first Prince Alexander of Battenberg had been overthrown and during the subsequent interregnum, were frustrated, much to the disappointment and annoyance of the tsars in Petersburg.

Stambuloff likewise succeeded in dispelling the profound distrust of the European major powers towards Bulgaria, which was on numerous occasions suspected of readily serving as a stepping stone to the straits for its Russian liberator out of gratitude to the latter. And he likewise succeeded in convincingly proving the determination of the Bulgarian people and their political leaders to preserve their sovereignty, if needs be, against Russia, too.

Moreover, during the period of Stambuloff's regency the foundations were laid for the later sovereign Bulgarian kingdom by the installation of the Coburg dynasty, which was closely related to the British and French royal families, and a bulwark was set up against the Russian aspirations in the Balkans.

Nowadays, when the public in the West frequently still holds erroneous views on Bulgaria, and special Russophil feelings are wrongly imputed to the Bulgarian people the historic achievements of Stefan Stambuloff and his political resoluteness are more proof than ever of the national attitude of the Bulgarian people. Already in his day, when the Bulgarian people rallied round their great statesman, they were prepared to defend their freedom and independence with their very lives, especially when it was a case of resisting imperialist onslaughts on the part of so-called “liberators”.

Today, after Bulgaria has suffered the martyrdom of its “second liberation” by Russia for seventeen years, the name of Stefan Stambuloff and his spiritual heritage still live on as a powerful force in the hearts of the Bulgarians and in their history.

The Gordian Knot

As we gather here to observe Captive Nations Week the primary attention of the American people is centered on Berlin, that island of freedom some one hundred miles the other side of the Russian Iron Curtain. Khrushchov has described free Berlin as a bone in the throat of the Russian bear, a bone which he now seeks to remove. Why does Khrushchov consider a free Berlin to be a bone in the throat of the prowling bear? The answer is simple! The exercise of human freedom is alien to all that is Russia, past and present, it is poisonous to the despotic system of government which is Russia's unwanted gift to humanity, and, if freedom is allowed to persist in organized form anywhere within the empire, it will eventually suffocate the tyrants' clique which now controls one third of the human family.

The aspiration of mankind to be free and independent is a powerful and contagious motivation for those who are enslaved. So powerful is this motivation that it dwarfs the explosive power of all the nuclear weapons stock-piled on this earth. Its contagion is rapid, deep and lasting — the smallest drop of this appeal can spread over entire continents with lightning speed. There is no permanent antidote for it, as dictators and despots down through history have discovered. An elaborate set of remedies against mankind's aspirations for freedom have emerged from the efforts of a few to thwart the fondest hopes of the common man. The Russian leadership has always been skilled in the use of such remedies, hence their present empire with the Iron Curtain sealing its borders and the total police state within its borders. That is, with the exception of free Berlin, which to Khrushchov and company represents that frightening drop of hope for hundreds of millions of non-Russians from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean. Thus we see that the issue of free Berlin is irrevocably locked with the issue of freedom and national independence for all the captive nations.

Khrushchov has deliberately selected Berlin as the place to test the will and leadership of the Kennedy Administration. The outcome of this test will have far-reaching effects. For the people of Berlin they are all too apparent. But they are just as critical to the people of the non-Russian nations behind the Iron Curtain whose future is tied to the outcome. And the test is no less severe in all parts of the free world where respect for our national integrity can be won only by a bold commitment to victory over the Russian imperialists. Should a stalemate result from the present Berlin crisis, this will be measured as a defeat for the Kennedy Administration. Any tie with the Russians is a crippling blow to free world prestige. That is the nature of the war in which we are engaged.

Let us look then to the latest Russian provocation over Berlin. Khrushchov served notice during his meeting with President Kennedy in Vienna that he intended to sign a so-called peace treaty with his East German puppet regime. This hot foot treatment was accorded our President in the closing hours of that ill-advised meeting. The alternative offered by the Russian dictator was a peace treaty on Germany in accordance with terms of vengeance dictated by the Kremlin leaders. By this transparent maneuver Khrushchov is up to an old-fashioned Russian trick — the technique of using quislings to do their dirty work. The Russian puppets in East Germany will lay claim to sovereignty over all territory and people within the Russian Zone of military occupation. They will then demand that the Western

powers negotiate with them over the clearly established legal and moral rights we already have to be in Berlin. A series of provocations on a graduated basis will be thrown at us while the Russians remain in the shadows, protesting peace and co-existence. By this practice the Russians expect to avoid a brink of war situation while gradually tearing down the collective will of free men to defend the rights of the people of Berlin.

In the face of this threat the United States and its European allies are engaged in elaborate defense preparations. This process has been and will remain costly and nerve-wracking for us and for our allies. It is altogether possible that after we have reached the point of psychological and military build-up the Russians will slip the rug out from under us. That is, they will claim that we have misunderstood them, that they mean no threat to our position in Berlin and that all they want to do is talk about the future and the prospects of peaceful co-existence. They have done this before on Berlin and in the Near East crisis. We must not allow this to happen again because this technique saps our national will to resist and reduces respect for us on both sides of the Iron Curtain. There must be a limit to our playing fool in the international political arena.

The Russians alone provoked this latest and third crisis over Berlin. We must set a very high price on their escape from this political crisis of their making. We can extract that price by stating our terms now while we are forced to gird for defense and by continuing all-out defense preparations until our terms are met. Our terms must be just and in harmony with the wishes of all the German people. I propose the following objectives be established for the settlement of the third Berlin crisis.

1. That the principle of national self-determination be applied to Germany. This means that universal elections must be held simultaneously throughout the Federal Republic of Germany and the East German zone of Russian military occupation. Such elections must admit political parties of all hues and colors to present a slate of candidates, to campaign freely on the issues, and the use of the secret ballot under international control.

2. That the United Nations should be designated as the instrument of international control to supervise the freely expressed will of all the German people. The United States, Great Britain, France and Soviet Russia would be disqualified from participating in this supervisory function because of their role as parties to the dispute. Only those other nations with parliamentary forms of government which allow multiple political parties, the right to open dissent, the secret ballot, and demonstrate respect for the rights of the minority party or parties, would qualify for this function.

3. That such universal elections be designed to elect a parliamentary body which would freely choose the form of government to be established for a united Germany. Such government would take immediate and sovereign responsibility for the affairs of a united Germany and would enter into negotiations for a peace settlement.

4. That the United States declare, as public policy, the belief that a divided Germany is a certain guarantee of World War III and that only a united Germany functioning under a government freely chosen by and responsive to the will of the German people can remove this danger of war. There can be no peace treaty with Germany worthy of the name without an honest recognition of this reality.

Such a program as I propose would set our nation on a course of political leadership of the free world. For too long we have refused to accept the role as political leaders of the free world community. For too long we have failed to stand up for our political ideals in a world stimulated into a deep revolutionary era by these

very ideals. For too long we have tried to buy our way out of crisis after crisis. For too long we have accepted defeat at the hands of the Russian Communists with the complacency of a people in decline. For too long we have been paralyzed by an undue fear of war and stupefied by such catch phrases as "nuclear stalemate". It is time that we stopped talking and began to act like free men, conscious of our destiny and confident in the victory of the cause we have been called to lead.

Much of the fault for our present, precarious position must be placed at the doorstep of ignorance. That is, ignorance of Russia, the Russians and the fakery of international communism. We are engaged in a war and we have failed to properly identify the enemy. As a consequence we have been dissipating our strength and wasting our human and material resources wrestling with myths and struggling with evasive shadows of the enemy. We are told over and over again that the "Soviets" are our enemies but few dare to give live, human identity to the term. We are warned that international communism is the real enemy but the shocking facts of life are that the economic and social theories of Marx and Engels were long ago demonstrated as unworkable by the Russian tyrants. In this age of anti-imperialism we hear the curious phrase "Soviet Empire" used to disguise the biggest prison house of non-Russian nations in history.

The word "Soviet" means a council of workers, peasants and soldiers. Hence, if the Soviets are declared as our enemies we are immediately lined up against all the workers, peasants and soldiers behind the Iron Curtain. Moreover, use of this deceptive phrase allows no distinction between those people with an historic attachment to despotism and those with an historic attachment to liberty and self-government. All are lumped together into one, faceless mass, devoid of national identity and culture, all speaking the same language, all seeking the same goals and all firmly attached to the will of the Kremlin leaders. This is precisely what the Kremlin leaders have striven to make us believe — and to believe that they have established a monolith of power over the some 200 million peoples of the U.S.S.R. That they believe they have succeeded in this gigantic deception is attested to by the fact that they are presently engaged in throwing this camouflage over the more recently occupied nations of Central and South Europe. That our Department of State has been victimized by this deception is attested to by the fact that it supports a policy of non-predetermination toward the captive, non-Russian nations of the U.S.S.R. In other words our Department of State aids and abets this deception of the Kremlin by denying the right of national self-determination to the peoples of the non-Russian nations of the U.S.S.R. It is a startling but true fact that, since the Stevenson declaration of national policy toward the peoples of Africa, only the people of the non-Russian nations of the U.S.S.R. are now excluded from our historic position on the question of self-determination.

In the spirit of realism, unmindful of the world of fantasy created by the Kremlin leaders, let us take an honest look at the situation behind the Iron Curtain.

There we find anything but a monolith of people and power. To the common man in this vast area, Homo Sovieticus is a Kremlin myth and Homo Russicus is a detested reality of the tyranny imposed upon him. There the theories and claims of communism are nothing more than a refinement of the old despotic way of life under the Tsars. One special refinement has been added, a vast propaganda machine which maintains the image of a fantasy world to beguile and confuse the leaders of the West.

The U.S.S.R. is a prison house of once free and independent non-Russian nations. Such nations as Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Cossackia and Idel-Ural enjoyed their national independence in the aftermath of

World War I. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania maintained their independence until 1939. Had the Russian people chosen the course of national independence some forty years ago, when the Empire of the Tsars collapsed, the world would not be in a state of crisis today. History records that the Russian people alone, of all the nations emancipated by the crack-up of the old imperial system, failed to embrace the spirit of national independence. They were easy prey for the Bolsheviki who soon moulded them into a military force dedicated to the reconstruction of the Russian empire. Nor were the Russians, White or Red, divided on the question of empire. Both sides of the divided Russian family fought against the newly independent, non-Russian nations and it remains a close question today as to which side played the major role in stamping out the flames of liberty in those neighboring nations. Nor is there discernible division today within the ranks of the Russians on both sides of the Iron Curtain on the question of empire. Both sides are united on this critical question. They are divided only on the question of the form of government to rule the empire.

And it is here that we come to the point of basic judgment on our relations with the Russians. Are we prepared to guarantee the territorial integrity of the modern day Russian empire in return for extravagant claims of "friendship of the Russian people" as distinguished from their government? This is precisely what the Russian pleaders in the United States are asking of us. The fact that our Department of State supports a policy of non-predetermination toward the U.S.S.R. indicates the influence of those Russian pleaders at the high policy levels of our government.

This policy must be publicly exposed and broken before our government can begin to take effective action against the enemy which now threatens our very existence. That policy forms a Gordian Knot on our political ideals and prevents us from engaging the enemy at places and times of our choosing, and with political weapons the enemy can not counter.

I propose that our government adopt a policy of Russia for the Russians. We have recently launched a policy of Africa for the Africans — which means self-government for all the Africans, free from European colonial control. A policy of Russia for the Russians would become an immediate rallying point for the majority of the people of the U.S.S.R. — the non-Russians. Such a policy would announce our public support for the national independence movements now gathering political momentum in all the captive nations. It would also guarantee the territorial integrity of the Russian nation, which is but one of the nations of the U.S.S.R. It would also put us on record as allies of the common man behind the Iron Curtain — workers, peasants and soldiers. If the Russian people objected, the issue would be clearly drawn, which is not the case today. If the Russian people supported this policy, then and only then may we count them as friends and allies of freedom.

Recently Khrushchov and company announced a stepped up "policy of liberation", that is, an all-out effort to colonize all the nations contiguous to the Russian empire as well as those nations newly emerging in Africa and Asia. Moreover, anything the United States or its allies does to prevent this Russian takeover of those nations is regarded by them as an act of war, an unjust war. Contrast this state of affairs with Khrushchov's reaction to the passage by Congress of P.L. 86-90, the Captive Nations Week Resolution. In his fury, he asked Richard Nixon, then visiting Russia — "How could you do this to us?" In other words, Khrushchov was asking Nixon — why have you decided to make things difficult for us by calling for the rights of my captive nations to be free and independent? That is exactly what Congress intended by the passage of that Resolution. It is time that our Department of State accepted the language of P.L. 86-90 as our national policy toward the modern day Russian

empire. Adoption of such a policy will cut the Gordian Knot around our political ideals and unleash a peaceful power many times greater than all the armed forces of the world combined.

We are a self-governing people. Our government is responsive to the will of our people. Our policies, foreign and domestic, can be no better than the people demand. It is time that our people began to demand a realistic approach to the Russian problem, an approach consistent with our political heritage and our hopes for all the peoples of the world. You, the people, have it within your power to assist President Kennedy in breaking the Gordian Knot which is slowly but surely strangling our nation. Let your voices of protest be heard.

(Address delivered at Captive Nations Week observance in Cleveland, on July 16, 1961)

Frank A. Sedita, Mayor of Buffalo

A Powerful Deterrent To War

As we approach the second annual observance of Captive Nations Week the leaders of imperial Russia are again beating the drums of war. This threat is symbolized by the third Russian provocation over Berlin, that is, the Russian challenge to the right of the people of free Berlin to remain free. But the issue involved goes much further than Berlin. It involves the basic issue of freedom versus slavery, totalitarian dictatorship versus representative self-government.

The Russian Communists have been waging a relentless war against all civilizations during the past forty years. Their path of armed aggression, subversion and terror has engulfed more than a score of once free and independent nations. Today they boldly proclaim a goal of world empire and openly boast that they will "bury us".

Faced with this threat, our thoughts turn to the defense of our beloved nation and to the preservation of freedom's cause everywhere in our troubled world. In times of international crisis we seek allies with equal dedication to the principles of liberty and justice, which are the hallmark of our national existence. The people of the captive, non-Russian nations behind the Iron Curtain form an indispensable segment of the alliances we seek. They are the unwilling captives of godless Communism and the victims of its daily terror. Their refusal to accept the alien regimes imposed upon them together with their aspirations for freedom and national independence mark them as worthy partners in an alliance of honor with all who love liberty.

The United States Congress, as a matter of fact and policy, has declared that "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." I would add that no Red Dictator will dare to launch a new world war in the certain knowledge the non-Russian people in the captive nations will rise up in support of freedom's cause. It is, therefore, imperative that we keep alive the aspirations of the people of the captive nations, to manifest our concern for their present plight and to strengthen our historic alliance with them.

It is for those high purposes that I, as Mayor of Buffalo, have appointed a Citizens Committee to Observe Captive Nations Week. Our City takes pride in the fact that so many of our citizens trace their national and cultural origins to the nations we shall honor during that week. Strong family ties exist between those citizens and the people of Poland, Hungary, Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Bulgaria, Croatia, East Germany, Albania, Georgia, Armenia. We must use those ties, supported by a re-dedication to the American principles of liberty and national independence, to find the way to peace with justice for all nations and peoples.

For Liberation Policy

(Proclamation by Hon. Frank A. Sedita)

Whereas, the leaders of imperial Russian Communism have, during the course of the past 40 years, waged a relentless war against all civilizations, enslaving more than a score of once free and independent nations; and

whereas, the leaders of godless Communism have proclaimed a goal of world empire, boasting that they will "bury" our free, American way of life; and

whereas, the overwhelming majority of the people in the captive non-Russian nations behind the iron curtain are the unwilling prisoners of the regimes imposed upon them by force and look to the United States and other free countries for their emancipation from slavery; and

whereas, the aspirations for freedom and national independence held by the people of Poland, Hungary, Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Bulgaria, East Germany, Albania, Croatia, Georgia, Armenia, among others constitutes a powerful deterrent to war and one of our best hopes for a just and lasting peace; and

whereas, the people of all the captive, non-Russian nations, by their courageous resistance against the red occupiers of their countries and by their martyr-



dom to freedom's cause have proven themselves as worthy partners in an alliance of honor with all who have liberty; and

whereas, it is imperative that we keep alive the aspirations of the people of the captive nations for liberty and national independence, to manifest our deep concern for their present plight and to strengthen our historic alliance with them,

now, therefore, I, Frank A. Sedita, mayor of the city of Buffalo, do proclaim the week of July 16, 1961, to be "Captive Nations Week"

and urge the people of our city to observe this week with prayers, religious observances and public ceremonies which demonstrate support for the just aspirations of the peoples of all the captive nations.

Frank A. Sedita

Fear Of One's Own Strength

The Quid Pro Quo of Western Anti-Bolshevist Policy

The Course of Antitheses

The national world-freedom movement is a powerful ideological and political force of our day. It has become the symbol of the atomic age. Atomic energy is a dreadful explosive of our day. If it is used for constructive instead of destructive purposes, it becomes the basis for the large-scale progress of mankind. Freedom-loving nationalism, which does not degenerate into imperialism and which recognizes the same rights for foreign nations that it respects with regard to its own nation, is also an important constructive power of the present times. Inspired in the Christian world by heroic Christian ethics and based on the philosophy and the metaphysics of Christianity, it opens up grand perspectives to the human race.

As a permanent feature of the social programme of the national liberation movement of Ukraine we constantly stress the principle of private property for the working class and, above all, for the Ukrainian peasantry. We regard the demand for a complete liquidation of the collectives, namely by revolutionary means, as an important element of the revolutionization of the masses. We have exposed all National Communist experiments as palliative sham solutions, or as a realization, which came too late, on the part of the men of rank who were betrayed by the occupants (and M. Skrypnyk's suicide is the best proof of this) and who in their fight for severance from Russia could never hope to gain a success, nor are likely to be successful in future. Only a complete rejection of everything that originates from Russia can bring our salvation!

Moscow represents militant godlessness, whilst Kyiv represents militant Christianity. Moscow stands for lust of conquest, imperialism and colonialism, whilst Kyiv stands for liberation nationalism. Moscow stands for a collective, social economic herd-system, whilst Kyiv is the protector and defender of private property, — a private property acquired by the work of the individual and constantly expanded, and in this respect the mass use of means of production is of decisive importance. And these means of production will only be nationalized to such an extent as is deemed imperative on the grounds of actual practice and experience. Moscow is all in favour of collectivization, "nationalization", totalization of all human life in economic, social and intellectual respect, whereas Kyiv advocates de-collectivi-

zation, the re-establishment of private property, and creative freedom for the individual in every respect. Moscow is all in favour of the total enslavement of the individual, in order to subjugate the whole nation in this way; Kyiv, on the other hand, advocates the liberation of all the creative powers of the individual, his freedom and his rights. Moscow supports internationalism as a hypocritical form and camouflage tactics of Russian imperialism, whilst Kyiv supports nationalism as a universal idea, as the right of every people to its independence and sovereignty. Moscow advocates a Russian world imperium of tyranny and slavery, a "World Union of Soviet Socialist Republics"; Kyiv advocates the national statehood of all peoples without discrimination of race, religion, wealth and size; it advocates the same rights for all peoples and individuals, not only in theory but also in practice.

Seen from this aspect, the fight for the restoration of a sovereign and united Ukrainian state is the highest commandment for every Ukrainian of our day. This fight will help the realization of the watchword — freedom for peoples (that is state independence) and freedom for individuals (that is the recognition of human rights) to be universally victorious.

Moscow regards the individual as a tool of the entire state apparatus, according to the motto "we have sufficient human material"; Kyiv, on the other hand, believes in the dignity of man as a being created in God's image, who sees his purpose in life in serving God by serving the nation. Accordingly, nationalism aims to make possible the self-realization of all the creative faculties of the individual as a being who is organically part of the national, collective body and who was created in God's image since in the words of a philosopher, "peoples are God's thoughts".

Moscow advocates the "happiness" of all peoples of the world, inasmuch as it seeks to force tyranny and enslavement on them; Kyiv has no such ambition to "make people happy", nor does it propagate a specifically Ukrainian "messianism", for the path to eternal happiness was shown mankind by the Messiah Christ. By the realization of the idea of the state independence of Ukraine, Kyiv, since it is fighting for this cause in a united front with other enslaved peoples and under the banner of Christ, is furthering the realization of truth, freedom and justice

amongst individuals and peoples in the whole world. If each people respects its rights and likewise the rights of the individual within the framework of its state in keeping with the higher ideals of life and fights for these rights, then it will in this way fulfil the mission for which it has been chosen by God in a global plan.

Moscow pursues its plans and machinations by arousing criminal instincts in the individual with the aid of watchwords such as, for example: "Berlin, with its women and girls, its wealth and dazzling pleasures of the bourgeoisie, will be yours, soldier of the Red Army, as soon as we have conquered it!"

Kyiv's aims, on the other hand, are noble: "We will fight for the glory of the orthodox faith by liberating our brothers." — "For truth, freedom, honour and glory — for God!" (the watchword of Bohdan Khmelnytzky in the Cossack revolution); "We shall in no way cause our old Ukrainian country to blush for shame, but all of us will sacrifice our life, for the dead are not ashamed!" (Sviatoslav the Brave, in the 9th century).

The Russian motto thus is "rob the robbed", with the prospect of violating the womenfolk and murdering the people as one of the fruits of victory.

The Ukrainian motto, on the other hand, consists of noble watchwords, the courageous words of Sviatoslav the Brave, the high ideals of the soldiers of the old Cossack units and of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

The world-famous Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kyiv and the Moscow Kremlin are two entirely opposite worlds, and hence one of them is bound to collapse at the first collision. This reminds us of one of the two symbolical walls of the great Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytzky, who fought for the Christian faith, for the freedom and glory of Ukraine. The world of Kyiv, the famous Petcherska Lavra Monastery there with the world of its saints, Antonius and Theodosius, — Kyiv, the city of the apostle St. Andrew (just as Rome is the city of St. Peter), on the one hand, — and, on the other hand, the world of Moscow and of the Kremlin, with the mausoleums of Lenin and Stalin, with its persecutors of the Christian faith and ruthless murderers of whole peoples. Anyone who still believes in the possibility of an understanding between these two worlds has obviously no conception of the profundity of the historical world process, for this is essentially a problem that concerns the whole world.

Ukrainian nationalism uncompromisingly defends all those ideals which are diametrically opposed to Russian godless imperialism. And because of their magnetic force, these ideals not only triumph behind the Iron Curtain, but elsewhere, too.

The West lacks Faith in its own Ideals

Russian Bolshevism is doing its utmost to eradicate the desire to possess private property. This wish is above all typical of the character of the Ukrainians and is in no way connected with egoism, but must be regarded as an essential quality of free human will. For it is the fact that man is capable of making a free decision that elevates him above the beings that have no soul.

The eternal conflict of the human soul, of human moral principles, between good and evil, and the constant struggle between these two powers determine the vital struggle of mankind from the very outset. The one-sided Calvinistic theory of predestination implies a certain irresolute acceptance of evil as such. This attitude is to a certain extent also a typically Russian psychological and moral phenomenon, which is also characteristic of Russian orthodoxy, but is completely alien not only to Ukrainian catholicism but also to Ukrainian orthodoxy.

Both branches of Ukrainian Christianity, seen in the light of the great reformative work of the Kyiv Mohylian Academy, are closely related to each other. The entire Christian underground movement of Ukraine is waging an uncompromising fight against militant godless Moscow. This Russian atheism can be traced back in its origin to the era of Russian autocratic papism, which developed out of Russian Christianity, a fact which is so aptly expressed in Tolstoy's philosophy of life. Bolshevism by no means has its roots in Marxism; even the Russian philosopher Berdyaev admits this. It was not Marxism that produced Bolshevism, but Bolshevism that adopted Marxism, which would have remained one of the less dangerous and insignificant doctrines, as for example anarchism, if Russia had not employed its services.

In the social and economic respect, Marxism has not gained the upper hand anywhere in the West; and at present it has no chance whatever of being victorious either in Germany or in Great Britain, and least of all in the United States of America, that is to say in the most industrialized countries of the world. The precondition for the victory of Marxism is not so much the economic position of the country in question, the extent of the development of its industry, but rather the morale of the leading class, the stability of the ideas propagated by the intellectual elite and the moral principles of the broad masses.

The American capitalist Cyrus Eaton is not pro-Communist because he has not enough million dollars, but because he has lost faith in Western ideals, in Christ and in

the nation, and because his individual and national morale is not stimulated by a transcendent faith but by earthly, transient values. Certain of the French intellectuals have not got caught up in dialectical materialism and Communism because they were stirred by pity for the social and economic misery of the working classes; none of them (including Eaton) has become an ascetic and has distributed part of his possessions amongst the poor, as those who in ancient times proved their faith by their deeds, once did. The said persons have only been swept along by the current of Communism because they abandoned the traditions of their native soil, the traditions of their native country and its ideals, and thus landed on shores which are foreign to their people from the ideological point of view.

The "Confusion of Tongues" in the West

The psychological warfare of the West is characterized not so much by theories of its own which are opposed to the Bolshevik theories, but, rather, by analogical "corrected" theories.

Militant freedom-loving world nationalism will be victorious in all continents, including the Western empires, too. In spite of this fact, however, the West does not adopt the ideas of a new order established on the ruins of Bolshevism (such as the national liberation idea, or the disintegration of the Russian imperium, etc.) as the basis of its propaganda in its psychological warfare, but solely endeavours to correct the Bolshevik "theories" upheld with regard to the imperium propagated by the NTS or Kerensky. In the Western countries socialism ceases to be a class doctrine and unrelated to reality. It changes into a national party, which not only unites proletarians but also employees, peasants and the petty bourgeoisie, and withdraws from Marxism as a theory which is already outmoded. These socialist parties of the Western countries (Germany, Austria and Great Britain) reject the principle of the total socialization of the means of production. They now make the nationalization of the branch of production in question exclusively dependent on practical expediency. They have decided to replace the former doctrinarian principle of integral nationalization and socialization by a kind of national solidarity and other social economic policy, above all, by a participation of the broad masses in the means of production from the point of view of private property. In the social respect the realization of this theory guarantees the victory of the idea of the social solidarity of the producing classes against the class struggle theory and does away with socialist totalitarianism. But

the official policy of the West in no way takes into account the social economic and national political processes behind the Iron Curtain. In its political sham war against Bolshevism (by means of such broadcasting stations as "The Voice of America", "Radio Free Europe", the B.B.C., and "Radio Liberty"), the West propagates the old socialism or Titoism precisely for those countries which are obliged to live under the most abominable form of totalitarian socialism.

And this at a time when the Marxist parties in the West under the conditions of a democratic free life are forced to admit the ideological and political shipwreck of Marxism. Hence the West propagates the Marxism that has already fallen into disrepute in a partially "corrected" national Communist or "democratic socialist" form — for the peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

And no one in the West considers the possibility — and rightly so — that in the event of a victory on the part of the German Socialist Party (SPD) or the British Labour Party, the collectivization of agriculture will be enforced in their country. But for the countries behind the Iron Curtain and, above all, for Ukraine with its thousand-year old affinity with the soil as private property, the West propagates a "corrected" system of collectives. The SPD is in favour of a shareholding (i.e. participation as regards private property) on the part of the workers in industrial enterprises, which fundamentally means the end of socialism. A concrete example of this is the private right of participation, introduced at the initiative of the CDU (the Christian Democratic Party), in the state "Volkswagen Works", as well as new projects of the same type on the part of the SPD. In spite of this, however, the West advocates the idea of preserving a socialist system in a corrected form in the countries behind the Iron Curtain, even though it is precisely this Marxism which is hated most by the peoples subjugated by Moscow.

In the West liberal capitalism has been transformed into the so-called "people's capitalism", and in the course of this process Marxism has suffered a downfall. But in spite of this obvious fact, however, the West is determined that socialism should be preserved in the countries behind the Iron Curtain after their liberation from Bolshevism, — that is to say, a socialism with possibly somewhat reorganized collectives on Rosenberg lines, as was practised during the brief German occupation period.

Lord "Haw-haw", Quisling and Laval were hanged or shot as German collaborators, whereas General De Gaulle and his likes were

acclaimed as freedom-fighters. And the West likewise regards the Russian collaborators, who, together with Stalin, Molotov and Vyshinsky and the Russian occupation army and in harmonious agreement with all the Gottwalds, Bieruts, Dimitroffs and other agents of the Kremlin, forced their peoples to put their head in the noose, as acknowledged champions of the freedom of the peoples in question and as partners of the Western world.

The former Vice-President of Gottwald's government and until recently President of the "Assembly of Captive Nations" (ACEN) was one of the originators of the agreement between Czecho-Slovakia, Poland and the Soviet Union which was concluded in 1947 and was directed against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). As Gottwald's representative he declared in the Czech parliament: "...Never against the USSR, but always shoulder to shoulder with it... The great Russia is our friend and brother. The friendship of the Czecho-Slovak Republic with the Soviet Union is unswerving and of vital importance both to the Czechs and to the Slovaks...," etc., etc.

This politician maintained friendly relations with the Bolsheviks and he helped them to exterminate the fighters for the freedom of Ukraine and of all freedom-loving mankind. He is now regarded in the role of a champion of the freedom aims of the subjugated peoples and is encouraged and aided by the Western "anti-Communists". This also applies to a certain NKVD captain, who is made much of in the West even though he recently murdered hundreds of freedom-fighters. It may be right to afford asylum to such criminals (if there is no other alternative), but it is indeed scandalous that former tyrants and their henchmen who go abroad are regarded by the West as champions of the freedom aims of the enslaved peoples.

General De Gaulle, whose attitude towards Nazism was uncompromising, was rightly regarded by the Allies as the champion of the freedom aims of the French people. Why do the leading political circles in the West not apply the same standards to the Ukrainian nationalists, who, after all, are uncompromising fighters for the freedom of Ukraine against Russian Bolshevism?

For negotiations with France, the FLN and Ferhat Abbas are regarded as fitting partners, but not pro-French or treacherous Algerian elements.

No one regards a colonial official appointed by the occupant as a genuine representative of the enslaved people in question.

Why then should a certain Hulay, or some other person won over by money, or some Russian of the Russian Solidarists' Organization (NTS), that is to say a Russian colonial official, be the spokesman of the Ukrainian people? The whole world would scoff if General De Gaulle were to negotiate on the final solution of the Algerian problem with the French colonists and ignore the Algerians themselves. But no one scoffs when McKennan refers to Ukraine as the Texas of Russia, or when "leading" Western circles designate such gentlemen as Stolypin, Kerensky or Poremsky as "co-advocates" of the freedom aims of the Ukrainian people.

What a "confusion of tongues"! In fact, a Tower of Babel of ideas, conceptions, trends and movements! Dark forces are creating chaos and evil in the West!

Whilst the Western empires are disintegrating, the West is determined to save the eastern Russian imperium from destruction at any price. Marxism has proved to be a complete failure in the free world; but it is precisely this free world which is determined to force it on other peoples at any price, after the latter have been liberated from Bolshevism. In the West socialist parties are renouncing the programmes they have followed so far, and in the system of "people's capitalism" there is a mass application of the principle of private property to means of production. On the other hand, however, the West would like to see a "corrected" socialism, a "democratized" Marxist totalitarianism, Titoism, or some other national Communist bogey preserved in the future, too, in the countries of the peoples enslaved by Moscow.

No one in the West would dream of collectivizing agriculture, but the West nevertheless propagates the idea of preserving the collective system in the countries behind the Iron Curtain, and all that is to be done is to correct the "harmful excesses" of this system. As "leading" Western circles rightly assume, this is the "eastern" form of democratic socialism.

The ideas of Marxism are outmoded on this side of the Iron Curtain and they are likewise falling to dust in the countries enslaved by Moscow. But, unfortunately, the West refuses to acknowledge this fact. What is more, — all the colonial empires in the world are falling into decay, but the West still advocates the preservation of the most ruthless of all these empires, namely the Russian one, even though it is precisely this imperium which is digging the grave of the West. One can indeed say, *quo vadis occident?*

“Freedom Knows No Dying”

(Address delivered at Mass Rally of Canadians and Americans of Ukrainian Origin on June 25, 1961, in Toronto, Ont.)

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is a privilege to be associated with you on an occasion such as this. Here in this vast assembly, Canadians and Americans of Ukrainian origin are paying tribute to Taras Shevchenko.

In this year, 1961, forty-five million Ukrainians in the home-land, over two million in the United States, more than four hundred thousand in Canada, and other thousands elsewhere are honouring the memory of their great hero, the man who expressed in his poetry their dreams and aspirations — their ideals and their hopes.

For the Ukrainian people, Taras Shevchenko lighted the flame of freedom which, despite trials and tribulations, frustrations and disappointments, oppressions and disaster, has never been extinguished.

Seventy years ago the country — Ukraine, and the people — Ukrainians — were all but unknown in Canada. In 1891 the first two immigrants of Ukrainian origin came to Canada soon to be followed by thousands of their fellow-countrymen. In the ensuing years Ukrainian-Canadians have played their full part in the development of Canada. They have made their way in all occupations, in business, in the professions, in music, in the arts and sciences, and in public life. It is a remarkable record of achievement.

Not least of the Ukrainian contribution to the Canadian way of life has been the love of liberty and of freedom engendered by the treasured words of Taras Shevchenko. Here on the North American continent Ukrainians have found the freedom denied them elsewhere. Here they have enjoyed the liberty for which their ancestors strove in vain. Here they have, in time of war, volunteered their services and their lives to maintain freedom for the democratic countries of the world.

The maintenance of freedom is the highest goal of mankind. On the surface we may appear to consider material possessions and the pursuit of happiness as our main objectives. Foreign observers, unfamiliar with democratic forms of government, devoid of experience of individual liberty, persistently misjudge those nations and peoples who have been nurtured in the democratic way of life. Three times within the last fifty years we have seen this happen. Kaiser Wilhelm in his day misjudged the people of the Commonwealth and of the United States. Hitler,

twenty years ago, deluded himself into thinking that we would yield to force and fear. The Communist dictators of the present period are making the same mistake. But the spirit of free men cannot be cowed or broken so long as they maintain their love of freedom and are prepared to make sacrifices for that freedom.

The history of mankind is for the greater part a story of slavery and serfdom, of Egyptian Pharaohs, Roman Emperors, despotic monarchs and military dictators. Most generations of men in most of the countries of the world have known little of individual freedom or of government by the people.

In the Ancient World only the City State of Greece achieved freedom of rule by the citizens themselves. The example set by Athens of free speech, free assembly, free elections and individual liberty has provided an inspiration to mankind for over two thousand years. But the freedom enjoyed by the city states of Greece was lost by their failure to unite against the threat of foreign domination.

Many centuries passed before mankind again experienced democracy. As a form of government, democracy has the shortest history of all known forms of government. Rule by an individual — whether emperor, king or military dictator; or rule by a few, whether an oligarchy of wealth or of communists, has been the unhappy lot of most of mankind.

Freedom is a precious possession. It is a heritage bequeathed to us by our ancestors who over many generations achieved the liberties which, perhaps too frequently, we take for granted. Every citizen of Canada owes a great deal to those earlier generations in the British Isles who curbed the power of the absolute monarchs by Magna Charta; who gradually established the supreme authority of Parliament; who developed the Cabinet and party system of government; who fought for freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of organization, freedom of the press, the secret ballot, extension of the franchise and religious toleration.

Every citizen of Canada owes a great deal to those earlier Canadians who fought to maintain the independence of our country, who curbed the power of colonial governors; who won representative and responsible government; who united two races and the provinces in Confederation and established

our independence within the Commonwealth.

All owe a great debt to our American friends whose declaration of Independence has inspired freedom-loving people throughout the world.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just power from the consent of the governed."

Broadening down from precedent to precedent, drawing on the experiences of generations, mankind in the 20th century, through the United Nations, has given expression to the hopes and desires of all for human rights, individual liberties and freedom.

In the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations has declared as follows: —

"Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

"Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

"Whereas the people of the United Nations have in the charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

The General Assembly Proclaims

This universal declaration of human rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance.

Within our own country, last year the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable John Diefenbaker, introduced into Parliament a Bill of Rights for Canada:

"It is hereby recognized and declared that in Canada there have always existed

and shall continue to exist the following human rights and fundamental freedoms, namely:

- (a) the right of the individual to life, liberty, security of the person and enjoyment of property, and the right not to be deprived thereof except by due process of law;
 - (b) The right of the individual to protection of the law without discrimination by reason of race, national origin, colour, religion or sex;
 - (c) Freedom of religion;
 - (d) Freedom of speech;
 - (e) Freedom of assembly and association;
- and
- (f) Freedom of the press.

Thus do free men in a free society seek to declare their heritage of freedom that it may be known by all and that it may endure.

That these human rights and freedoms may be respected and may endure it is necessary that our basic free institutions be maintained in all their strength and effectiveness. The central part of our system is our Parliament. "So much of the history of freedom is part of the history of Parliament that freedom and parliamentary government are often considered to be the same thing." (Jennings.) For it has been through parliament that our elected representatives, exercising their privilege of free speech, have asserted over the years the hopes, aspirations and desires of the people, and by their vigilance have maintained the rights and freedoms of the people.

In the present uncertainties of the world situation free men must be alert to the dangers that threaten democracies. When freedom is assailed openly or by insidious means free men must unite or lose their freedom. If subjugated nations are ever to regain their freedoms, the democracies must remain strong. If sacrifices are required, they must be made. The human rights and freedoms that we now enjoy were obtained only by struggle, by sacrifice and by courage.

In the darkest days of the War, Winston Churchill said: — "We shall not falter, nor fail. We shall go on to the end."

So must it be if free men are to be worthy of their freedom. No people within our Canadian society have a greater appreciation of the value of individual liberty and freedom, than the Ukrainian-Canadians. No people have a greater source of inspiration than the Ukrainian-Canadians in their great patriot — Taras Shevchenko.

"For our soul shall never perish,
Freedom knows no dying!"

(T. Shevchenko)

Moscow's Offensive

August 13, 1961, will go down in the annals of history as a humiliating defeat for the civilized free world. As a result of the ruthless action in the German Soviet Zone, the hesitant and cautious policy of the West has been dealt a disastrous blow.

It could have been assumed that the West was at least prepared for the fact that Moscow, in the course of its plans against the free world, constantly aims to confront the West with accomplished facts in order to oust it. But the strangest thing is that the Soviet measures enforced on August 13th took not only the Major Powers but even the Germans themselves by surprise. And this is an extremely deplorable fact!

A territory with 16 million inhabitants has been surrounded with barbed wire and concrete walls in the heart of Europe and has been turned into one big concentration camp, barred, cut off and isolated from the free world.

It is to be hoped that people will at last realize what a dreadful life those peoples are obliged to lead who for years have been languishing under Russian Communist rule.

It is assumed that this action was instigated by Moscow's satrap and governor, Ulbricht. But this assumption is naive, to say the least. Not even Ulbricht, Khrushchov's emissary, nor Gomulka, nor any other dictators of the satellite countries would venture to interfere in matters pertaining to international politics without having received orders from Moscow.

The action on August 13th was carried out according to Moscow's orders. And Moscow thus began its offensive against the West. It is a tactical, systematic advance in line with Moscow's general strategy for the purpose of subjugating the free world.

But even so, one still toys with the hope of being able to settle the problems by means of negotiations with Moscow. Like the policy of the West so far in this respect, such a hope will prove to be erroneous and may, in fact, even be disastrous. In that case, it will be too late to remedy the situation!

The opinion is held in the West and also in Germany that the problem of Germany could be solved separately by compromises, and that some *modus vivendi* might be found. But this is a dangerous illusion.

What Russia once rules, it refuses to part with; Russia will never yield an inch. It will never agree to the reunification of Germany, unless the Federal Republic also becomes Communist or the whole of Germany is incorporated in Russia's sphere of influence. Moscow does not attach any significance to promises or pacts which guarantee the disarmament and neutralization of Germany. Such pacts are worthless in Moscow's opinion. Germany ceases to become a danger to Moscow the moment it becomes dependent on Moscow. The Western powers should realize at last that Moscow does not trust them. They are its arch-enemies and Moscow will continue to fight them until they are destroyed.

The main point, however, is that the Soviet Union is a Russian colonial empire and that its interests compel the rulers in Moscow to act as they do.

So as not to be taken by surprise again, for the next surprise will be decisive, the West must resort to counter-measures at once. It must suspend all deliveries of goods and all financial aid to the Communist-ruled countries, including Titoist Yugoslavia, at once.

Everything and everybody must be incited to oppose Moscow; the peoples ruled by Moscow must be given encouragement and support. Psychological warfare must be concentrated exclusively on the liberation of the peoples subjugated by Russia, and the whole fight must be directed against the Russian colonial imperium, its imperialism and its Communist terrorist regime. By means of these measures a political and economic crisis will be created to such an extent in the Soviet Union itself and in the satellite countries that it will inevitably lead to the subjugated peoples asserting themselves. In this way, too, the rulers in Moscow will be deprived of the initiative and an atomic war can be avoided.

A victory can never be gained merely by assurances of freedom. Freedom must be fought for and it cannot be attained without sacrifices. One must not expect good qualities or actions of the ruthless dictators in Moscow. The Russians themselves have a saying: "Trust in God, but do not hesitate yourself to act."

The German politicians have refrained from supporting the cause of the liberation of all peoples, in particular the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union; they did not want to challenge the existence of the Russian colonial empire so as not to annoy the Russians; they wanted to curry favour with the Russians and hoped that the latter would at last realize that Germany represents no danger to them and that they would yield. But the Russians have not the least intention of doing so. The Germans have completely overlooked the fact that it is of the utmost importance to the Russians to maintain their positions in Germany, if only for military and strategic considerations.

There can be no partial solution of world problems. The problem of Germany can only be solved together with the problems of the other peoples subjugated by Russia, that is to say, when the Russian colonial imperium called the Soviet Union is destroyed!

Sereda Demands Independence For Ukraine

According to a report by UPI of August 22, 1961, from Vienna, the young Ukrainian scientist Mykola Sereda, who is 24 years of age and had come on a visit to Vienna from Kyiv as a Soviet tourist, has asked the Austrian government for political asylum.

Various West European papers such as the "Daily Telegraph", "Neue Züricher Zeitung", "Münchener Merkur", and "Kurier", etc., give a more detailed account of this case. According to these papers, the Soviets were extremely alarmed at Sereda's flight and asked the Austrian police to keep the matter secret. At the same time, the Russians did all they could to force Sereda to return to the Soviet Union. In the end, they even took his father, a well-known Ukrainian mathematician, to Vienna from Kyiv, who was to bring his son to his "senses" and persuade him to change his plans. But all these efforts were in vain, since Mykola Sereda refused to give in. He affirmed that his decision to remain in the free world was final and irrevocable. He said that the reason for his flight was the unbearable economic exploitation and political subjugation of the Ukrainian people by the Russians.

The young scientist affirms that the fight still continues in Ukraine. The Ukrainian people are extremely hostile to the Russian regime which subjugates them and refuses to concede them any rights at all to political independence. He himself, so he added, had for some time been in contact with Ukrainian emigrants in the West. And he stressed that Ukraine must become an independent state.

Sereda's flight is an interesting and striking example. Above all, it is once again clear proof that the fight against Russian dominion continues unabated in Ukraine, — a fight in which the younger generation, too, is taking part.

Russian Subversion in Japan

It is a fact well worth noting that in Japan, despite the fact that an overwhelming majority of the people adheres to democracy and freedom, detesting life under Communism and proletarian dictatorship, Communists, including secret members of the Japanese Communist Party, and their fellow travelers hold the key positions in such powerful organizations as the Japanese Socialist Party, the General Council of Japanese Labor Unions (Sohyo), the Japanese Teachers Union, and other various groups of university professors, commentators, journalists and students. The influence they exercise upon the general trend of public opinion in Japan can hardly be overestimated.

And whenever circumstances require, powerful mass demonstrations are immediately organized under their influence, in favor of the Communist bloc and against the United States.

The Japanese Communist Party holds a queer position in Japan. It is unpopular with the general public, who detest Communists and all their ways of doing. Nevertheless, it can still exercise a magic influence upon the masses. For example in the national movement against the Japan-U.S. Security Pact the Communists were not allowed to participate on the national level, but on the local level they have succeeded in participating in the movement and wherever they could participate they dominated it. It is generally discreditable for writers to declare themselves Communists or to be reputed as Communists yet they continue to be secret members of the Communist Party or closely connected to it. This is mainly because of the big and skilful propaganda work directed and sponsored by the Communists under the masquerade slogan — peace, independence, democracy and freedom — all just the opposite of what they actually did and are aiming at.

The recent scientific and technical achievements in the Soviet Union seem to have influenced many Japanese to think that the Soviet Union is more powerful than the United States. They seem to fear that the Russians may turn out to be victors in the possible World War III, and therefore deem it advisable for Japan to sever all military ties with the United States.

It is worth noting that, although the Liberal Democratic Party now holds the majority in the Diet, the number of votes it obtained in the successive general elect-

ions has been decreasing gradually while that for the Socialist Party has been increasing.

This can be ascribed, perhaps, to the phenomenal increase in number of new, *young voters* who are in sympathy with the leftist groups and against whatever is deemed conservative. And this, in its turn, may safely be ascribed to the strong pro-leftist trend of *Japanese journalism*.

Activities of the Communist Front in Japan

The Japanese Communist Party, in itself, is rather powerless at present. However, the joint front formed around this party can hardly be powerless, embracing many leftist groups of varied intensity. Its force was manifestly displayed in its recent struggles against the Japan-US Security Treaty, in which more than 300 such groups were mobilized, the majority being undoubtedly Communist Front. The members of all these organizations are estimated at more than 7 million. Important organizations among them are as follows: —

Sohyo (Japanese General Council of Labour Unions)

Sohyo is the most powerful federation of labor union in Japan. The total number of the members of the labor union affiliated to this federation is, according to the Ministry of Labor, 3,733,000.

Accordingly, *Sohyo's* fund available for its political activities is to be estimated at about 4,000,000,000 yen (\$ 11,000,000). There is, moreover, financial support extended by the Soviet Union and Communist China. The total amount of the fund at *Sohyo's* disposal is much more than a hundred times as large as the sum available for the anti-Communist organizations in our country.

Sohyo at present is, indeed, almost as powerful as the military caste in the pre-war days. *Sohyo* can stop all the trunk lines of the national railways. It can paralyse the postal service, local railway, and bus services. And besides, it can organize great public demonstrations, which are very often accompanied by violence. We regret to say that Japan's police force, enervated in accordance with the Allied Occupation policy after the war, can hardly cope with such destructive activities.

The Japanese Socialist Party

The Japanese Socialist Party, re-established after the Pacific War, was composed of the right wing and the left wing faction. During

the period when Japan was under the Allied occupation, the former faction was predominant in the party. However, in the course of time, the left wing elements came to acquire the position of power, so that the right wing elements were compelled to leave the party in October 1959. These secessionists formed a new party, the Democratic Socialist Party, in January the following year.

The results of the general elections of November in that same year saw the Socialist seats in the Diet increased from 129 to 145 while the seats of the Democratic Socialists decreased from 40 to 17. This may indicate the superior power of Sohyo to Zenro which back up the Democratic Socialist Party. Moreover, the Socialists had the strong backing of the Kremlin and Peking.

Japanese Teachers Union

The Japanese Teachers Union is the largest trade union in Japan. The number of its members is reported, by the Ministry of Labor, as 590,000. The real number at present, however, is estimated at 450,000. About 140,000 members have already left the union and some of them formed their own unions separately in the non-Communist line.

The Japanese Teachers Union has made it clear in its platform that its mission shall be to realize the Socialist ideals in cooperation with all categories of workers. It is the three thousand Communists in the union and its lecturers, mostly Communists and their fellow travelers, who take a firm grip of the teachers union.

The Japanese Journalists League

The Japanese League of Journalists is a rather small organization, its membership being about 1,600, but is nonetheless influential. It can exercise considerable influence upon the trend of public opinion in Japan through mass media.

This organization also was founded mainly by Communists in 1956. And at present, almost all of its executive members are avowed Communists.

It is small wonder in the light of such circumstances that any trifling news in Communist circles is published in the Japanese newspapers and magazines with heavy headlines while many important events which are unfavorable to them are disregarded.

Zengakuren (Federation of Student Unions)

After the end of the war, all kinds of schools — from primary schools to universities — were induced to organize their respective student unions. As university student unions enjoy complete autonomy they were easily utilized by Marxist professors and International Communists. Since 1948 student unions of 286 universities, totaling

220,000 have been organized into Zengakuren (National Federation of University Student Unions) and almost all its staff are Communists.

Zengakuren is the most fanatic, and sometimes childish, Communist organization. It is well known that its attack against the press secretary of the US President compelled the Kishi Cabinet to cancel the invitation it had extended to President Eisenhower, and led to the fall of the Kishi Cabinet.

Most of the staff of Zengakuren are convinced that when the revolution occurs in Japan, Soviet Russia will help them with arms, and if the USA helps the Japanese Government, it may lead to a war between the US and the Soviet Union, in which case the latter surely will be winner. Recent failure of anti-Communist movement, we guess, may have contributed much to the strengthening of their belief.

Other Communist Front Organizations

Besides the above-mentioned organizations there are more than a hundred Communist Front Organizations in Japan.

It will be remembered that these leftist organizations were mobilized last year to oppose the Japan-U. S. Security Treaty.

Government Attitude toward the Communists

Before the Pacific War, the Communist party was outlawed in Japan. After the defeat in the same war, however, the Communists were liberated and the Japanese Communist Party was recognized as a legal party under the Allied occupation.

At first, the Communists appeared to be loyal to their liberator. However, it was not long before they made it clear that they were under orders of the Kremlin and decidedly against the free world and especially the United States. The Allied occupation force was finally compelled to change its attitude toward Communism and the Communist Party.

The outbreak of the war in Korea in 1950 made another turning point. The occupation authorities purged many Communists from the public service, the newspapers, and some important industries.

However, the measures taken by them were always halfway. Many Communists were thus allowed to retain their posts in the Government, in universities, in newspapers and in many other important fields.

After regaining independence, the new Constitution of Japan, given by the Occupation authorities, has always prevented the Japanese Government from suppressing Communist activities. Those Communists who were once purged by the Occupation authorities have also regained their former posts. There are now at least 5,000 Communists in the Government service. There are Commu-

nist elements also in newspapers, broadcasting stations, publishing companies, and so forth. But, nothing can be done about it.

Anti-Communist Organizations in Japan

All the patriotic organizations in Japan were disorganized after the Pacific War in accordance with the Allied occupation policy. Nevertheless, the rise of strong anti-Communist movements could hardly be suppressed.

Those anti-Communist organizations which rose after the war can be classified into two categories. One is the revival of the pre-war patriotic organizations. And the other includes those founded after the war.

Or they may be classified into those which embrace democracy and those which follow totalitarianism. Some of them seem to consider it inevitable to resort to violence so long as the Communists do so.

Among these anti-Communist bodies, the

largest are the nation-wide organization of ex-members of the disbanded armed forces and some religious organizations, each having a million or more members.

Even counting these colossal organizations, however, the anti-Communist force in Japan can hardly be said to be strong and powerful if compared with the united leftist front led by the Communists and backed by International Communism. It lacks such powerful backing as is being given the leftist force by Sohyo and other labor organizations. It cannot expect such support from outside the country as the leftists can expect from the Kremlin and Peking.

The most urgent task for the anti-Communist force in Japan to accomplish is thus deemed to be to organize all the existing patriotic and anti-Communist bodies into a strong, solid federation and find some source of financial support for its activity.

A Proclamation by the President of the United States of America

“Whereas by a joint resolution approved July 17, 1959 (73 stat. 212), the Congress has authorized and requested the President of the United States of America to issue a proclamation designating the third week in July 1959 as Captive Nations Week, and to issue a similar proclamation each year until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world; and

“Whereas many of the roots of our society and our population lie in these countries; and

“Whereas it is in keeping with our national tradition that the American people manifest its interest in the freedom of other nations:

“Now, therefore I, John F. Kennedy, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate the week beginning July 16, 1961 as Captive Nations Week.

“I invite the people of the United States of America to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities, and I urge them to recommit themselves to the support of the just aspirations of all peoples for national independence and freedom.”

In witness, whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this 14th day of July in the year of Our Lord 1961, and of the U.S.A. the 186th.

John F. Kennedy

Seal:

Dean Rusk, Secretary of State

Incredible Blindness in the Case of Russianized Cuba

A few months ago, that well-known American magazine "Reader's Digest" published an excellent and extensive article written by one of the most prominent anti-Communist leaders in the Eastern countries: General Carlos P. Rómulo. The article, entitled "AMERICA, WAKE UP!", gives a summary of the incredible mistakes and false steps, omissions and blunders that the North American politicians are continually making in the face of the dangerous penetration of Russian-Chinese Sovietism, a penetration which it is apparently impossible to stop.

The United States of America — a country that always inspired respect and even fear — is now an object of ridicule among its open and disguised enemies. These same enemies continue to request and to receive considerable economical aid in the form of loans. Thus one hand is outstretched to receive the bounty, while the other is lifted to strike the blow . . .

While Russia and Red China throw out their nets as far as the Caribbean coast and pour a veritable flood of propaganda over all the countries of Latin America, the United States of North America — standard bearers of democracy and freedom and the only ones in a position to stop the Communist invasion — limit themselves to an insignificant and misdirected information and guidance campaign. This campaign, carried out through their embassies, their newspapers, and other official or semi-official agencies, reaches mainly government executives, directors of American firms, and other people who either have not the time to read the propaganda, or who do not have to be convinced of the evils of Communism. On the other hand, however, the civic, social, and cultural organizations of laborers, students, professional men, etc., are completely ignored, as are the public libraries and the numerous anti-Communist groups in our countries.

The Russians and the Red Chinese have openly intervened in Cuba, while the United States are still faltering and sending a special Ambassador (convinced beforehand against the idea of intervention) to explore the opinions of the Governments (not of the people) in Latin America, so as to find out whether it should comply with the international obligation, set down by the Pan American Treaties, of freeing the Cubans from the tyranny of Castro and of the Russian-Chinese Soviets.

Before this special envoy was sent, the world was amazed at the unpardonable blunder made in sending a handful of scantily armed and briefly trained Cuban patriots on what amounted to a suicide mission. They were allowed to go ashore at a single point of the Cuban coast and the naval and air protection that had been promised was nowhere to be seen. The fact was also known that these men would encounter the Russian "Migs" and the Soviet tanks driven by Russian, Czechoslovakian, Polish, and Chinese soldiers and officers. The right to participate in this ill-destined "invasion" was denied to many Cuban patriots, simply because they did

not belong to the privileged group chosen and protected by the "Central Information Agency" that Mr. Allan Dulles heads . . . And what is even harder to believe, the North American press and several Latin American publications printed pictures and information showing the preparations for the invasion. Ample data appeared stating the elements participating, the training sites used, the points of departure scheduled, etc. . . . The most elementary of military strategy demands that information of this kind be maintained in the utmost secrecy, yet the "experts" of the Pentagon and the "advisers" of the State Department and of the White House were well aware of everything that was going on.

A careful study of the situation has given me a distinct impression of an evil smell. In other words, I cannot help "smelling a rat" somewhere in the midst of this tragic incident. It appears as if a deliberate treason and sabotage had been effected to make the first Catholic President of the United States, Mr. John F. Kennedy, lose prestige in the eyes of the world. However, if such it was, this unclean manoeuver has boomeranged to the detriment of the entire nation and even of the whole free Western World. The outcome has been to make certain persons on the one hand appear inept, blundering, undecided, and cowardly, while on the other hand the Russians and the Red Chinese have emerged strong and firm in the roles they have enacted. All this, to say nothing of the cynical bearded Cubans, who strut around proudly proclaiming their victory over the anti-Communists and consequently over the United States of America, that Goliath of all Western nations.

Unfortunately, the voices of the true and genuine democracies, and of the anti-Communists of Latin America have gone unheard in Washington. We have clamored for an urgent revision of the policies towards our people and have found only deaf ears. We have pointed out that it is not only the Governments that should be helped and consulted; that it is neither sufficient nor convenient to continue granting loans and technical aid from one government to another. We have underlined the need of uniting, coordinating, and developing the innumerable groups of people representing all social classes, who labor tirelessly in very unfavorable conditions against the native and foreign Communists. And we speak of unfavorable conditions because these Communists enjoy ample subsidies from countries behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains, as well as from some of our own governments.

Referring specifically to Cuba, we have suggested the possibility and convenience of forming a Great Pan-American Legion, made up of volunteers from the twenty Latin American nations, including veterans, former military men, and anyone who is willing to fight against Cuban Communism, and its Russian and Chinese allies.

The O.A.S. (Organization of American States) must have a competent armed force, just as the Organization of the Atlantic Treaty has in Europe. Only thus can it enforce the treaties made by the nations in America. Unfortunately, up to now, the O.A.S. has only troubled itself with the mission of finding out whether Santo Domingo is still under a dictatorship, and has seen fit to ignore the cruel and bloody Red tyranny in Cuba, sponsored totally by Russia and Communist China.

We have encountered complete indifference, and no one has taken the trouble to even answer us. This, then, is the actual situation of the battle against Communism! Only the Church and the Catholic clergy have responded, uniting, organizing, and studying the social, economical, and political problems, in order to face the danger that looms each day more heavily over each and every one of us.

The Last Hour of Colonialism

Moscow dreads a revolution

We are living in an age which will go down in the annals of history as the era of the collapse of the European colonial empires. With the end of World War II and the victory over Hitlerite imperialism, imperialism of a liberal trend also became out of date. During the past years we have seen one state after another obliged to give up its extra-European territories, frequently after having waged a grim fight against the colonial peoples who were striving to gain their independence.

At present we are witnessing how De Gaulle is liquidating the last heritage of France's colonial possessions in the Dark Continent, — Algeria. Neither terrorism nor promises have been able to protect the last French bastion in Africa against the onslaught of Arab nationalism. The General is prepared to draw the consequences from this development and to solve the Algerian problem in a peaceful way, — for the good of both his own and the Algerian people. The West European states can no longer deny their former colonial peoples what they themselves have claimed and attained for themselves long ago, — namely national freedom and national unity.

Such is the position in West Europe. But how different it is in enslaved East Europe! France has only one Algeria, but Moscow has many. Each of the satellite states and each of the fifteen so-called Republics of the Union is an Algeria, but the political and social conditions in North African Algeria can be described as paradisaical compared to those in Ukraine, East Germany, Georgia, Latvia or Turkestan. Why is this so? The Bolshevik rulers in every respect lack the prudence of statesmen and the historic farsightedness of a De Gaulle; they simply refuse to see the stormy signs of our day. And they likewise refuse to realize that the days of colonialism are definitely over as far as all parts of the earth and all peoples are concerned. By means of sheer terrorism, obvious deception, stirring of chauvinistic feeling amongst the Russian people and ventures in the field of foreign politics, the Bolsheviks are endeavouring to preserve their colonial imperium. Apparently they do not realize that precisely in this way they are furthering the downfall of the predatory Russian state and they are in reality the grave-diggers of the Russian nation. The tsarist colonialists paid for their blindness

with death. And the Bolshevik colonialists are on the way to meeting the same fate.

It is from this aspect that the latest measure introduced by the Supreme Soviet, namely the legal *extension of the death penalty*, must be viewed. On May 3rd, the Supreme Soviet issued a decree "On the intensification of the fight against dangerous crimes", which is for the most part directed against the *anti-Russian resistance front* in the concentration camps. The fact that the death penalty can now also be applied in cases of "organized violence against prison or *camp administration* and of agitation amongst fellow-prisoners" is obvious proof that the Bolsheviks expect such cases to occur and want to forestall them. And, incidentally, this decree refutes all the lies propagated for years by Moscow about the alleged abolition of the concentration camps.

What does "organized violence against camp administration and agitation amongst fellow-prisoners" mean? It can be taken to mean *every* form of insurrection on the part of the prisoners against the regime, irrespective of whether it is organized as a hunger strike, a general strike or an armed revolt. "Organized violence" includes practically every form of self-liberation action on the part of prisoners, whether in a camp or in prison. The said decree is also obviously directed against *political* prisoners. Since 1945 there has been no insurrection which was organized exclusively by criminal prisoners. On the contrary, the big insurrections of the years 1948 to 1956 were planned, organized and carried out by political prisoners.

Although the decree on the extension of the death penalty also pertains to criminal offences — a fact which proves that the "humanistic" classless Soviet society is no less susceptible to crime than the "capitalistic society of classes", its essential *political* purpose is clearly obvious, namely the intensification of terrorism against the anti-Russian nationalists in the concentration camps. After the strikes and unrests organized recently by Ukrainian workers (in Rostov, Odessa, Nikolajew, Voronesh, Kremendjuk and Krivoi Rih) and also by workers in Kemerovo and Barnaul who have been deported to Siberia, the Bolsheviks are afraid lest a new wave of insurrections might be organized by the nationalist fighters who have been interned.

This would have serious consequences for the regime, and not only of an economic but also of a psychological nature. It would deal the artificially inflated Gagarin campaign, the purpose of which is to increase the non-existent "Soviet optimism in life", a dangerous blow. The catchwords of the Bolshevik hysteria of prophecy about a "life of plenty and security" would be shattered, and in place of this the oppressed people would see the horrible grimace of Bolshevism which is *unchangeable*.

Unlike Stalin's regime, that of Khrushchov is far more sensitive to such blows on the part of its political enemies at home. The liberties which Stalin could permit himself to take unpunished are no longer possible in the case of his hysterical successor Khrushchov, for they would mean the end of the latter's career. Thus, for purely personal reasons it is in Khrushchov's own interests to see to it that no new wave of insurrections occurs in the concentration camps. The new decree is intended to impress the fact upon the prisoners that not only their leaders but also *they themselves* would be sentenced to death if an insurrection were to break out. In the insurrections organized by prisoners during the period from September 1948 to April 1956, about 63,000 prisoners were killed, but the number of prisoners who took an active part in these insurrections was many times more this figure. Only in a few cases were the leaders of the insurrections sentenced to death. As a rule they were sentenced to medium terms of imprisonment, or were sent to punitive camps. This means that the suppression of the insurrections did not result in a significant physical decimation of the insurgents.

The new decree, however, is to change all this. In future not only all the leaders of insurrections, but also all the prisoners who take any part at all in an insurrection can be expected to be sentenced to death. The term "organized violence" can be applied both to an individual and to a *collective* group of persons. This means that in practice an entire camp of 6,000 internees who go on strike can be sentenced to death by shooting *as a whole*. Armed suppression no longer is in the nature of a combatant action, but is equivalent to the execution of a sentence: the shooting of those concerned on the spot, without trial, without a judge, and without sentence being pronounced.

Whether the threat of the death penalty will actually intimidate the prisoners is very questionable. In view of previous experiences, it is *not* likely to do so. I know from my own personal experience that the bloody suppression of the Norlysk insurrection in 1953 in no way deterred the prisoners in Vorkuta from organizing a general strike.

Nor did the massacre in Vorkuta in 1953 in any way deter the nationalist fighters in Kingir from carrying out their insurrection in 1954. The leaders of the insurrections and the prisoners always devoted themselves wholeheartedly to the planning and carrying out of the insurrections. No power in the world could give them any guarantee that their efforts would be successful or that they would survive the insurrection. There was never any security against death, for this can never be the case where political prisoners are concerned. Contempt and defiance of death is a natural characteristic of the revolutionary, — especially when he is a prisoner in a Bolshevik concentration camp and has nothing to lose there, in any case, except his chains.

"The gods strike with blindness those whom they wish to destroy" was a saying of the ancient Greeks, and this also applies in our day. Khrushchov and the Bolsheviks are blind to the meaning and significance of our century, blind to the divine judgment which will be passed on them. They are on the wrong side. They belong to a world and to an era which is most certainly doomed to decay. The disintegration of the era of colonialism cannot be held up by the death penalty! Even though those against whom Khrushchov directs his terrorist laws and decrees may still be relatively weak, that is above all in material strength (weapons), they are in one respect a thousand times stronger than the entire Red apparatus of suppression: for the enemies of the Bolsheviks are on the side of history which is taking an inevitable course, — namely towards the resurrection of national freedom for all peoples on earth, towards the victory of the national idea.

Again and again, we of the free world are bound to ask ourselves a question which is so important and decisive, — namely, where do the people of the Baltic country, the East Germans, the Georgians, Ukrainians, Turkmans, Armenians, Poles, Hungarians and Slovaks, in fact all the subjugated peoples, get the strength from to defy "Red Russian Hitlerism"? They get it from the eternal human striving for *national freedom, unity and power*. The US Ex-President Herbert Hoover on June 24, 1954, in Chicago very aptly said that it was time we recognized the powerful energy of the great intellectual force which we called nationalism. He pointed out that the muddled intellectuals of today were trying to brand nationalism as a sin against mankind, and added that they failed to realize that the spirit of nationalism was born of the creative depth of the human soul and represented the powerful longing of man to be free, free from foreign rule, in order to govern himself in his own way!

Common Aims and Co-ordinated Strategy

(Statement by Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, Former Prime Minister of Ukraine, President, Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), at Manila Conference, May 7th, 1961)

On the occasion of the 7th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League we should like to convey to you our sincerest greetings and good wishes for every success. The common front of all the peoples menaced or subjugated by Soviet Russian Colonialism and Communism is a precondition for a victorious fight against the world conquest plans of the Russian imperialists, who are supported by the Peking and other Communist tyrants.

Russian colonialism is now concealing itself behind the mask of Communism and the idea of liberating the peoples of Africa and Asia from so-called Western colonialism. For instance Soviet Russia supports the so-called liberation of the Mohammedan peoples, yet in the most ruthless manner it subjugates 30 million Mohammedans in the U.S.S.R., not to mention its colonial exploitation and oppression of all other nations under its rule.

Thus the present trends in Soviet Russian policy and in particular the speculations which are carried on with regard to the freedom aims of the so-called "colonial peoples", who were or still are dependent on the Western powers, make it imperative that the free world should deal a counter-blow in the psychological war, namely by using the problem of the subjugated peoples in the Soviet Russian sphere of influence as its chief weapon.

One cannot counter Russian subversive propaganda in the countries of Africa and Asia against so-called Western colonialism successfully without attacking the Russian colonial imperium itself and disclosing the truth about the peoples subjugated in the U.S.S.R. and so-called satellites in Europe and Asia.

The A.B.N. will continue to actively support the liberation of the Chinese mainland from the Communist tyranny exercised by Mao Tse-tung and his clique, as well as the reunification in freedom of North Vietnam and North Korea with the Republic of Vietnam and Korea respectively and the liberation of Tibet. On the other hand the A.B.N. trusts that the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League will fight for the annihilation of Russian colonialism in every form, for there is no possibility of liberating the East and Central Asian peoples unless Russian colonialism is destroyed. Co-ordinated and simultaneous liberation revolutions in the European and Asian countries subjugated by Soviet Russia and Communism, together with the military support of the Western Major Powers, is the only possible way to gain a victory over Communism without an atomic war.

Apart from thermonuclear armament, the military potential of the Free World must at least be brought up to the level of the Soviet Russian potential by increasing the conventional fighting forces. If the Free World by declaring its solidarity with the yearning of the subjugated peoples for the restoration of their national independence win over the latter as its allies, the potential of the armies of the Soviet Union and of its satellites would be undermined very considerably and their effectiveness and activity would be greatly reduced. Hence, not the disarmament of the Western world, but the liberation of the subjugated peoples should rank foremost on the agenda of international politics. In view of the present situation, the security

of the free world and its peace do not permit any disarmament but, on the contrary, demand universal armament, together with the application in practice of a liberation policy directed against Moscow's world aggression and subjugation.

The disintegration of the Russian imperium into national, independent states in the interests of security and permanent peace becomes an imperative question. Therefore we would suggest that it should be put on the agenda of the 7th Conference of the APACL and that a special resolution should be adopted by the Conference on this point.

In this respect we think it extremely important to suggest that the 7th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League should support the resolution of the US Congress on "Captive Nations Week" of July, 1959, as the fundamental and guiding principle of the political warfare of the free world. Captive Nations Week Resolution by the US Congress urges American people to give moral and political support to the European and Asian countries — Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, mainland China, East Germany, Bulgaria, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Vietnam, and others, — in their fight for freedom and national independence.

Moscow's reaction to the resolution by the US Congress establishing "Captive Nations Week" has shown that the weakest spot in Russian Bolshevik despotism lies in the colonial character of the Soviet Union, of the entire Soviet Russian sphere of influence. It has become obvious in this respect that what the rulers in Moscow dread most of all is the *activation* of the national liberation movements of the subjugated peoples in the Soviet Russian imperium.

On behalf of the national liberation movements united in A.B.N. we express our sincere thanks to his Excellency Lorenzo Sumulong, Philippine Delegate; to his Excellency Tingfu F. Tsiang, the Ambassador of the Republic of China, and to his Excellency John F. Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada, for their courageous attack on Russian colonialism in the United Nations, and for thus bringing the cause of the subjugated peoples in the Soviet Union to the attention of the free world.

We request the Governments of the free world to abandon the policy of co-existence. Diplomatic, cultural, economic, and other relations with Russia and the Communist bloc should be severed. No "Summit" conference should be held, for the aim of Russia in such conferences will always be to obtain recognition of the status quo of enslavement, and the free world always emerges the loser. Such a recognition can only undermine the confidence, hope and friendly attitude existing on the part of the enslaved nations in relation to the Western world. Recognition of the status quo is regarded by the Russians as merely a stepping stone to further conquests.

An important trump card of the Soviet coexistence policy and propaganda is the assertion that the peoples of the world have adopted two different ideologies and two different social and political systems, the "capitalist" and Communist one, so that the only thing to do is to bridge what is allegedly only an "ideological difference" by peaceful coexistence and a noble-minded competition of ideas. And herein lies the greatest falsification of reality in order to camouflage Soviet Russian alien rule and to make it appear harmless, namely as the alleged acceptance on the part of the subjugated peoples of the so-called "socialist" system. Actually, not one of the subjugated peoples of the Soviet colonial empire has ever voluntarily accepted the Communist system or sworn loyalty to Moscow as the sacred metropolis of the so-called socialist camp. It was the Soviet Russian army hordes that overran our countries in the train of World War II and by fire and sword set up the Communist

dictatorship there in the service of Soviet Russian colonial rule. Such are the blood-stained "people's democracies" which today, with Khrushchov as their mouthpiece, lay claim to sovereignty and refuse to tolerate any intervention in their "internal" affairs! And the situation is the same in all the non-Russian countries of the Soviet Union which, after the collapse of the tsarist empire, re-established their independence only to be forced to submit to Russian rule again by the Red Army.

We demand from the Free World that an emphatic attitude against the admission of Red China to the United Nations should be adopted. The A.B.N. wishes to assure the Conference that we shall do our utmost to prevent Red China from being admitted to the United Nations.

Further, the formation of an executive committee in the military alliances of the Free World (NATO and others) for psychological warfare and the inclusion in this committee of authorized spokesmen regarded as trustworthy by their subjugated peoples.

A particularly important activity is still neglected by the West. I mean the penetration by revolutionary elements from the countries adjoining the Bolshevik sphere of influence with the purpose of strengthening existing anti-Communist activities inside the enslaved countries. The Russian Communist sphere of domination must be penetrated from every direction, by means of broadcasts, dropping of leaflets, etc.

The concentration camps for instance in Siberia and the Soviet Army stationed in the Far East consist, for the most part, of non-Russians. The population in Siberia is hostile to the Communist regime. Psychological preparation should be initiated now for the carrying out, in the event of an armed conflict, of insurgent activities in Siberia, the mobilization of the prisoners and Soviet Army soldiers, and their inclusion in national military units. For instance riots on the part of Ukrainian nationalists in the concentration camps at Vorkuta, Norylsk, Magadan, Mordovia, Kingiri, Karaganda and Temir Tau in 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956 and 1959, strikes in Ukraine, which even foreign observers have reported, and countless trials, etc., are proof of the strength of the resistance against Moscow.

In the free world we continue our mass demonstrations against Russian colonialism and Communism on every possible occasion, as for instance in front of the UN building, in front of Soviet Russian and other Communist diplomatic and consular premises in the free world. Above all, we launch attacks against Khrushchov and other hangmen of our peoples when they visit the West; we employ all the means at our disposal as aggressively as we can. We conduct a fierce fight against the policy of coexistence and Moscow's Fifth Column in the Free World. In this fight against Bolshevism we lost, for example, the leader of the Ukrainian Underground Movement — Stepan Bandera, who was poisoned by Soviet Russian agents in Munich, Germany, in 1959. We combat every form of Russian colonialism. We likewise combat the "non-predetermination policy" and support the clear and definite idea of the disintegration of the Russian imperium into independent states.

The sincere anti-Communist circles of the Free World are included and rallied together by us in the joint anti-Bolshevist campaigns. And, on the other hand, we join in their campaigns in order to strengthen the uncompromising front.

A spiritual revolution against materialism, an active religiosity and recognition of the national idea and realization of social justice constitute the preconditions for a victorious campaign of the free world against tyranny.

The subjugated peoples in the Bolshevik colonial empire constitute a decisive force in the present international political conflict. The task of liberation cannot be carried out locally and isolatedly, but is, rather, in view of the present circumstances, an indivisible and integral problem.

A co-ordinated common strategy and the formation of a global anti-Bolshevist front of all the free and subjugated peoples in the spirit of the US Congress Resolution on "Captive Nations Week" and on the basis of the political decisions reached at the Mexico Conference in 1958 are imperative demands of the present time.

In conclusion, it is regrettable to have to ascertain that the principles of an "active coexistence policy" are now being practised in Laos, which leads to disaster. We declare our complete solidarity with the uncompromising anti-Communist fight for freedom of the national forces of the people of Laos, a fight which should receive every support from the free world and we emphatically reject every agreement with Communism.

In Laos as in Cuba, in Hungary and in Congo, in Ukraine and in Turkestan, in Rumania and in Georgia, in mainland China and in Bulgaria, the fight for the cause of freedom is being fought everywhere in the world.

Our place is on the side of the Cuban patriots, too, who only yesterday, left to rely on their own strength, courageously opposed the Soviet Russian tanks and bombers of Castro and his clique of tyrants; they, too, died for the freedom and security of the USA.

Wherever the fight is being waged against Communism and Russian imperialism, it is also being waged for the sake of our common cause.

The national liberation organizations of the peoples united in the A.B.N. —

Committee "Free Armenia"; Bulgarian National Front (New York — Toronto); Byelorussian Central Council; Cossack National Liberation Movement; Croatian National Liberation Movement; Czech Movement for Freedom; Czech National Committee; Esthonian Liberation Movement; Union of Esthonian Fighters for Freedom; Georgian National Organization; Hungarian Liberation Movement; Hungarian Mindszenty Movement; Latvian Association for the Struggle against Communism; Lithuanian Rebirth Movement; Rumanian Free Front; Organization of Serbian Nationalists; Slovak Liberation Committee; National Turkestanian Unity Committee; Ukrainian Hetman Union; Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists,

join in wishing your Conference every success and express the hope and conviction that a united anti-Bolshevist world front will soon be set up, which will have as its aim the complete annihilation of Communism of every form and the disintegration of the last colonial imperium in the world, the Russian imperium, into national independent democratic states.

1961 has been declared as the "Rizal Centennial Year" in honor of the "great Malayan" Dr. Jose Protacio Rizal, Philippine national hero, who was executed on December 30, 1896, for his patriotism.

1961 has been declared the "Centennial of Taras Shevchenko", Ukraine's national hero and poet laureate, Eastern Europe's champion of liberty against Russian Tsarist colonialism, who after ten years captivity in Siberia, died in 1861, unbroken in spirit.

I, as a Ukrainian, am very happy to be in Manila this year and to pay tribute to the memory of the national hero of the Philippine nation, also in the name of the A.B.N. and as its President!

I should like to thank the Philippine Chapter of the APACL for its kind welcome and hospitality!

Long live the free and independent Republic of the Philippines and the freedom-loving, courageous Philippine nation!

ABN Demands to the Western Powers

The development of an offensive in the political war. A liberation policy is to be actively supported.

"Captive Nations Week" should not be confined solely to the USA, but should be extended to all the other countries of the free world. The cause of freedom and independence of all the peoples subjugated by Russian colonialism and Communism in Europe and Asia and — Cuba — should be actively supported.

A co-ordination centre of psychological warfare should be set up in the free world in joint effort with the representatives of the national liberation movements behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains.

A freedom manifesto should be drafted by the governments of the free world and proclaimed as a Magna Carta of the independence of all peoples and freedom of individuals and social justice.

Steps should be taken to bring about the disintegration of the last imperium in the world, the Russian imperium, into independent national states of all the subjugated peoples, as the main and common aim of the political war of the free and subjugated world.

The free world should actively and with every means available, including military means, support the coordinated national liberation revolutions of the subjugated peoples behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains and should regard this as the only possible alternative to an atomic war.

The policy of coexistence should be rejected by the free world as a trap designed by Moscow, since it is bound to lead to a surprise atomic war, the aim of which is recognition of the status quo as the basis for world conquest.

The United Nations, which are adjusting themselves more and more to a policy of coexistence, should be reorganized:

as an anti-Bolshevist world organization, with the immediate exclusion of Bolshevist representatives and their satellite governments;

as an organization in which the authorized representatives of all nations subjugated by Moscow are included.

Program for the Seventh APACL Conference

Tuesday — May 2

8:00 *Registration of Delegates*

10:00 *Courtesy Calls on —*

- 1) President Carlos P. Garcia
- 2) Secretary Felixberto M. Serrano
- 3) Mayor Arsenio H. Lacson

Chairmen: Hon. Inocencio V. Ferrer and Atty. Teotimo A. Roja

5:00 p.m. — Meeting of the League Council

8:00 p.m. — *Dinner in honor of Chief Delegates*

Host: Hon. Ramon D. Bagatsing, Chairman, League Council, APACL

Response: Chief Delegate of Thailand

10:00 p.m. — Preparatory Discussion attended by Chief Delegates

(Note: Other Delegates are requested to remain at the Narra Room where movies will be shown by the Special Services of the Armed Forces of the Philippines)

Wednesday — May 3

9:00 a.m. — *Opening Ceremonies — UST College of Medicine Conference Hall*

Attendance: Foreign Delegates, Government Officials, members of the Diplomatic and Consular Corps, Civic Leaders, Educators and Press and Radio Correspondents

General Program — (Dr. Jose Ma. Hernandez — Chairman and Master of Ceremonies)

- 1) National Anthem... Philippine Constabulary Band (PA)... Col. Antonio Buenaventura, Conducting
- 2) Invocation... His Eminence, Rufino J. Cardinal Santos
- 3) Opening Speech... Hon. Ramon D. Bagatsing
- 4) Speech... Mr. Ku Cheng Kang, Immediate Past Chairman, APACL
- 5) Introduction of Keynote Speaker... Hon. Inocencio V. Ferrer

- 6) Keynote Speech... US Senator *Thomas J. Dodd*
- 7) Introduction of Guest of Honor... Hon. *Cornelio T. Villareal*
- 8) Address of the Guest of Honor... His Excellency, President *Carlos P. Garcia*
- 12:30 p.m. — *Luncheon* tendered by the *Manila Jaycees* —
 Guest Speaker: US Senator *Thomas J. Dodd*
 To be introduced by — *Manila Jaycee* President *Wilfredo Tecson*
 Response: Chief Delegate of *Vietnam*
- 3:00 p.m. — *First Plenary Session*
 Presiding Officer: Hon. *Ramon D. Bagatsing*
 Conference Speaker: Sec. *Felixberto M. Serrano*
 To be introduced by Dr. *Jose Ma. Hernandez*
 (Election of Conference Chairman and Secretary, Adoption of Agenda, Organization of Committees, Reports of Chief Delegates)
 Chairman: Mr. *Fernando H. C. Chua*
- 8:00 p.m. — *Dinner* tendered by the *Philippine Chinese Anti-Communist League*
 Guest Speaker: Chinese Ambassador *Mao Lan Tuan*
 To be introduced by PCACL Director, Dr. *Pao Shih Tien*
 Place: Chinese Embassy, Dewey Boulevard
 Response: Chief Delegate *Australia*

Thursday — May 4

- 9:00 a.m. — *Second Plenary Session* —
 Presiding Officer: Hon. *Ramon D. Bagatsing*
 Conference Speaker: Secretary *Alejo S. Santos*
 To be introduced by Atty. *Antonio M. Meer*
 Chairman — Atty. *Teotimo A. Roja*
- 12:30 p.m. — *Luncheon* tendered by the *Rotary Club of Manila* —
 Guest Speaker: Mme. *Suzanne Labin*, Director
 International Committee on Political Warfare of the Soviets
 To be introduced by Don *Jose Barredo*, SR., President Rotary Club of Manila
 Response: Chief Delegate of *Japan*
- 2:00 p.m. — *Committee Meetings* —
 Chairmen: Atty. *Jose G. Guevara*, Atty. *Daniel De La Cruz*, Mr. *Isagani P. Cruz*
- 4:00 p.m. — Departure for Fort McKinley
- 4:30 p.m. — *Military Parade* — *Fort McKinley*
- 7:30 p.m. — *Barrio Fiesta* — *Bagatsing Farm* — Km. 22 (Super Highway) *Alabang Rizal*

Friday — May 5

- 9:00 a.m. — *Committee Meetings* — *Manila Hotel* — Chairmen: Atty *Jose G. Guevara*, Mr. *Miguel D. Casibang*, Mr. *Carmelo Quiban*
- 12:30 p.m. — *Luncheon* tendered by the Speaker of the House of Representatives *Manila Hotel*, Winter Garden
 Guest Speaker: Speaker *Daniel Z. Romualdez*
 To be introduced by Atty. *Leon O. Ty*
 Response: Chief Delegate of *Pakistan*
- 2:30 p.m. — *Third Plenary Session* — *Social Hall*, GSIS Building
 Presiding Officer: Hon. *Ramon D. Bagatsing*
 Conference Speaker: Mayor *Arsenio H. Lacson*
 To be introduced by Mr. *Constante Ma. Cruz*
 Chairman: Mr. *Constante Ma. Cruz*
- 4:00 p.m. — *Closing Ceremonies* — *Social Hall*, GSIS Building
 Address: His Excellency, Vice-President *Diosdado Macapagal*
 To be introduced by Hon. *Leonardo B. Perez*
 Chairman: Atty. *Antonio M. Meer*
- 8:30 p.m. — *Reception & Dinner* — *Manila Hotel* Winter Garden
 (In honor of the Foreign Delegates and Members of the Diplomatic and Consular Corps)
 Sponsored by the *Philippine American Insurance Companies*
 Guest Speaker: US Ambassador *John D. Hickerson*
 To be introduced by Hon. *Ramon D. Bagatsing*
 Response: Newly elected APACL Chairman
 Reading of Awards by Mr. *Constante Ma. Cruz*
 Chairman & Master of Ceremonies — Mr. *Renato Arevalo*

Saturday — May 6

- 9:00 a.m. — Guided Tours in Manila and Suburbs — Chairmen: Mr. *Constante Ma. Cruz*, Mr. *Carmelo Quiban*
- 12:30 p.m. — *Luncheon* tendered by the Provincial Governor of Cavite
Taal Vista Lodge, Tagaytay City
 Host: Governor *Delfin N. Montano*
- 4:00 p.m. — Sightseeing Tour — *Caltex Refinery* — *Bauan*, Batangas
- 4:30 p.m. — *Merienda* — Courtesy of *Caltex (Philippines) Inc.*
- 9:00 p.m. — *Dinner* — *Town Hall* Philippines — *Swiss Inn*

Sunday — May 7

- Morning }
 Evening } *Departure of Delegates*
 Afternoon }

Participants at the Conference

Delegates

Australia: Rep. Charles Falkinder, Senator Branson. *Burma:* Mr. Thakin Ba Sein, Mr. Uhla Soe Lwin, Mr. Maung Win Myint. *Republic of China:* Mr. Ku Cheng Kang, Mr. Huang Chao-Chin, Mr. Pao Hua Kuo, Mr. Liu Peng-Kiou, Mr. Tan Ye-Ming, Mr. I-Cheng Loh. *Hongkong:* Mr. Chang Kuo-Sin, Mr. Ma Hen-Yo, Mr. Fung Hoi-Chiu, Mr. William Hus Shiu Cheung, Mr. Yip Tin Sing. *Iran:* Hon. Gholam Hossein Borbor. *Japan:* Mr. Tetsuzo Watanabe, Mr. Juitsu Kitaoka. *Jordan:* Hon. Adel Siahayleh. *Republic of Korea:* Mr. Chin San You (Chief Delegate), Mr. Chong Lin Lee, Mr. Yo Sup Chu, Mr. Tong Woon Park. Mrs. Youn Sook Moh, Mr. Tae Zhee Kim, Mr. Yong Koo Kim. *Macao:* Mr. Leonel Borralho, Mr. Fung Hong-Shi, Mr. Mario Marais Alves. *Malaya:* Mr. Haji Ibrahim T. Y. Ma, Mr. Syed Alwy Alhady. *New Zealand:* Mr. Melville L. Tronson. *Pakistan:* Mr. Inamullah Khan, Prof. Mahmud Brelvi. *Philippines; PACOM:* Hon. Ramon D. Bagatsing, Dr. Jose Ma. Hernandez, Atty. Antonio M. Meer, Miss Michaela A. Montemayor, Hon. Cornelio Villareal, Hon. Inocencio V. Ferrer, Hon. Leonardo B. Perez, Atty. Leon O. Ty, Mr. Carmelo Quiban, Mr. Renato Arevalo, Mr. Constante Ma. Cruz, Mr. Cesar D. Templo, Atty. Teotimo A. Roja, Atty. Jose G. Guevarra, Mr. Isagani P. Oruz. *PCACL:* Mr. Chua Lamko, Mr. Yao Shiong Shio, Dr. Pao Shih Tien, Mr. Cua Siok Po, Mr. Cheng Edison, Mr. Tang Tack, Mr. Yang Sepeng.

Ryukyus: Mr. Tsugumasa Kiyuna. *Singapore:* Mr. Chew Yet-Chen. *Thailand:* Dr. Vibul Thamavit, Mr. Surachit Chanterasakha, Mr. Chun Prapavivat, Mrs. Manec Thamavit, Mr. Seri Thamavit. *Turkey:* Prof. Dr. Ahmet Shukru Esmer. *Republic of Vietnam:* Mr. Tran Tam, Cong. Nguyen Phuong Thiep.

Observers

Asia: Ceylon: Mr. Valentin S. Perera. *India:* Dr. Ch-Devenanda Rao. *Indonesia:* Mr. Mochtar Ghazali. *Libanon:* Mr. Beshara E. Ghorayeh. *North Borneo:* Mr. Lo Kwok Chuen. *Saudi Arabia:* Shakeeb Amawi. *Africa:* *Congo (Brazzaville):* Mr. Fulbert Loko. *Congo (Leopoldville):* Mr. Gabriel Makoso. *Liberia:* Congressman Charles Dennis. *Libya:* Congressman Muftah Abdulla Sholmani. *Madagascar:* Mr. Apollinaire Andrian Tsiafajato. *Morocco:* Mr. Lisanuddin Daoud. *America:* *United States of America:* Senator Thomas J. Dodd, Mr. David Martin, Dr. William Glenn. *Europe:* *France:* Mr. Guy Vinatrel. *Organizations:* *Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.):* Mr. Yaroslav S. Stetzko, Mrs. Slava A. Stetzko. *International Conference on the Political Warfare of the Soviets:* Mme. Suzanne Labin. *Assembly of Captive European Nations:* Mr. Vaelovas Sidzikauskas. *American-Asian Educational Exchange (AAEE):* Dr. James Burnham, Prof. David N. Rowe. *Free Front:* Rev. Fr. Raymond J. de Jaegher. *International Committee for Information and Social Activity (C.I.A.S.):* Alfred Gielen.

June 30th, 1941

Most Memorable Date of Ukrainian Liberation Movement during World War II

When the two great totalitarian powers, Nazi-Germany and Soviet Russia, clashed in the deadly effort of total war, in all parts of Ukraine a spontaneous desire for liberation from alien oppression vigorously expressed itself in risings and many forms of nationalist activities.

That was 20 years ago, in June 1941.

All these efforts reached their climax on 30th June 1941, when these historical words were spoken to the National Assembly in Lviv in the Western Ukraine, and broadcast to the farthest corner of Ukraine: "In accordance with the will of the Ukrainian People, the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N), under the leadership of Stephan Bandera, proclaims the restoration of the Independence of Ukraine."

The reaction of the Germans was immediate and ruthless. The advancing German Armies demanded of the Ukrainian Provisional Government that the Proclamation of Independence should be revoked.

When the President, Dr. K. Lewycky, and Yaroslav Stetzko, the then Prime Minister of Ukraine, on behalf of the Government and Ukrainian Nation, categorically refused, Hitler replied with widespread terrorism and oppression. The Minister

of Political Relations. Ivan Klymiv-Legenda, and Minister of Forestry, Ing. Piasecky, were murdered by the Gestapo in Lviv. Dr. D. Jaciv, first Vice-Minister of National Economy, was executed in the concentration camp at Auschwitz. Professor Dr. M. Panchyshyn, Vice-Premier and Minister of Health, died of a heart attack. The Leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.), Stephan Bandera, and the Head of the Cabinet, Yaroslav Stetzko, were sent to the concentration camp at Oranienburg. General V. Petriw, Minister of War, was sent to the forced labour camp in Czechia. Vice-Minister of War Roman Shukhevyeh (later famous Commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, known as General Taras Chuprynka) succeeded in escaping from the hands of the Gestapo.

Prisons were once more filled with Ukrainian Nationalists, and the gallows groaned with the weight of executed Ukrainian patriots.

To defend the Proclamation of June 30, 1941, the youth of Ukraine set itself to a prolonged struggle against both Berlin and Moscow. By the end of 1942 the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) had gained considerable strength, and soon began to take the lead among the Resistance Movements of the neighbouring nations against the German occupation; then at the time of the German retreat from Ukraine, against both Germans and Russians, and later against the Moscow imperialists alone.

The unity of purpose among the oppressed nations found expression in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), and has been the prominent feature of the underground activities behind the Iron Curtain during the past years.

The Western World, however, has for long ignored that vital front of the battle for human liberties, on which the survival of the entire Western civilisation may well depend. Only when there will be unity of purpose and action between the free democratic nations of the West and the enslaved nations of the East, ever aspiring to freedom, and fighting bitterly for the deliverance of their peoples from the yoke of their Muscovite oppressors, can the world be saved from the threat of total conquest by Muscovite imperialism.

The Proclamation of 30th June 1941 is a true indication of the real desire of the nations which are now within the grip of Moscow's blood-stained claws, and a lesson on the true and just solution of the problems of East Europe in the face of Russian Imperialism.

We therefore call on all the freedom-loving nations of the world to join in the struggle for liberation, against the enemy of all mankind—Communist Moscow.

Ahmed H. Shahab

The Communist Party of Indonesia and the Belief in God

The most interesting development in Indonesia to note is the attitude of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) in the present political situation.

In 1959 Aidit, the Communist boss, wrote in his Selected Works (Pilihan Tulisan) that PKI's attitude towards cabinets was as follows:

1. If the government is very much reactionary, PKI will mobilize the whole mass of people to overthrow the government and create a better progressive one.
2. If the government is rather progressive, PKI could assure its support to a certain limit, even though no PKI member is participating in the Cabinet.

3. If the government consists of a united front which includes members of the PKI, automatically the PKI extends its support.

Several times the Communists pressed for a cabinet reshuffle and to enter the Cabinet. But a majority still oppose Communists entering the cabinet. The continuous campaign of the Communists at the tenth anniversary of their "People's Day" has caused the suspension of their paper while the permission to hold a ten-days Communist festival has been withdrawn.

One of the oldest Communist parties in Asia, the PKI is said to have the biggest number of followers in Asia next to China. The PKI, after its abortive coup and follow-

ed by the PKI uprising in 1948, withdrew from the political scene until 1953, when its new strategy was introduced, i.e. "The United front". Since then "The Eastern Wind", as they called it, has blown. The Communists exploit by all means all nationalistic activities. They try to split, through intrigues, Moslem parties, etc., etc.

To the surprise of many, the PKI in 1955 stepped into the foreground as the third biggest party after the Nationalists (PNI) and Moslems (NU, Masjumi) in the general election. The number of the PKI representatives in Parliament jumped from 9 to 39, out of the 260.

After the 1955 election, the PKI always played an aggressive role on the Indonesian political scene, as if warning that Indonesia in the next few days might turn Communist. PKI's political opponents, owing to the fact that many of their noted members joined the rebels against the legal government, were decreed illegal in 1960.

When Communism was threatening Indonesia, like lightning and thunder in October 1960 in three regions, — South Sumatra, South Sulawesi, South Kalimantan (Borneo), the military commanders banned the activities of the PKI and their front organisations. The fact is clear that in to-day's Indonesia two powers are facing each other: The well-organized Communist Party of Indonesia and the Indonesian National Army lead by General Nasution, a devout Moslem.

Back in July 8, 1960, the PKI Central Committee issued a very important statement criticizing the armed forces policy in dealing with the armed rebellion. The target of the PKI's attacks was the Army. This is the clearest manifestation of the PKI's attitude towards the Army. This resulted in many of the PKI members, including some PKI bosses, being arrested by the Army. Their central committee was investigated and brochures were confiscated. The political situation at present is critical for the PKI. The PKI might meet its bankruptcy, especially in facing the government regulations No. 7 and No. 13 concerning political parties, which among other things said:

Only political parties basing their ideas upon Pantjasila — the Welt- und Lebensanschauung: Belief in God, Nationalism, Democracy, Humanity and Socialist Justice are admitted.

All these five principles could not be accepted by pure Marxist-Leninists. But by not accepting the Belief in God, Nationalism etc., the PKI might meet its annihilation.

"Parties trying to change our Five Principles, will be outlawed", said General Nasution recently. The PKI is facing a mountain of difficulties. But luckily a young man, 38 years, militant but flexible Communist boss has "saved" the PKI. As a way out he shouted: The

PKI accept Pantjasila. "New Communism is born" said a Surabaya paper. How could Communists believe in God, Nationalism, Democracy? Are Communists turning into religious people? All these questions are being whispered throughout Indonesia. It is the mystery enveloping the PKI. But this is in line with Lenin's Thesis: *One step back, two steps forward*. The PKI tactically accepted the Pantjasila, ignoring the Belief in GOD which according to Marxist-Leninists is "Opium" for the people.

Lenin's thesis has been put into practice in Indonesia by the young Communist boss who at the May 1st labour day celebration in Moscow became the target of the BBC television camera. Aidit, the PKI boss, stood on the podium in line with international Communist leaders, while besides him stood Khrushchov and Voroshilov, which in the Communist world means something. This might mean that the new international Communists have "tolerated" PKI's temporary belief in God, without it being branded as "revisionist".

But whilst accepting the Pantjasila with its belief in One God, the PKI is facing a break from within. So far the man who is named Aidit, born in one of the Sumatran outer islands, is managing to overcome the split from within. He is of mixed origin: Sumatran and Arabic. Aidit's father during the colonial period worked on a Dutch estate in Billiton, a tin producing island.

Aidit came to the top of the party bureaucracy only in 1953, after having served the organisation and struggled against the old radicals who were expelled from the Party. Aidit's policy is at present forming a cooperative "united front", while the aim of the PKI is to create a Communist society in Indonesia and a people's dictatorship. This sentence is contained in the Communist Party's constitution.

Since the government has now launched the Party regulation that the Belief in God is essential, only the Communists can have the answer to what degree they assess the present Sukarno Government. They could assign the Sukarno Cabinet, which is backed by the Army, either to first, second or the third category of PKI's attitude towards governments and cabinets. If the PKI put the present cabinet in the first category, that is a reactionary cabinet, then according to its principles they will mobilize the whole mass of people to overthrow the government and create a better progressive one. But the PKI has only two alternatives: To lie low or to revolt. If it revolts, it will be smashed in no time by the constantly growing army. Hence the PKI at present is lying low.

Djakarta, May 20, 1961

Russian Empire Held Together By MVD Force

At a recent meeting of the Rochdale Branch Committee of the Anglo-Ukrainian Society, the question of alinement with the Anti-Bolshevik movement was discussed. Deep feelings of sympathy toward the subjugated nations were expressed from all sections and expressions of goodwill and hope for the continuance and ultimate success for the aims of A.B.N.

The committee then passed a resolution with a unanimous vote—"We the Rochdale Branch of the Anglo-Ukrainian Society do aline ourselves to the work of the Anti-Bolshevik movement and do all in our power to propagatate Anti-Bolshevik feelings in this town"; also that a resolution be placed before the General Council of the Anglo-Ukrainian Society calling for the full support of the Society on a national level for the aims of the Anti-Bolshevik movement.

We feel it is the duty of all members of the Society throughout the nation to uphold the rights of independence of nations under the heel of Communist Imperialists, and to work for the ultimate achievement of these rights.

It should be made quite clear to the members of the British public that there are over 15 million people in slave labor camps or concentration camps behind the Iron Curtain praying and fighting for freedom, many are being slaughtered in these camps for upholding the rights of the individual.

Let the people know that the invincible Russian Empire—so called—is only held together by armed force, in particular the MVD, which rules by terror and which is an instrument of the Central Russian government in Moscow. In no country behind the Iron Curtain was there a Communist revolution made by the people themselves, but the revolution was always brought by Russian bayonets and tanks. It is a plain fact if there were no Russian troops, and no Russian pressure in these countries, the people would never elect a Communist government.

We should expose the terrible conditions under which these people exist, lack of food—in some areas starvation,—lack of medical supplies, drugs etc; overcrowded houses, lies, suspicion and mutual distrust, where the speaking of thoughts opposed to Communism means deportation to one of the dreaded slave labor camps where human beings, men, women and children alike are treated as animals with only one reprieve—death,—these are but a few of the conditions prevalent under the so-called "people's government".

Once behind the Iron Curtain there is little or no chance of escape; this is the prison of nations, its bars are bayonets, the sentence is life, the payment is blood.

How long are we in the West, who know not what the loss of freedom means, going to allow this state of affairs to go on unchecked?

The state of "peaceful co-existence" will never work. The only type of co-existence that Russia wants is a co-existence on her own terms, always bearing in mind the words of Lenin "Three quarters of mankind may die in order to insure Communism for the remaining quarter"; in my opinion any future "Summit" talks will not only fail, but a policy that is irresolute and without principle, a policy of continual appeasement of the Kremlin, a policy of allowing the Communists to buy vital materials to be used in the subjugation of nations, and the creation and financing committees who are working for the preservation of an undivided Russian Empire in the event of a clash of the two worlds, will prove to be a policy of ruin for the Western World.

This policy, at present, is the reason why the West, instead of having some control of the situation in which we find ourselves to-day, is continually giving ground in the

cold war; to-morrow it may turn millions of potential allies of the democratic world, who are behind the Iron Curtain, away from us with a feeling of complete rejection.

The policy I feel that the West must adopt if we are to free the enslaved nations is, above all, a complete segregation of Russia and its satellites, and the expulsion of the Soviet Union from the United Nations and most important, I think, is the severance of all economical ties with the Communist world.

I feel sure that if this were actuated, the West would win millions of allies behind the Iron Curtain, and they in turn, with full West support would step up their fight for liberation from within.

The destiny of these people who have lost the greatest possession held by mankind —independence—rests in the hands of all freedom-loving peoples throughout the world, statesmen, labourers, rich and poor alike.

Let us together add fuel to the torch of freedom being carried by the Anti-Bolshevik movement, so that the light of independence will shine through the gloom and give renewed hope to the subjugated nations.

How To Meet The Russian Challenge?

(Extracts from Memorandum of American Friends of ABN
to President John F. Kennedy)

The present international tension and uncertainty — created by the persistent and systematic Russian drive to divide the West, to stir up domestic disturbances, to win new adherents and friends by promising economic assistance or “liberation” — cannot be alleviated by naively hoping that Khrushchov will become a “sensible” and “amiable” person and begin to talk sense. Those who think so forget that those who rule the Soviet Russian empire are fanatical and dedicated men who will stop at nothing until their political objectives are attained. To be sure, they might well not declare a war against us; but, as experience demonstrates, they have attained many of their objectives without war. *The progress on the road to world domination only through threat of war, forceful negotiations and “peaceful coexistence”.*

You, Mr. President, have already demonstrated political sagacity by not accepting Khrushchov’s bid for a “Summit” meeting. We hope for the sake of the free world that such ability to espy Communist motivations will continue to be evident in all dealings with the Kremlin clique.

But other steps must be taken by the U.S. Government in order to win the friendship and sympathy of the enslaved nations behind the Iron Curtain, thereby stimulating them as well as undermining any hold that the Kremlin may have upon them.

Recognition of Legitimate Aspirations to Freedom and Independence

One of the most urgent steps to be taken by the U.S. Government is recognition of the legitimate aspirations of the enslaved non-Russian nations to their freedom and independence. The U.S. Congress has already taken a great forward stride by enacting the “Captive Nations Week Resolution” in July, 1959. This act, it will be recalled, precipitated a storm of protests and denunciations of the U.S. Congress and the President of the United States by Nikita S. Khrushchov, the Soviet press and the Soviet and satellite delegates at the United Nations. The whole USSR was enraged and frightened at the idea that the U.S. Congress should concern itself with the plight of peoples that Moscow hoped had been forgotten.

Permanent “Captive Nations Committee”

In order to capitalize upon the great weapon which the “Captive Nations Week Resolution” constitutes, a permanent “Captive Nations Committee” should be establi-

shed by Congress which would gather all data and material concerning the situation of the captive nations and make factual analyses, which would then be made available for the U.S. Government's executive agencies. In judging the establishment of such a committee, it is to be recalled that in Moscow the Soviet government has created a "Freedom University", at which hundreds of students from every country of the world, and especially those from Africa and Asia, are given free training in Communist philosophy, sabotage, espionage and other "revolutionary" sciences and doctrines. Such a committee would at least partially compensate for any Soviet gains made in this area. True, Moscow would violently object to the establishment of such a committee, *but we should be guided primarily by the interest of the United States and its over-all necessity to survive as a free and independent nation, and as the leader of the free world against the forces of Communist despotism and oppression.*

"Freedom Academy"

The United States also should establish a "Freedom Academy", an official training school, which would take upon itself the task of training and educating young Americans, and be dedicated to the maintenance of freedom at home and its expansion abroad. It would be much on the same level as the "Peace Corps", another bold innovation by the new Administration. Such a "Freedom Academy" should especially produce specialists in the affairs of the non-Russian nations, their histories, economic conditions and above all, their quest of liberation from Russian Communist tyranny, an area which is sadly neglected in official circles as well as in our educational institutions.

World Anti-Communist Organization

The recent influx of refugees from Communism-infected Cuba demonstrates the sore need for unified anti-Communist centers, which would take care of anti-Communist refugees not only with regard to shelter and resettlement, but also in providing them with political leadership and training, so that eventually they might again become productive leaders and citizens in their home countries upon the fall of the Communist dictatorship. Since the end of World War II the United States has accepted close to one million anti-Communist refugees, while many hundreds of thousands have settled in other free countries. These people possess special knowledge, experience and, above all, an immeasurable opposition to and hatred for Communism, which energies could be harnessed and directed for the purpose of strengthening the cause of freedom here and elsewhere.

In conclusion, the United States is the only power in the world today that can effectively resist the onslaught of Moscow. Moreover, the United States is unique in that it is the only power in the world which can rally all the freedom fighters. This it can achieve by stressing time and again that it will never become reconciled to Russian domination of the captive non-Russian nations, and that their liberation, as well as the disfranchisement of the colonial peoples in Asia and Africa, is a prime goal of U.S. foreign policy, and the cornerstone of a future peace and justice and freedom for all.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF AFABN

The AFABN is an alliance of political anti-Communist organizations of American citizens whose countries of descent are under Communist rule.

The AFABN derives its basic political concepts from the principles of the ABN and supports its policies for liberation of the nations enslaved by Moscow.

The AFABN advocates the destruction of Communism and Russian imperialism, disintegration of the Soviet-Russian Empire and establishment of free and independent nations within their ethnic borders.

Republicans Push Formation of Captive Nations Committee in United States Congress

Republican members of the House of Representatives recently vigorously urged approval of their plan to establish a permanent Special Committee on the Captive Nations.

In testimony before the House Rules Committee, which must approve the plan first, the Republicans argued that such a committee would give Uncle Sam and the entire free world another major weapon to use against Communist propaganda in the cold war.

The House Republicans, led by Rep. Edward J. Derwinski of Illinois, went to the Rules Committee hearing armed with a resolution approved by the House Republican Policy Committee, which represents all GOP members of the House of Representatives.

The Republican resolution said the proposed Special Committee would conduct "a continuing expose of Soviet Imperialism" and that the "Falacious promise" of Communism would thus be effectively countered.

A steady assembling and dissemination of the truth about the enslaved conditions of the Captive Nations would be a big blow to the worldwide conquest plans of the Reds, the Republicans declared.

At the House Rules Committee hearings, the committee considered resolutions introduced by Republican Congressmen Bow of Ohio, Bruce of Indiana, Church of Illinois, Collier of Illinois, Dwyer of New Jersey, Miller of New York, and Wallhauser of New Jersey. All are similar to House Resolution 267, originally introduced by Republican Congressman Derwinski, calling for the Captive Nations Committee.

In addition, the following Republican Congressmen have introduced similar resolutions: Conte of Massachusetts, Cunningham of Nebraska, Halpern of New York, and Scranton of Pennsylvania. All these resolutions point out the imperialism as practised by the Soviet Union and emphasize that the opposition of the captive peoples to the Communist government which dominates them is the Achilles' heel of the Soviet empire.

In view of the continuing Communist infiltration and agitation in countries such as Laos, South Vietnam, South Korea, Iraq, and Indonesia, Rep. Derwinski said, "It is absolutely essential that we focus the spotlight of world attention on the true nature of the Soviet empire and its millions of unwilling subjects.

"The fact is that the proposed bi-partisan committee of the House of Representatives

dealing with the subject of the captive peoples of the Russian empire would be a tremendous force in reversing the tide of battle in the cold war, giving the United States the upper hand in the diplomatic arena, as well as in the constant struggle for the support of the noncommitted nations," Derwinski continued.

Since many nations throughout the world have within their borders citizens of previously free nations engulfed by the Soviet Union, public opinion throughout the world would respond to a thorough expose of the slave conditions within the Soviet Union.

The Republican members of the House are vigorously urging that the Democratic Party leadership join with them in approving the creation of this committee so that, working together, they can effectively process the information which would be at the Committee's disposal for the benefit of the people now under satellite governments in Europe, the non-Russian peoples held captive within the Soviet Union proper, and the people now held captive by the Chinese Red forces.

The House Rules Committee is expected to decide soon the fate of the Republican proposed Captive Nations Committee.

Following is the text of the resolution adopted earlier by the House Republican Policy Committee:

Statement of Policy

The Republican Policy Committee of the House of Representatives urges the adoption of H. Res. 267 providing for the creation of a bi-partisan congressional committee to be known as the Special Committee on the Captive Nations.

1. The primary issue of our times is the struggle between atheistic totalitarian, imperialist Communist slavery and the libertarian governments of the free world.

2. The nature of this struggle is primarily psychopolitical and the Soviet Union depends heavily upon propaganda as it wages its campaign of subversion and aggression. This propaganda is based upon the demonstrably false promise that world Communism seeks to liberate the peoples of developing nations from colonialism and imperialism.

3. This falacious promise can be effectively countered by the assembling and forthright utilization of all the truths and facts pertaining to the enslaved condition of Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, mainland China, Cossackia, Czechoslovakia, East

Germany, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Idel-Ural, Latvia, Lithuania, North Korea, North Vietnam, Poland, Rumania, Tibet, Turkestan, Ukraine, White Ruthenia, and other subjugated nations.

4. The Soviet Union has displayed to all the world its profound fear of growing free world knowledge of and interest in its brutal suppression of the people of these captive nations.

5. The captive nations constitute a primary deterrent against a hot global war and further overt aggression by the Soviet and Chinese Reds as well as a positive means for the advancement of world freedom in this psychopolitical struggle.

6. The president and the Department of State will draw needed strength in this struggle from a continuing expose of Soviet imperialism.

New ABN Delegacy for Australia

On the 15th of May, 1961, a General Meeting of the ABN Central Delegacy for Australia and New Zealand was held in Croatian House, Sydney.

Committee Members of the newly elected Delegacy are;

President: Dr. C. I. Untaru (Roumanian), Vice-President: Mr. A. Olechnik (Byelorussian), Secretary: Mr. E. Csapo (Hungarian), Treasurer: Mr. O. Kosharsky (Ukrainian), Committee Member: Mr. O. Schwarz (Slovak), Committee Member: Mr. M. Avdich (Croatian).

From the Report for Last Year.—President Dr. Untaru outlined the connections with the official Authorities of Australia, correspondence with the Prime Minister, the Minister for Immigration, and other noted personalities. Close connections with the Central Committee of the ABN, the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, the Australian National Civic Council and various organizations of the National Groups in Australia.

A very successful Special Meeting was held last September with a large audience. The guest speaker was Mr. E. D. Butler, President of the Australian Social Credits Movement. (See ABN Correspondence 1961, Jan.-Feb.)

A similar meeting with an even larger audience was held last December, in which Sir Wilfrid Kent Hughes, Chairman of the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee, was the guest speaker. On this occasion, distinguished guests included the Chinese and Korean Consuls General.

Appropriate steps have been taken to draw the attention of the Government of Australia to the Communist propaganda in the programmes of radio stations of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation.

Subsequently the General Meeting discussed the programme for the coming year.

(Information from ABN Central Delegacy for Australia and New Zealand.)

From Behind the Iron Curtain



GEORGIA

40th anniversary of Georgia's conquest by Soviet Russia

The Georgian Communist Party tried to celebrate the 40th "anniversary" of the conquest of Georgia by Soviet Russia in a big way as the "liberation of Georgia from capitalist rule and from dependence on the imperialist major powers". Khrushchov himself even came to Georgia on this occasion and paid the Georgians many compliments, but all attempts to stir the Georgian people to enthusiasm and to convince them that the "Russian troops were called in forty years ago by the Georgian workers in order to help them in the fight against the Georgian government, which, in the services of the capitalists, was subjugating the people", failed completely.

There are still far too many persons who witnessed events in those days in Georgia and they enlighten their children as to the truth and as to what really happened at the time.

Hence Moscow's hirelings try to convince the Georgian people that Georgia in those days was extremely poor and that it has only attained economic prosperity thanks to the help of Russia. But the people of Georgia know only too well how many thousands of persons were sacrificed and murdered in a bestial way in order to effect this work of "reconstruction" in their country.

There is no love lost between the Georgians and the Russians, in spite of the fact that the Russians take good care in every country to stress that "Georgia was saved from ruin" by Russia and "is now thriving and prosperous".

But the Georgians never lose their sense of humour. At a lecture on Russian achievements in the field of space flights, the speaker emphasized that it had been ascertained that there are no people living on the moon. A Georgian farmer thereupon commented that this fact had been established long ago, for if there were people living on the moon, they would certainly help the Georgians.

Honorary degree conferred on a Georgian

Zürich University has conferred the honorary degree of doctor of the faculty of philosophy on the Georgian scholar, Dr. Kita

Chenkeli, who lives in Switzerland, for his work and publications in the field of Georgian language and literature.

Export of Georgian intelligentsia

It was reported by Radio Tbilisi on June 22nd that many Georgian specialists — engineers, geologists, geodesists, doctors, agronomists, etc., are at present working abroad, namely in Communist and neutral countries. In North Vietnam alone there are at present as many as 148 Georgian specialists. In addition, Georgian specialists have recently been sent to Cuba, the United Arab Republic, Afghanistan, Indonesia, Ghana, Mali, and other countries.

And Russians are being sent to Georgia, since, according to official statements, there is a "shortage of specialists in industry and agriculture".



HUNGARY

Kádár wants rockets

The head of the Hungarian Communist Party, János Kádár, has warned the Hungarian people against assuming that Hungary could always rely exclusively on its friends to "defend its frontiers and its independence", and for this reason, as is stated by the Hungarian news agency MTI, he is demanding nuclear armament for Hungary.

Military physical training

The Communist paper "Csongrader Hirlap" comments that it is only too obvious that the young people of Hungary no longer wish to sacrifice their free Sunday mornings for military physical training.

It is pointed out that the physical training instructors had also ascertained that the youth of today is unable to cope with additional tasks. The paper adds that the local Party organizations are to blame for this state of affairs, since they regard paramilitary training merely as a "necessary evil".

Youth employed in community work

The Communist youth organization "KISZ" has undertaken to carry out 2,800,000 hours of community work during the current year. Half of this time is to be devoted to beautifying the town. The rest will consist in work

in the factories. The young people employed for all this work will not, however, receive any pay.

Shortage of agricultural machines

The Communist economic journal "Figylő" states that, as a result of the rapid collectivization of agriculture, there is a sudden unexpected shortage of agricultural machines, in particular of tractors.

The delay in mechanization, so the journal affirms, is also having serious political repercussions.

The harvest in Hungary

Radio Budapest has urgently appealed to all listeners to help voluntarily with the harvest. Of the 2½ million acres of land which have been cultivated, only 55 per cent, according to Radio Budapest, can be harvested by machines. In the case of the remaining 45 per cent, harvesting must be done by hand.

The fight against the Catholic Church

"Osservatore Romano" recently published a survey of the fight against the Catholic Church in Hungary, where during the past months many priests and monks have been arrested and abducted, allegedly on account of high treason and conspiracy. We know only too well, so "Osservatore Romano" adds, that all the persons who have been arrested were excellent priests.

The Communists are trying to put the so-called peace-priests into higher posts in the Catholic Church and even intend replacing the bishops by such priests, who are then to undermine the ecclesiastical administration and are to carry on the fight against the Church and religion in an intensified degree.

The suffragan bishops, Belon Gellért Pécs and Jozsef Szombathely Winkler, who have been appointed by the Pope, have so far not been allowed to take up their office.

Cardinal Grösz, President of the Episcopates, sent a letter to the Communist government in which he stated that the priests who had been arrested had for many years been his best co-workers. He added that he knew how much good work they had done and that he was willing to bear the responsibility for them. "If the Communists have arrested these priests", so Cardinal Grösz stressed, "then they might as well arrest me, and if they sentence them, then they can put me in prison, too".

The manner in which the Communists comment at home and abroad on this new fight against the Catholic Church is typical of their usual methods.

At home the organ of the peace-priests, "Katolikus Szo", has published an article entitled "On the Right Path", in which it is affirmed that the bishops severely censure all action directed against the state. For this reason, the paper adds, the priests who have been arrested cannot expect any help from the bishops, for if the government accuses anyone, then such persons are also condemned by the bishops.

The Communists have falsified the Papal Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII in which the Pope recommended a republic for the French, and hence they maintain that every Catholic must accept and acknowledge the present political and social system.

Abroad, agents and the Hungarian embassies are carrying on a lot of propaganda with pamphlets and press articles to the effect that relations and co-operation between the state and the Church in Hungary are excellent. For this reason, so this propaganda affirms, it is incomprehensible why the foreign press writes about a fight against the Church and mentions the fact that a few priests have been arrested for activity directed against the work of reconstruction in Hungary. This propaganda even goes so far as to falsify facts by maintaining that the priests who have been arrested have been sentenced not merely because they sinned against the state but also against the Church. And it is pointed out that only a thousand of the 5,500 priests in Hungary have been arrested and that the rest are allowed to hold mass and confession and also religious instruction unmolested.

The Communists planned to hold a big mock-trial, but this plan did not succeed and they therefore sentenced the priests who had been arrested in camera.

The theoretical organ of the Hungarian Communist Party, "Társadalmi Szemle", has issued new directives for anti-religious propaganda in the schools. They stress that in view of the fact that far too many of the young people are religious, the fight against religion must be intensified, but, at the same time, must be carried on with greater care.

The indirect method of consciously training young people to materialism should meanwhile be applied in the schools. The latter should in future endeavour even more to combat all religious influence on the young people, for religious morality is at present to a very large extent still preventing the dissemination of active socialist morality.

The fight against the Church and against religion behind the Iron Curtain is thus proceeding according to the principles laid down in the Marxist ideology.



SLOVAKIA

Atomic bunker for Red Party bosses

A huge bunker, which in the event of war is to serve as an underground shelter against atomic and other bombs for functionaries and employees of the Communist Party in the Slovak capital and their families, is at present being built in Bratislava. For this reason it is being built in the vicinity of the headquarters of the Communist Party. It is not only to serve as a shelter for the Red Party bosses in the event of an attack with bombs, but is also to afford them protection in an insurrection, inasmuch as they can hide there from the wrath of the people until they are rescued by the Russian troops. Since the Hungarian revolt, the Communist bosses in Slovakia have been more frightened of a sudden revolt on the part of the people against the Red dictatorship and foreign rule than was formerly the case.

Russian monuments in Bratislava

In order to obliterate all memories on the part of the Slovak people of the days when Slovakia was still a free and independent state, the Communist regime is setting up monuments in Bratislava and elsewhere in Slovakia which glorify the Soviet Russian imperialism. These monuments have to be guarded night and day by the police to ensure that they are not destroyed or damaged by the population.

Immediately after the war a huge monument of Stalin was, for instance, set up in the heart of Bratislava, on Hlinka Square (called Stalin Square since 1945). Later, on another site in Bratislava, where the fallen "heroes" of the Red Army lie buried, a huge and costly memorial to Soviet Russian soldiers was erected. Whilst it was still under construction this monument was altered twice, and since it has been finished it has been altered a third time. The reason for all these alterations has been that various Russian delegations who have visited the Slovak capital have not been satisfied with the monument, which they did not consider imposing enough. Consequently, this monument has so far cost 99 million kronen, a sum for which 2200 family dwellings could have been built. Incidentally, these costs have been met out of the funds set aside for the reconstruction of the city, and are so high not merely because the huge monument is made of bronze, but, above all, because the entire surroundings have been changed. Dwelling-houses have been pulled down, a wide motor-road leading up to the monument has been built, as well as a huge square complete with avenues and marble-paving. Yet

all this is apparently not enough. Another huge memorial to Lenin is also to be erected in Bratislava. It is to be set up in front of the building of the former Foreign Office of the Slovak Republic.

Moscow Symphony Orchestra in Slovakia

In June the Moscow Symphony Orchestra toured Slovakia. The concerts given by the Russian musicians were part of the propaganda campaign for Russian culture.

Defamation of Slovak emigrants

The Communist press in Slovakia continues to publish defamatory attacks directed against the Slovak emigrants in the free world. In its issue of May 21st this year, the Red trade unions paper "Praca", for instance, abused and maligned "Durcansky and Co.". The former Slovak Foreign Minister, Prof. Ferdinand Durcansky, who is politically active as President of the Peoples' Council of the ABN in Munich, was designated in the said Communist attack, among other things, as a "war criminal".

BOOK - REVIEWS

"Freiheit und Friede sind unteilbar" (Ein Querschnitt durch die jüngste Zeitgeschichte). Herausgegeben von der Vereinigung Pro Libertate, Bern. ("Freedom and Peace are indivisible"). A cross-section of modern history. Edited by the Union Pro Libertate, Berne.) Veritas-Verlag, Solothurn. 125 pp.

This book, which has appeared in Switzerland and consists of articles by well-known and qualified authors, including the famous sociologist Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Röpke (Geneva), was prompted "by a manly, Christian feeling of responsibility" and in it "each of us is exhorted to meet the Communist world danger with a positive spiritual attitude, in order to put an end to cowardly retreat in the face of lies and violence".

And indeed, the entire book is in keeping with this contemporary idea. All the problems brought up in this connection are expounded and discussed in detail and thoroughly. It is directed against Moscow's lackeys, "co-existentialists, neutralists, appeasers, pacifists and all atomic tremblers, who are so scared that they can no longer think clearly". This type of person was on one occasion designated by the Italian Communist leader Tagliatti as "useful idiots".

The primary weakness of the West is not a political and military but a spiritual and moral one, and in this respect Prof. W. Röpke stresses that it is: "Our lack of faith in

the values which we should defend; it is our betrayal of the spiritual and moral patrimony of the Occident, our unbelievable confusion”.

And in this connection, too, P. Dürrenmatt says in the foreword to the book: “Freedom and peace are indivisible; it is impossible to ensure a good — not a sham — peace to the world, as long as there are peoples and states that are denied the right to express their opinion freely on the question as to whether they are content or not with the Communist regime which has been enforced on them.” But the free peoples must realize and comprehend that there can only be one peace, namely in freedom, and that “the spiritual fight against the perpetual claim to power of world Communism continues since Communism, in keeping with its true nature, cannot forgo this fight.”

This book which has appeared in the West is indeed strangely informative. And the authors are not merely courageous but also men who are stirred by a feeling of European consciousness and responsibility, who have recognized the danger of world Communism, who fear for the fate of the free world, who wish to enlighten the public all over the world and rouse it out of its lethargy, and who exhort all free people to take up the fight against this danger.

The only dissonant note is struck in this book by the articles by the Russian author A. Michailousky, who tries to exculpate the Russians. In answer to his statements we should like to stress that the Bolshevik Communist imperium was set up not by mythical figures but by Russians. Its ideologist and initiator was the Russian V. Lenin, and the representatives and champions of the Bolshevik revolution were Russians. The Soviet Union is a Russian colonial imperium in which foreign peoples are ruled and subjugated by Russians by means of violence. Not only Communism is a danger to the free world, but also and, in particular, Russian imperialism and its expansion. Once the Russian imperium is destroyed or collapses, the Communist danger, too, will cease to exist.

N. Ekhadieli

Paul Darnoy: *Ungarn nach dem Volksaufstand*. Herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. G. von Mende. (“Hungary after the National Revolt”. Edited by Prof. Dr. G. von Mende.) Verlag Kiepenheuer & Witsch, Cologne — Berlin. 196 pp.

After the tragic outcome of the national revolt in Hungary in the year 1956, the Communist state had to be reorganized, for this national revolution proved that the majority of the Hungarian people are opposed to the Communist regime, which has only been able to re-assert its power with the aid of the Russian troops in Hungary.

This book, which belongs to the series published by the East European Research Institute in Düsseldorf, deals in detail with the reorganization of the state and Party apparatus after the suppression of the revolt. It is an extremely thorough and informative book, which is based on authentic material.

The dictator János Kádár himself already declared on November 4, 1956, that the Communist Party was too weak to assume the sole responsibility for the fate of the people. The revolt, however, showed that the majority of the people could not be regarded as politically trustworthy by the Communist state, hence the Party could only rule with the aid of Russian soldiers and security organs and the state and Party apparatus thus had to be reorganized. The people had to be governed by terrorism. The author gives an excellent account of this process of reorganization and of the newly created system and deals with each sphere separately.

The state apparatus and administrative reform, the workers’ organization, the organizations of the masses, the administration of justice, the police, workers’ militia, fighting forces, the agrarian policy and the peasants, the national economy and state finances, — all these questions are discussed in separate chapters. The author tries to remain objective in his comments and investigates each problem impartially and expertly. And herein lies the scientific value of this work.

Those who occupy themselves with the problems of the Communist state will find this book extremely useful and informative.

It is all too evident from this book that Hungary is in reality only a vassal state of Soviet Russia and completely dependent on the latter. What then does the formal designation of a sovereign state avail it? Hungary is occupied by Russian troops, it is ruled by Russia’s hirelings and it is completely subjugated to Russian tyranny. Truly, a tragic fate for an ancient Christian and civilized people to suffer in the heart of Europe!

—dze

The OUN and Germany in World War II

Excerpts from the Resolutions of the Congresses and Conferences of the OUN

Manifesto (December 1940):

“We Ukrainians raise our banner for the

fight for freedom of the peoples and of the individual”.

"We are fighting
for the dignity and the freedom of the
individual;
for the right to express one's own con-
victions openly;
for the freedom of all religions;
for complete freedom of conscience".

Resolutions of the Second Congress of the
Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists
(April 1941):

1) . . . "The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) will do its utmost to continue the revolutionary fight for the liberation of the Ukrainian people, irrespective of all territorial changes which may occur in the region of East Europe.

2) The way to achieve our aim is the Ukrainian revolution in the Russian imperium — the USSR, coupled with the fight for freedom of the peoples subjugated by Russia, — under the motto "Freedom for peoples and for individuals".

3) The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists sets itself at the head of these Ukrainian revolutionary trends and works hand in hand with these revolutionary movements of the peoples subjugated by Russia and with the states which aim to bring about a complete disintegration of the USSR. The Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists regards as allies of Ukraine all those states, political groups and forces which are interested in the disintegration of the USSR and in the setting up of a Ukrainian Sovereign United State which is not dependent on any other country. The relations of the OUN to other states and political movements are determined by their anti-Russian attitude and not by any ideological political agreement with the Ukrainian national movement.

8) For the setting up of a common front of the anti-Russian revolutionary fight for freedom, the political expediency above all, and not the philosophical, ideological and programme differences, is decisive.

20) The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in the West Ukrainian border regions (Lemky, Cholm) is endeavouring to intensify the Ukrainian character of these territories by means of measures which are in keeping with the situation and are politically expedient, and to incorporate these territories in the Ukrainian and not in the Polish state.

21) In Carpatho-Ukraine the OUN is endeavouring to further the political strength of the Ukrainian people and to incorporate Carpatho-Ukraine in the Ukrainian state." Political Directives (May 1941)

III/4 "The fundamental precondition of the confederation is the recognition and

consideration on the part of these states of the sovereignty and integration of all the territories of Ukraine, as well as a truly positive attitude towards the Ukrainian state. The basis for a permanent relation between the allies shall be the joint fight against Bolshevik Russia, together with the mutual advantage of the political, military and economic co-operation of the allies.

III/5 The further relations of Ukraine to these states will depend upon how they respect and regard the rights and vital problems of Ukraine.

IV/8 In the event of fighting forces of states which are hostile to the idea of the Ukrainian state entering Ukraine, our fight will enter upon a new phase.

V/2 In this respect it is not the aim of the OUN to hold a monopolized position in this stage, or to hold the initiative and the conducting of the fight for freedom and the essential factors connected with establishing the state solely in its own hands."

Resolutions of the 2nd Conference of the OUN (April 1942)

V) . . . "We regard the liberal-capitalist, totalitarian, Communist and national socialist system as definitely unsuitable for the new Ukrainian order, for the Ukrainian state, which is to develop out of a purely Ukrainian wish in the form of a Ukrainian natiocracy (the rule of the nation in its own state), is more progressive than all other systems."

XXVI) Attitude towards the Poles. "We are in favour of an easing of tension in Polish-Ukrainian relations in the present international situation and in the war on the basis of independent states and recognition of the constitutional state of the Ukrainian people in the territory of Western Ukraine."

Resolutions of the 1st Conference of the Subjugated Peoples of East Europe and Asia (November 1943)

2) "Both fighting imperiums refuse to allow the peoples the right to free political and cultural development in independent national states and bring political, social and cultural enslavement to all the peoples in the form of the "New Europe" of Hitlerism or of the "Bolshevist USSR"."

Final Resolutions

1) "The Conference of the Subjugated Peoples of East Europe and Asia welcomes the heroic fight of the peoples of West and Central Europe against German imperialism and declares its unlimited political solidarity with this fight."

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

HUNGARY'S HEROIC FIGHT 1956



Protect this child, we shall continue the fight!

CONTENTS :	<i>Major-General Richard Hilton, D.S.O., M.C., D.F.C. (Great Britain)</i>	
	Berlin and the Freedom of Mankind	3
	<i>Z. Karbovyeh (Ukraine)</i>	
	An Offensive by the Free World is Imperative	7
	<i>Donovan Yeuell, Jr. (USA)</i>	
	The Freedom Guerillas Could be the Turning Point in the Struggle	10
	<i>Peter Magyar (Hungary)</i>	
	Christian Hungary Under The Goldless Russian Yoke	12
	Youth Against Materialism in Every Form	15
	<i>Admiral Carlos Penna Botto (Brazil)</i>	
	Russian Hand in Brazil	17
	<i>Stoyan S. Nicolov (Bulgaria)</i>	
	The Cyclical Nature of the Private-Enterprise Economy	20
	American Friends of ABN Observe Captive Nations Week	22
	ABN Activities in Canada and Australia	26
	Croatia Under Tito's Yoke	29
	From Behind the Iron Curtain	36
	Book Reviews	39

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

Publisher: Press Bureau of the Antifascist Bloc of Nations
(A.B.N.)
Munich 8, Zeppelinstr. 67

Editorial Staff: Board of Editors

Editor responsible: Mrs. Slava Stetzko.

Articles signed with name or pseudonym do not necessarily reflect the Editor's opinion, but that of the author. Manuscripts sent in unrequested cannot be returned in case of non-publication unless postage is enclosed.

It is not our practice to pay for contributions.

Reproduction permitted but only with indication of source (A.B.N.-Corr.).

Annual subscription DM 6.— in Germany, 4.— Dollars in U.S.A., 12 shillings in Great Britain and Australia, and the equivalent of 4.— Dollars in all other countries.

Remittances to: Post office Transfer account: Munich 58 000 or Süddeutsche Bank, Munich, Filiale Depositenkasse, Neuhäuser Straße 6, Account No. 300 188 (A.B.N.)

Erscheinungsort: München

Herausgeber: Presse-Büro des Antifascistischen Blocks der Nationen (ABN), München 8, Zeppelinstraße 67/0, Telefon 44 10 69

Schriftleitung: Redaktionskollegium

Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Frau Slava Stetzko.

Druck: Buchdruckerei Universal, München 5, Rumfordstr. 29

During The Past Five Years . . .

Today we remember in particular the heroic youth of Hungary who, five years ago, rose up unarmed in revolt against the Russian terrorist regime which they hated and who successfully warded off the Russian tanks with bottles of petrol. The entire Hungarian people supported them and fought side by side with them for Hungary's freedom, independence and right of self-determination. And they also fought in the spirit and meaning of the fundamental principle of the UNO.

Since then, hundreds of books, thousands of articles, radio programmes and political statements, etc., in many languages of the world have given an account of this courageous national revolution and fight for freedom and its global historical significance and consequences, and have also enlightened the world as to the ruthless and brutal manner in which this revolution was crushed, the mass deportations, executions, terrorism, and misery of the refugees, and it is now common knowledge that a unique historical opportunity was missed at that time.

Hungary, a thousand-year old state, was once more crushed by ruthless methods and the West failed to come to its aid, but it was impossible to break the indomitable strength of the Hungarian national soul.

With one blow the Hungarian fight for freedom with its revolutionary councils, consisting of workers, farmers, students and soldiers, exposed the false Russian policy and tore off the Communist mask.

Later, testimony by freedom-fighters was taken down in records in the UNO for months on end and measures were taken against the Russians and the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Hungary was demanded, but all these steps were futile, for the Russian troops continued to remain in Hungary and Moscow Radio affirmed that the "temporary presence" of Soviet troops in Hungary was necessary in view of the international situation and the rearmament of the German Federal Republic.

Nevertheless it was hoped that the Hungarian fight for freedom with its various consequences would be a lesson to the East and the West and that this state of new subjugation and colonization would change, but for the past years Russian Bolshevism with its old methods has continued to create disturbances, acts of violence and civil wars unhampered in Africa, Asia and Europe. After Hungary came Tibet — Asia's Hungary — and then Laos, Cuba, Congo, South Vietnam, Berlin, and finally violent measures were resorted to in the case of the fight for freedom of Katanga, but, unfortunately, on this occasion by UNO troops, and it was here that the Secretary-General of the UNO met his death.

Katanga has remained free, and at a press conference its Minister of the Interior said: "We have fought for our freedom like the Hungarians did five years ago and like the Germans are now doing. Nothing is stronger than a people that is fighting for its freedom."

For decades Russian propaganda has constantly been talking about peace, about coexistence and about combatting nuclear warfare and has been describing the dreadful results of such warfare, in spite of the fact that the peoples and governments of the West do not want war at all.

The Russians base their entire tactics in the cold war on this rejection of the idea of a war and on this fear of atomic bombs, and in doing so instigate petty wars, civil wars and guerilla activities wherever they see an opportunity, and for years the Western peoples have been forced to live on the brink of a dangerous abyss under constant threat of an atomic war.

Now, five years later, we are confronted by a new debate on Hungary in the UNO, — if it really should take place. This question, incidentally, is extremely embarrassing to the Russians, and for this reason they have on a previous occasion already made an immoral offer: namely that they would be willing to forgo a discussion on the question of American reconnaissance flights over the Soviet Union, if the Americans for their part would forgo a discussion on the Hungarian question. This offer was at the time rejected by the USA, but in spite of this fact the question of Hungary was only discussed at the end of the session and then only very superficially and unsuccessfully.

Let us hope that the seventh discussion on the Hungarian question in the UNO will at last be crowned with some success.

In the name of the Hungarian heroes who sacrificed their lives and also in the name of all those who have been killed during the past 40 years whilst fighting for their freedom and independence against the Russian subjugators, we hope that Hungary and all the subjugated peoples will at last attain their freedom and independence and that the Russian troops will withdraw from our countries since they have no business to be there.

May the 16 points stipulated by the Hungarian freedom-fighters, which were accepted by the entire Hungarian people and by the Hungarians in exile, be realized.

We recall the last message of the freedom-fighters on the Hungarian Radio on November 4, 1956:

“Do not forget that the Bolshevik tempest will pass over you, too! You will be the next after us! The ship is sinking and the lantern is extinguished! Stretch out your brotherly hand to save us! God bless you!” and then the Hungarian national anthem resounded.

But in this tragic hour West Europe and the free Western world did not reply; they remained silent as though they were non-existent.

*

In the meantime the Bolsheviks have ruthlessly dropped an Iron Curtain and a stone curtain in the heart of Europe and in the heart of Berlin and are constantly preparing a civil war.

During the past five years the situation has grown steadily worse. F. v. F. K.

A Ukrainian Scientist Chose Freedom

Of the latest refugees from the peoples' prison of the USSR, the Ukrainian scientist Olexij (Alexander) Holub (Golub) can be regarded as one of the most striking personalities. As is known, Holub attained his freedom under dramatic circumstances in Holland on October 8th this year. For years he and his wife had been preparing their flight. But at the last minute he was separated from his wife, for the Russian diplomats actually went to the extent of breaking down her mental resistance and forced her to return to the USSR.

Olexij Holub is one of the most prominent Ukrainian chemists. He studied in his native town of Kyiv and began his career in the 1950's. From 1954 onwards he published articles in Ukrainian scientific journals and, above all, in the “Ukrainian Chemical Journal” published in Russian. In fact, he contributed articles to this periodical right up to his flight.

As can be seen from the 1959 year-book of the Kyiv State University, O. Holub at that time lectured in organic chemistry and was in charge of the faculty of chemistry. He became known as a prominent member of various scientific conferences, and his articles were always in demand. In 1959 alone he published as many as 11 scientific treatises.

Berlin and the Freedom of Mankind

by

Major-General Richard Hilton, D.S.O., M.C., D.F.C.

I write as a patriotic Englishman, who respects the same feelings in patriots of all nations. I write with sorrow in my heart because this old-fashioned human sentiment, once regarded as one of the noblest of all such sentiments, tends today to be condemned by so-called "progressive" intellectuals as something rather outmoded, atavistic, and perhaps even a menace to mankind.

Today, among political and social circles who boast of "moving with the times", the talk is always centred on the international rather than the national aspect, except, curiously enough, when these intellectuals are speaking about primitive and backward peoples. It is very laudable for savages in the Congo, who have never yet comprised a genuine nation, to swell their breasts with arrogant and rabid nationalism. But for peoples of European stock, whose civilization and culture have illuminated the formerly dark continents of Asia, Africa, the Americas, and Australia — why it is all wrong, according to these pundits, that Europeans should love their own countries or put their countries' interests forward for fair consideration.

Modern statesmen of the democratic half of the world must never make public mention of their own country's interests if they wish to avoid accusations of fascism or aggression. They have to cloak their policies in the grandiloquent guise of "interests of world peace" or "of mankind" or "of the free world". Thus our British prime minister, when advocating Great Britain's entry into the Common Market, with its inevitable surrender of the ancient independence for which millions of Britons have died, spoke of the alleged necessity for the United Kingdom to be "in the vanguard of the growing unity of the free world".

It is still rather too early for statesmen, who wish to be taken seriously, to prattle about "mankind" or "the world" as though these conceptions represent one harmonious community with a common set of interests. Though one world government is the ultimate vision in the minds of these dreamers they would expose themselves to ridicule just at present if they spoke of mankind's interests as a set of ideals universally accepted throughout the globe. So, with the world divided as it is into two armed and hostile camps, the fashionable talk of the moment concerns itself with the unity of the "free world".

What has all this to with Berlin? How does it affect the nations behind the "Iron Curtain" — those millions who are not at present free, but whose hearts have never and will never give up the hope of eventual freedom?

The Berlin crisis is not just a local affair. It is not, as suggested by a certain school of thought, merely a lack of agreement between East and West concerning the future of a city of a few millions. West Berlin is far more than an aftermath of the Allied military occupation of Germany. It is more than just an awkward legacy in the hands of the Western powers — their share of a temporary administrative arrangement. It is not a geographical anomaly that can be adjusted easily by give and take on both sides as though it were an awkwardly shaped boundary between two friendly farmers.

West Berlin is a symbol of something that affects every one of us, and particularly those millions, temporarily deprived of freedom, who live within the "Iron Curtain". The citizens of West Berlin may number less than three millions, but that makes no difference at all. Individually each one of those West Berliners is just as important to God, and to the sense of justice of mankind, as the hundred and fifty millions of

East Europeans at present held captive by Moscow. No more and no less. The principle is identical in each case.

That is why it is wrong and dangerous for western statesmen to talk, as they do, about the "free world" as though it were something fixed, immutable, and generally accepted by the conscience of those who are fortunate enough to live on the free side of the fence. That is why there exists a very grave danger to the cause of the captive nations in this tendency to talk about the "unity of the free world" unless it is made abundantly clear by those western statesmen, who use such talk, that the "unity", of which they speak, is nothing more than a military alliance of free nations engaged in a cold war against tyranny — a cold war that will never end until our fellow Europeans have been released from Russian domination.

Unfortunately that is not at all what most western statesmen mean when they speak of this "unity of the free world". On the contrary most of them have in mind expediency rather than justice.

Their primary object in most cases is to terminate the cold war, to liquidate the hostility of Russia, and to usher in an era of peaceful coexistence, progressive disarmament all round, and a breaking down of barriers. A praiseworthy object indeed, if it could be accomplished without violation of the moral law. But an unworthy object if it is sought at the cost of others. The so-called "free world" (those of us who happen to remain free at this moment) have no right whatsoever to purchase our own relief from tension or from fear by any kind of a deal with Khrushchov concerning the future status of the non-Russian nations, who are under Russian domination, whether satellites or incorporated within the Soviet Union. Or rather, there is only one justifiable basis for such a deal — only one sound and righteous basis for a lasting and real peace. That is complete self-determination for all non-Russian peoples at present within the Russian sphere — a self-determination based upon genuine elections with a secret ballot to be conducted after withdrawal of every Russian from the non-Russian lands.

There can be no doubt within the mind of any western statesman that this is the unescapable truth, though an unpleasant truth. But statesmen have to be realists as well as being men of high principles. A statesman who represents a genuinely democratic country must pander to a certain extent to the desires and instincts of masses of voters, who may not be quite so high principled as the statesman himself. How then are the statesmen of the west to reconcile what they must know to be the morally correct attitude toward the Muscovite tyranny with a course of action which will be acceptable to the sometimes ignorant and short-sighted electorates who have put the statesmen into power?

To take one extreme solution, it would be out of the question for any western statesman to resort deliberately to open war with the Soviet Union, simply with the object of liberating the captive nations. No matter how chivalrous such a gesture, the democracies of the west simply would not take up arms for this cause. "Nuclear neurosis", the unbalanced dread of the "H" bomb, has instilled into the crowded populations of the west a determination to avert a nuclear war at almost any price. They might, though even this is by no means certain, fight in defence of their own freedom. They certainly will not start a war for the freedom of anybody else.

This is humiliating, but it must be accepted as a fact. No realistic plan for liberation of the captives can be based upon hopes of an open war of liberation, started by the democracies of the west.

Let us examine the other extreme among the solutions open to the west. We have already partially examined it. It is the solution based upon appeasement of the aggressor and tyrant, the fatal but attractive path of "peace at almost any price". Even at

a risk of repetition I must stress the deadly perils of this path and the tendency of western democrats to follow it. History can offer many awful warnings, culminating in the successive efforts to appease Hitler in his series of land-grabbing crises.

The vulnerability of western statesmen to this error of judgement is even greater today than twenty-five years ago. For "nuclear neurosis" did not exist then. There was, it is true, a fear of what the Luftwaffe might do to great cities like London or Paris. But this fear was as nothing compared to the stark panic which seizes the minds of the masses when they hear and believe what sensationalists tell them about the "H" bomb.

In the days when Hitler was shaking the nerves of western urban populations, there still existed among those threatened people a sturdy remnant of that old-fashioned patriotism which could screw men and women up to a pitch, so that they could face "blood, mud, and tears" for the sake of their country's cause.

Today that psychological stimulant has been weakened almost to ineffectiveness. Though men and women may still exhibit heroism when bullets and bombs begin to fly, the greater courage which enables people in time of peace and in cold blood to take the path to war when another path is offered to them — that cold-blooded self-sacrificing courage has almost vanished from the western democracies. People were no braver twenty-five years ago, but they had patriotism at their backs to stiffen them. Now they have what? A belief that violence is wrong, even for a righteous cause. A belief that United Nations will solve all such problems and crises. No need for national preparedness. No need to risk a row with an aggressor. Let us have "talks" with him and settle it all by giving way just a little here or there — particularly where it does not hurt us personally.

Is it surprising that western diplomats and statesmen find it even more difficult to face up to an aggressor than Chamberlain found it to be with Hitler? The wonder is that they can offer any resistance at all to Khrushchov's bluster and threats.

That, essentially, is the terrible peril facing human freedom today. Berlin will no doubt test these weaknesses of the west almost to breaking point. If we give way, it will be the beginning of the end. The aggressor's appetite will grow with each new tit-bit, just as Hitler's did. Each fresh threat will be more truculent and the west will find it progressively more difficult to decide when to make a firm stand. As for any hope of forcing or persuading the Kremlin to relinquish its grip on the captive nations, that hope will have gone, if we give way over Berlin, perhaps for ever. Now or never, the coming Berlin crisis will be the moment to call a halt to aggression and to make it absolutely clear that the "free world" has no intention whatsoever of betraying or abandoning those who are threatened with engulfment by Communism.

Russia must be left in no doubt at all about the firmness of our intentions. For a mistaken belief in our steadfastness could produce a nuclear war, neither wanted nor intended by either side.

As I write these words Mr. Khrushchov is reported to have told Italy that the time for negotiations over Berlin is "opportune". This may well be the opening gambit of a new form of attack, far more dangerous than rude bluster, because it is more subtle. The Kremlin oligarchy has every intention of getting its own way over Berlin, but they may probably clothe their demands in such mild and apparently harmless form that it will be extremely difficult for western statesmen to stand firm, even to the brink of war, simply because nothing in the Russian proposals will *appear* to be worth a war. These statesmen may no doubt see the danger of apparently harmless concessions, but it will be impossible for them to convince their peace-loving and apathetic compatriots that concession would be worse than war. Thus three grave dangers lie hidden in this imminent Berlin crisis. The western nations are ill prepared to meet this delicate situation, though meet it we must. There is no time to put right our deficiencies

in public understanding of the facts. There is no time even for our statesmen to recover their own firmness of purpose, which they ought never to have lost. We can only stand firm and trust in God, and pray that our leaders will quit themselves worthily.

But, if all goes well and we weather the approaching storm, is there nothing that we can do then by way of a long term policy to end this intolerable drift from one crisis to another? Yes. There is something that would end this world-wide nightmare nuclear annihilation on the one hand or meek surrender to slavery on the other. This middle path will need courage of a high order on the part of the national leaders of at least one of the western powers.

These leaders must first educate themselves. They must rid themselves of the dismal timidity which at present paralyses their initiative vis-a-vis Russia, as a rabbit cowers mesmerised before a snake. This defeatist attitude is due to two mental aberrations, namely: —

- (1) Forgetfulness of moral and spiritual values.
- (2) Failure to appreciate the ruthless opportunism of the Soviet hierarchy.

As regards the former, these leaders must cease to think of material strength as the only force that counts. History is full of examples to the contrary. When King Philip's Armada sailed up the English Channel the chances for England were hopeless on a mere count of men, guns, and ships. But "God blew with his winds and they were scattered", as the English victory medal devoutly declared. Again in 1940 a German victory seemed a certainty — or would have so seemed on a count of tanks, aircraft, and other war material. But by the grace of God it turned out otherwise. Materialists cannot deny these phenomena, nor can they explain them without admitting that there are other factors in victory besides mere material strength. From here it is only a step to a faith sufficiently strong to inspire a statesman or a country to do what seems *right* in an emergency rather than what is safe or expedient.

As regards the unscrupulous opportunism of Russia, one has only to read the books of Lenin, Stalin, and other prominent Communists. Their avowed object is to force all the world to accept the Communist way of life, whether by military conquest or by trickery or by any other convenient method. It follows that, if and when full scale nuclear war is deemed by Soviet strategists to be the best means of achieving world Communism, then the world will have nuclear war thrust upon it, absolutely regardless of anything that other nations may do or refrain from doing in their attempts to keep the peace. Conversely, no matter what the "free world" may do or not do in the meantime, and no matter how tough an attitude our diplomats may take toward the Kremlin, *there will be no outbreak of open war until it suits the Kremlin to launch hostilities.*

The Soviet Union will not be dissuaded by any consideration of humanity from inflicting war upon the world when the chosen moment comes to use that means. Nor will its rulers be bounced or manoeuvred into war one moment before it suits them. This is a grim situation, but one which can be decisively exploited by western leaders of courage, high principles, and robust faith.

It means that the west need not be nearly so careful, as we have hitherto been, to avoid offending the Russians. We can be tough whenever toughness is called for, that is to say whenever the course of justice and right points in a direction which Mr. Khrushchov will not like.

Conspicuous among such justifications for toughness we must surely place the question of the captive nations. If ever there was a clear duty incumbent on the whole "free world", it is this — to show the Soviet Union by every diplomatic means at

our disposal that the west will *never* accept, condone, or recognise Russia's enslavement of the non-Russian peoples at present in her power. A very great deal could be done by any western power, whose statesmen possessed the forthright courage of old times. A very great deal could be done without presenting the Kremlin with the faintest shadow of an excuse for umbrage. And yet such diplomatic pinpricks could render the Soviet Union, with its absurd pretensions to be a liberating power, a mockery in the eyes of all the neutral and uncommitted nations. Here is a wide field for diplomatic "warfare" of a kind most damaging to the whole Communist tyranny. And yet western statesmen shrink from taking such action for fear of embittering East-West relations! One might just as sensibly refrain from being unfriendly to a tiger.

With a little extra courage, and with no extra risk of starting a world war, the statesmen of the west could go a step further. In the May-June (1961) issue of ABN Correspondence an article entitled "Deeds not words are needed" indicates a course of action which might be called "unofficial" war. It is a form of hostility which the Communist powers have long been using against the west and against the uncommitted countries. When Russian aircraft were openly carrying arms to the rebels in Laos, the United States did not declare war on the Soviet Union. Why then should we desist from supplying resistance movements in the Russian sphere of influence? For fear of rousing the Kremlin to war? *They will not start war until their chosen moment has come.*

In dealing with the Communist powers we are dealing with a tiger. It is a risky business, but signs of timidity on our part only render it an infinitely more dangerous game. If we get through the Berlin crisis, is it too much to hope that the western democracies will in future act upon the obvious lesson.

Z. Karbovych

An Offensive by the Free World is Imperative

Five years have elapsed since the Hungarian people rose up in revolt against the Russians in order to attain their freedom and national independence. The West, however, has long since forgotten the lesson of the Hungarian revolution and has so far done nothing to help to bring about the national liberation revolutions by universal — including military — support, the only possible alternative to an atomic war.

The insurrections of the Ukrainian political prisoners in the concentration camps have not met with the least response in Western policy. Official circles in the West continue to believe in the possibility of a coexistence with the Russians and are glad when Khrushchov — incidentally for tactical reasons — occasionally does not express himself quite so harshly as he usually does in practice. Even the events of August 13th in Berlin and the victims who were murdered at Khrushchov's orders when they attempted to flee from the East Zone of Germany to freedom, have failed to stir the official circles in the West. The latter console themselves with the ridiculous excuse that the status quo in West Berlin together with the so-called rights of the Western allies have remained inviolable.

Nor has the Bonn government summoned up courage to designate the enemy by his right name and to brand him accordingly. In its statement it has thrust the blame

due to the master on to the servant. Not the Russian conqueror of East Germany is to blame for everything, but his slave and henchman, the colonel of the Soviet army of German origin, Walter Ulbricht. Not foreign Russian rule in occupied Germany, but only the Ulbricht regime is attacked by the Bonn government in its official statement. The fact that this Ulbricht regime is merely the result of the alien Russian occupation has been overlooked intentionally so as not to annoy Khrushchov. Very rarely does the German press mention the fact that Communism is the modern form of Russian colonialism and that East Germany is a Russian colony in the heart of Europe. Are the Americans to voice this opinion first of all? The entire situation is beginning to assume grotesque forms. The German press however merely repeats parrot-like what certain coexistentialist American papers publish; but it has not enough courage to express as determined an attitude on the German question as the De Gaulle press, for instance, does.

Berlin can only be defended by a general political offensive, by resolutely broaching the problem of Russian colonialism in all its grim reality, and by active universal support for the underground movements behind the Iron Curtain.

But meanwhile Mr. George F. Kennan is probably suggesting to Tito that a congress of the neutralists should be convened in Belgrade. Obviously such a congress is financed with US development aid funds. But the resolution is drawn up by Khrushchov's adherents in Belgrade. On the whole this congress of hypocrites, headed by Tito, Nehru, Nasser, Gizenga, Haile Selassie and Sukarno, supported the demands of Khrushchov, who is trying to force the United States to make further concessions, — just as is always the case in politics, where one continues to harass the one who yields and tries to force him to make concessions in favour of the one who acts uncompromisingly.

In this way President Kennedy is to be persuaded to make further concessions to Khrushchov. And in this connection all the hypocrites of Belgrade have suddenly forgotten the fact that there is such a thing as the right of self-determination for the numerous nations, too, who have been subjugated by the Russian colonial masters in Europe and Asia; they claim this right for themselves in Africa or Southeast Asia and . . . even development aid, too.

The evil conscience of the world, Nehru, the greatest hypocrite and imperialist in disguise, his colleague Nasser, who tried to found a new colonial imperium and failed miserably, the semi-Communist Sukarno, Haile Selassie, and other neutralist tyrants who have their political opponents hanged and do not tolerate the freedom of the individual in their countries, feel that it is their mission to teach the Western world how to capitulate before Khrushchov. They make no mention whatever of our nations who are languishing in the Russian peoples' prison, nor of the right of these nations to freedom and independence. Some of these neutralists, who themselves would so much like to found new colonial empires, fiercely attack and censure the Western colonial powers that are disintegrating, but they shamelessly overlook the most ruthless colonial imperium of all time, the Russian empire. Nor are they willing to concede the right of self-determination to the German people in the East Zone, though they gladly accept the development aid of the Bonn government. A hypocrite like Nehru naturally regards the Russian colony of the "German Democratic Republic" as an independent second German state.

The West should give development aid to those newly founded African and Asian states which adopt a definitely anti-Bolshevist attitude, and should drop hypocrites of the Nehru and Nasser type, or else make economic aid dependent on their abandoning their neutralist, that is, pro-Russian policy. It is surely an irony and paradoxical that, under the protection of the NATO sword in the despotic dwarf-colonial im-

perium of arch-Communist Tito, who receives help in every way from the West, this same West is taught how it should subject itself to Russia by gradual complaisance. Not one of the hypocritical guests of this godless tyrant made any mention at all of the peoples who have been deprived of their right of self-determination in Titoslavia, as for instance the freedom-loving Croats whose independence was destroyed, with the help of Russia in particular, by Tito, who is suffering from delusions of grandeur and power.

Meanwhile Russia is attacking on every front. Laos has been written-off, South Vietnam is seriously threatened, and subversive activity continues in Africa. Incomprehensible though it may seem, the Secretary General of the United Nations, Dag Hammerskjöld, tried to force anti-Communist Katanga, with the aid of pro-Communist Indian troops, to renounce its freedom and independence. Instead of respecting the right of self-determination, Dag Hammerskjöld tried to meet the Russians half-way, and in doing so met his tragic death. But five years ago he did not have the courage to fly to burning Budapest in order to encourage and support the will to freedom of a heroic people. When it came to dealing with the Russian barbarians at that time, he failed completely. If he had met his death five years ago in the same way, he would go down in the annals of world history as a universal hero, as a hero who had the courage to defy the tyrants in the name of the laws of the UNO. His fate would not have been worse than in Katanga.

In our opinion Dag Hammerskjöld was not a peacemaker, for a lasting peace will only be possible when freedom triumphs in the whole world and the Russian colonial imperium falls to pieces. But in this respect he contributed nothing. And the blame for the death of Bang-Jensen, a Dane and a man of honour, who was murdered by the Russians in a park in New York — he refused to comply with Hammerskjöld's orders and reveal the names of the Hungarian witnesses who had testified before the UNO Executive Committee — can also be imputed to Dag Hammerskjöld. Some people may be convinced that he was a peacemaker, — but he did nothing for our peoples.

Whilst the Western world is thinking about agreeing to the Russian demands, it overlooks the internal weaknesses of the Russian colonial empire which were particularly in evidence at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It is obvious from the countless reports in the Soviet and satellite press that the real truth is very different from all the false propaganda about the so-called Soviet paradise. The economic situation is very grave; owing to "poor harvests" the expected results are not achieved, and plans go bankrupt. Even Khrushchov himself has admitted that, though a "big progress" is noticeable, there is no meat to be had; the population of Ukraine, Georgia, the Baltic countries, and Turkestan attack the militia and the so-called "Druzhyne"; students hold demonstrations, acts of sabotage are systematically carried out in Ukraine and also in the satellite countries, and every attempt is made to prevent the grain requisitioned by the Russians from being conveyed to the north; railway tracks are blown up; and though they are brutally crushed, revolts in the concentration camps break out again and again. For this reason the special law on capital punishment for those who take part in strikes and revolts in the concentration camps was introduced (we have mentioned this fact elsewhere), etc., etc.

National resistance is growing, and the colonial empire of the Russians threatens to disintegrate from within, if only the West would take the initiative. Because of its complaisance, however, the internal centrifugal forces are weakened, and thus it is preparing the way for the continuation of Russian conquests in the countries that are still free.

We can but ask how long the official circles in the West, headed by the United States of America, will continue to dig their own grave?

“The Freedom Guerillas Could Be the Turning Point in the Struggle”

Remarks of Mr. Donovan Yeuell, Jr., Observer from the United States of America at the 7th Conference of the APACL, Manila

The American people, although slow to be aroused are getting sick and tired of seeing the Free Countries pushed and threatened by the Communist powers.

The patience of the United States is not going to last forever.

The events in Africa, Southeast Asia, and Latin America, with the flavor of Communist intrusion, are not pleasing to the American people or to their government.

The American people do not want to stay forever on the defensive, for in our hearts we know that the only way out of the present mess is to destroy Communism and to advance freedom.

The people of the United States, typically reluctant to assert themselves, sooner or later will do what has to be done for freedom to win out over Communism.

It would be better to win by peaceful persuasion. We would rather not have to shed blood, but if our best efforts to avoid it should fail, somehow, I cannot say just when, you can count on us to do whatever must be done.

Now I shall turn to a specific proposal for action either by or through the influence of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL).

In the face of Laos, Cuba, and Viet Nam, the Free World badly needs new faith and confidence. The future of freedom is very dim if the best we can do is stay on the defensive. International Communism has had the initiative almost continuously since 1917.

As is well known, Communism must expand constantly if it is to survive. Its appetite is insatiable and it cannot stand still. But the strategies and tactics of “Containment” will not succeed against the cancerous growth of Communism. The cancer must be destroyed. Once the Free World nations come to realize this reality, then and only then will they be able to take some really effective measures in their own behalf.

Let me, then, commend to this body suggestion for action that has been spoken of before. Mr. Ma of Malaya spoke of it yesterday. Senator Dodd also referred to it. It is, of course, the favorite Communist technique of unorthodox warfare — guerilla fighting, terror, subversion, civil unrest, proxy war, propaganda, etc. These methods, under the shadow of organized armed forces are responsible for the vast majority of Communist conquests. Particularly in Southeast Asia today, the unconventional warfare problem is not easily identifiable. Deliberately obscured by the Communists, it has no visible solution. Even if the crumbling situation in Laos were to be confronted with regular troops, from the SEATO countries, the Communists would probably be able to avoid direct clashes in enough instances so that they could continue the struggle with the shadowy forces of unconventional warfare.

Long and bitter experiences with guerilla fighting are all too familiar in the recent history of every free nation of Asia. Perhaps the clearest lesson is to be drawn from the high cost in human and material resources just to contain unorthodox operations in one's own territory. This drain on our side's energies, in terms of manpower, can rise to more than 100 anti-guerillas for each guerilla actively engaged. Experience has shown this to be a losing game for the victim. The logical inference ought to be that if the Communists can employ this method to keep us on the defensive with relatively small cost to themselves, why can not the Free

World do the same to them? In every part of the world, Communism is making inroads. The Free World will keep right on losing the overt political power struggle unless and until we begin to beat the Communists at their own covert game. (It is true that the conventional armed forces of the free nations need to be enlarged and improved, but that and other strategic programs can be left apart from the subject under discussion.)

What the Free World needs as a matter of very high priority, especially in Asia, is a new departure, to carry unconventional warfare into the Communists' own backyard. I submit that the free countries of Asia should take it upon themselves to do two things simultaneously:

1. Infiltrate Communist territory and conduct widespread harassing covert operations against the political and military apparatus.
2. Eradicate Communist guerilla forces and subversive operations in Free World territory by covert methods.

The aim of these anti-guerilla and counter-Communist activities would be to divert the enemy and place him on the defensive. This technique would, at long last, restore some of the Free World's lost confidence and give our political leaders a basis to exercise the initiative. By reversing the present ratio of many of us "containing" a few of them, this new approach would cause a heavy drain on the Communists. It would be more than "against Communism", it would be a powerful force for freedom.

For obvious reasons, the job should be done with Asian (or Mid-east, or African, or Latin American) nationals, as the case may be. Western countries would assist with supplies and advice, but the main effort would have to be by Asians. The "freedom guerilla" activity should not be tied tightly to the known organizations like SEATO.

All existing Free World pacts are for defensive purposes only, whereas the "freedom guerillas" would be primarily offensive. Furthermore, the less formal the effort, the less it will be inhibited by political constraints inherent in the present complex and often confused state of Free World formal relationships. Finally, these forces should be kept as unidentifiable as possible in order to deny the Communists the propaganda advantage. The indirect approach would keep the level of conflict well below the "nuclear threshold".

The entire undertaking could fit into the idea of the "volunteer Asian forces" proposed elsewhere at this conference. No elaborate machinery would be needed, no propound strategy is called for. The simple purpose would be to destroy Communism by stealth and subversion "on both sides of the line". Coordination would have to develop as time went on, and sooner or later problems of control and command and even of loyalty, would arise. These matters would have to be dealt with in due course. But for the time being it should be enough that the free peoples of Asia be willing to exercise their own initiatives enough to get this powerful force moving.

The freedom guerillas could give the Communists a very hard time. They might even be the turning point in the struggle. These volunteer forces should expect to operate to a considerable extent on their own. They would certainly need some material aid from the Free World governments, but they should be constrained by a minimum of "nicely balanced" political guidance. If at some later time, events should take a turn that made it desirable to have closer coordination with governments or regular forces, that could be dealt with as necessary. But nothing could be worse at the start than tying the volunteer freedom guerillas rigidly to the policy of any particular Free World nation or alliance.

Such an effort as this may be one of the few choices left to the Free World. Nearly everything else has been tried, and has failed. Freedom is still losing and Com-

munism keeps on gaining. The volunteer freedom guerillas may turn out to be the missing link in the chain of things that free World needs to do. If the free peoples of Asia are not willing to make this attempt, the remaining alternatives appear to be either, a wholly Communist Asia or an all-out nuclear war. The Western nations can do very little but be silent partners in such a venture.

This is something that the people of Free Asia should and could do by themselves without the formal approval of any allies or international body. It should be repeated that this is probably the only way it could be made to work, without strings and with minimum formal "arrangements". Only Free Asia can decide whether it will take charge of its own destiny, put Communism on the defensive and carry freedom forward.

I close these remarks with the words of U.S. President John F. Kennedy on April 20th, 1961, in his statement on the failure of the Cuban freedom forces:

"The message of Cuba, of Laos, of the rising din of Communist voices in Asia and Latin America — these messages are all the same. The complacent, the self-indulgent, the soft societies are about to be swept away with the debris of history. Only the strong, only the industrious, only the determined, only the courageous, only the visionary who determine the real nature of our struggle can possibly survive."

Christian Hungary Under The Godless Russian Yoke

Since the day when Communism was called into being it has waged a fierce fight against every religion and in particular against Christianity. Within the entire complex of Christianity it regards the Catholic Church as its arch-enemy, since the centralist structure of this Church — namely from the legal as well as from the religious and ethical point of view — is the mightiest bulwark which obstructs Communism. The Holy See of the Catholic Church has ascertained again and again by documentary proof and has pointed out repeatedly that Communism is incompatible with Christianity; and the Communist movement is condemned because it is directed not only against religious faith but also against the social and economic order; moreover, it violates the laws of Nature and of God. In a special decree the Catholic Church has forbidden all its adherents to further Communism voluntarily in any way.

But when it is a case of actual coercion, the situation is different: by applying violence Communism forces people to renounce their natural rights; they are, for instance, forced to give up their own property and to work in kolkhozes, and schools, etc., are closed down; such obvious violations of natural rights can only be tolerated temporarily. On the other hand, if one is forced to deny one's faith, then it is one's duty to bear this martyrdom in the spirit of the divine laws! — There is, however, a wide scope, which makes the persecution of the Church possible, between the assurance of human rights and the martyrdom in question.

And the Communists make use of this fact. In doing so, they endeavour to conceal their internal crimes from the eyes of foreign countries and in this way support the underground movement of the Communists abroad. It is both interesting and informative to shed light on the questionable tactics of the Communists as proved by actual facts.

In the light of rhetoric

The Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic states in Paragraph 54: "The Hungarian People's Republic guarantees freedom of conscience and the right to practise a religious faith freely." Elsewhere: "In the interests of freedom of conscience the Hungarian People's Republic has effected the separation of the Church and the State." And another passage states: "On the strength of the separation of the Church and the State and in accordance with Paragraph 54 of the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic, religious instruction is not a compulsory subject." (Collected Code of Valid Laws 1945—1948, Vol. I, p. 29.)

The Communists and foreigners in Hungary are fond of quoting these constitutionally legal paragraphs and laws whenever visitors from the West accuse them of persecuting the Church. Actually, the purpose of these paragraphs is to cover up the crimes perpetrated against the Church and the faithful.

What happens in reality?

All over the world the privilege of the Church to maintain schools, universities and

various charitable institutions with the support of its faithful adherents is connected with the right to freedom of religion and freedom of conscience. This is the case in Europe, in the Christian states throughout America, and also in the case of all missions in the entire free world. But the Communist regime resorts to other practices: legislation, police and Party organs do their utmost to destroy the Church and to exterminate Christianity. True, the Constitution guarantees freedom of conscience, but the regime, with one stroke of its pen, has confiscated altogether 3,705 schools of the Catholic Church in Hungary. Hundreds of thousands of parents and pupils protested against this state control of the schools. They held demonstrations and sent telegrams voicing their protests just as the Catholics in the Indian state of Kerala did in 1959 when they protested against the school policy of their Communist regime. In Kerala the people succeeded in driving out the Communists, but this was impossible in Hungary for the country is still occupied by the Russians. The protests of the parents went unheeded, and the political police and also Party members took action against the student demonstrators and maltreated them in an atrocious manner; in Szededin, for instance, one young student lost his eyesight in the course of these clashes. Of the 3,705 schools which they confiscated, the Communists later gave 8, namely 6 boys' secondary schools and 2 girls' secondary schools, back to the Catholics. But they only did so in order to be able to make other countries believe that Catholic schools are allowed to exist in Hungary. By means of this farce they try to bluff reporters and visitors in Budapest.

The Catholic press is suppressed

The Constitution guarantees freedom of conscience; in free countries this also implies freedom of the press. But this does not hold good under the Communist regime. In Hungary the Communists liquidated the Catholic press. Later they gave permission for a four-page weekly paper to be published. But only 50,000 copies of this paper, "The New Man", which is under state censorship are allowed to be printed. Since the Catholics in Hungary number 7,000,000, this works out to one copy for every 140 Catholics, per week. The Communist press, on the other hand, is represented every week by daily papers, weekly papers, illustrated magazines, etc., with 16,000,000 copies. The total population of Hungary numbers 10,000,000. Hence there are 1.6 copies of the Communist press per day to every Hungarian, including infants in arms! But according to official statements the Communist Party in Hungary only numbers 450,000 members.

The above-mentioned only Catholic paper is suppressed by the censorship to such an extent that not even the official proclamations of the Pope are allowed to appear in it. But the Communists endeavour to convince other countries that this paper is proof of the freedom of the press in Hungary, by affirming that papers which are not Communist are allowed to be published there.

The dissolution of the religious orders

The Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic guarantees the right to practise religious faith freely; in the free world this implies the unrestricted activity of the religious orders, but in Communist ruled Hungary this is not the case. Here the Communists from one day to the next dissolved altogether 57 religious orders, that is monastic communities, and, in the truest sense, turned out 10,000 members of religious orders on to the streets. The monasteries and convents were expropriated. Many of the monks and nuns are now working in factories and mines, etc. But the majority of them were not even allowed to work but were deported or put into prison. A few weeks ago some of the older members of religious orders, as for instance Father Xaver Szunyog of the Benedictines, were tried in secret and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. When the above-mentioned accused asked the court to give him the reason for his sentence, his request was refused.

The house-searches which are at present constantly being carried out are organized in such a way that the police search and ransack rooms inhabited by members of religious orders at the same time every night all over the country, namely from 11-30 p. m. to 6 a. m.; they even confiscate the hard-earned savings of members of religious orders who are employed in factories. One lay-brother who was working in a factory as a cook was robbed of his savings-book during one of these house-searches. The victims in such cases of theft are denied all legal aid.

Persecution of the bishops

In April 1945, Baron Vilmos Apor, Bishop of Raab, was shot. At Christmas 1948, the head of the Catholic Church in Hungary, Primate Cardinal Mindszenty, was abducted by Rakosi supporters and in February 1949 he was sentenced to imprisonment for life. Not long afterwards the Suffragan Bishop of Esztergom, Zoltan Meszlenyi, was likewise abducted and tortured to death in a concentration camp. After these incidents the Communist state in 1950 reached an agreement with the bishops and gave them the solemn promise that the Church could continue its activity unmolested. But hardly had this agreement been signed when the second

Prelate, the Archbishop of Kalocsa, Jozsef Grosz, was abducted at the order of the government and sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment. In the summer of 1956 he was released and was allowed to return to his residence. In the meantime, however, the Bishop of Vac, Jozsef Petery, was abducted, and after the freedom revolt (in 1956) Kadar adherents also abducted the Bishop of Veszprem. Both these bishops are still interned in Hey-cc. AVO men have moved into the offices of the bishops; they open the latter's post, keep a check on their telephone calls and also on their talks with visitors. These AVO men also issue proclamations in the name of the bishops and circulars, which bear the episcopal stamp and seal, previously confiscated by the AVO, and which serve to disseminate Communist propaganda; the Western press and radio then repeats the contents of these proclamations as if they had actually been issued by the bishops.

It is a generally accepted opinion in other countries that persons who are not at the moment serving a sentence in prison are free. But under the Communist regime that is not the case. The fate of the Hungarian bishops proves that a person who is not in prison is by no means free! The Communists keep people prisoners in their own houses or offices.

In the above-mentioned agreement of 1950 the Communist regime gave its solemn promise that the Church in Hungary could continue its activity freely. The regime still quotes this agreement today to foreign countries, but in reality it does its utmost to prevent the activity of the Church. It refuses to allow bishops who have recently been appointed by the Apostolic See to hold office; countless priests have been abducted, sentenced in secret trials, or thrust into prison without having been tried at all.

Books are confiscated

In February this year a new wave of persecutions against the Church began. Thousands of houses were searched, the dwellings of priests and other Catholic persons were ransacked and books were confiscated. Numerous works of sacred music written by famous composers were destroyed. This is the true aspect of the freedom of conscience allegedly guaranteed by the Communist Constitution.

Religious instruction

In 1949 religious instruction ceased to be a compulsory subject in schools. In a proclamation to this effect it was stated that on the strength of the freedom of conscience proclaimed in the Constitution, it would in future be left to the free decision of everyone to take part in religious instruction or not. This statement was passed on to other

countries in order to make them believe that the Communists in Hungary respect the fundamental human rights. Actually, however, religious instruction was simply made impossible. The time for registration was limited to eight hours. Both parents have to send in a written request asking for permission for their child to attend religious instruction. One of the parents has to accompany the child to registration, and this is where the Party agitators are already lying in wait. They start a conversation with the parents and threaten them that if their child takes part in religious instruction, it will not be allowed to continue its education later on, or to attend a college; at the same time, the parents are also threatened with the loss of their jobs, etc. In this way time passes and only a few of the parents manage to get their children registered. But if the number of children registered does not amount to at least 10 per cent, no religious instruction is permitted. Under these circumstances, however, it is practically impossible to reach 10 per cent. And in the rare cases where this figure is reached, religious instruction can only be given by a person who has received special permission from the Communists. And this special permission is only rarely given.

In view of this propaganda campaign, parents see to it that their children receive private religious instruction, which not even the Communist laws can forbid. But the regime persecutes such activity in every possible way. In a mock-trial in June, 12 priests and secular persons were sentenced and imprisoned for having given religious instruction. The public, incidentally, was not admitted to this trial. Every day priests and secular Catholics are arrested for giving religious instruction, and it is very often months before their relatives and friends learn that they are serving a sentence in prison. In the public forum of the world the Soviets and the Communist governments behind the Iron Curtain accept the theory of fundamental human rights, as defined by the United Nations, but in their own country these rights are constantly violated. This hypocrisy is typical of Communism: beyond the country's frontiers, fine-sounding propaganda, but within the frontiers, the violation of all human dignity and ideals.

In order to put an end to this state of affairs, the Hungarian people in 1956 demanded the assurance of the free activity of the Church and of religious instruction. But the rulers of the West, who should have given their help in this case, left the people and their ideals in the lurch. The people behind the Iron Curtain have been left to continue their fight alone, — the defenceless victims of a senseless brutality which crushes all human rights. *Peter Magyar*

Youth Against Materialism In Every Form

(A Freedom-fighter on the Communist Training of the Younger Generation)

It was quite natural that in Hungary, too, after 1945, that is to say after the Communists seized power in 1948, all youth organizations, including sports clubs, were either disbanded, or at least re-organized. Up to the end of the war there was hardly a youth organization in Hungary whose statutes did not include a profession of faith which was bound up with religion and patriotism. But just as the devil is the arch-enemy of God, so, too, Bolshevism, which is based on diabolical principles, on human failings and weaknesses, and on evil, above all attacked the various religions and, in particular, Christianity.

In countless treatises and brochures, Soviet ideological literature has affirmed that the arch-enemy — within the religions, too, — is Catholicism, with its organization, discipline and its supra-nationalist character, and according to our faith, with its divine origin and mission. For this reason a grim fight was waged and is still being waged against Catholicism in the states known as people's democracies.

It was thus imperative that the Church, its doctrines and its priests should be made to appear ridiculous in the eyes of society and, in particular, in the eyes of inexperienced youth, since any success in this direction is dubious if it is effected *merely* by commands and terrorism and without conviction. Thus the disparagement of the seriousness of the doctrine of Catholicism continues unabated in Hungary in and outside the Church. It is allegedly the mission of Marxism and Leninism to replace religion by the logic of the natural and social sciences and to abolish "mediaeval superstition" and the "religious doctrine which aims at the exploitation of the ignorant people". In practice, this abolition means that religious instruction, wherever it is still listed as a subject, has become purely optional. But practically without exception throughout the entire country parents and children who are still in favour of religious instruction are influenced and intimidated. Private religious instruction at home, on the other hand, can, as has been seen from the press, result in a mock-trial or in tortures inflicted by the AVO in the case of the priests in question; in loss of their position, disadvantages as regards promotion, in the case of the parents; and in various obstacles with regard to further education or applying for jobs, in the case of the young people.

It is perhaps natural that the social gatherings and meetings of the Communist Party youth organizations, the KISZ and the Pioneer Movement (which today again number

about as many members as prior to the revolution), are almost without exception held on Sunday mornings, at the same time as divine services are held. And it is also natural that most of the Christian holidays are no longer state and school holidays. Passion Week before Easter and the day of Christ's Crucifixion, Good Friday, are no longer school holidays. But the week *after* Easter is usually a school holiday, namely spring holidays.

But not only the Christian doctrine is persecuted in theory in the constitutionally ensured paradise of the freedom of speech; the priests of the Church are also ridiculed and defamed, not to mention the mass arrests carried out during the past 15 years. In Hungary today one can frequently read newspaper articles in which some priest, whose name is mentioned, is for instance stated to have had intimate relations with a girl or a woman, or even a nun. Apart from the fact that such allegations are as a rule false and that the Communist writer of such an article should no doubt first of all consider the beam in his own eye, the priest who has been thus attacked and defamed has no chance to defend himself in the press. The Communist papers refuse to publish such vindications, or, if necessary, they discover some false witness or other. The aim of all this is in the first place to make the young people doubt the past, the Church and the truth in the most important sphere of life, namely as regards the origin of man and the sense and purpose of man's life, and to make them the slaves of Communism.

This was likewise the aim of Communism when, after 1945, it propagated the emancipation of youth as regards sex matters. Mixed "social gatherings" for adolescent boys and girls, the notorious watchword "To bear children is a woman's duty, for a girl it is an honour", and later the official propagation of contraception, permission for abortions to be performed, etc., — all these measures are stages in the fight which is being waged against the Church and against the teachings of Christ. We know only too well that one is closer to the devil than to God if one is close to Bolshevism! How many young people failed morally, at first, and later in their whole approach to life because they took part in the Communist "form of recreation"!

One could enumerate ad infinitum the measures of terrorism, deceit and falsehood to which Communism resorts in its fight against the Church and religion and for the souls and minds of the young people, for the individual and for the future.

Not only is religious instruction prohibited; there is likewise no training in the

patriotic sense, that is to say, it is "re-valuated". Patriotic training depends to a large extent on the "halo" of the past. It goes without saying that Communist historiography relies on the falsification of history, and, since it views all history from the aspect of the class struggle, frequently represents people who are "morally insane", bloodthirsty mass murderers and sadists as "heroes", as for instance Bela Kohn-Kun, or Tibor Samuely of the Commune 1914-18, etc. For this reason men such as Matthias Rakosi-Roth, Peter Gabor alias Benő Ausspitz, the notorious AVO chief, or his AVO officers, who have "enjoyed" the unanimous contempt and hatred of the Hungarian people, can still be "great historical personalities", "examples worthy of emulating" and "national heroes"!

Hungarian historiography today is also censored from the Russian point of view. Nothing which might make the Russians unpopular (or, to be more correct, still *more* unpopular!), as for instance the fight for freedom in 1948-49, or events of 1945 and the post-war years, can be included in all its grim truth in a textbook, or, in fact, printed at all. Patriotic training is thus "re-valuated", in other words, falsified. An attempt is made to replace it by the "international workers' morals of the socialist society which embraces all people" and by the "proletarian workers' solidarity", which are, however, just as vague, incomprehensible and dismal as its definition "The factory belongs to you, the soil belongs to you", and the watchword: "Work therefore, Hungarian, so that you really work for yourself". But the Hungarian worker meanwhile knows only too well that the fruits of his labour are used for restitution purposes, or else help to make the members and favourites of the Party rich. — In any case, how can one possibly talk about patriotic training, freedom and independence in a country in which Russian occupation troops

see to it that the graveyard silence is not disturbed so as to make a resurrection impossible.

It is indeed an irony of fate and a grandiose vindication of history that it was precisely the youth of the country, who had been emancipated and pampered by the Communists and given the right to vote, who in 1956 turned against the regime in order to overthrow it. Surely the most striking proof that the paradise of falsehood is in principle and in practice opposed to the natural rights of mankind, and that the Hungarian youth, too, "declines it". After the revolution was crushed, the young people — and they numbered a very large percentage of the 15,000 emigrants — voted, by stamping their feet, that they wanted neither the Kádár nor the Rakosi form of Communism.

It would be wrong to assume that the eleven years up to the revolution have left no mark on the youth of Hungary. No, these eleven years of atheistic training have had serious consequences. The lies which were exposed and the fact that the West left their country in the lurch made the young people of Hungary mistrustful, sceptical and apathetic. On the other hand, however, the Western world, driven to the brink of decadence by its materialism, which is based on its unhealthy prosperity, aroused a feeling of disappointment and dismay amongst the young Hungarian emigrants, namely that life in the West is just as false, amoral, materialistic and selfish as Communist life is. And this is where Christianity should take over the big task, since it is the only body which possesses the necessary experience, which possesses a philosophy that covers all the essential problems of life, and which can make man happier and better! We are convinced that the ultimate victory will be gained by the side which succeeds in achieving this.

-george-

Anti-Communist League of Cuba Becomes Member of ABN

The Anti-Communist League of Cuba, under the chairmanship of Mr. Salvador Diaz-Versón, first Vice-President of the Interamerican Confederation for the Defense of the Continent, has become a member of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN).

From the letter sent by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the ABN to Mr. Salvador Diaz-Versón, chairman of the League, on this occasion:

"We are very happy to welcome your or-

ganization, which has proved its worth in the fight against Communist tyranny, as a member of the ABN, and we are confident that by joint effort and strength we shall attain our common aim — the destruction of Communism, the restoration of the independence of our peoples, and the disintegration of the Russian colonial imperium into independent national states of all the peoples enslaved at any period by Russian imperialism and Communism."

Russian Hand in Brazil

(Letter to the Editor)

I have just received your letter dated September 6th. I am awfully sorry for not having been able to answer, in due time, your previous August 9th letter. The reason was that Brazil went through a serious political-military crisis, which kept me very busy, fighting, with my very limited resources, the Communist activities connected with said unrest.

The political and military events were quite unexpected; but the Marxist meddling with the abnormal situation prevailing was fully anticipated. Yes, because we all know that according to Lenin's teaching (see *The State and Revolution*): — "every effort should be made to always twist and deviate any civil war into a popular Communist revolution".

And we were on the brink of civil war: It was avoided, at the very last moment, — and perhaps only temporarily —, at an ominous price!

Let me give you the gist of what happened, through a brief outline of the situation. Jânio Quadros, elected President by a big majority in October 1960, was inaugurated on February 1st this year. Everybody knew that he was temperamental, autocratic, rude, lacking good manners, and with pronounced leftist tendencies: but, nonetheless, he was chosen by 6 million voters (against about 3 million votes cast on Marshal Lott) because he is a very clever demagogue, skilful in his speeches to the people, smart in his harangues to the ever naive and gullible masses . . . This was particularly feasible in Brazil, in view of the over-all bad conditions, namely politicians of the worst possible kind ruling the country, untrustworthy leaders, wide-spread poverty, high cost of living, lack of faith in the Government, social unrest, illiteracy in about 40% of the population, unhealthy conditions in many areas, and, last but not least, a strong and powerful Communist propaganda wave sweeping the nation. As soon as Quadros took over as President he started on a "Foreign Policy" very detrimental to Brazil and to all democratic countries, and, on the other hand, very helpful to the Communist bloc of nations!!

He obviously had the intention of driving Brazil *first* to the "neutralist" camp and thence to the "socialist" (or even "Communist" . . .) camp.

He did not waste any time in adopting measures to that effect. Many sectors of the population were amazed at his astonishing behaviour, and tough opposition to his dangerous moves began to creep in, to increase, gathering "momentum".

I myself wrote as many as 28 articles against Quadros' *Foreign Policy*, but owing to the fact that the "Jornal do Commercio", of Rio de Janeiro, — the only newspaper willing to print my articles —, has a limited, indeed very small circulation, my endeavours were mostly lost and wasted . . . All the other newspapers are infiltrated with Communists and are hostile towards the "Crusade" under my chairmanship. Apart from myself, very few people tried to fight Quadros, not only because they were too easy-going but also because it is outmoded to be an "anti-Communist" in Brazil (everywhere indeed, so it seems). A man who fights Communism is considered to be a person whose mind is not open to the social requirements of the age . . . The "watchword" is: to the left! But, strange to say, if you ask anybody what Communism means, you get no answer.

Yet, 99% of those who declared themselves "Communists" do not have the slightest idea of what Communism is like!

Herewith please find the last article I wrote, two days ago, under the title: — The Brazilian Flag In Funeral; also an article, dated August 27th, strongly protesting against the awarding of a highly prized Brazilian medal (the "Order of the Southern

Cross”) to the international Communist agent and criminal “Che” Guevara. When Quadros felt that Congress was at last beginning to fully grasp the meaning of his pro-Communist policies, he decided, abnormally-minded as he is (and even a bit crazy . . .), to launch a glaring “coup d’état”.

On the 25th August, without any previous warning he suddenly announced that he had “relinquished” (renounced) the Presidency of the Republic!

He did not explain why he had done so and only issued a short message to the nation containing vague and confused half-reasons for his procedure, for his spectacular conduct. At the same time he ill-mindedly *advised* the Armed Forces Ministers to take over the Government and establish a ruling Military “Junta” . . .

It seems that his plan was to frighten Congress, so that said Congress might ask him to come back right away and give up the idea of resigning; in which case Congress would have to grant him, of course, dictatorial powers!

He would become a dictator, a crypto-Communist dictator.

But even though Congressmen are a poor and unworthy lot, they were not frightened this time and did not ask Quadros to come back; nor did Armed Forces accept the idea of setting up a “Junta”.

Quadros’ foxy and cunning trick failed outright! What happened then? The Armed Forces Ministers promptly issued a statement to the effect that the mere presence of the Vice-President (Joao Goulart) in Brazil *would be dangerous and might be hurtful to the internal security!!* Goulart was in mainland China at the time, delivering public speeches in favour of Mao Tse-tung and of the Chinese enslaving Communist regime.

Congress refused to take cognizance of the military statement, but, on the other hand, afraid of inaugurating Goulart as President and giving him support, decided to quickly change many features of the Constitution of the Brazilian Republic, imparting to it a “parliamentary” status.

In the meantime the Brazilian Third Army, stationed in the southernmost State of Rio Grande do Sul, rebelled and took sides with Goulart and the State Governor. This took the Army Headquarters by surprise and forced the three Armed Forces Ministers to accept Goulart as President under a “parliamentary” regime.

As you notice, it was a very demoralizing change of mind: regardless of the fact that they (the 3 Ministers) had warned the nation against the mere presence of Goulart in Brazil, a week later they completely changed their views and approved of the same Goulart as President of Brazil!! . . .

Goulart is now our President, ever since the 8th September.

This is a real shame, because his reputation is bad. He is not what we might call a “Communist”, though. To begin with, he does not even know what Communism is really like . . . He is therefore more than a “fellow-traveller”, as he always acts on behalf and in favour of the Marxists. He is a dangerous “opportunist”. He is always surrounded by Communists. He is a rich man who owns considerable real estate and many farms in Rio Grande do Sul, in the southernmost part of Brazil. Under him the country faces a sad and gloomy destiny.

In fact, I think that Brazil will be driven towards Communism, inasmuch as we have now a *divided Army*.

*Admiral Carlos Penna Botto, B.N. (Ret.)
President “Brazilian Anti-Communist Crusade”,
President “Interamerican Confederation for the Defense of the Continent”.*

United States Seen As Hope Of The World

*Statement by Jaroslaw Stetzko forwarded to President John F. Kennedy
by Hon. Frank A. Sedita, Mayor of Buffalo.*

On my return journey to my home in Munich, Germany, after attending the Seventh Congress of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League held in Manila, Philippines, I stopped in Buffalo to witness the official observance of the Captive Nations Week. Mayor Frank A. Sedita merits the highest commendation for his leadership in establishing the first official committee of this kind in the United States during 1960 and for his continuous support of this vital work.

I am happy to note that the official Proclamation issued by President Kennedy breaks with the past by extending the right of national independence to ALL the captive nations defined in PL 86-90. There are no misleading terminology or phrases in that proclamation. It is all inclusive with no discriminations against any of the nations subjugated by imperial Russia.

World War II has not been ended. It continues in a different form provoked by the Russian Communists who do not want peace but seek to conquer the world. In 1959 the United States Congress gave firm and official notice to the fact by passage of PL 86-90, and defined the nature of the war in which all the peoples of the world are engaged. This law stands in historic importance with the American Declaration of Independence because it extends the same principles of liberty and independence to those nations submerged by the most tyrannical empire the world has ever known. This law offers the only alternative to nuclear war, that is, support for national liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain. The reaction of the Russian leaders to this action by Congress reveals the true Achilles' heel of their imperial power — the hopes and aspirations of the people of the non-Russian nations which they now occupy.

It is now urgent that the U. S. Congress establish a Select Committee on the Captive Nations, as proposed by Congressman Daniel Flood of Pennsylvania. Such a Committee would be a great asset to President Kennedy in his courageous efforts to launch a political offensive against the international Communist conspiracy, directed by Moscow. The work of a Committee of this character would be a powerful rallying point for freedom fighters the world over. The Russian Communists sponsor a World Congress of Conspiracy each year to plot the downfall of all the free world. It is time free men and those in shackles who aspire for freedom, planned and worked together, at both the official and unofficial levels, for the great ideals of freedom and national independence for all nations and peoples. There must be a common front for freedom's cause despite the Russian Iron Curtain.

The United States must call the bluff of the Russians in the Berlin crisis. A firm stand there, including a willingness to send armed transports into Berlin should the Russians or their East German puppets set up a blockade, would rewin the confidence in the U. S. lost by default in the East German uprising (1953), the several uprisings of the Ukrainians in Russian concentration camps (1953—1959), Poznan Riots (1956), the Hungarian Freedom Revolution (1956), and in Cuba. It is the considered judgement of underground leaders that the Russians fear war, because they know they would be defeated quickly. The spirit of political revolution is seething within the empire of the Russians, and the Russian leaders know that any warlike action on their part will ignite this spirit and disintegrate their empire. Thus, the United States should meet the latest Russian challenge on Berlin with confidence in that revolutionary spirit which is many times more powerful than the nuclear weapons.

During the sessions of the 7th Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League at Manila, one point of agreement was shared by all, including the delegates from Africa and Eu-

rope. That is, the Russian imperialists can not be defeated in Laos, or in the Middle East or in Africa. They must be *defeated in the heart* of their empire, the USSR, and this defeat can be brought about by political action supporting the national independence of the captive nations. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Europe are waiting for the United States to launch a global program for all, without exception. There are powerful resistance forces in all the Asian lands now under Communist domination. They look for support from the United States. In the free Asian countries there are great numbers of political exiles from Communism who would volunteer for freedom's cause if the USA took the initiative and supported their aspirations in a practical way. The cause of freedom in Asia does not need manpower, but what is needed is US initiative to organize, coordinate, supply and use these forces for a just peace.

The delegates to the Manila Congress, from 32 nations of the world together with 4 international organizations, adopted a resolution of unqualified support for the purposes of PL 86-90 and called for the universal observance of Captive Nations Weeks. This should encourage the American people to understand the power of their political heritage and to face the future with courage and confidence in the justice of their cause.

Stoyan S. Nicolov

The Cyclical Nature of the Private-Enterprise Economy

One of the classic Marxist "natural laws" is the one regarding the "cyclical nature" of the "capitalist" system. According to Marx, the social character of the private-enterprise form of modern industry makes the laborer superfluous and so leads to creation of an "industrial reserve army". With the growth of industry, the number of laborers may exceed the supply. This is the cycle of prosperity for industry, and for the laborer a temporary "relaxation of the tension". But the growth of modern industry, maintains Marx, is in a constantly diminishing proportion with the number of laborers employed by it. The greater the attraction of laborers by industry, the greater is their unemployment, concludes Marx. There is a decennial cycle of periods of stagnation and prosperity, followed by overproduction and crisis which depend on the greater or smaller absorption of laborers, and this takes the form of periodicity. When this periodicity is once consolidated, the phenomenon of unemployment becomes a necessary condition of modern industry. So, Marxism arrives at the conclusion that "the decennial cycle of stagnation, prosperity, overproduction and crisis, ever recurrent . . . seems indeed to have run its course, but only to land us in the slough of despond of a permanent and chronic depression . . . and we can almost calculate the moment when the unemployed, losing patience, will take their own fate in their own hands". This "cyclical nature" of the free-

enterprise economy is in Marx's opinion an absolute general law of modern industry.

If we leave Marx to argue his concept of the cyclical nature of modern industry and its "inevitable" abolition as a consequence of the "social character inherent in its capitalistic form", thus keeping his furious language to flash his "scientific socialism", we shall see that it is based rather on venomous expressions than on economical laws. Hardly anybody else could refute more convincingly the scientific value of his teaching than Marx himself. Teachings, built on virulent threats for destruction by force of the gains achieved by human endeavour. Indeed, if we were to extract from his vocabulary the expressions which to this day embellish Communist jargon as it is blared out by Communism's leader Nikita Khrushchov in his threats to "bury" his adversaries, what remains is only Marx's desire to see destruction of the then budding modern industrialization before its fruits could be enjoyed by mankind. In the 6-7 decades since his death, this industrialization changed the face of the world and instead of the predicted pauperization of the industrialized countries, a prosperous labor force emerged which proved to be the strongest bulwark against the attacks of International Communism.

Marx's theory for cyclic crises is in fact only an invention of Marx himself serving

his need to prove that "capitalism" is mesmerized in cyclic crises which will inevitably bring about its disappearance. No logic or data exist for Marx to draw the conclusion that with the advance of modern industry, the growth of the means of production to the labor force incorporated in it, changes in a constantly diminishing proportion. Let us assume that accurate statistics should show a more rapid growth of the means of production in industry than of the number of laborers employed. There is not any base to conclude that this will reduce the absorption of labor force in industry. It is entirely possible in a given period of time for the capital of industry to grow tenfold while the number of laborers employed increases only fivefold, yet still the demand for laborers may exceed the supply. There will not be unemployment merely because the growth of industrial capital could exceed the growth of the employed labor force — two factors without any correlation and interrelation.

It is true, the history of free-enterprise economy knows recessions, depressions and even deep crises disturbing its normal development. But economic crises and heavy unemployment are well known in the Communist world, too. The only difference is that economic crises and unemployment in Communist countries are cured by means of slave-labor, and in the free world by discovering their causes, eliminating them and so moving the economy toward a steadily growing absorption of the nation's labor force.

There will be unemployment, for instance, when industrial development is reserved, i. e. when production slows down, plants shut down and laborers are laid off. Or, the industrial growth does not create new opportunities for jobs for the people entering the labor force in years when the growing-up generation and people coming from schools suddenly surpass the average growth of the labor force, which was the case in the United States in 1960. Or, when unemployment is in particular compartments of labor force by reason of sex, age, location, occupation, skill, or in the special areas of farming, mining, transportation, or the blue-collar crafts and trades in manufacturing industries. The current concept defines it quite wrongly as "structural", while the proper label for it would be "partial" or "limited" unemployment. Or, when it is influenced by automation. Such crises, however, have nothing in common with cycles of stagnation and crises which according to Marx's opinion take the form of periodicity. The history of economic recessions, depressions and crises shows that they do not follow a pattern — a decennial cycle, as Marx would have it. These

crises are not in principle connected with the social character of the "capitalistic" form of modern private-enterprise economy. They are *conjunctive* — depending on the conjuncture (combination of circumstances), i. e. consequences of temporary market fluctuations and mutual influences, and above all of changes in government and bank credit policies. Such crises are neither unavoidable nor incurable if they should materialize for one reason or another. Powerful means for overcoming them are in the first place the proper direction of fiscal, monetary and particularly credit policies for economic recovery.

A typical example of the nature of modern economic crises is the long and almost universal crisis between the two World Wars. This crisis, the product of a combination of temporary circumstances, was overcome without adopting, according to Marx's "law", the form of periodicity and without proving that unemployment is a necessary and inevitable condition of modern industry. Furthermore, just when the disciples of Marx-Lenin expected that the economy shaken by this crisis, had reached the point where it became incompatible with its capitalist integument, and the "knell of capitalist private property sounds", the private-enterprise economy moved toward an already a quarter of a century-old progress opening new vistas of development, prosperity and permanent stability.

Marx was never concerned with the temporary nature of an economic crisis, because from his point of view everything not leading to the "inevitable" destruction of private-enterprise economy was merely a diminishing of the antagonism between employer and employee fomented by him. For this reason, Marxism discovers the causes of every depression in the structure and cyclic nature of the private-enterprise economy.

In spite of the completely discredited Marxist concept for cyclic crises, many economists, without being supporters of his absurd assertion for the periodicity in "decennial cycle of stagnation and crisis", in analysing modern economic depressions, are frequently prone to discover a cyclic nature in the private-enterprise economy and that there is no way of eliminating them. This serves, of course, only in fortifying the Communist doctrine of the inevitable move from present private-enterprise economy to the Communist system. However, the cliché, cast by Marxist teaching, does not satisfy anybody else, but only the Communists. Recessions, depressions and economic crises have to be studied from all points of view, in order to discover their causes and to eliminate them by the proper set of remedies.

American Friends of ABN Observe Captive Nations Week

Marking the second anniversary of the Captive Nations Week Resolution approved by the United States Congress in 1959 and signed as a law of the Nation by former President D. D. Eisenhower, in which the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America authorized and requested the President of the U.S.A. to issue a proclamation designating the third week in July 1959 as "Captive Nations Week" and to issue a similar proclamation each year until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the World, — Executive Council of the American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations held a special observance, on Sunday, July 16, 1961, at the Hotel New York City, at which Attorney General Louis Lefkowitz read the Proclamation of Governor Rockefeller.

The ceremony, which was attended by a large audience of the representatives of captive nations and American guests, began at 7:30 p.m., with the addresses of Mr. Charles Andreanszky, Secretary General of the AFABN, and Mr. Ignatius Bilinsky, Chairman, stressing the significance of Captive Nations Week and the possibilities of a practical implementation of the liberation policy, after which the Resolutions, concerning the American foreign policy in regard to nations enslaved by Moscow, were adopted. It was decided to forward copies of these resolutions to President Kennedy and members of U.S. Congress.

The culminating feature of the evening was an address by Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz, of New York State, who also read the Proclamation of Governor Rockefeller urging the observance of Captive Nations Week in the State of New York.

Among the other speakers on the program were Mr. Justin McCarty, New York State Chairman of the Captive Nations Committee, Mrs. Catherine Dorney, Secretary of the American Educational Association, and Dr. Albert Kalme, Vice-Chairman of the AFABN.

The ceremonies commenced and were concluded with a moment of silence which symbolized the suppression of free speech and individual liberties under Communist tyranny.

Preceding the ceremonies a press conference was held with representatives of New York newspapers and Press Agencies attending.

AFABN Resolutions

Adopted at the observance of the second anniversary of Captive Nations Week, sponsored by the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (AFABN), on Sunday, July 16, 1961, in New York City

We, members of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Inc., representing hundreds of thousands of American citizens of Central and Eastern European and Asian origin, who met on the 16th day of July, 1961, in the City of New York to observe Captive Nations Week, have unanimously adopted the following resolutions:

WHEREAS the President of the United States of America has proclaimed Captive

Nations Week according to Public Law 86-90 in support of the liberation of all captive nations; and

WHEREAS the Communist menace has increased during the last year, especially in Cuba, Laos and in Berlin; and

WHEREAS the free world, particularly the United States of America has become the last resort and bastion of hope of the captive nations; and

WHEREAS the Communists, pursuing their openly declared policy of world domination, have violated and usurped the then-free nations of Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, China (mainland), Cossackia, Croatia, Cuba, Czechia, East Germany, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Idel-Ural, Latvia, Lithuania, North Korea, North Vietnam, Poland, Rumania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Tibet, Turkestan and Ukraine and destroyed their respective governments, individual rights and freedom and carried out a policy of genocide, deportation and widespread deployment (reshuffle) of native populations for the purpose of completely subjugating these nations; and

WHEREAS we and all God-fearing and peace-loving peoples, who demonstrated by their actions the respect for human rights and freedom as well as the integrity of all other nations, are firmly convinced that there cannot be real peace until and unless the wrongs which have been perpetrated by Communist Russia and Red China are righted by returning to all the captive nations and all the captive peoples their fundamental freedom and national independence; and

WHEREAS we are further convinced that any compromise with Communist Russia in any area of the world will lead to nothing less than the confirmation of the declared policy of Moscow aimed at world conquest, and will in fact encourage it to further aggression and territorial aggrandizement; and

WHEREAS in recent declarations by statesmen of the United States and other free countries there has been expressed the traditional faith in self-government and national independence of all the nations, thus making us confident that peace, justice and liberty shall be restored as the inalienable rights of all the captive nations;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that we respectfully request the President, the Government and the Congress of the United States of America:

1. To implement the Captive Nations Week Resolution with appropriate and fitting actions;

2. To call for a full-scale United Nations investigation into Russian Communist aggression against all formerly independent non-Russian nations now held in bondage both within and outside the Soviet Union;

3. To ask the United Nations General Assembly to adopt a resolution calling for the withdrawal of all Soviet Russian troops and political police from the captive nations of Eastern and Central Europe and Asia and for the return to their respective homelands of all peoples and their families who have been deported to Soviet slave camps, contrary to their will and in pursuance of Soviet Russia's policy of national genocide, and to

allow them to resume their lives under a system of freedom and democratic governments, elected by free and unfettered peoples within their own national boundaries;

4. To provide material aid and support to the enslaved peoples who are struggling for their liberation from Communist tyranny;

5. To create an International Military Force to be composed of troops from all countries enslaved by Communist-imposed regimes to help uphold the principles of the United Nations Charter;

6. To refrain from any economic aid to countries now enslaved by Communist Russia, including Yugoslavia, thus weakening the Red regimes to the point where their enslaved peoples can successfully rebel and throw off their yoke of captivity;

7. To press relentlessly in the United Nations to bring Khrushchov and his murderous regime to trial for his crime of destroying the freedom of Hungary;

8. To regard the people of East Germany as much in captivity as the other Communist-enslaved nations behind the Iron Curtain: any compromise on Berlin should be considered as the abandonment of the cause of freedom;

9. To move toward the recognition of free representatives of the captive peoples, rather than the tyrants who now misrepresent them;

10. To oppose the admission of Red China into the United Nations; such an admission would be in violation of every principle upon which the United Nation was founded and for which it stands, and would in effect end the usefulness of the United Nations as an instrument of justice and peace;

11. To support the passage of the Flood Resolution calling for the establishment of a permanent House Committee on Captive Nations, which is now before the House Rules Committee. Such a committee would provide authoritative and unbiased knowledge and information on the captive nations, which could be made available for the United States government policy-making agencies.

FINALLY, BE IT RESOLVED that we express our sincere and lasting gratitude to the President, the Government and the Congress of the United States for their resolute and fearless encouragement rendered to all captive peoples in their struggle for liberation and national independence.

This Resolution is hereby unanimously adopted the 16th day of July, 1961, and attested to by the signatures of the President and Secretary General of the Executive Council of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Inc.

Ignatius M. Billinsky, Chairman.

Charles Andreanszky, Secretary General.

Excerpts of Remarks of Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz at Captive Nations Week Ceremonies held by the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations at the Hotel New Yorker, Sunday July 16, 1961, at 8:00 P.M.

"The observance of Captive Nations Week is extremely timely this year when the United States and the rest of the free world are faced with the necessity of making decisions which will, in effect, determine whether or not our way of life is to survive.

The encroachments of Communism have now engulfed Cuba and the remainder of Latin America is threatened; Laos is well on the way to being in the Communist camp and all of Southeast Asia is on the brink.

Khrushchov's threats about Berlin and the Soviet rocket-rattling have done much to bring us to one of the hottest phases of the cold war.

Drawing the attention of the free world to the plight of these captive people behind the iron and bamboo curtains is a means through which we can unequivocally state our determination to assure the freedom of the peoples of the 23 captive nations.

The reminder of the atrocities continually inflicted upon people in Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechia, Latvia, Estonia, Slovakia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, Mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Vietnam, Cuba, and others who want no more than the right to live their lives in freedom, makes us realize how richly blessed we are in this great land of ours, and that no sacrifice is too great to preserve our freedom.

America is the last bulwark in the battle against Communism and all of the free world looks to us for guidance and leadership.

Governor Rockefeller has pointed out in his proclamation that people from the captive countries who have been fortunate enough to reach the United States form a hard core of knowledgeable and capable men and women who well know how the reds took over in their countries. They are therefore able to apprise us of the things against which we must guard in order to win this life and death struggle.

Many of these fine people who believe so whole-heartedly in democracy are represented here tonight. The American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations is known for the fact that they are staunch advocates of a way of life based on the American system of Democracy.

We also must not forget that the captive people of the world are captives as long as Soviet tyranny is allowed to keep them under subjection. Not only should we think of them during this Captive Nations Week, but at all times until they have gained their freedom.

We should be mindful of the fact that their valiant fight against Communism, both here in the free world and through the underground in their own countries, must be supported morally and materially if they are to succeed and if we are to succeed.

Governor Rockefeller's proclamation urges the widest possible cooperation in the observance of Captive Nations Week, and I am sure that support will be forthcoming in every part of New York State."

From: Charles W. Stickle, Executive Assistant to the Attorney General, COrtlandt 7-9800, Extensions 7192, 7175 and 7187.

From the Journal "American"

Mass Marks "Captive" Week

Francis Cardinal Spellman, Roman Catholic Archbishop of New York, presided at a solemn Mass in St. Patrick's Cathedral to mark the opening of Captive Nations Week.

Later in the day, State Atty. Gen. Louis Lefkowitz, Republican candidate for Mayor, inaugurated the special week at a dinner in the Hotel New Yorker, sponsored by American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Nations.

"Khrushchov's threats about Berlin and the Soviet rocket-rattling have done much to bring us to one of the hottest phases of the cold war," Mr. Lefkowitz noted.

Flag-Raisings Open Captive Nations Week

Captive Nations Week, a thorn in the paw of the Russian bear, started today.

Observation of the week, which has brought roars of anguish from Nikita Khrushchov in the past, has been officially proclaimed again this year by President Kennedy and Governor Rockefeller.

As the week started, it was dramatically highlighted by growing unrest in East Germany. Alarmed Communist authorities there were unable to check the flight from starvation conditions.

More than 1,000 East Germans were fleeing daily.

CHURCH SERVICES

The start of Captive Nations Week was marked by special church services, flag raisings and meetings of costumed representatives of oppressed nations in New York and elsewhere in the nation.

Special services marking the week were scheduled for Catholic, Protestant and Jewish houses of worship today.

The 24 captive nations have a total of 910,698,000 people, more than a third of the world's population.

Evidence that the week hits the exposed nerve of Communist Russia was afforded when Khrushchov protested previous proclamations. He roared:

"Direct interference in the Soviet Union's international affairs."

Khrushchov's blast was delivered to former Vice-President Richard Nixon during their famous debate in the American-style kitchen at the American Fair in Moscow.

CARDINAL PRESIDES

Cardinal Spellman was presiding at a solemn high Mass in St. Patrick's Cathedral, offered for the captive nations. Priests from those countries were participating.

Governor Rockefeller's proclamation of Captive Nations Week will be read by Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz at ceremonies held this evening by American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc in the Hotel New Yorker.

Mr. Lefkowitz will present a copy of the proclamation to Justin McCarthy, New York State chairman of the Captive Nations national committee.

Ignatius M. Billinsky, chairman of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc, and Kathryn L. Dorney, executive director of the American Education Assn., will attend.

Senator Jacob K. Javits (R.N.Y.) and Emanuel Celler (D.N.Y.) will be the speakers.

Flags of captive nations of East Europe were to be lowered to half staff "in memory of the victims of Communist tyranny" while the national anthems of the captive nations were played.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE (USA)

(Page 17385—86)

September 7, 1961

Ukrainian Independence

Mr. HRUSKA: Mr. President, two decades ago, on June 30, 1941, Ukrainian nationalism expressed itself courageously in the proclamation of the Ukrainian State. The spirit of an oppressed people, which produced this brave act, gains renewed fervor in our commemoration this year of Ukrainian Independence Day.

Among the captive nations the Ukrainian nation holds special claims on world opinion. It is the largest of those nations forcibly assimilated by the Soviet Union, its individual character and distinctive culture systematically suppressed. The people of Ukraine met terror and brutality in their struggle to be free. The famine of the early thirties in which millions perished, the mass murders of the citizens of Vinnitsia in 1937, and the sweeping purges that came later under the personal direction of Khrushchov are only the well known repressions suffered by them.

The proclamation of independence in 1941 represented Ukraine's defiance of two oppressors — the recent German occupation forces and the Soviet regime itself forced upon it since 1920.

That courageous stand for Ukrainian Freedom was held fast and honored at the 10th mass rally of the Ukrainian American Youth Association conducted jointly in Ellenville, N.Y., and Chicago, Ill., on September 3 of this year. This country and liberty-loving people everywhere join these youths who demonstrate so vividly, by the loss of their native land, the Communist design for world domination.

The United States, long protector of the principle that government must guarantee the inalienable rights of man and protect the inviolability of sovereign nations, will never be reconciled to the subjugation of the Ukrainian people.

On this 20th anniversary of Ukraine's proclamation of independence, the Ukrainian American Youth Association does not stand alone. The duty to preserve its national sovereignty belongs to all free democracies. Its message of Soviet tyranny is heard by all free people. To spread this truth and to restore that freedom is the task which lies ahead.

Against Whom the Canadians Should March in Protest?

The so-called Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is protesting in front of the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa against the plan of the Canadian Government to accept nuclear weapons for Canada.

They claim that this move of the Canadian Government will adversely affect Canada and will aggravate world tension as well as "imperiling our position as peace mediator of the Western world."

Asking for wide public support and financial help, CUCND, however, avoids giving Canadian students a full and true picture of the present international situation, and moreover it does not pin-point the real instigator of world tension.

It is a well known fact that only in response to the aggressive policy of the Soviet Russian regime did the Western powers, and Canada as well, decide to strengthen their defence. It is also a well known fact that the Soviet Russian regime undertook a very provocative action in Western Berlin with a direct aim to throw out the Western powers from that city. Lastly, it is a well known fact that the Soviet Russian regime is fully responsible for breaking the moratorium on testing nuclear weapons, a fact which the USSR has not explained to its own people.

Although today Russia is busily poisoning the atmosphere, neither CUCND nor other adherents of the policy of disarmament for Canada organize protests against this dangerous policy of the Soviet Russian regime nor do they condemn in public the Russian testing of nuclear weapons.

Why then such an outcry in relation to the Canadian Government which is contemplating to undertake all the necessary steps in order to protect the freedom and independence of Canada and the Canadian people before the Russian aggression?

If there is a necessity to organize a protest demonstration, then it should be organized in front of the Soviet embassy in Ottawa. Russia and the Soviet regime should be the principal targets of any Anti-A-Bomb demonstrations today.

It is our deep belief that this action of the CUCND which seeks to impress our Government with the urgent necessity of peace at any price, is playing right into the hands of the Russians. They sow fear and doubt in the minds of Western people. They prepare the ground for what they hope will be our unconditional surrender.

Fellow Canadians!

Khrushchov said: "We will bury you"! Remember! Unilateral disarmament means our death under the Soviet Russian boot! The Russians are digging an A-Pit for us! Let us not be trapped by Russian propagandists.

October, 1961.

ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS (CANADA)

(Leaflet distributed by ABN-Canada)

In view of the past experience of all colonial empires, and the role played by the intelligentsia in so many countries of Asia and Africa in the last decades, it would be astounding if the intelligentsia of the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union were not affected by nationalism, did not cherish the hope that one day they may achieve independence.

*Quoted from "The New Imperialism",
by Hugh Seton-Watson, The Bodley Head, London, 1961.*

Anti-Communist Demonstrations at the International Trade Fair in Sydney, Australia

Early last August an International Trade Fair was held in Sydney at which 22 nations took part with very interesting displays of their industrial products. The only pavilion at which political propaganda played a primary role was the Soviet exhibition with supporting rockets at the entrance and showing inside an imitation of the first Sputnik Capsule. The anti-Communist organisations in Australia under the leadership of ABN organised a very effective anti-Communist propaganda, distributing to the many thousands of visitors the following leaflets: —

VISIT THE SOVIET TRADE FAIR!

Look and Ponder

LOOK:

Admire the space capsules and rockets, the factory and farm machinery — the progress made in catching up with western techniques.

THEN PONDER:

Remember the methods used in their manufacture — the conscripted labour and resources behind the Iron Curtain, the prison camps and enslaved countries which still exist sixteen years after the war's end.

Remember, too, the main purpose of the Soviet-Russia industrial regime — the destruction of all Christian civilization and the total triumph of atheistic Communism.

YES, LOOK AND PONDER:

Then buy Australian goods to create employment in your own country and to preserve the Australian way of life — the free and democratic way.

THIS MESSAGE:

This message is made on behalf of the 170,000 people all of them happy and grateful to be in Australia and all of whom have had personal experience of Soviet-Russian enslavement. All of them know too well how effectively the Communists use trade missions and peace "fronts" as part of their military machine.

They know too how the Soviet-Russians exploit the natural friendliness and sense of brotherhood of the people of the free world, in order to advance their frontiers.

During the distribution of these leaflets, carried out by persons of every nation from behind the Iron Curtain, four Ukrainians and two Hungarians were arrested by the

police who charged them with offensive behaviour and confiscated their leaflets. At the hearing of the case on the 19th of September the Central Court of Petty Sessions discharged all people arrested by the police, the judge considering that the pamphlets distributed by the defendants merely outlined their political views as members of anti-Communist organisations. These views were not considered seditious or damaging to the Australian Government.

The president of ABN in Australia, Dr. C. I. Untaru was present in Court together with Mr. W. C. Wentworth M. P. When asked about the reasons of ABN supporting this anti-Communist demonstration Dr. C. I. Untaru said:

"Our Organisation, with branches all over the Western World has sponsored the "Not-Buy-Soviet-Goods" campaign at the last International Trade Fair in Sydney, because the Soviet goods are manufactured by slave labour and are sold at political prices in the Free World.

The Soviet Trade Fair was nothing else but a Potemkin village, as people in the Soviet Union do not possess and cannot buy these goods, which were made only for Communist propaganda and showing-off abroad!

On the contrary, we advocated buying Australian goods to help relieve unemployment in our country.

Why should we give Mr. Khrushchov our money, which he so badly needs for subversive activities in our free and democratic country?

Do you know that in the Soviet Union there are millions of political prisoners in labour-camps, and even World War Two prisoners still in P. W.-camps in Siberia, 20 years after the end of hostilities?

Do you know that the workers in the Soviet Union have no right to strike in order to improve their living standards?

Do you know that since the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 the peoples in the Soviet Union are still in rags and starving in order that Communism can be financed to destroy the Christian civilization?

Why then should we buy Soviet goods and give Mr. Khrushchov the money to build rockets and "bury" us?

Remember! Soviet Russia is the enemy today of all free people and buying Soviet goods we make a stronger enemy for tomorrow!"

Katanga Fights for Independence

SN-Special Correspondent Hans Germani has cabled from Ndola, Rhodesia, as follows:

Atrocious war crimes by Indians — Situation worse than intervention by Soviets in Budapest in 1956

Attention, here Germani. Have just got out of Elisabethville. Situation getting worse hourly, entire country rising up against UNO. African soldiers and population indignant. Atrocious war crimes by Indian UNO troops. Show no mercy. Masses in revolt to such an extent that all Europeans who cannot speak French are endangered, since white UNO troops often attired in civilian clothes. Only yesterday a group of such people was killed by Africans. All statements by UNO incorrect. Losses of UNO extremely high, six tanks destroyed in Elisabethville alone. Have myself identified more Irish dead than was officially stated. Capitulation of UNO in Jadotville caused by destruction of relief column by Katangese planes. Entire column set on fire by shells. Soldiers have fled into the bush, pursued by tribal warriors. Airport Elisabethville badly damaged by Katangese attacks. In addition, acts of sabotage. Katangese army reports UNO plane shot down by own plane. (The plane shot down in this case was the one in which Dag Hammarskjöld was travelling. — The Editor) Katangese attacking with wild fanaticism. Genuine black and white united front formed against UNO, some white volunteers fighting on side of negroes as common soldiers. UNO greatly alarmed by this. Irish and Swedish UNO soldiers to an ever-increasing extent refusing to fight for the suppression of the freedom of a people. Last night, Irish after some shooting evacuated refugees' camp without putting up a fight. 26 Irish prisoners-of-war told your correspondent they are being treated well; they are indignant at the entire action of the UNO, in particular at their fellow-countryman O'Brien and Indians. A few days ago Indians affirmed: now we are going to kill! Irish declare they refuse to fight for Communism. Much to be said for this statement.

Most of Elisabethville yesterday in hands of Katangese troops. UNO only holds post office and neighbouring buildings. Indian UNO soldiers waging war against civilian population. Shots were fired twice at your correspondent as he crossed the street with his hands up. In broad daylight and before my very eyes a Greek, who was going to get food for his children, was shot like a rabbit by UNO soldiers. UNO vice-chief Tombelaine announced through radio that all negroes and whites found carrying arms were to be shot immediately. This order had to be

revoked. Threat of reprisals. O'Brien pale and nervous. Refuses to stop fighting in centre of town, even though thousands of civilians, women and children are in danger of being massacred.

Katangese enraged yesterday took revenge on scattered Indian soldiers for killing of African prisoners. African women beat Indians to death. No wonder, seeing during first UNO attack Katangese prisoners were pushed over roof, whilst others were shot in view of the Red Cross. Heard cries of "Happana, Happana!" (no, no) and shots, and saw Katangese police patrols shot and killed from behind, wounded killed, Red Cross van fired at, Red Cross man shot to death. Indian soldiers have behaved much worse than Soviets in Budapest. Can swear to this as eyewitness. (Dr. Germani was in Budapest during the Hungarian revolt. — The Editor) Prepared to state on oath that if there have been any war crimes, they have been committed by Indians in Katanga.

Have left country by car. Blockades everywhere. Entire country armed, with muzzle-loaders, spears, arrows. Everybody determined to fight against UNO. One thing is clearly evident. There is a Katangese nation and the will on the part of the Katangese to remain independent. They are fighting for this like lions. A nation is coming into being in which negroes and whites have a place. Minister of the Interior Munongo told me: we are fighting for our freedom, we are fighting the same fight as the Germans for self-determination. Nothing is stronger than a people who are fighting for their freedom.

Dr. Hans Germani, for many years SN special correspondent and reporter of the German Television in Africa, is following events in this continent at all the focal points. He flew out to Katanga when the UNO action against Tshombe began. The above telegram is the original text of his first report from there. (Salzburger Nachrichten)

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

II. Corinthians, VI, 9.

Croatia Under Tito's Yoke

The President of the Croatian Liberation Movement, which includes 200 Croatian organizations in the free world, Dr. Stjepan Hefer, recently held a speech which was broadcast by the stations CX 24 (Voz del Aires) and CXA 13 and the short-wave station (49 m.), Montevideo, Republica Oriental del Uruguay. We publish the full text of this speech below.

On the occasion of my visit to the organizations of the Hrvatski Domobran, which have existed for thirty years and are active in the territory of the noble Republic of Uruguay, I had an opportunity to give the freedom-loving, democratic public a short survey of Communism and to refer in brief to the difficulties which for the past fifteen years have been oppressing the Croat people, who since the end of World War II have been living in subjugation in the artificial state structure of Yugoslavia, under the regime of the totalitarian dictatorship led by the Secretary-General of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito.

On the said occasion I stressed that my words were addressed to the democratic public since I am firmly convinced that it regards freedom as the greatest possession of one of the sacred and inalienable rights which the Creator has given man. This same public feels and knows that there is only one freedom and that it belongs to all individuals and all peoples without exception.

For this reason I think that the freedom-loving public knows the true meaning of freedom and feels itself bound to help to protect freedom whenever it is threatened and whenever it is attacked or trampled under foot.

A hundred years ago, the father of modern Croatian nationalism, Dr. *Ante Starcevic*, stressed:

"As regards freedom, we are of the opinion that in the community of the peoples no one people can surely be free if its neighbour is not free."

And the great American President Woodrow Wilson in his war-message during the first world war in April 1917 said that the new task of the United States of America was to liberate all men. He emphasized that the United States of America had the privilege to shed their blood and to use all their power in the service of the principles which established their existence, and that peace must be based on the well-tried foundations of political freedom.

In his inaugural speech on the occasion of taking the oath on January 20, 1961, the present President of the USA, John F.

Kennedy, exhorted all citizens of the whole world to protect the freedom of mankind.

Indeed, freedom, this precious possession of mankind, the eternal yearning of all peoples, is nowadays seriously threatened.

Communism, which has subjugated almost half of mankind under its power, has not abandoned its world revolution plans and its ultimate aim, namely to conquer the whole world. This ultimate aim was announced in plain and obvious terms, and it is constantly being repeated by all and sundry, — from Lenin to Khrushchov and Mao Tse-tung.

On the occasion of his visit to Austria last year, the leader of world Communism, Nikita Khrushchov, affirmed in one of his speeches that he will still live to see the flag of Communism hoisted the world over.

One of the most important characteristics of Communism is its universality. Communism is not satisfied with ruling one or more peoples, but aims to conquer the whole world. Just recently it has become clear that its lust of conquest does not stop at Africa, but that it seeks to extend its power to the American continent, too, — in spite of the Monroe doctrine. Indeed, Khrushchov has told the world that he regards the Monroe doctrine as "dead and over".

The constant terrorist regime of the Russian Communist dictatorship in the Soviet Union throughout 43 years, as well as the past 15 years since the end of World War II, during which time Communism has brought millions of other peoples in Europe and Asia under its dominion, will convince everyone that the Communist form of government is an absolute negation of all freedom.

Communism subjugates and scorns the individual. It neither recognizes the personal rights of the individual, nor the dignity of mankind as a whole. The security and life of the individual are worthless in the eyes of Communism. Communism despises and combats religious faith and ruthlessly sacrifices human happiness.

One must abandon the illusion that Communism might evolve into forms of government and life which would be acceptable to the Western democracy, since so far there has not been the least sign of any Communist evolution at all. In any case, such an evolution would mean the liquidation, the downfall and, ultimately, the complete death of Communism.

It seems appropriate at this point to mention the fact that a professor at the Military Academy in Moscow — Manuiski — as early as 1931 foresaw all that Nikita Khrushchov is now undertaking in his persistent agitation

for peace, coexistence and alleged disarmament.

Even in those days Manuilski wrote:

“War to the death between Communism and capitalism is inevitable. True, we are not yet strong enough to attack. But our chance will come in twenty or thirty years. In order to be victorious, we need an element of surprise. The bourgeoisie must be lulled. We shall start with a theatrical show, such as has never before been known. The capitalist countries, foolish and decadent as they are, will delight in bringing about their own destruction . . . And as soon as their defence belt opens, we shall crush them with our firm fist. . . .”

The present Communist Yugoslavia — into which the Croatian people have been forcibly incorporated against their will, which they have manifested so clearly and so often, is the product of the agreement reached at the conference in Yalta, in February 1945, by the President of the USA, Franklin Roosevelt, the then Prime Minister of Great Britain, Sir Winston Churchill, and Stalin.

Yalta was a triumphant victory on the part of Stalin, the leader of world Communism. In Yalta Stalin was conceded the expansion of the Russian sphere of power and influence to the states of East Europe and the Balkans, and in this way the infiltration and penetration of Russian Communism into West Europe was made possible.

The incorporation of the Croatian countries into Yugoslavia according to the decision of the Major Powers—both in 1918 and also in 1945 — meant that the Croats were placed under the dominion of Serbia. This was obviously a political act of violence which violated all laws. Indeed, it was a flagrant violation not only of the historic statehood of Croatia, which dates back more than 1300 years, but also of the modern, universally recognized and binding democratic principle of the right of self-determination of the peoples.

During World War II, the President of the USA, Roosevelt, stressed again and again that it was madness to force two such opposite peoples as the Croats and the Serbs to live in one and the same state. In the Atlantic Charter of August 1941 the promise was given that in World War II no territorial changes would be made which were not in keeping with the freely expressed will of the peoples in question. The right was solemnly conceded to all peoples to choose the form of state under which they wished to live according to their own free will.

But in spite of this fact, Roosevelt and Churchill, who both signed this Atlantic Charter, contributed their share towards the incorporation of the Croats and the other

peoples of that territory, by force and without these peoples being asked, into Yugoslavia, as well as towards the subjugation of these peoples to the totalitarian, dictatorial power of the Communist Party, — a state of affairs which continues even today.

Thus, in Yugoslavia today one-party Communist dictatorship, which has held governmental power there for the past fifteen years by means of terrorism and ruthless violence, still rules absolute. And an additional driving force of this Yugoslav terrorism is the chauvinistic hatred on the part of the Communist officials of Serbian origin against the Croats.

This was also the reason why the Serbian Communists ruthlessly murdered thousands of Croatian subjects and about 150,000 soldiers of the regular Croatian army after the war. At the end of the war these troops in good faith laid down arms and surrendered to the British, who then handed them over to Tito's partisan gangs. This dreadful genocide, the like of which has never before occurred in history, was perpetrated in the vicinity of Bleiburg in Austria.

After the differences which arose in 1948 between the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the Cominform, the big Western democracies, in particular the United States of America, began to exclude Yugoslavia and Tito from the circle of Russian Communism, since they were of the opinion that this breach would have ideological and political consequences. They began to talk about “Titoism” and “National Communism” as if they were separate doctrines which had nothing in common with world Communism and its aims. The Western democracies assumed that this alleged “Titoism” would act as a stimulus to dissension and disunion in the Communist bloc of states and would thus undermine the international Communist front and eventually cause it to collapse.

On the strength of such illogical assumptions, Tito and the Communist dictatorship received aid to the value of two milliard dollars in the form of food, various products, machines, money and even the latest type of arms, mainly from the USA and Great Britain.

But in spite of this fact, the same totalitarian regime of the one-party Communist dictatorship continued to exist in Yugoslavia, and the Communist bloc became, if anything, even stronger and more compact than it had formerly been. The last General Assembly of the United Nations in September 1960, when Khrushchov tried to overthrow this, the highest, international organization, or, at least, make it the tool of his policy, proved beyond all doubt that Tito und Yugoslavia,

as well as Khrushchov and Moscow, as far as the main questions of international politics are concerned, pursue the same line and the same ultimate aim, as they always have done hitherto. In any case, both Tito and Khrushchov have clearly corroborated this fact in the statements which they have on various occasions made to press reporters.

We only need recall the numerous statements made by Tito in which he has denied every form of revisionism, as well as any ideological deviation from the orthodox Communist doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and has emphasized his solidarity with the Communist family as a whole.

It is, above all, interesting to note the statement that he made in Stalingrad, on the occasion of his visit to Soviet Russia in June 1956, and in which he explicitly stressed that Yugoslavia, in the event of war and in peacetime alike, would stand shoulder to shoulder with Soviet Russia in striving to attain the same aim, namely the victory of socialism, that is to say Communism.

If one bears all these facts in mind, one cannot fail to realize that Tito and his regime are in the services of the world-conquest plans of Russian Communism and that Tito plays the part of the wooden horse of Troy on behalf of world Communism amongst the free Western democracies, for which the latter, incidentally, pay him well.

It is an established fact that Tito visited Asia and Africa in order to win over the newly founded states there for the so-called "Third Force", that is to say, for the allegedly neutral bloc under his leadership. Actually, all such measures are campaigns to undermine the strength of the bloc of the free Western democracies. For this reason, Khrushchov also tried to affirm before the Organization of the United Nations that this allegedly neutral bloc was a "Third Force". But his efforts in this respect were unsuccessful.

Meanwhile the free democratic states and, above all, the U.S.A. have recently given Communist Yugoslavia a loan of 278 million dollars.

The Croats living in the free world protest against this loan and refuse to accept any obligations which might arise out of it for the Croatian people. They regard this loan objectively merely as material aid to preserve a totalitarian Communist dictatorship over the subjugated Croatian people.

This means the destruction of the freedom of the individual and of the people, as well as support for a power which is only capable of asserting itself by means of the inhuman and brutal methods of terrorism and violence. All this is a gross contradiction both

of the fundamental principles of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights of December 10, 1948.

In this connection I wish to refer to the statement made by US Congressman Michael F. Feighan before Congress in Washington on June 15th and 17th, 1959, in which he demanded that the U.S.A. should refrain from giving further aid to Communist Yugoslavia, and emphasized that the U.S.A., by supporting Yugoslavia, were speeding up the process of their own destruction, since they were in this way supporting the spreading of Communism in this world and thus digging their own grave and that of their descendants.

Because of the untenable conditions and hardships which prevail in Croatia under the despotism of the Communist dictatorship, the younger generation there in increasing number is leaving home and, in spite of the great danger involved, is secretly fleeing to the neighbouring countries of Austria and Italy, which border on Yugoslavia. In many cases these free states unfortunately send these refugees back to Yugoslavia and refuse to give them asylum on the grounds that they have not fled for political reasons. The young people who are sent back to Yugoslavia are then subjected to dreadful persecution there. Many of them commit suicide rather than allow themselves to be sent back and exposed to persecutions and terrorism again in their subjugated native country.

In view of this state of affairs, Article 14 of the Declaration on Human Rights, according to which every person in the event of persecution has a right to seek and be given asylum in another country, is purely illusory.

We appeal to the countries concerned, namely to Italy and Austria, to give these young refugees, who seek freedom, which they cannot find in their native country since it is enslaved by Communism, their full protection.

We appeal to the Organization of the United Nations to give the victims of Communist persecutions in Yugoslavia more active protection.

The Croatian organizations, which exist in every continent and are an active part of the Croatian Liberation Movement, will continue the fight against Communist tyranny with even greater determination until the Croatian people regains complete democratic freedom and its own state independence once more. For this is the sacred and inalienable right of the Croatian people in accordance with divine and human laws. And the courageous and undaunted Croatian freedom fighters will do their utmost to ensure that this right is realized as soon as possible.



Obituary

JÁNOS VON KÓRÓDY-KATONA

The former Hungarian parliamentary deputy and European leader of the Mindszenty Movement. János von Kóródy-Katona, died in Lucerne, Switzerland, on August 27th at the age of 71. The Mindszenty Movement is a member of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and was represented in Switzerland by the deceased.

With his death we have lost an ardent Hungarian patriot and a courageous champion of the rights and freedom of his people. He was our sincere and loyal fellow-fighter and friend. He served in the first and second world war and was awarded the National Defence Cross. After World War II he was obliged to resign from office as President of the Agrarian Party in Budapest and was imprisoned for eight months. In 1949 he managed to flee from Hungary to Switzerland, where he played an active part in cultural life and published a book and several outstanding articles.

To the very end he remained loyal to his principle — to preserve the idea of a common Christian past, an idea inseparably linked up with the name of Cardinal Mindszenty, and served the common cause to the best of his powers.

We shall always honour his memory.

The Central Committee of the ABN.

German Television Falsifies Hungarian Revolution

One should be pleased at the fact that the German television occupies itself with Hungary and the Hungarian Revolution. The play "Shades of the Heroes", a bold mixture of truth and fiction, was recently given for the second time. But the truth alone was already dangerous, for viewers were bound to gain the impression that the entire Hungarian revolution broke out on account of a Stalinist Communist leader who had previously been arrested. The people who were in revolt were not the Hungarian nation at all but only the Communists who organized the Titoist insurrection against the Stalinists.

In the play László Rajk, who, first of all, was Communist Minister of the Interior, and then later Foreign Minister in Hungary, is a hero who fought and died for his ideals. In reality László Rajk was actually the Beria of Hungary. He had thousands of persons executed. Because he was allegedly a Titoist and because the revolution devours its own children, he was himself executed by the Stalinists in the end.

After Stalin's death Soviet policy, as has often been the case, again assumed a friendly attitude towards Tito, and for this reason one was obliged to rehabilitate Rajk. Those who had been arrested with him were set

free, and he himself was given a state funeral. The play depicts his funeral as if he himself had been the Hungarian revolution. This conception is not only false, but is, moreover, an insult to the anti-Communist Hungarian people. László Rajk was only connected with the Hungarian revolution in so far as the people were indignant at his terrorism and at his execution, a fact which eventually led to a revolution.

Taking a broadminded view of "Shades of the Heroes", one can at best only regard it as a play that is naive. And even if Julia Rajk (like Prime Minister Imre Nagy) was deceived, abducted and executed by the Russians, one can hardly regard the widow of an Hungarian Beria as the national prototype of the Hungarian women or the Hungarian people.

The Hungarian revolution which aimed to destroy and exterminate all that was Communist claimed thousands of martyrs. They did not die for Stalin or Beria or for other murderers. They died for Hungarian freedom, whose murderer was in the first place László Rajk. The play calls the story of his life "Shades of the Heroes". This is an insult to the Hungarian people and to the Hungarian revolution.

From Letters to ABN

Prince Niko Nakashidze
Secretary-General, ABN

Gentlemen,

In the name of the people of Cuba who are valiantly fighting for their liberation, we wish to thank you for your kind letter of April 20th this year, in which you declared your solidarity with our joint fight. Thank you very much indeed.

Your letter in English was translated into Spanish and published in the press of this town, and it was also distributed secretly in Cuba itself.

The secret broadcasting stations of America also published the contents of your letter, and we Cubans who are fighting for our freedom were very happy to know that we can count on the help and sympathy of those people in Europe who have already experienced the same tragedy.

In the name of the liberation movement of Cuba and of the people who are at present fighting against Communism in the Western hemisphere, we send you our heartfelt thanks and greetings.

Yours sincerely,
Salvador Diaz-Versón

*

Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko,
President, ABN

My dear friend,

In this magnificent Anti-Bolshevik Bloc, of which you are the President, all the countries of Europe are presented which are today languishing under the slavery of Communism, but Cuba, a new satellite of Soviet Russian imperialism, is not represented in it, and therefore, since we have a common cause and our aims are identical, I herewith ask that the Anti-Communist League of Cuba be incorporated in your organization.

Communism is the same everywhere and acts in synchronization. In spite of this fact, we who oppose it take various courses even though the enemy is the same one. For this reason I attach the greatest importance to our cooperation and to the incorporation of Cuban anti-Communism in European anti-Communism.

The fight against Bolshevism must not be limited to one place. If we liberate Cuba, we must continue fighting in order to liberate Bulgaria, Ukraine, Georgia and other subjugated peoples, and hence nothing is more natural than that we should advance jointly from now onwards.

In putting this proposal of cooperation and union to the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in Europe, I send sincere greetings to you all, our fellow-fighters who are suffering and hoping with us.

Salvador Diaz-Versón,
President.

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Ukrainian "Unity" Society
Sao Paulo, Brazil

To The Central Committee of ABN,

Dear Mrs. Stetzko,

At its last meeting the presidium of the Ukrainian "Unity" Society in San Calletano, Sao Paulo, Brazil, decided to send a letter of thanks to the Central Committee of the ABN for regularly forwarding its very interesting journal "ABN Correspondence".

We have distributed the copies sent to us amongst the consulates of Canada, Australia, England and the USA in Sao Paulo. We are now collecting them, however, as we intend placing some books on Ukraine in Ukrainian and in foreign languages at the disposal of the International Library. And "ABN Correspondence" is to receive a fitting place in this collection.

The presidium of the Ukrainian "Unity" Society greatly appreciates your efforts for the cause of liberation of Ukraine and the other peoples who are subjugated by Bolshevik Moscow. Your journal will serve as a torch to light the way for the subjugated peoples, as a warning to the indifferent West, and as a symbol for the watchword: We shall be victorious together, but divided we shall fall.

The presidium of the society and all its members wish to convey their sincerest greetings from the tropics to all the editors and co-workers of the ABN. May God give you strength to carry on the fight for the liberation of all peoples and the destruction of Communism!

We remain, Yours sincerely,

For the Presidium of the "Unity" Society:
Chairman: N. Hreluk; Secretary: I. Kuchar.

My dear Mr. Stetzko,

On behalf of the League Council of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, please allow me to express my sincere admiration and to thank you profoundly from the bottom of my heart for your attendance and active participation in the Seventh Conference of the APACL held in Manila on May 2-5, 1961. You have really shown an extraordinary selflessness and devotion in defense of freedom and justice demonstrated by your sterling loyalty to the ideals and purposes of the APACL.

Indeed, your cooperation and assistance have helped us immensely in carrying on our conference to a successful end.

We hope that we have done our best to make your brief stay in Manila a pleasant and memorable one. Please accept our apologies for whatever shortcomings were manifested by us and our associates. I only hope that you will give us a chance to make up for our mistakes next time you come to visit our country. Please do not fail to let us know of your arrival.

We thank you again and may the APACL continue to merit your trust and your assistance now and in the future.

With my cordial good wishes, I am

Very truly yours, Ramon D. Bagatsing,

President of the Philippine Anti-Communist Movement, Inc.

The Achilles' Heel of Russian Colonialism

Excerpts from a speech by **Generalissimo F. Franco** on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of his reign.

“... In our opinion there are only three kinds of war: atomic war, conventional war, and armed revolt and the insurrection of the country against the invaders by a war behind the fronts on a gigantic scale.

In the first two cases the victory will be gained by the side which throws the most means into combat at the decisive points, that is to say, the battle will be decided by the quality of the means and the material; in the last-named case the victory will be gained by the people who never wavers in its patriotism and courage.

... One must recognize the weak spots of Communism and must find out its ‘Achilles’ heel’; its vulnerable spot lies in the occupied countries.

We must above all proceed from the assumption that the subjugated peoples hate the invaders more and more from day to day... Religious and national feeling, the longing for freedom, and despair. — all these sentiments will burst the chains of bondage asunder.

Thus this is the best weapon which the West has in its hands. But it must remain loyal to Western ideals. It must not leave the peoples behind the Iron Curtain to their fate and must not betray them by making shameful concessions to the aggressors. The West must make it perfectly plain that it will never submit to the rule of the latter.

It is not however a question of inciting the peoples behind the Iron Curtain to revolt and then deserting them, but of proclaiming their right to freedom day in day out, and of defending the principles for which a war was fought for five years and also the right of these nations to their freedom. We must not sell these rights to the subjugators in treaties, but must prepare and further the independence of these peoples for the hour that will dawn some time in the future. We must convince them of the fact that a people who loves freedom will sooner or later and most certainly attain this freedom.

Thus a revolt on the part of these subjugated peoples will completely paralyze Russia's entire action against the West... We must work for victory and earn it!...”



Mr. Hwang You delivering speech to ABN members and invited guests.

Guests of the Central Committee of the ABN in September, 1961

In September this year the Central Committee of the ABN had the pleasure of welcoming as its guest Mr. Hwang You, Ministerial Director in the Ministry of the Interior of the government of the Republic of China, from Taipei. Mr. Hwang You has been a staunch and loyal friend of the ABN for many years.

The President of the American Friends of ABN in Washington, Baron Gabor de Besseney, visited Munich and had talks with the Central Committee of the ABN on the question of intensifying their joint work.

Colonel George von Sibrik, former Hungarian Ambassador, from Washington was the guest of the Central Committee of the ABN and discussed the question of the Anti-Communist World Congress with its members.

Mr. J. Wood, a member of the presidium of the Anglo-Ukrainian Society in Bolton, Great Britain, visited the presidium of the Central Committee of the ABN and gave an interview for the Ukrainian weekly "Schlach Peremohy".

Visits Abroad by ABN Leaders

In the summer of this year Jaroslaw Stetzko visited London, Washington, New York, Toronto und Montreal. and conducted talks with anti-Bolshevist British, American and Canadian circles regarding the question of setting up a common anti-Bolshevist world front and the necessity of support on the part of the West for the underground movements behind the Iron Curtain.

Prof. Dr. F. Durcansky attended the International Conference of the Institut International des Hautes Etudes which was held in Bolzano, Italy.

Prof. Dr. F. Durcansky and Dr. C. Pokorny took part in the conference held by the Danube Territory Institute in Salzburg, Austria.

Prince Niko Nakashidze and Dr. D. Waltscheff held lectures on the current problems of the anti-Bolshevist fight before an interested audience in Dillingen, Germany.

Mrs. Slawa Stetzko held numerous lectures before British and Ukrainian audiences, and also gave interviews to the British press.

From Behind the Iron Curtain



In a recent political programme Budapest Radio designated the Catholic Church as an "agent of American imperialism", and affirmed that in Africa in particular the Vatican was doing its utmost to preserve the colonial rule of the European powers and to sabotage the independence movements.

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The Hungarian Communist authorities affirmed that in view of the tense situation between the East and the West, they were not interested in allowing carrier-pigeons from West Germany to be released in Hungary this year.

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Budapest Radio has carried out an analysis of the social status of the intelligentsia in the villages, which has not, however, revealed very satisfactory results. The main problem, so it was ascertained, is the serious shortage of teachers, who should be responsible not only for teaching in schools, but also for the "political and general training of the farmers".

It was also pointed out that the teachers in the rural areas on the whole have no authority over the farmers.

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According to the political weekly paper of the Hungarian Communist Party, "Hétfői hírek", 500,000 of the 1.1 million workers and employees of the state-controlled industries in Hungary owe their jobs to the Hungarian and Soviet Economic Agreement which was signed in Moscow on July 20th.

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Over 53,000 radio sets and about 40,000 television sets have been registered in Hungary this year, according to a report in the paper "Népszabadság".

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The change in the Hungarian government, by which Party chief Kádár will succeed the 75-year old Prime Minister F. Münnig, does not imply a change in the political line.

Following the example of Khrushchov, Kádár will now hold the reins of the Party and the government in his hands.

An unusual figure in the Communist sphere of influence is the new Foreign Minister, János Péter. He was formerly a bishop of the Reformed Church.

The Hungarian government has announced an increase in its military expenditure.

A decree by the Central Committee of the Communist Party states: "We should be committing a grave crime against our people and against our socialist country, if we did not make use of our possibilities within the great and invincible socialist camp to protect the socialist world order."

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Training in air-raid precautions is now being carried out throughout the whole country.

Party propagandists, assisted by military experts, are now holding several courses in the village communities every day and are trying to enlighten the population not only on the effect of atomic bombs but also on suitable precautionary measures against atomic attacks. The result has been a feeling of panic, namely that there is in any case no effective protection against atomic bombs. And the population refuses to believe what the Party propagandists say.

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In connection with the methods of "revolutionary class struggle" adopted in collectivization, the paper "Társadalmi Szemle" (No. 6, 1961) affirms that police action was taken against hundreds of persons. The number of "plots", "anti-state actions", cases of arson and "offences of terrorism" were very considerable, and there is still a certain amount of resistance.

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Five colonels of the Hungarian People's Army, who during the Hungarian fight for freedom remained loyal to the Soviet troops and distinguished themselves in the AVO persecutions of the freedom fighters, have been promoted to the rank of general.

Reorganization of Informer Network

Reorganization of the informer network already began in 1958/59, but not much progress was apparent. One of the conditions enforced was that "all persons who from the point of view of the regime are regarded as untrustworthy, but are nevertheless capable of leading masses or groups, must be eliminated from public life." This implies that all these persons, having been isolated and surrounded by a ring of informers, and, in the

event of tension, having been arrested, must be liquidated. The concentration camps have not been abolished but merely reorganized and transferred elsewhere.

Within the police service so-called "independent group-leader posts" have been set up. Trustworthy and older members of the police service have been entrusted with these posts and it is their task to organize the informer ring which covers the individual houses, rows of streets and the districts in their circuit. No definite period of office is laid down for the "independent group-leaders", who hold the lowest rank in the police and are, as it were, the germ-cell of this informer ring.

Control and supervision of this ring lies in the hands of the so-called "experts for state security", for whom new posts have been established in every district commissariat. These experts occupy themselves exclusively with cases of a political character. The directives from headquarters, that is from the State Security Department of the Ministry of the Interior (formerly the AVO) are passed on by these experts to the independent group-leaders and in this way reach the informers.

The activity of the informers is characterized by provocation. The regime is openly disparaged and the unfortunate "friends" of the informers have, of course, no idea that half an hour later their name has already been put down on the black list in various secret files and that the first step towards internment them has thus been taken.

Every firm has a state security agent. As a rule, "unemployed" former AVO men are given these posts. Only the director of the firm, the head engineer and the personnel chief know who this state security agent is. But it is not long before the agent is unmasked, for it is impossible to relegate him to a lower job or to report him after a "confidential talk" since this would reveal the rank of the "friend". Thus, these agents are frequently transferred to other districts.

The old AVO hangmen who have been dismissed are being re-employed.

Supply Difficulties in Every Sector

Although the planned economy this year shows a certain progress as compared to last year (1960), the situation as regards supplies (and it must be borne in mind that Hungary is primarily an agricultural country) is still serious. Meat supplies are still inadequate, and various vegetables (beans, cucumbers, savoy cabbage and white cabbage) are extremely scarce. According to a statement by the head of the distribution organization for vegetables and fruit, the quantity of savoy

cabbage delivered this year only amounts to one-sixth of the quantity delivered in July last year and only covers a supply for three and a half days, at the most. The newspaper "Dél-Magyar-Ország" of July 16th reports that in the kolkhozes of Szeged unsalable vegetables are being used as fodder for the cattle. "In the Dózsa kolkhoz young kohlrabi plants were recently thrown to the pigs, in spite of the fact that this vegetable had been cultivated at state orders. The competent organizations were not in a position to take over the fresh peas which arrived in large quantities, hence they were left to shrivel up."

Secret Return of old "Stalinists"

The big Party men who were the main instigators of the October revolution in 1956 disappeared from the political scene after the revolt was crushed. Many of them left Hungary to lead a life of ease and comfort "as guests of the state" in the El Dorado of socialism. Some of them were sentenced to death in their absence by the insurgents. They included Gero and the notorious AVO general Farkas (alias Frankfurter). After five years have elapsed, these hangmen are now venturing to appear in public again.

Gero, for instance, has recently been seen in public in Hungary on various occasions. He receives the pension of a Minister of state and holds a post in the department "Material and Products", which belongs to the Statistical Bureau.

As regards Mihály Farkas, former chief of the AVO, it has been ascertained that he is not only the editor of the journal "Gondolat" ("The Thought"), but is also employed by several other publishing firms, and in this way earns a monthly salary of 3500 gulden.

Andreas Hegedus — also a big AVO man — has wormed his way into the Statistical Bureau as vice-president. The Communist press is publishing more and more articles by him. His "rehabilitation" is to be effected on "sociological" lines.

Exclusion from Higher Education Causes Considerable Embitterment

As mentioned by us on previous occasions, "non-Party" students are not allowed to study at a college or university even though they may be the most gifted students by far. Last year as many as 14 000 students were excluded from higher education, and this year the number is said to be even higher. In the course of the year, 2000 more students applied for admission to colleges and universities, but the number of admissions has only been increased by 200.

The Death Penalty for the Organizers of Riots in Concentration Camps

...“With the aim of intensifying the fight against particularly dangerous crimes, death sentences are to be passed on persons who organize groups for the purpose of carrying out attacks and acts of terrorism against representatives of the Soviet authorities and of the civilian Party organizations, further, on persons who take an active part in such groups, on recidivists and on persons who have been sentenced to prison camps and terrorize prisoners there who have begun to better their ways, further, on persons who attack the administration in prison camps, on persons who have intentionally committed murder, or are gangsters” (Decree of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, of May 5, 1961, “On the Intensification of the Fight against Particularly Dangerous Criminals”. Quoted from the paper “Pravda” of May 7, 1961).

Two years ago the Supreme Soviet of the USSR passed a new criminal law in which the term “political refugee” was replaced by the term “anti-state criminal”. Thereupon Khrushchov declared that there were no longer any political criminals in the USSR. The designation “anti-state crime” is at present also used in the USSR for the resistance against Russian Bolshevik enslavement in the non-Russian so-called “Union Republics” of the USSR.

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Lviv. The military tribunal of the Carpathian military district, under the presidency of the Lieutenant-General of Jurisdiction Melnytchenko, recently dealt with the case of three persons (“anti-state criminals”) who belonged to an underground movement of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). One of these underground fighters was arrested by the KGB as he was painting national revolutionary watchwords of the OUN against the Soviet Russian occupants on some hoardings in a park. The other two men were standing guard. The first man was sentenced to death, the other two to 15 years imprisonment.

(from the district paper “Lvivska Pravda”, No. 98, 1961).

*

Stalin district, Pit Maksymivka-Poloha, Trust “Kadijivvuhillia”.

The coal-raising quota to be fulfilled by the pit brigade was increased by 5 percent above the norm previously fixed. All the workers of the pit thereupon adopted a hostile attitude towards the administration and, by

way of protest, began to stop fulfilling the quota fixed in the production plan. When the administration of the pit tried to get the workers to carry out repairs on the shafts, they radically refused to do so and affirmed: “Let them tumble to ruin. We shall not get out of having to work, because we shall be sent to other places of work in any case”.

(from “Izvestiya”, No. 9, 1961.)

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Nova Kachovka, district of Cherson. On the banks of the reservoir at the water-power station of Kachovka on the Dnipro, unknown persons killed the commandant of the militia in charge of the river transport. Investigations failed to reveal the terrorists. The local administration of the KGB regards the murder as a crime directed against representatives of the Soviet authorities.

(from “Robitnytcha Hazeta”, No. 198, 1961.)

*

Five students were recently expelled from the Polytechnic Institute in Charkiv for having ridiculed the red flag of the USSR. The Komsomol organization of the Institute sent a brigade of students to work on the kolkhozes in order to help with the harvesting. As a protest against this compulsion, the students threw away the red flag which the brigade had brought with it and displayed their own dark blue flag, which they said was the workers’ flag.

(from “Komsomolska Pravda” of August 18, 1961.)

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Komarivka, village in the district of Kolkhoz Zdanov. A family by the name of Jarochyna — the father of the family, his wife, son and daughter-in-law, were sentenced to work in a special slave-labour centre for five years by the rayon court as a warning to other kolkhoz farmers. Since the founding of the kolkhoz in the village the Jarochyna family had not done a single day’s work there. They put up a constant resistance against the kolkhoz and local authorities; they carried on agitation amongst other persons in order to keep them from working in the kolkhoz, and they lived on the yield of their own private property and on work which they did outside the kolkhoz. There were also other cases of families who refused to work in the kolkhoz.

(from “Kolhosne Selo”, of October 8, 1961.)

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Chernyiv. The commandant of the voluntary “Druzhyny” (the so-called Komsomol militia) turned two workers from a local factory out of the workmen’s club one evening,

by threatening them with his pistol, without, however, giving any reasons for doing so. As they left the club, they called to him to come out into the street, where they injured him seriously. He died in hospital. The workers were sentenced to death.

(from "Radianska Ukraina" of July 12, 1961.)

*

A "Druzhyzny" unit tried to arrest three pit-workers in the culture club (in the town of Lysytchanske, Donets Basin) for apparently no reason whatever. When arrested, the three pit-workers put up an armed resistance against the "Druzhyzny" men. One of them fired his pistol at a "Druzhyzny" man, without, however, wounding him. Another of the three men wounded the commandant of the unit in the foot with a short rifle. Two of the pit-workers were sentenced to death, the third to 15 years' imprisonment.

(from "Molodj Ukraina" of June 2, 1961.)

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"An exceedingly dangerous anti-state gangster, whom the organs of the state security (KGB) have been endeavouring to catch for a long time", so the paper "Izvestiya" writes, "turned up one day in a peaceful Ukrainian village. He was armed." The newcomer settled in the kolkhoz "Rossiya" in the rayon of Teplakiv in the district of Vynnytzia. When about to be arrested, this "criminal" began shooting at the "Druzhyzny" . . . He was, however, arrested. The presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR decorated the unit commandant of the "Druzhyzny" of the kolkhoz "Rossiya" with the medal "For Courage".

BOOK - REVIEWS

Wiktor Ostrowski: Russia the Suburb of Hell — From Ivan Kalita to Nikita Khrushchhev. Material for Historical Research and Study of the Subject. Byelorussian Central Council, London, 1961. 84 pp.

Though its title may strike one as somewhat unusual, this pamphlet nevertheless contains a factual account of the bloody history of Russia from earliest times up to the present day, that is from Ivan III (1462-1505) to the Red Russian dictator, Nikita Khrushchov.

Since time immemorial, mass murders have been carried out by Russian tyrants whose hands were stained with the blood of their innocent victims. The Vynnytsia and Katyn massacres, where thousands of innocent Ukrainians and Poles were murdered by Stalin's hangmen, are clear proof of what

the civilized world would experience at the hands of the grim Russian modern opritchina (the numerous militia of Russian Communist executioners) if the Western world were subjugated by the Red Russians.

The author has arranged and compiled the material on his subject in such a way as to facilitate historical research and the study of this subject.

Khrushchov is no gentleman and his behaviour outside the vast Soviet Russian empire is most undignified. Hence the reaction of the heads of state and of foreign diplomats in general is all the more surprising, for they appear to consider it as being compatible with their dignity to have talks with such a shameless representative of the Russian Communist world.

Khrushchov is responsible for the murder of millions of Ukrainians and Byelorussians. In his capacity as Stalin's provincial governor of Ukraine he had millions of Ukrainians executed or deported to concentration camps all over Russia.

Mr. Ostrowski is quite right when he affirms that "It was Khrushchov who conspired with Stalin in the introduction of the scheme for the systematical destruction of the severely handicapped who were a burden to the state, such as war invalids, physically deformed children, the aged, infirm, mentally ill, etc." (p. 82).

The historical facts presented in this pamphlet are by no means complete, but they nevertheless show the reader "that the characteristic features of Russian policy have been and still are the waging of endless aggressive wars against various countries and peoples, aimed at oppression, plundering and subjugation; a cruelty unheard-of in history in relation to weaker nations; the unusual craft and hypocrisy in dealing with those with whom they concluded treaties; the deception, blackmail, and false propaganda which conceal a secret sword by embellishing it either with a cross or a Dove of Peace" (p. 84).

Mr. Ostrowski as a son of the oppressed Byelorussian people is intimately acquainted with the Russian character and with the details of Russian history. The contents of his pamphlet are thus not merely anti-Russian propaganda but the expression of his inmost feelings and convictions. He is above all anxious to warn the civilized world of the Russian danger that will annihilate this world if it refuses to realize and comprehend the true nature of the Russian character.

On page 33 the author explains why he chose the title "the Suburb of Hell" for his book: "The Suburb of Hell was constituted upon the defeat of the rebellion.

This name was given to a large level piece of grassy ground, near the town Arzamas, in the country of the Morduates, where Dolgorouky established his headquarters and sat in judgment upon the captives taken. A tent was planted upon the site, to answer the purpose of a chapel, in which a number of Russian priests daily celebrated mass. In the front of the chapel, a likeness of the tsar was placed, and every prisoner went upon his knees before it. Behind was a rack and other instruments of torture, with rows of scaffolds and gallows extending several miles in length. The green grass was soon discoloured with blood. Those who were accounted the most guilty after being subjected to the rack, had the right hand and the left hand struck off. They were then impaled on long spikes upon the row of scaffolds and left to their horrible fate."

This horrible picture is indeed symbolical of the true Russian character as described in the book by Mr. Ostrowski. W. O.

"Partisanen" — Strategie und Taktik des Guerillakrieges. By Brigadier C. Aubrey Dixon, O.B.E., and Otto Heilbrunn. Verlag für Wehrwesen Bernard & Graefe, Frankfurt on Main — Berlin. 244 pp. Price: DM 15.50.

The original title of this book which has been translated from the English is "Communist Guerilla Warfare". The foreword has been written by Commanding Lieutenant-General Sir Reginald F. S. Denning, K.B.E., C.B.

During World War II guerilla warfare proved to be an important part of warfare as a whole. Though it was not decisive, it was nevertheless of considerable significance as regards the course of military operations, and in particular for tactical aims. For this reason guerilla warfare has become part of modern war strategy, and hence troops are now trained for this purpose. It is an established fact that the guerilla troops in Russia, Poland, France and Yugoslavia in the last war represented a serious danger for Germany.

The authors of this book are qualified experts who shed light on the guerilla warfare during the years 1941 to 1945 most thoroughly from both the historical and the military aspect. In the opinion of the Germans, who were bound by old military traditions, the guerillas were nothing but gangsters and bandits, for they regarded them in the same light as the insurgents or franc-tireurs of olden times who were shot on the spot without being tried by a court. The Germans found it hard to believe that these guerillas were patriots who were defending their country against foreign conquerors. It is

immaterial now what regime was ruling in each of the countries concerned and for which idea the guerillas were fighting. The most important point to remember is that they sought to ward off a foreign invasion.

In the field of guerilla warfare the Russians can boast a historical tradition, for as early as 1812 guerillas there fought against Napoleon's armies and inflicted heavy losses on them. This form of warfare was also conducted on a large scale during the civil war in 1918 to 1921. Hence the Russians were the first to recognize the importance of guerilla warfare and therefore included it in their war strategy as an integral part of the latter.

The book under review gives a detailed account of Russian warfare in its various chapters, — early history, Soviet guerillas in action, organization, supply system and tactical tasks of the Russian guerillas. At the same time, an account of the difficulties which the Germans encountered in trying to combat the guerillas is also given. The methods used by the Germans in fighting the guerillas are dealt with in the chapters on the German organization of the combat against the guerillas and on the German troops and German tactics in the fight against the guerillas. The final chapters of the book discuss general principles for guerilla warfare and quote extracts from directives by German military leaders for combatting guerillas.

Methods of combatting guerillas are something alien to the Germans. And the reason for this is based on history, for they were never under foreign rule and they were always a soldierly people. During the last months of World War II they tried to set up a kind of guerilla troop in the form of the so-called "Werwolves". But this attempt proved a miserable failure. In the meantime, however, the Germans have realized how important it is to carry on an illegal revolutionary activity against an alien regime, that is to say a guerilla war against foreign occupation. And if an open conflict should one day ensue between the Communist world and the free world, then a guerilla war will certainly be inevitable. For it is no problem to drop thousands of paratroops in the enemy's territory; moreover, the fact must also be borne in mind that Moscow has a so-called Fifth Column in practically all Western countries, and that there are thousands of Communists who, in the event of a war, would constitute the Sixth Column of the Russian army and would start a guerilla war in their own country. At the same time, however, one should also remember that the peoples subjugated by Russia are the natural allies of the West. If the West shows con-

sideration for their national wishes and aspirations, and appeals to them in this respect, they will constitute the main fighting force in the rear of the Russians.

Not only is this book of considerable value from the military point of view, but it also contains an appeal to everyone, for it deals with problems which concern all of us. N. N.

“Die Leiden eines Volkes.” Die Tragödie Tibets und der tibetanischen Flüchtlinge. (“The Sufferings of a People”. The tragedy of Tibet and of the Tibetan refugees.) Published by Swiss Aid for Tibetans, Solothurn. 280 pp., 118 illustrations and 4 maps. DM 17.20.

This is an excellent book, in which various authors in a series of articles give an account of the hitherto practically unknown history and culture of the Tibetan people. In doing so, they reveal the terrible tragedy of this ancient civilized people, the fate of

Tibet under foreign Communist rule and the lot of the Tibetan refugees.

The authors, all of whom are authorities on Tibet, give the reader an interesting insight into the unique and peculiar characteristics of Tibetan culture, the ancient religion of the Tibetans and the history of their country. The chapters which give an account of the tragic fate of these people who have been driven out of their native country and, in particular, the chapter entitled “The Fate of Children of Our Day”, are profoundly moving.

Much is done to help the refugees, above all by the Swiss, who have founded a children’s village for Tibetan children. The proceeds derived from the sale of this book are used to alleviate the misery of the Tibetan refugee children in India and in Switzerland, and those who buy a copy of it are contributing a little to this good cause. We hope that many a one will feel moved to do so. N. N.

Act of Proclamation of the Ukrainian State

1. *By the will of the Ukrainian people, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the direction of Stephan Bandera proclaims the renewal of the Ukrainian State, for which a whole generation of the best sons of Ukraine spilled its blood.*

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, which under the direction of its creator and leader Eugene Konovalets during the past decades of bloody Russian-Bolshevik subjugation carried on a stubborn struggle for freedom, calls upon the entire Ukrainian people not to lay down its arms until a Sovereign Ukrainian State is formed in all the Ukrainian lands.

The sovereign Ukrainian government assures the Ukrainian people of regularity and order (lad i poriadok), multi-sided development of all its forces, and satisfaction of its demands.

2. *In the western lands of Ukraine a Ukrainian government is created which will be subordinated to a Ukrainian national administration to be created in the capital of Ukraine — Kyiv.*

3. *The Ukrainian national-revolutionary army, which is being created on Ukrainian soil, will continue to fight against the Russian occupation for a Sovereign All-Ukrainian State and a new, just order in the whole world.*

Long live the Sovereign Ukrainian State!

Long live the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists!

Long live the Chairman of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists — Stephen Bandera!

The City of Lviv, June 30, 1941, 8 P. M.

*Head of the National Congress
Jaroslav Stetzko.*

The Kremlin on a Volcano

by Jaroslaw Stetzko

Published by the Information Bureau of the American
Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Inc., USA
1959



Hon. Michael A. Feighan

U.S. Congressman

A New Battleground of the Cold War

Published by the A. B. N. Press and Information Bureau
Munich 1960



The Truth About A. B. N.

by Niko Nakashidze

Published by the A. B. N. Press and Information Bureau
Munich 1960



Dmytro Donzow

Der Geist Russlands (The Russian Mentality)

Published by Schild-Verlag, München-Lochhausen 1961

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations!

Freedom for Individuals!

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

The National Hero of Ukraine

STEFAN BANDERA



Murdered at the Orders of Ukraine's
Hangman N. Khrushchov

CERTAINLY INFORMATION SERVICE

All-German Party Demands:

Measures to protect the population against acts of murder committed by Communist agents.

During the past few years assassinations have again and again caused considerable alarm amongst the population of Bavaria. In particular, the murder of the Slovak exile politician Matus Czernak and of the Ukrainian champion of anti-Bolshevism, Stefan Bandera, gave rise to considerable consternation. In the case of the murder of Czernak other people, too, were injured.

An agent of the Soviet state security service has now confessed to having murdered Stefan Bandera and Dr. Rebet in Munich. Contrary to all expectation, however, the Foreign Office in Bonn has not taken any steps at all in this matter, even though this is a question of two dreadful murders which, in complete disregard of German sovereignty, of the right of asylum for persecuted foreigners in Bavaria, and of the safety and law and order of the Bavarian capital, were planned by Soviet authorities.

I therefore wish to ask the Prime Minister of Bavaria whether he intends taking up this

matter with the Foreign Office? And whether he considers it essential that a definite German protest should be submitted with the demand that the instigators of these crimes be punished?

The head of the Soviet state security service, Scheljepin, who issued orders that these crimes were to be carried out, has meanwhile been transferred from this post and has been promoted to an even higher rank amongst the Red functionaries. This man who was the instigator of these murders now holds a post in the secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, that is to say amongst the top elite of the Kremlin.

What steps does the Prime Minister intend to take in order to prevent such perfect murders from happening in future?

signed: Herbert Prochazka,

All-German Party and Member of
the Bavarian Parliament

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

Publisher: Press Bureau of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations
(A.B.N.)
Munich 8, Zeppelinstr. 67

Editorial Staff: Board of Editors

Editor responsible: Mrs. Slava Stetzko.

Articles signed with name or pseudonym do not necessarily reflect the Editor's opinion, but that of the author. Manuscripts sent in unrequested cannot be returned in case of non-publication unless postage is enclosed.

It is not our practice to pay for contributions.

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(A.B.N.-Corr.).

Annual subscription DM 6.— in Germany, 4.— Dollars in U.S.A., 12 shillings in Great Britain and Australia, and the equivalent of 4.— Dollars in all other countries.

Remittances to: Post office Transfer account: Munich 58 000 or Süddeutsche Bank, Munich, Filiale Depositenkasse, Neuhäuser Straße 6, Account No. 300 188 (A.B.N.)

Erscheinungsort: München

Herausgeber: Presse-Büro des Antibolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen (ABN), München 8, Zeppelinstraße 67/0, Telefon 44 10 69

Schriftleitung: Redaktionskollegium

Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Frau Slawa Stetzko.

Druck: Buchdruckerei Universal, München 5, Rumfordstr. 29

Khrushchov Himself Gave Orders That Stefan Bandera Was To Be Murdered!

The Ukrainian champion of freedom was poisoned at the instructions of the Soviet Russian state security service. Stalin's methods are also applied under Khrushchov.

The German police has announced that Bogdan Nikolajevitch *Staschynsky*, a 30-year old Soviet subject, who recently fled to West Germany from the Soviet Union, has confessed to the murders, by poison, of the Ukrainian politician and head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), *Stefan Bandera*, on October 15, 1959, and of the well-known Ukrainian nationalist, Prof. Dr. *Lev Rebet*, on October 12, 1957. Two of the most mysterious political murders of the post-war years have now been solved by this confession, and at the same time it has become evident that the Soviet Russians will stop at nothing in order to liquidate their political enemies.

Staschynsky stated that he had worked for the Soviet security service (KGB), formerly the MVD/NKVD, from 1951 onwards, and added that he had been specially trained for his work in the Federal Republic of Germany. Under various German aliases he carried out a number of KGB commissions, in particular in Munich, in 1956 and 1957. One of his tasks, so he said, had been to watch the movements of his future victims in order to get to know their daily habits.

In the summer of 1959 Staschynsky was summoned to KGB headquarters in Moscow and received orders to murder Stefan Bandera. He was given a specially constructed "poison pistol" for this purpose. It consisted of a double-barrelled cylinder, provided with a safety catch and a trigger, and two ampoules of poison could be fired with it, like bullets.

After he had tried out this poison on a dog, he received orders from the Soviet state security service to murder the Ukrainian politician, Prof. Dr. *Lev Rebet*. Staschynsky carried out this commission on October 12, 1957. He lay in wait for Rebet in the entrance-hall of the building where he worked, a house on the Karlsplatz in Munich. The murder of Rebet, which was carried out by means of a poison pistol that only had a single-barrelled cylinder, went off entirely according to the plans of those who had given Staschynsky his orders. Rebet was found dead on the stairs, and it was assumed that the cause of death was a heart-attack.

Exactly two years later almost to the day, Staschynsky carried out the orders of the Soviet state security service (KGB) once again and murdered Stefan Bandera with an improved type of poison pistol. After having ascertained that on this particular day Bandera was not accompanied by his usual body-guard, he lay in wait for him in the entrance-hall of the house in which Bandera had a flat, in Munich, and then fired the double-barrelled poison pistol at his face. Bandera was found dead in the entrance-hall. In this case, too, it was at first assumed that the cause of death was a heart-attack. But a subsequent post-mortem examination resulted in the suspicion that death was due to cyanide poisoning. There was, however, no evidence to prove that he had been murdered.

For having murdered Stefan Bandera, Staschynsky was decorated in Moscow at the beginning of December 1959 by the then head of the Soviet state security service (KGB), Alexander N. Schelepin, with the "Red Banner Order". On this occasion he put a personal request, which his superiors in Karlshorst and Moscow had so far refused to grant him, to Schelepin. He asked for permission to marry his fiancée, a young girl in East Berlin. The officers of the Soviet state security service had previously decided that it was by no means advisable that such an important agent and co-worker as Staschynsky should marry a German, and had pointed out to him that

it would be far more advantageous for his future work abroad if he chose his wife from among the female members of the state security service, and had even put various concrete suggestions to him in this connection.

To the great surprise of all his KGB superiors present on the said occasion, state security chief Schelepin did something absolutely incredible: contrary to all KGB rules and regulations, he gave Staschynsky permission to marry his German fiancée. The wedding took place in East Berlin in April 1960.

Already one month later, the murderer Staschynsky was ordered to go to Moscow, allegedly "in order to continue his training". He had to take his wife with him, for she was to help him to improve his knowledge of German. His training only lasted until August 1960. Staschynsky was suddenly "suspended". His conversations with his wife, who was by no means pro-Soviet, had been tapped by a secret apparatus. Staschynsky was explicitly forbidden to leave Moscow and the Soviet Union. The reason given was that he had become "less objective" in his attitude towards the Soviet Union as a result of his frequent sojourns in the West. In reality his superiors no longer trusted him since he was married to a German.

When Staschynsky realized what his position was, he enlightened his wife as to his activity so far, confessed to her that he had committed two murders, and told her that he had serious doubts as to whether he had acted rightly. The two of them decided to return to East Berlin and to flee from the Soviet Union as soon as they got a chance. After numerous futile efforts Mrs. Staschynsky finally received permission in the spring of 1961 to return to East Berlin because she was expecting her first baby. Her husband, however, was obliged to remain in Moscow.

When he received word that his son Peter had died, he was given permission to travel to East Berlin for the child's funeral. He was constantly under the surveillance of members of the state security service.

Staschynsky had only hesitantly considered his wife's frequent wish that he should abandon his activity and flee to the West with her. As he was only too well aware of the distrust with which his superiors regarded him since his marriage to a German and as he was afraid of being liquidated by the state security service because of his knowledge of the two political murders of Rebet and Bandera, Staschynsky finally agreed to his wife's plans for flight.

The day before their son's funeral they managed to shake off the men who were constantly watching their movements and succeeded in effecting a daring escape to West Berlin.

The murder of Stefan Bandera, which has now been cleared up by Staschynsky's confession, is only a link in a whole chain of political murders perpetrated against Ukrainian freedom-fighters at the orders of the Soviet state security service.

The first victim in exile of the Soviet state security service was the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian army, Simon *Petlura*, who from 1918 to 1921 was the state head of the Ukrainian Republic. Petlura was shot on the street in Paris in 1926 by the assassin Schwarzbart, who had been hired by the Soviet Russian state security service.

The second famous victim was Colonel Eugen *Konovalets*, the founder and first leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and predecessor of Stefan Bandera. Colonel Konovalets was murdered in Rotterdam, Holland, in 1938 by a bomb.

The inhuman and cynical attitude with which the Soviet Russians carry out their plans to destroy their political opponents can be seen from the following account, as given by the assassin Staschynsky: in preparation for the murder of Bandera, Staschynsky was sent to Rotterdam in 1958, namely on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the murder of Colonel Konovalets, in order to become acquainted with

his future victim. When he subsequently submitted his report on his observations to Moscow, Staschynsky was asked by his KGB superiors whether it had not been possible to liquidate all the prominent Ukrainian exiles assembled at Konovalets' grave at one and the same time with a bomb. When Staschynsky replied that not only Ukrainian exile politicians but also non-Ukrainians and women and children had been present at the graveside, he was told cynically: "That does not interest us in the least!"

All assurances on the part of Khrushchov and Schelepin at the 22nd Party Congress, to the effect that they had abjured all the sins of Stalin, are nothing but hypocrisy. The political murders of Rebet and Bandera clearly prove that Stalin's methods continue to be applied.

National Idea A Grave Danger To Moscow

The report about the discovery of the murderer of Stepan Bandera, the Leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, tore the mask off the face of the organizers of the assassination.

The Bolshevik agent of the K.G.B. (the Soviet State Security Committee), Bohdan Staschynsky, received the instructions to carry out the assassination directly from the Headquarters of the K.G.B. in Moscow. At that time, Aleksander Shelepin was Chairman of the State Security Committee in the Council of Ministers of the USSR. There is no doubt that the plans of the secret murder were known to and approved by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Nikita Khrushchov, to whom the chief of the K.G.B. is subordinated. The fact that Staschynsky was personally presented with an Order of the Red Banner by A. Shelepin in reward for the carrying out of the assassination is a proof that the official Soviet quarters evaluate the carrying out of the political murder of the Leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement as deserving merit and assign an award for it.

Before the world the Bolsheviks make an attempt to appear as the protagonists of the liberation of the Asian and African peoples from colonialism. Among the nations occupied by the Russian colonialists, on the other hand, the Bolsheviks suppress by means of the most cruel and cunning methods the slightest strivings of these peoples for liberation.

The Communist Party awarded A. Shelepin for his part in the acceleration of the Russification processes and the deportations of the millions of young non-Russians to the so-called virgin lands of Kazakhstan, Siberia and the Far East by upgrading him from the First Secretary of the Komsomol (the League of the Communist Youth) of the Soviet Union to the supreme chief of State Security Committee.

As a reward for the crushing of the national-liberation movements of the nations enslaved by Red Moscow, and, among other things, for the organizing of the secret murder of the Leader of the liberation movement, Stepan Bandera, the recent 22nd Congress of the CPSU raised A. Shelepin in rank by electing him Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, i. e. making him one of the nine supreme dictators of the Soviet Union.

The discovery of those guilty of the murder of Stepan Bandera confirms that:

Khrushchov's policy with regard to the enslaved peoples is a continuation of Stalin's policy of annihilation of non-Russian nationalities;

the ideas of national liberation of Ukraine and other peoples enslaved by Russia is such a grave danger to Moscow that it continues to carry out terrorist actions even on the territories of the free countries;

not only this year's Bolshevik provocations aimed at the takeover of Berlin, but also the involvement of official Soviet quarters in the organization of political mur-

ders is a signal of warning for the naive people in the Western world that Bolshevism under the leadership of Khrushchov has not changed and has not ceased to be an imperialistic movement, which tries to bring under its domination the peoples of the Free World by means of violence, terror and cunning.

Presidium of The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (Units Abroad).

We Accuse Khrushchov!

"I am a Russian and proud of my nation!" — said Khrushchov during his visit to the Leipzig Fair in 1959 and thus refuted the assertions made in the free world, to the effect that he was a Ukrainian.

We Ukrainians accuse Khrushchov as the mass-murderer of the Ukrainian people, whom, in his capacity as First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine from January 1938 until December 1947, as Prime Minister of Soviet Ukraine in 1947, and again as First Party Secretary from January 1948 to December 1949, he exterminated in a most ruthless way.

We accuse him not only of the mass-murders in Lviv in June 1941 and of having been responsible for other mass-murders at that time in numerous towns and villages all over Ukraine, but also of the mass-murders of Vinnytsya in 1938/40 where over 10,000 Ukrainians were massacred at his orders. Khrushchov is the most ruthless hangman of the Ukrainian people, and it is this policy of extermination pursued by him in Ukraine that has fitted him so ably for the post of hangman of the entire Soviet Union.

We accuse him of mass-murders in Budapest, in Poznan and in East Germany; we accuse him of ruthlessly crushing the riots of Ukrainian internees in the concentration camps during the years 1953 to 1956 (Vorkuta, Norylsk, Magadan, Tayshet and Kingir) and in 1959 in Temir-Tau. At his orders 500 Ukrainian women internees in Kingir were crushed by Russian tanks when, singing Ukrainian patriotic songs, they tried to hold up the tanks in order to prevent a massacre in the concentration camp.

We accuse him of the mass deportation of young Ukrainians to Kazakhstan and Siberia. We accuse him of the treacherous Russification of Ukraine and of the perfidious persecution of the Ukrainian freedom fighters.

We accuse him as the murderer of the leader of the Ukrainian liberation movement, Stepan Bandera.

We accuse him of ruthlessly exterminating and fighting the Ukrainian Insurgent Army during and after the war when he held the office of Moscow's governor in Ukraine. We accuse him of ruthlessly crushing the Ukrainian insurrection by the most perfidious methods, including the use of gas and bacteriological means.

We accuse him as the blood-stained persecutor of our autocephalous Orthodox and Catholic Churches!

We demand the severance of all diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with the government of this hangman. We demand the exclusion of the Soviet Union and all its satellite governments from all international organizations.

We warn against the coexistence policy and against the pilgrimages of Western statesmen to Moscow, as well as against invitations to this criminal to visit the West, on which occasions the said statesmen shake hands with this ruthless hangman, who is stained with the blood of millions of innocent men, women and children.

We warn the free world not to fall into the abyss!

(Excerpts from the Statement by J. Stetzko before Hague Investigation International Committee, in 1960)

The Era Of Civil Wars And The West

The misguided "pacifists" or the agents of Moscow disguised as "pacifists" blatantly boast that they are the defenders of the peace that is threatened by the Western "imperialists".

One can but ask "*What peace?*" For peace in Europe and Asia already came to an end in 1914. In 1917 the era of civil wars commenced. At first, in the territories of the peoples subjugated by tsarism; in the Baltic countries, in Ukraine and in the Caucasus, there ensued not only a war on the part of the subjugated peoples against Russian aggression, but also a civil war between these peoples and their Russian (and other) national minorities, who as active Communists and spies supported the Russian conquerors.

The wave of civil war spread to Bavaria and to Hungary (Samueli, Bela Kuhn); in 1936 civil war broke out between the Spanish patriots (under General Franco) and the Communists (the so-called "Republicans") under the command of the Russian Bolsheviks.

During World War II the Ukrainians again resumed their guerilla war against the Russians (fighting the Germans at the same time).

After 1945 a whole series of civil wars began, namely in Korea, Greece, Arabia, Vietnam, Laos, China, Africa, Hungary, Poland, East Germany, Tibet, Cuba, South America, Turkey, France, and even in the United States (the first signs of the approaching storm), where Russian agents (so-called "pacifists and fighters for racial equality") are inciting the negroes to hate the whites.

If this were to continue, we should soon witness civil wars between the English, the Scotch and the Welsh, between the Flemish people and the Walloons in Belgium, or between the French, the Bretons and the Provençals in France. Like an unpleasant boomerang for the Russians a guerilla war is again flaring up in Ukraine and the Caucasus against the Russians, — a war which is intentionally passed over in silence by the Russians and their "democratically" disguised press in the West.

The world is at present ruled by the sign of civil war. *What are the ideas which prompt this kind of war? And who and which forces are the leaders of this war?*

In the West, that is amongst the peoples fighting against the Russians and the Communists — in Spain, Ukraine, Hungary, and Germany — the fight was or is conducted under the banner of the fatherland, its ancient traditions, the freedom and independence of the country and its Christian faith.

Moscow is conducting its overt and its covert war against the West — to state the situation plainly — in order to subjugate the West and indeed the whole world to the rule of the Russians. Yesterday tsarist, today Bolshevik, and tomorrow perhaps "democratic", — but it is always Russian rule. The rule of a race which has always been alien to Western traditions.

The present leader of Russian absolutism, Khrushchov, has on more than one occasion openly revealed these aims on the part of Moscow. Every social class, every people, every party, every organization in the West which conducts a war against its own country, or intends to do so, will automatically receive every possible support, so the Red tsar said. In this "cold war" have the leaders of the West ever adopted a similar attitude towards the nations who are fighting against Russian tyranny?

No, never! On the contrary, in fact, on various occasions! There are in the West certain influential political circles who wanted to destroy the German Hitler, but

at the same time handed over half of Western Europe to the Russian Hitler as a present. Why?

Those circles who for a long time boycotted the Spanish "Dictator" nevertheless, at the same time, advocated the idea of giving financial and military help to the Communist Tito and to the Sovietophil "neutralist" Nehru. Why?

Those circles who carried on a fierce campaign against "Nazist" Adenauer, at the same time advocated the admission of "democratic" (that is to say, Communist) China to the Organization of the United Nations, — the very same China that brutally and ruthlessly attacked free Tibet and tried to swallow up the remainder of Free China, Formosa. Why?

Those circles who demand the liberation of all countries in the dark continent from European colonialism, turn a deaf ear when they hear the cry of the Hungarians or of the Ukrainians who are being murdered by the Russians. Why?

Those circles who mobilize public opinion all over the world against the "tyranny" of the Portuguese or the Belgians, make no mention whatever in their press of the long and heroic fight of the enslaved peoples against Russian despotism. Why?

And why do these circles call themselves "democrats", yet at the same time brand every nation that is trying to shake off the despotism of the Red tsar as "fascists", "totalitarianists" and "anti-Semites"?

There are certain circles in the West who protest against the genocide practised by the Nazis and Hitlerites, by the Himmlers and Eichmanns, but do not consider the murder of millions of Ukrainians by artificially created famine at the hands of such hangmen as Lenin, Bronstein-Trotsky, Stalin, Khrushchov and Kaganovich worth mentioning. Why?

There are certain circles in the West who advocate the liberation and political independence of the smallest peoples, as for instance Ghana, Liberia, Kuwait, or Israel, but oppose the liberation of the large nations subjugated by Russia. Why?

Why do they ignore the legitimate rights of these peoples, but make a lot of fuss about the rights of small minorities in those countries which almost always support Russian tyranny.

Why do these circles, who frequently call themselves "democrats" and allegedly represent Western civilization, go to so much trouble to get a majority for the Red Asiatics (the China of Mao Tse-tung), the neutralist Africans and the Red semi-Asiatics (the Russians) in the United Nations Organization?

Why do these circles prefer to see such Christian nations as Ukraine, Spain, Germany, Hungary or Bulgaria remain under the anti-Christian sign of the "sickle and hammer", instead of being independent and united? Why is the hatred of these circles directed against those nations who want to live under the sign of the Cross and not under the sign of the diabolical Red Star?

The answers to all these questions have long been known to every attentive observer of the present political bedlam. The circles to which we refer are gaining more and more influence in the West; and their aim is, in the first place, definitely to seize power in the West in order to internationalize and glorify the latter, that is to say, to undermine Christianity in the nations of the West, as well as patriotism, idealism and ancient culture, and then introduce the cult of materialism in order to make these nations slaves of material things, of money and of sensual pleasures. In this way the Western nations are to be made ripe for the long-prepared slavery under the rule of the builders of the modern Tower of Babel, — a world government of the Red or the "democratic" totalitarianists. Hence the open or hidden sympathy of these circles for the Russian Bolshevik devil, for they are of the opinion that the latter, in destroying the soul, the patriotism, the idealism and the Christian religion of the subjugated peoples, is preparing the foundations for the builders

of the modern Tower of Babel. Hence, too, hatred of these circles (and of the Russians) towards nations such as Spain, West Germany, Hungary and Ukraine who have preserved their Western traditions, their Christian faith and their idealism, as well as a profound resistance against all attempts on the part of Moscow and its henchmen in the West to transform them into a herd of domestic animals under the rule of the self-appointed Red leaders' clique.

There are no doubt also other people in the West who are more clear-sighted and realize what a deadly danger the Russians and the said clique in the West are to the latter. May the example of Hitler serve as a warning to them! Millions of soldiers of the Red Army who did not want to sacrifice their lives for Russian tyranny, above all soldiers of non-Russian nationality (Ukrainians), laid down arms. They represented an enormous force, by means of which Russian despotism could have been destroyed. But Hitler disregarded this force and wanted to make these experienced opponents of Russia his slaves. We know the price which he and his people paid for this blindness . . .

This same force and fighting spirit of the non-Russian nations of Europe still exists today as a huge potential. And those who ignore this fact are digging their own grave. In this present era of civil war this strength of the subjugated Christian nations in the imperium of the Red tsars is far more potent than Khrushchov's bombs.

The leaders and thinkers of the West who really contemplate the fight against the forces of the devil seriously, should devote the greatest attention not only to the heroic fight of the non-Russian nations in the USSR against the diabolical power of Russian tyranny, but also to the infamous activity of Moscow's henchmen in disguise in the West. They should inscribe on the walls of their houses the words of Demosthenes, which the great Athenian orator and statesman hurled at his hesitant compatriots during the war against Philip of Macedonia:

"You must realize that you will never succeed in defeating the enemy outside the city walls as long as you do not vanquish those persons in the city who stretch out their hand to the enemy!"

And they should also recall day in day out the (modified) words of Cato to his enervated fellow-citizens: "Moreover I stress that (the Muscovite) Carthage must be destroyed."

Jaroslaw Stetzko Was Next On KGB List

WASHINGTON, D.C. (Special). According to reliable information based on official reports, Jaroslaw S. Stetzko, head of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) with headquarters in Munich, was next on the list of the KGB (Soviet Secret Police) to be assassinated by KGB agent Staschynsky, the confessed murderer of Stepan Bandera and Dr. Lev R. Rebet. According to Staschynsky's confession the murder of J. S. Stetzko was scheduled for 1960, but for some undisclosed reasons the crime was not committed by Staschynsky.

Staschynsky did not elaborate more specifically to what extent the preparations to assassinate J. Stetzko had been advanced. He did say, however, that "preparations were being made to kill Stetzko". He failed to explain why this plan was not carried out in 1960, as he indicated that that was the year in which the Ukrainian nationalist leader was to meet the fate of Rebet and Bandera.

Russian Imperialism Or International Communism?

It was obvious to England when fighting against Napoleon's France that it was France and not the countries conquered by Napoleon who was England's enemy. Indeed, these countries were regarded by England as her allies. And the Duke of Wellington for instance said at Waterloo: "I wish it were night, or the Prussians would come." And together with Field Marshal Blücher he then defeated Napoleon. It was therefore obvious who the enemy was.

In World War II the Allies regarded Germany as their enemy, but neither France nor Poland, Norway, Belgium, Holland, Serbia, nor Greece were considered to be enemies, but were treated like allies and friends. Only Germany was ruthlessly fought and bombed, and countless women and children there lost their lives. After the Allied victory the Hitler regime was abolished and the Nazi war-criminals were sentenced in Nuremberg. Just as the entire German people had previously been bombed during the war and had been fought with every means, now, too, it was obliged to bear the consequences of the war. Dismantling of works and factories, reparations, compulsory expulsion of 11 million Germans from the east and south-east territories, severance of entire German territories, partition of Germany into four occupied zones, the occupation by the Russians even up to the present time of a third of Germany, the Morgenthau Plan, etc., . . . all this was directed not only against the Nazi regime, which no longer existed, and not only against the German militarists and imperialists, but also against the German people as a whole. Thus the German people were held responsible for German imperialism. Whether this was just or not, is another question. We should merely like to state the plain facts at this point.

As regards the fight against Russia, however, matters are different. Actually the situation should be as follows: the enemy is Russia — just as in former times Germany was the enemy, — and the allies of the West are the peoples subjugated by Russia, as for example Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Slovakia, etc. The fight should be directed solely against Russia, and the weapons of destruction against the Russian ethnographical territory, in exactly the same way as one dealt with Germany during the last war. But the countries subjugated by Russia should be excluded from the entire strategy of combat, for they are and remain the allies of the West, just as France or Belgium were during the last war.

Moreover, it was not only German imperialism that was attacked, but also the entire German people including women and children. And in Hiroshima it was not only Japanese militarism that was attacked, but even unborn children.

When it is a question of Russia, however, one desists from attacking the Russian imperium. The blame for the Russian annexations, dreadful atrocities and mass murders is thrust on to all the peoples languishing in the Russian sphere of influence. No mention whatever is made of the Russian imperialists and colonial rulers. One concentrates on so-called international Communism in order to exonerate the Russians. But where is the seat, the general staff of so-called international Communism? Who is in command of the Communist Parties all over the world? Who sends out the conquering armies and equips them with arms? In whose imperium have Turkestan, the Caucasus, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Poland, and East

Germany, etc., been incorporated? In the Russian imperium! They are completely dependent on the orders issued by the Russian imperial headquarters in Moscow, — which include compulsory Russification, national subjugation, and economic exploitation to the advantage of the Russian militant centre, etc. If the Western world only sees the enemy in international Communism, it will never be in a position to distinguish the main enemy. It will not know where to fight and whom to fight. But if one realizes that Russia is the enemy, the land that has bred Communism, which is organically in keeping with the nature of the Russian element, then one will also know where to look for the enemy.

The moment Russia is overthrown, Communism will cease to be a world danger. Actually Communism like anarchism would have had no influence in the world, if Russia had not adopted this idea as the most modern form of its imperialism. Incidentally, such Russian thinkers and writers as, for instance, Berdyaev, and others have expressed the opinion quite openly that *Bolshevism-Communism is a peculiarity of the Russian mentality*, namely in psycho-moral and sociological respect. Berdyaev analyses this fact without beating about the bush in his works, in particular, however, in his book "The Meaning and Character of Russian Communism". He admits that *Communism is a Russian messianistic idea*, just like Pan-Slavism, the defence of orthodoxy "with the idea of the Third Rome", etc. And Dostoevsky prophesied the Bolshevik revolution as a typically Russian phenomenon. If Russian power were not behind Communism, each people would be able to deal with Communism itself.

Since Communism is an idea which is used in the service of Russia, a social-political system which is in keeping with the Russian character, a fact which is clearly proved by Dr. D. Donzov in his book "The Russian Mentality" and which Berdyaev also corroborates from the Russian point of view, its enforcement (even by Russian military means) is nothing but the enforcement of Russian alien rule on the subjugated countries. It is therefore wrong to talk about "international Communism" as the main enemy, for the main enemy is Russian imperialism, whom all the Communist parties in the world serve as henchmen.

It is appalling to think how closely the forces of evil in the world are allied to each other. We are not by any means defenders of any kind of imperialism, since we ourselves are subjugated by imperialism; but in all fairness we feel bound to say that insults have been heaped on English, French, Japanese, Belgian, Dutch, German and Italian imperialism without any thought being given to the fact that the peoples in question might be offended. One never talks about monarchist English, republican French, or royal Belgian imperialism. But as soon as one talks about Russian imperialism, one inevitably uses the designation "tsarist or Soviet imperialism", so as not to offend the Russians in any way. And one purposely overlooks the fact that it was, of course, not only the tsars for instance who were responsible for Russia's imperialism.

In the Suez Canal Zone "the English and French imperialists tried to carry out a ruthless campaign of conquest", just as did the Belgian imperialists in the Congo, but in Hungary such a campaign was only carried out by the evil Communists, who are not organically connected with any people and probably dropped on Budapest from Mars! No one would dream of suggesting that those responsible for this campaign were the Russian hordes who were lusting for conquest. In 1939 Poland was "invaded by German armies", but Berlin and East Germany, where German women were violated and children were murdered, were not overrun by Russian hordes but by "international Communists".

The following words appeared in Russian in the "Pravda" of July 24, 1942: "We do not want to speak. We do not want to be indignant. We want to kill. If you have

not killed at least one German in the course of the day, then your day has been wasted . . . When you have killed one German, kill a second. There is no sight more pleasing to us than German corpses. Do not count the miles. Only count the Germans whom you have killed." And, further:

"There is nothing innocent about the Germans, neither about the living, nor about the unborn . . . Crush the fascist beast in its den for ever . . . Break the racial arrogance of the Germanic women by force! Take them as your rightful booty! Courageous, advancing Red Army soldiers, kill, kill!"

Nor were conditions any better in tsarist days. Slave labour, deportations and sentences without trial were not invented in Russia by the Communists. These practices existed hundreds of years ago, as the French writer, Marquis de Custine, so fittingly points out in his book, in which he gives an excellent account of these conditions.

Here and there in the West one is prepared to talk about "Moscow's imperialism", so as to lay the blame only on the central power. But one does not talk about Loudon, Berlin, or Paris imperialism, but simply about English, German, or French imperialism. No one has any qualms about annoying the English people. But the Russians must not be annoyed under any circumstances!

Nor is it correct to talk about "Soviet imperialism" instead of about Russian imperialism, or to use the designation "Soviets" for the Russians. This is actually nonsense, for the word Soviet in English means "council"; hence Soviet imperialism means "imperialism of the councils". And if one applies this designation to the state structure of the Soviet Union, then it is even more incorrect, for various subjugated peoples are incarcerated in the Soviet Union who have no connection whatever with imperialism and are, moreover, fighting a life and death struggle against Russian imperialism.

The British Commonwealth is above all a community of free nations, and no one dreams of talking about "Commonwealth imperialism". For it is obvious to everyone that the Greeks of Cyprus have nothing in common with any English imperialists. And as far as the British Empire is concerned, for example, how could one think of holding the North Irish responsible for any English imperialistic aims?

The Soviet Union is the most ruthless colonial imperium of all time. How then can one possibly think of holding the nations incarcerated and subjugated in this imperium, which calls itself the Soviet Union, responsible for the imperialism of the Russian colonial rulers! The designation "Soviet imperialism" is therefore merely another attempt to spare the Russians. It would be nonsense to talk about a "Union Française Imperialism", since in addition to the French there are also countless other peoples voluntarily united in the French Union, and, in any case, the Union Française cannot be compared to the Soviet Union. Thus, if one cannot talk about a Commonwealth or a Union Française imperialism, then even more obviously so, one cannot talk about a Soviet imperialism, because the peoples have been forcibly incorporated and incarcerated in the Russian imperium, that is the Soviet Union? How then could they share a common imperialistic cause with their subjugators, the Russian colonial rulers!

There is only Russian imperialism, and one should talk about it at least in the same way as one has hitherto talked about English or French imperialism, even though this is not a fitting comparison since one cannot relegate the civilized English and French people to the same level as the Russian barbarians.

If someone uses the designation "Soviet Russian imperialism", then he wants to define the actual Russian imperialism by this term, and similarly, too, with the term "Russian Communist imperialism". We should like to point out that when

talking about English or French imperialism, no such expressions are used in order to indicate a certain terminology. And the frequently used designation "Communist imperialism" also aims to divert attention from the main enemy. One does not talk about "democratic imperialism", even though France and England at the time of the expansion of their empires had a democratic system and spread this in their colonies in Africa and Asia. By analogy, therefore, one should talk about democratic imperialism in order to spare the feelings of the French and the English. But this is inappropriate, for fundamentally every idea can be used for imperialistic purposes.

In conclusion, we should like to stress that the enemy must be called by his right name,—in this case Russian historic imperialism (combined with the messianistic attitude of the Russian mentality), which in various forms, as for instance Pan-Slavism, the idea of the Third Rome, "defence of orthodoxy", international Communism, is to bring about the realization of the Russian national conquest aims.

We preach neither racial hatred nor chauvinism. We make no objections to a Russian state in its ethnographical areas, nor do we object to the Russians if they withdraw from our national territories and keep to their own native soil.

But we definitely object to being held responsible for the Russian atrocities which have been committed in the course of centuries. The West has no right to try to thrust the list of crimes on to us, even though there may be certain guilty persons among our peoples. But among every people there are always some traitors and profiteers, who seek to further their own personal interests and place their services at the disposal of the Russian colonial rulers. The Norwegian people were not punished for Quisling, but Quisling himself was called to account.

The fact that the disintegration process of the empires (a typical phenomenon of the present era) is in progress must result in the universal and wholehearted support on the part of the freedom-loving world for the national liberation struggle of the peoples incarcerated in the Russian colonial empire, all the more so since the Russians are doing their utmost to overthrow the Western empires and to enter upon their heritage as the new colonial rulers. The disintegration of the Russian colonial imperium and the restoration of the independent democratic states of all the peoples subjugated by Russia—irrespective of the date when they became the victims of Russia—should be proclaimed as the aim of Western policy.

The Communist system forcibly introduced by Russian armies in the countries subjugated by Russia in the Soviet Union and in the so-called satellite countries is a form of modern Russian colonial alien rule.

Not an international Communism which has dropped from the skies or has been carried up out of hell rules over our peoples, but a perfectly concrete Russian Communism, that is to say, the most modern form of perpetual historic Russian imperialism and colonialism. Just as in tsarist times, perfectly concrete Russian armies, consisting of genuine Russians, with brutal force crushed and conquered our countries (and neither Peter I nor Catherine I was a Communist!), so, too, in Lenin's day perfectly real armies (and not phantom armies!), consisting of genuine Russians, massacred our peoples and forcibly introduced the Communist system in our countries.

Nicholas II, Kerensky, Lenin, Khrushchov, or the NTS chief,—they all agree on one point, namely to preserve the Russian colonial imperium by every possible means! "Better a poor dictator (Stalin!—The author) than a dismembered living body of Russia (i.e. the Russia imperium!—The author)"—was the comment of Miljukov on one occasion, and *all* Russian parties from the extreme leftists to the extreme rightists agree with him on this point! What indeed has this to do with "international Communism"!

Asia and Africa must be on the Alert

I should like to offer an analysis of the main source of menace which threatens Asia and Africa today. We all recognize that the main threat to free people comes from the terroristic, wicked, atheist Communism with Moscow as its center to implement the policy of world revolution, which seeks to put the whole human race by enslavement and persecution under the tyrannical domination of the new red imperialism, as Khrushchov asserted to "bury the free world."

Since the Second World War most people vaguely know of the Communist expansion, but not all of us are aware of the magnitude of this expansion. In 1939, the Soviet Union had only 8,000,000 square miles of territory and a population of 170,000,000. Today, after 22 years of further continual gains, the Communist empire claims a total territory of 16,000,000 square miles and a population of 970,000,000, almost half of the entire population of the world. These figures, representing an increase of 100% in territory and almost 600% in terms of population, do not include the recent Communist takeover of Cuba and the millions of uncommitted people who are being neutralized by Communism in Asia and Africa.

Rulers of Moscow, in their implementation of the policy to communize the world as bequeathed by Lenin, which is to reach Europe by way of Asia, have as their first target the communization of Asia, and then utilizing Asia as the stepping-stone, make further inroads into Africa and the rest of the free world. The loss of the Chinese continent to Communism is the successful completion of the first step in their strategy of world-revolution. Let us trace back the history of the past ten years. The loss of the Chinese continent not only created a disequilibrium in the world balance of power, but put the whole of Asia into a state of great insecurity and war strife under the Chinese Communist expansion sponsored by Soviet Russian imperialism such as the Korean war, the war in Vietnam, the military action taken by the Chinese Communists in Tibet and along the Chinese-Indian border, and also the latest war in Laos. The new brand of red imperialism is indeed threatening the security of every country in Asia.

At present, the Chinese Communists, in faithfully carrying out directives from Moscow, are actively making inroads into Asia, Africa and Australia, especially Africa which has now become their main target of aggression, using all means of infiltration and subversion in order to change the just African movement of national independence into a link of the international Communist chain, so as to make the African people serve the interest of the Communist bloc, once trapped into the pitfall of this new brand of red colonialism.

The Communists believe in this new era of struggle. Soviet Russian imperialists and Chinese Communists must have a division of strategic work. On the one hand, the Soviet Russian imperialists under the camouflage of a peace offensive endeavor to divide and paralyze European and American countries. On the other hand, the Chinese Communists start a vigorous offensive in Asia and Africa in the hope of creating disturbance and destruction in the free world so as to prepare for their final victory. We people in Asia and Africa must be on the alert most vigilantly, so as not to become their victims.

From the above-mentioned analysis, one clear fact emerges, that is, the main source of danger to Asia and Africa comes from the loss of the Chinese continent to the Communists. People in Asia and Africa either for self-salvation or for helping

others have to tackle the problem from the root, and to give spiritual and material assistance to the people of the Republic of China to overthrow the Communist regime, so as to eradicate thoroughly the red evil. Especially at the present moment when the Communists are confronted with an internal economic crisis and the morale of their army officers is shaken, in addition to natural disasters and widespread man-made famine, as a result of the tyrannical communes, and extensive anti-Communist uprisings in the continent, it is clearly evident that the puppet Chinese Communist regime is unstable and shaky. It is indeed the best opportunity for our Asian and African peoples to unite and destroy Communism.

However, there are today still quite a few who favor appeasement and who fail to realize that the Communists are only paper tigers. These people endeavor to appease so as to acquire a temporary peace. This is the gravest mistake.

Here are my suggestions:

1. Countries in the free world must completely get rid of the idea of appeasement, resist aggression by the Communist bloc, give up any illusion that we can have peaceful-co-existence with the Communist bloc and adopt a firmer attitude to demolish any Communist insidious scheme which aims to divide and sow discord in free world.

2. To strengthen the anti-Communist solidarity among the Asian, African and Australian peoples. The peoples' anti-Communist solidarity should prompt close anti-Communist cooperation among governments, bring about mutual economic and technical cooperation, improve Asian and African peoples' livelihood so as to prevent Communist aggressive activities and halt their scheme of infiltration and subversion.

3. To oppose the Communists' entry into the United Nations and their participation in the Disarmament Conference. If the Chinese Communist puppet regime, created by Soviet Russia single-handedly and denounced as aggressor by UN should be allowed to enter that world organization, it would mean the bankruptcy of the United Nations itself. Similarly, if the war-like Communists were allowed to participate in the Disarmament Conference, world disarmament would be a failure. It is earnestly hoped that the absurd advocacy of "Two Chinas" now prevalent on the international horizon will be refuted, so that the rightful title of the legally constituted government by free elections may not be adversely affected.

Finally, it is my firm belief that only by liberating the Chinese continent can we remove the main threat and danger to Asia and Africa, and only by keeping Asia and Africa free from Communist domination can we demolish the world revolution scheme of Soviet Russian imperialism. We hope that the common interests of the free peoples will prompt all of us to strive to achieve this sacred mission.

Bulgarian Communist Party Organ Attacks ABN

On the occasion of "Captive Nations Week" in the USA, the organ of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, "Rabotnitschesko Delo" ("Workers' News"), published a report from New York in its edition of July 19, 1961. The paper stated that "reactionary politicians, the yellow press and the emigrant scum celebrated the day of the allegedly subjugated peoples". At a rally held by the American Friends of ABN, so the paper added, the Public Prosecutor of the State of New York, Lewkowitz, read a message by Governor Rockefeller.

According to the said paper, the American imperialistic capitalists thus support the provocations of the reactionary emigrants against the "progressive Communist state" and are therefore fighting against the "achievements of the world proletariat".

The Russian Communist Myth

(On the occasion of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR)

Lenin and the origin of the Russian Bolshevist state

The world has recently witnessed a grim spectacle which was enacted at the 22nd Party Congress of the Soviet Union in Moscow. It would need the genius of a Shakespeare to describe all the disgusting degeneration and malicious evil of mankind and the inhumanity which were revealed on that occasion.

It was an orgy staged by inhuman creatures, by beings obsessed by a diabolical spirit, who find a sadistic satisfaction not only in destroying material possessions but also in destroying the mind and the soul of the individual and in depriving him of all his rights as a human being.

The purpose of all the incidents of the Party Congress in Moscow was, of course, to consolidate Khrushchov's power. But the manner in which these incidents were enacted was not based on either state political or party political reasons. This manner of ruthless humiliation and of crushing the opponent is entirely in keeping with the Russian character and mentality. The Russian method of degrading man to such an extent that he loses all self-respect was adopted from the Mongols by the Russians. And this method was already applied by the tsars in olden times. A subject had to throw himself down on to the ground in the presence of his lord and master and ruler and smite his forehead on the floor. ("Bit tselom" = "smite with the head".) If the subject was one who opposed him, then the ruler, according to his mood, either pardoned or beheaded the subject after this ceremony. In Russia the individual was always regarded as worthless and neither his human dignity nor his feelings were ever taken into consideration.

All the Russian tsars were sole and absolute rulers. They could dispose of the life and property of their subjects arbitrarily as they saw fit. The creators of the Russian empire, Ivan the Terrible and Peter I, called Peter the Great, who have gone down in the annals of Russian history as the most illustrious rulers, were cruel despots. Ivan the Terrible exterminated the entire Russian upper class and set up special troops for executions, the "opritchina" (the precursors of the special Cheka units [= GPU] founded by Lenin). These troops regarded man merely as an animal. And Tsar Ivan stabbed his own son to death.

Peter I had thousands of persons shot.

Countless peasants, recruited for slave labour, perished during the building of the new capital, St. Petersburg. And at his orders his only son was sentenced to death and hanged.

In the 19th century Tsar Nicholas I reigned despotically and arbitrarily. All free activity in public life was crushed. Everything was subjected to police censorship. The country was ruled by the secret police, as it later was by Lenin's Cheka and now is by the NKVD. The finest representatives of the Russian intelligentsia were hanged. The foreign peoples incarcerated in the Russian empire suffered terrible hardships. The revolts in Georgia and in Poland in the 1830's were ruthlessly crushed by massacres. Russian hordes devastated the North Caucasus and Turkestan; the "unbelieving" were murdered by the thousands. It was Tsar Nicholas I who brutally crushed the Hungarian war of liberation in 1848, just as Khrushchov did in 1956. Nicholas I was called the "policeman of Europe". And the present Communist rulers in Moscow consider it an honour to live up to this name today.

It was on this character and mentality of the Russian people and on its history that the Russian Lenin based his Bolshevist doctrine and established his Bolshevist state with its governmental system of terrorism. For this reason the Bolshevist revolution was only victorious in the genuinely Russian regions. In no non-Russian country of the former tsarist empire did Bolshevism succeed in asserting its power. It was only at a later date that these peoples were conquered by means of the military power of the Bolshevist state. These are historical facts. The attempt on the part of the Russians and their friends to exonerate the Russians from this crime and to talk a lot of piffle about an "international conspiracy" by some mystical characters or other is not only foolish, but sheer nonsense, deceit and lies.

The non-Russian clique which supported Lenin consisted of individuals with criminal intentions, who had been evicted by their own peoples and had been deprived of every chance of activity in their native countries.

We should like to point out that in our opinion every person who supports a terrorist system of government, irrespective of its form, is by nature abnormal and devoid of all moral feeling and conscience. He is an individual who is in favour of violence, and we are by no means convinced that such a person can alter his ways.

Stalin-Djugashvili was this type of person. He did not succeed in bolshevizing the Georgian social democratic party and was obliged to leave Georgia in 1906. It was not the Georgians who helped him to gain power, but the Russians who set him up on the throne in Moscow. He became Lenin's successor and the absolute ruler of "all Russians".

Stalin and his era

It is an established fact that Stalin was a monster and inhuman. But in spite of this, one is bound to admit that he ruled in a manner that was consistently Bolshevik and that he was a worthy successor to Lenin. Like Lenin, Stalin upheld the terrorist system of government. The same also holds good for Khrushchov, even though he censures and criticizes Stalin so sharply. Terrorism will always reign in the Bolshevik Communist empire. Otherwise it would not be able to continue to exist, for without terrorism it is impossible to make peoples and individuals who are longing for freedom tractable and to subject them to dictatorship and foreign rule.

It was not Stalin, however, who introduced terrorism and set up the state apparatus for this purpose, but Lenin and his closest co-workers. Stalin was not one of the latter at that time. Stalin was only a functionary in the Central Committee and merely held the insignificant post of People's Commissar for Nationalities in the days when Trotsky, Radek, Kamenev, Sverdlov, Sinovjev, Uritzky, Dershtinsky, Menshinsky, Lazaris and Peterson were the executors of Lenin's will and the rulers in power.

In those days Trotsky, not Stalin, was the People's Commissar for War. At his orders the Bolshevik hordes of soldiers murdered the population and devastated the country. Yet this hangman is regarded in the West as a martyr and a victim of Stalin.

The same so-called connoisseurs of Russia in the West affirm that Trotsky was superior to Stalin in intellect. Trotsky called him the "Caucasian savage". But one historical fact cannot be denied, namely that Stalin completely surpassed him, — with the help of the Russians; whereas Stalin reigned as a mighty dictator for almost 30 years in the Russian empire, which under his rule gained enormously in greatness and power, Trotsky, once the omnipotent ruler of the Bolshevik revolution and theoretician of the "permanent revolution", ended his life in exile as the bankrupt leader of the world revolution and subsequent "leader" of the illusory and strange "4th International" which he invented. This great "leader" of the Russian Bolshevik revolution and supreme commander-in-chief of the Red Army was

brave and boastful as long as he could give the military rabble orders to murder the population and devastate the country. But as soon as he was obliged to rely on himself and show personal and moral courage in his conflict with Stalin, he revealed himself to be a wretched coward. Trotsky said on one occasion: "If we should be forced to resign, we shall slam the door so loudly as we make our exit that the world will tremble". But when Stalin dismissed him at the session of the Politbureau, he slunk out so quietly that no one heard him close the door behind him even though it was perfectly still in the room.

After Lenin's death Stalin outwitted everyone. He succeeded in rallying a clique together and playing off the others against one another. He then set about liquidating his rivals, the important men of the Party and Lenin's closest co-workers.

Stalin was an out-and-out cynic. He scorned the individual and did not believe in absolute values. He regarded morals as ridiculous, and, as a Marxist, he based all principles of existence on social conditions. He was a man who had no humane feelings, and a plebeian in his whole manner and character! He derived his methods of asserting his power and of ruling from the ancient history of mankind. Indeed, his conduct and his actions are comparable to those of the Assyrian-Babylonian or Mongolian rulers.

He knew that all earthly things pass away. As a student of theology he was well acquainted with the history of the Byzantine Empire. He had read the "Anecdota" of the historian Procopius and he knew that the pictures of the cruel Emperor Justinian I and of his consort, the Empress Theodora, who grew up in a circus, serve as icons, to which candles are burnt, in churches.

He knew that the monarchs who resorted to the same methods of rule in Russia, Ivan the Terrible and Peter I, have gone down in the annals of Russian history as the greatest rulers.

Millions of persons were murdered in a bestial way, or died of starvation, or perished in the concentration camps of Siberia.

But Stalin was acclaimed as a great ruler, general and scholar by the Russians. They all paid homage to him. And his most loyal servants were those who now condemn him. This has always been and will always be the custom in Russia.

Stalin created a powerful empire for the Russians. But the fact that the Russian empire expanded to such a huge extent and became a world power, irrespective of the aim of Russian imperialistic policy, is *not* due to the Georgian Stalin, the absolute ruler of "all Russians", but in the first place and solely to Messrs. Theodore Roosevelt and

Winston Churchill. Without American and British support there would today be no Russian empire!

But this huge and mighty empire came into being under Stalin's rule, and he will go down in the annals of Russian history as its creator. He strengthened the Russians in their national consciousness and their faith in Russia's greatness and her world messianism.

This faith and this arrogance are the driving force of Russian policy at present, too. With the insolence and fanaticism which is characteristic of them, and fortified by their faith, the Russians are advancing further and further in order to conquer the world. And the present ruler, the Russian Khrushchov, with typical Russian brutality and insolence is arousing fear and panic in the world.

Stalin was only too well aware of the Russian mentality. The Russians needed a saint of the new era. Every Russian monastery harboured the bones of some saint or other who was worshipped by the people. And Stalin knew how to make good use of the primitive Russian mysticism.

He had a mausoleum built for Lenin, in which the latter's embalmed corpse was preserved. And he now had the people worship the "Holy Lenin". Thousands flocked to this mausoleum and paid homage to the deceased. Stalin was firmly convinced that one day his embalmed corpse, too, would be preserved here and that people would come here to pay homage to him.

And that was, in fact, what happened. Stalin died in March 1953. His corpse was borne into the mausoleum by his loyal comrades and inferiors, including Khrushchov and Mikoyan, and was placed next to that of Lenin, to be worshipped by the people.

Khrushchov himself acted as chairman of the commission in charge of the state funeral for Stalin.

On March 6, 1953, the Party leaders and government of the Soviet Union issued the following proclamation:

"The heart of Comrade Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, the illustrious executor of Lenin's will and the wise leader and teacher of the Communist Party and of the Soviet people, has ceased beating".

And the appeal to the Soviet people was worded as follows:

"The immortal name of Stalin will live on for ever in the hearts of the Soviet people and of all progressive mankind. Long live the mighty, all-triumphant world ideology of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin!"

Stalin was a man devoid of heart and soul, and the members of the clique which sup-

ported him were of the same type. To all outward appearance they mourned his loss, but in their innermost feelings they were relieved to be rid of his despotism. By his graveside, however, they swore to be loyal to him, for they were not yet fully convinced that he was dead. It was only three years later, at the 20th Party Congress in 1956, that these cowards summoned up their courage and ventured to condemn him and to brand him as a murderer and a mad tyrant.

The first to attack him was Mikoyan, who had formerly been his most loyal henchman.

Thereupon Stalin's other former henchman, Khrushchov, ventured to have his say and to condemn him.

His former loyal supporters, whom he treated so ruthlessly and whom he scorned, are now settling up with him. They boldly defy the dead Stalin and have defeated a corpse. The Russian mob — those who were Stalin's subjects with an animal-like servility — now acclaim these victors. And this same mob completely overlooks the fact that the present rulers were the executors of Stalin's commands and ordered and also carried out the murder and extermination of thousands of people!

The government of Khrushchov and Co.

After Stalin's death a struggle for power ensued amongst the top-ranking Party functionaries. It is indeed paradoxical, but characteristic of Soviet conditions, that the most insignificant and most uneducated Party functionary of the old guard of Lenin and Stalin, namely Khrushchov, who only proved his worth as a Party and state official, should have emerged the victor in this struggle.

For his loyalty and servile devotion Khrushchov was given a post in the presidium of the Central Committee of the Party by Stalin in 1952; at the same time, he also held the post of secretary in the Central Committee, to which he had already been appointed in 1949 by Stalin.

The first Secretary of the Central Committee was however Malenkov. Stalin died in March 1953, and by September of the same year Khrushchov had already succeeded in ousting Malenkov. He himself now became First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He was thus the leading man in the state. But in order to become the absolute ruler he was obliged to seize power completely. Thus in February 1955 he already forced Malenkov to resign from office as Prime Minister — "at his own wish", and had him openly declare his inability. On the very same day Khrushchov appointed his friend N. Bulganin to this office, but he later dismissed him and affirmed that he had had a

share in Stalin's crimes and also bore some responsibility for them.

Khrushchov reproaches Stalin with having humiliated and liquidated loyal Party comrades and Soviet statesmen, but he himself shamelessly does exactly the same and hurries his friends alive! One after the other he liquidates all the men who have played a leading part in the Party and the state.

At the 20th Party Congress in February 1956 Khrushchov violently attacked Stalin and accused him of atrocious crimes against the Party and the people. He designated him as a "murderer" and an "insane despot". He had no scruples about defaming the man whom he had served with devotion all his life and to whom he owed his whole career.

Khrushchov had seized power completely, and like all dictators, especially Communist dictators, he could not bear to think that someone might rank higher than himself, — not even someone who was already dead!

Who is this man Khrushchov? Is he really prompted in his actions by moral convictions? Or by love for the people? Has a new epoch of political, social and national justice really dawned in the Soviet Union with his advent? Is the Soviet Union to become a state of law and order under Khrushchov's rule?

We shall now proceed to discuss these questions and to prove that everything that Khrushchov thinks and does is nothing but falsehood and deceit. By reason of the Russian Communist ideology, his character, his principles and the state system, he will remain unchangeable.

Khrushchov's policy aims exclusively to consolidate his absolute rule, to preserve a mighty Russian empire for the Russians and to expand his dominion still further. He is a true Russian and, as such, aims to become the executor of Russian imperialistic aims.

Khrushchov was born in the Kursk region of the R.S.F.S.R. Prior to the revolution this region was known for the fact that the most reactionary persons were voted as deputies to the Duma or Russian parliament by the farmers; one of these deputies was the notorious Markov II (deputies who had the same name were designated by a number in parliament), well-known as an anti-Semite and for his hatred of all that was not Russian.

When the revolution broke out in 1917 Khrushchov was a factory-worker in the Donets region. Shortly before the outbreak of the revolution Lazar Kaganovich was in charge of an illegal Bolshevik organization here; and it was here that the Red Unit, headed by Voroshilov, was set up after the revolution.

From 1918 to 1920 Khrushchov took part in the civil war as a soldier of the Red Army, and when this army invaded Georgia in 1921

he was a politruk in one of its battalions, — a fact which was made much of by the Georgian Party press recently, namely on the occasion of Khrushchov's visit to Georgia in the summer of 1961.

Because he was practically illiterate he attended a "workers' course" in the Donets region in 1922. Soon afterwards he became secretary of the Party cell here and in 1927, at the age of 31, he was taken on as a Party official. At first he was a Party functionary in the mining district, but in 1928 he was transferred to the Party organization in the town of Kyiv. In 1929 he went to Moscow to attend the Industrial Academy there as a further part of his education; in 1931 he was appointed Party secretary of the various rayon committees in Moscow, and in 1932 he already became First Secretary of the "Gorkom" (Party committee of the city of Moscow). He had thus by now climbed the first important rungs of the ladder to his political career.

Hard times began in the Soviet Union in 1932. Collectivization led to terrible famines. But this fact in no way deterred Stalin from getting the second Five-Year Plan passed, much against the wish of the majority, at the 17th Party Congress in January/February 1934.

At the 20th Party Congress in February 1956 Khrushchov affirmed that Stalin had three-fourths of the delegates at the 17th Party Congress shot because they opposed him.

It is obvious that Khrushchov at that time did not belong to the opposition, otherwise he would no longer be alive. On the contrary, he was appointed a member of the Central Committee by mass-murderer Stalin at the said Congress.

Khrushchov, at that time First Secretary of the Party Committee of Moscow, held the following speech: "Ideologically the organization of Moscow is firmly allied with the Central Committee and our gifted leader, Comrade Stalin". And further: "The Moscow organization, like the entire Party, will continue to increase the fighting strength of its ranks in order to fulfil the decrees of our Party and will ally itself even more closely with Lenin's Central Committee and with our great leader, Comrade Stalin" (Communist Party organ "Pravda" of January 31, 1934).

And that infamous hypocrite Mikoyan said on this occasion, namely at the close of the 17th Party Congress: "Comrades, were it not for the fact that Comrade Stalin has so brilliantly carried on the legacy of Lenin, we should not have been able to celebrate our glorious victories at this 17th Party Congress. Stalin has hoisted Lenin's theoretical flag and is leading our Party as Lenin led it" ("Pravda" of February 2, 1934).

(To be continued)

Russian Colonial Power Gaining Foothold In Africa

It certainly sounds improbable that precisely the biggest colonial power in the world should be awarded the highest decoration by a foreign state in recognition of its alleged fight against colonialism and for the independence of the peoples. But this was nevertheless actually the case in Africa at the middle of February 1961.

When the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, that is to say the President of the Soviet Union, Breshniev, visited Guinea on February 12, 1961, in the course of his African tour, the President of Guinea, Sekou Touré, presented him with the highest decoration of the country, the "Order for Fighters for Independence", in Conakry; and it was evident from the speeches held by Breshniev and Sekou Touré that the order was being conferred on Khrushchov and the Soviet government in recognition of their alleged services in combatting colonialism and for the cause of the sovereignty of the peoples.

Whilst this incident was a sensation in Africa and Asia and aroused considerable interest, the West, on the other hand, hardly paid any attention at all to it. And no one thought of the fact that this decoration was bound to increase the prestige of the Kremlin and to have a considerable propagandistic effect in Asia and Africa.

It is indeed grotesque that the biggest colonial power in the world, which within the Soviet Union subjugates 120 million non-Russians of various nationalities and has also subjected foreign peoples in the so-called satellite countries to its power, should receive the "Order for Fighters for Independence" in recognition of its policy in the alleged fight against colonialism and as "the noblest friend of all peoples"!

To mark the occasion of Breshniev's visit, Conakry, the capital of Guinea, was decorated with flags and garlands. Demonstrators carried pictures of Sekou Touré and Breshniev, as well as banners inscribed with watchwords in Russian, such as "Long live Breshniev, the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet", "Long live the friendship between the Soviet Union and Guinea", and "We want unity in Africa".

At a big rally attended by 20,000 persons, Sekou Touré when presenting the decoration addressed Breshniev in the following words:

"Your visit corroborates the real principles of the foreign policy of your government regarding the strengthening of the friendship with other peoples. These principles have made the Soviet Union the unswerving defender of the rights of mankind. And by means of them, all the subjugated peoples have been united in a common fighting front against colonialism. Nikita Khrushchov has constantly proclaimed the ardent ideas and aims of the subjugated peoples to the whole world and he continues to fight for the independence of the peoples who are still languishing under the colonial yoke. In this respect and in many other respects, as for instance in disarmament, Soviet Russia has thus assumed the role of leader. The people of Guinea are greatly honoured by your visit and proclaim their sincerest friendship with the Soviet Union. Our people ask you to convey our friendliest greetings to Nikita Khrushchov."

In replying to this speech Breshniev said:

"I shall convey your greetings to *the most loyal friend* of the people of Guinea, Nikita Khrushchov, the Chairman of the Ministerial Council of the Soviet Union. Nikita Khrushchov, the *true friend* of your people, has asked me to tell you that the Soviet Union, the *faithful friend* of the people of Guinea, will continue to support the peoples who are struggling to attain their independence as it has done hitherto."

In expressing his thanks for the decoration, Breshniev added:

"It is with the greatest pleasure and gratitude that I accept this valuable present as a token of the highest recognition and esteem for the successes gained by Nikita Khrushchov in the fight against colonialism. I regard this order as a sign of the friendship which exists between your people and the Soviet government led by Khrushchov."

According to reports published in the Soviet press in Turkestan, Sekou Touré frequently interrupted Breshniev's speech by applauding, whilst the people cheered. Breshniev made the most of this opportunity to represent Soviet Russia as the genuine friend of the African peoples and to defame all the Western peoples as colonizers. This was also the case during his visit to Ghana, where he was received by President Nkrumah on February 19, 1961. Here, too, Breshniev emphasized the loyal friendship of Soviet Russia towards the people of Ghana. He invited Nkrumah and the leading politicians of the country to visit Moscow, where he promised to receive them as "dearest guests".

These speeches by Breshniev and rallies such as the one in Conakry will not fail to make an impression in Africa. In fact, they are the best preparation for Khrushchov's forthcoming trip to various African countries; indeed Khrushchov chose Breshniev to act as his herald in Africa. The significance which he attached to Breshniev's trip can be seen from the persons who accompanied him; namely, the deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, Semitchastnov, the Chairman of the Committee for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries, Alihanov, the deputy Minister of Culture, Kasnetsov, the deputy Foreign Minister, Malik, the First and Second Directors of the Africa Department of the Foreign Office, Schwedow and Brekin, and the Director of the Secretariate of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, Tcherekov.

For years Soviet Russia has persistently and intensively been trying to win over Africa. A large number of Africans have already been trained as cadres in the Soviet Union; hence the Kremlin today has at its disposal many a well trained trade unionist and politician from the ranks of the Africans. Russia as a European country uses Turkestan as a stepping-stone to Africa, — just as it also uses Turkestan as a base for its policy towards the Orient. Since over 40 per cent of the African peoples belong to the Islamic faith, Turkestan as an Islamic country is to be used in the Soviet Union's policy regarding Africa. For this reason specialists for Africa, who make an intensive study of the history, language, customs and problems of the dark continent, are being trained in the five Soviet Republics of Turkestan. Every effort is made, in particular, to influence and guide the Africans studying at Soviet universities and colleges, above all at the so-called "Lumumba University of Peoples' Friendship" in Moscow. It is hoped that in this way one will become better acquainted with the mentality of the negroes. It is the special task of the Soviet contact organizations in Turkestan to establish contacts with the African peoples.

One of the most important and most experienced Soviet contact men Abdul Rashid(ov), an Uzbek, is the Soviet representative of the "Permanent Bureau of the

Asian and African Solidarity Committee" in Cairo and has taken part in numerous African congresses. As chief person in charge of the training courses for Turkestanian agitators for Africa he recently issued special directives in Tashkent. He affirmed in an appeal that the African peoples expected help and support from the Soviet Union. He added that in this fight the people of the Soviet Union must place all their help and experience at the disposal of the African peoples, their trade unionists and politicians. Rashid(ov) emphasized that the negro peoples must not be at variance amongst themselves but must stand united in their fight, for the Western colonizers were only waiting for a favourable opportunity to gain possession of Africa again. The Soviet Union on the other hand, so he stressed, was the true friend and protector of Africa.

The same ideas were the main theme of an exhibition which was on display in Tashkent until the beginning of 1961. The Soviet contact organizations for Asia and Africa exhibited reports, documents, books and letters which were intended to convince the people of Turkestan and, in particular, the youth of the lively activity and success of these organizations. In addition, in order to intensify this propaganda campaign, members of these organizations were sent to the towns and villages in Turkestan to hold lectures on the friendship between the Soviet Union and the peoples of Asia and Africa. Pro-Soviet letters from Asia and Africa were read to the young people in particular, and the people of Turkestan as a whole were asked to cooperate actively.

In fact, the Soviet contact organizations even went a step further. Books, which depicted the life of the workers, farmers and women of Uzbekistan in rosy colours, and treatises on Lenin's national policy were translated into African and Asian languages. These books, together with gramophone records of national songs and with pictures painted by Uzbek children, were sent as presents to the Sudan, Iraq, Africa and the United Arab Republic. In this way even the services of school-children are used in the Soviet propaganda campaign to win over Africa.

Practically every week an "African Day" or "Day of the Fight against Colonialism" or "Week of the Subjugated Peoples", etc., is celebrated in one or other of the capitals of the five Soviet Republics of Turkestan. And practically every day articles appear in the Soviet press in Turkestan which bear such titles as "The Cursed Western Colonialism", "Blood-suckers of the African Peoples", "Revenge for Lumumba", "Hands Off Africa", or "Africa for the Africans". These articles usually include pictures showing half-starved women and children and pointing out that the people in Africa are still obliged to endure starvation as a result of Western colonialism.

At a congress held in Tashkent at the beginning of January by the active members of the Soviet contact organizations the 1961 programme was drawn up. Subsequently some of the agitators flew to India and to other Asian and African countries in order to start their campaign at once.

If one considers the present attitude of some African and Asian politicians towards Russia, one is bound to come to the conclusion that the Russians have to some extent achieved a certain amount of success. They have managed to disguise their own colonialism by skilful propaganda in such a way that many Asian and African peoples believe the Soviet slogans of "Freedom and Independence", "Independence of the Soviet Republics", "The Fight against Colonialism" and "Russia as the Protector of the Subjugated Peoples". The numerous Soviet contact organizations for Asia and Africa have in fact succeeded in establishing contact with trade unions, intellectuals, youth groups and women's organizations there.

In addition, Soviet economic aid for Asia and Africa, which incidentally is far less than that given by the West, is propagated to such an extent that the popula-

tion there gains the impression that Russia is the only country that is helping them.

Soviet Russia has resorted to every possible means in order to gain a foothold in the dark continent. Daily broadcast programmes for Africa aid subversive activity. And the Soviet agitators and propagandists, who are sneaked into Africa along with Soviet engineers, are by no means idle.

The West on the other hand has so far resorted to practically no active and uniform measures, politically, economically and propagandistically, in Africa to counteract Russia's campaign. The fact that 24 peoples in Africa alone — not counting Asia — have become free during the past fifteen years is proof of the extent to which Western colonialism has already been abolished there. Soviet Russia's colonialism, however, tends to move in the opposite direction. The freedom of the people in Turkestan, the Caucasus, Ukraine, etc., is crushed. Hence it is incomprehensible to some politicians in the Orient why the West does not endeavour to enlighten the peoples of Asia and Africa as to the true nature of Russian colonialism. In their opinion it is not sufficient for the West occasionally to mention the subjugation of the Balkan and so-called satellite countries by the Soviet Russians. Above all, the colonial status of the 120 million non-Russian subjects of the Soviet Union should be stressed, and their longing for independence should be made known to the rest of the world. But neither the West nor the free Islamic states say much about Russian colonialism. Russia, however, constantly propagates the fight against the West in every continent. It is indeed a case of the thief calling "Stop, thief!"

And all these facts have resulted in Khrushchov being awarded the highest decoration of Guinea, the "Order for Fighters for Independence".

Prof. Dr. F. Durcansky

Discrimination Against The Slovaks Must Cease

During the first world war President Wilson promised the peoples that they would be treated justly. "No people must be forced under a sovereignty under which it does not wish to live." "Peoples may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent. Self-determination is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril." "They have not been accustomed to being independent. They most now be independent."

But in spite of this, the Slovaks were manoeuvred into Czecho-Slovakia after the war without being given a chance to express their opinion in a plebiscite.

During World War II President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill in the Atlantic Charter rejected "territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned" and declared that "they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live." In the Charter of the United Nations it was stated that the Organization is "based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples." (Article 1, 2.)

In keeping with these principles 42 independent states were founded in Asia and Africa after World War II. But at the same time and contrary to these principles, numerous peoples in Europe were deprived of their independence, with the result that Russia today holds more than 200 million Europeans in slavery and treats them worse than the peoples of colonies have ever been treated.

In accordance with Russia's lust of world power the Slovak Republic was in 1945 also destroyed and Czech Communist rule was enforced on the Slovaks. Thus, even after World War II the fate of the Slovaks was decided without a plebiscite and that of the Slovak Republic without a peace treaty. As a result of the intervention of the Red Army and subsequent atrocities in this respect, a status was created in Slovakia which the West, regardless of the principles that were proclaimed, is prepared to recognize as a legal status.

Thus, on the one hand, the coloured peoples gradually became independent, whereas, on the other hand, European peoples were degraded to the level of colonies. And although mankind, on the one hand, has achie-

ved so much progress. the West, on the other hand, looks on passively whilst Moscow consolidates its rule and power.

The crisis amongst mankind and the threat to the free peoples will increase as long as the free world does not reach a decision to replace the policy of containment by the policy of liberation.

Since they realize this fact, certain American personalities have taken the initiative in the interests of the freedom of the peoples enslaved in the East. Unfortunately, the Joint Resolution adopted by the US Congress does not take all the enslaved peoples into equal consideration, but discriminates between them (Public Law 86—90, July 17, 1959). The said Resolution differentiates between the peoples; to some it concedes independence, but others, as for instance the Slovaks, are to live in slavery even after the disintegration of the East bloc.

True, the Joint Resolution advocates the dissolution of the Russian imperium, but an artificial structure such as Czecho-Slovakia should be preserved in future, too, according to this Resolution. Responsible US circles have, it is true, declared the equality of the peoples and have pledged themselves in this sense in various international documents, but they refuse to apply this principle with regard to Slovakia. Thus, even when the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe are free, the Slovaks are to remain under foreign rule.

And in spite of this, it is an established fact that Czecho-Slovakia was not a product of the will of the peoples who were incorporated in it, but merely represents a structure created by diplomacy. During and after both world wars Western diplomacy saw its task as the assertion of a bloc and balance of power policy. This policy, which divided the peoples of Europe into two opposing blocs, is entirely responsible for the destruction of Europe. And Czecho-Slovakia is a direct product of this disastrous policy, which has brought mankind to the brink of the present abyss. This policy in no way considered the wishes and the interests of the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe; it regarded all these peoples not as subjects of international relations, but merely as objects of a ruthless game.

Since the United States of America did not wish to get involved in this game of intrigue, its Senate refused to ratify the peace treaties concluded after the first world war. And Czecho-Slovakia was the result of this unfortunate policy. It would therefore have been right to assume that the United States, since it did not accept this policy, would likewise not accept its product, Czecho-Slovakia.

The Slovaks are an entirely different people from the Czechs. They not only have a language, a literature, traditions and a thou-

sand-year old history which differ from those of the Czechs, but they also have the wish to be independent, which they have repeatedly expressed. And this also explains why the Major Powers refused to allow a plebiscite to be held in Slovakia after both world wars. Had they permitted a plebiscite, they would not have been able to carry out their plans of a policy to increase their power. It can be seen from the available documents that during the Munich crisis Prague, like Paris and London, refused to agree to the holding of a plebiscite in the countries of Czecho-Slovakia because they were convinced that in that case the Slovaks would opt for independence.

This, however, did not prevent them a few months later from designating the Slovak Republic as Hitler's product. As if there is a people anywhere in the world who has to be forced to accept independence. In Asia and Africa it is regarded as a matter of course that the negroes should want to be independent. But in the case of the Slovaks all kinds of limitations are immediately made.

Even Moscow and the Communists have drawn political conclusions from the individuality of the Slovaks. Already in 1919 the Communists endeavoured to set up a Slovak Communist Republic; the latter was then proclaimed in Prešov on June 16, 1919, and on June 27, 1919, it was recognized by the Comintern. In 1924 the 5th World Congress of the Communist International advocated the dissolution of Czecho-Slovakia and the independence of Slovakia. The Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia was forced to support this idea. After the proclamation of the Slovak Republic (on March 14, 1939) it was recognized by Moscow (on September 16, 1939), who entered into diplomatic relations with it and proceeded to found the Communist Party of Slovakia

The Slovaks, however, consistently rejected the advances of Moscow and the Communists and showed no inclination whatever to cooperate with them. E. Benes and his co-workers, on the other hand, placed their services at the disposal of the Kremlin's plans of expansion. As a result of their attitude, Moscow succeeded in gaining control of the whole of Central Europe. Thus the preservation of Czecho-Slovakia was in keeping with Russia's imperialistic interests.

Today it is an acknowledged fact that Czecho-Slovakia is the most reliable of Moscow's satellites. It is also an established fact that Czecho-Slovakia is a stepping-stone for Moscow's diplomatic, political, military and economic advance against the free world. Whether it is a question of supplying arms to the Near East, the African countries and Cuba, or of training agents for the developing countries, or of diplomatic intrigues against

The Forgers And We

A certain press and the entire Soviet propaganda have joined forces in attacking us emigrants from the East. They are resorting to every possible means in order to fight us, and in the choice of these means neither the Soviet Russians nor their knowing or unknowing accomplices are exactly narrow-minded; murder, abduction, falsification or defamation, — they have no scruples about using any of these methods. And if they prove of no avail, then they try to ridicule us.

Why are we here? The answer is obvious: we are in the West because our native country is occupied by foreign Russian troops. We do not want to return to slavery. As long as power and not justice rules in our countries we do not want to live there.

What do we want? Here, too, the answer is obvious: we want to draw the attention of the free world to the slavery in the East. There are not many of us here. But Soviet Russia nevertheless fights us. And since such a mighty power devotes so much attention to us, we have come to the conclusion that we must be of some importance after all. If we were a negligible factor, Soviet Russia would ignore us. But it does not by any means ignore us, and murder gangs, abductors, spies, defamers and entire detachments of the K.G.B. are maintained in order to combat us.

We defend freedom. But it is precisely Soviet Russia that loudly proclaims to the whole world that it is the champion of freedom. It intervenes — so it is alleged — wherever peoples are still living in slavery in the 20th century. Nikita Khrushchov's speech before the General Assembly of the United Nations was translated into practically every language in the world and was offered for a mere trifle. Nikita as the mouthpiece of freedom?! As freedom-fighters we should thus be in the same camp as Soviet Russia. We defend freedom, just as Soviet Russia claims to do. In other words, — we, the persecuted, are treading the same path as Soviet Russia. Yet the latter maintains an army of destruction to fight us. Why? Soviet Russia claims that it combats colonialism wherever the latter manifests itself and that it undertakes to help all peoples to liberate themselves from the fetters of colonialism. We, too, want to eliminate colonialism and restore freedom.

But there is, nevertheless, a vast difference between us and Soviet Russia. Though it professes its championship of the cause of freedom, Soviet Russia practises the most ruthless form of tyranny and enslavement that the world has ever seen. Soviet Russia is not in the least interested in the freedom of the

Poles, whose state already existed long before Moscow. Nor is it interested in the freedom of the Ukrainians, although this people already possessed a great kingdom about 1000 A.D., when no one had ever heard of the Muscovites. And the same applies as regards the freedom of the Roumanians, who already possessed a state of their own whilst Moscow was still under Tatar rule for another two hundred years. Nor is Soviet Russia interested in the freedom of the Germans, even though the Germans in the territory now occupied by Soviet Russia gave the world such famous men as Kant and other illustrious names. Nor is it concerned with the freedom of the Hungarians, even though this people has belonged to the European community since the 9th century. Nor with the freedom of the Bulgarians, who gave the Russians their alphabet, nor with the freedom of Turkestan, or of Slovakia, or of Georgia. These peoples, who possess a famous state tradition and a great culture, which is much older than the actual Russian culture, are not to enjoy freedom. These ancient civilized peoples were degraded to the level of colonial peoples in the 20th century. Over 200 million persons were deprived of their freedom. But Soviet Russia shows no consideration for these peoples.

We want freedom for all peoples, not merely for the peoples in Africa and Asia, but also for the ancient civilized peoples of Europe. We want a free Poland, a free Germany, a free Czechia, a free Hungary, Baltic states, Ukraine, Albania, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Georgia, Roumania, Turkestan, etc., — and even a free Russia. For this latter people, too, we demand the right of self-determination, which Soviet Russia only propagates with fine phrases for the Africans.

Why is Soviet Russia scared of free elections? It affirms that the peoples of the Soviet sphere of influence will defend "their achievements". But we do not believe this statement. Let us however assume the German people were to confirm the Ulbricht regime in free elections. This would provide Soviet Russia with such a powerful weapon that no one would be able to undertake any action against any of the so-called people's democracies. Every attempt to combat them would prove a failure. And the same would also apply in the case of Gomulka, Kadar, and Georghiu-Deh, etc. If the various peoples were to confirm the governments installed by Soviet Russia, this would mean an enormous gain in prestige for Moscow, and there would no longer be any obstacle to prevent

the victory of Communism. In that case the light would really shine from the East.

If the Soviet Russians were to concede the right of self-determination to the Eastern peoples, they would no longer need to affirm that the Berlin insurrection of June 17, 1953, the Polish revolt of June 28, 1956, and the Hungarian revolution of October 23, 1956 were the work of counter-revolutionaries. The entry of Soviet Russian tanks in Berlin, Poznan, Warsaw, Bratislava, Prague, Budapest, Bucharest, Sofia, Tirana, Riga, Reval, Vilna, Kyiv, Tashkent, Tbilisi, and Baku could then be regarded not as usurpation, but as one of the greatest aid campaigns in history. The prestige which the Soviet Russians would gain in this way would be enormous. And every trace of distrust towards them would disappear. There would be no obstacle to the victory of Communism . . . and the Red paradise would make mankind happy!

But Soviet Russia has no intention of furthering the cause of freedom. It is moreover firmly determined to introduce its terrorist regime all over the world. We despise Soviet Russia and the Soviet Russians for having robbed more than 200 million persons of their freedom. The Soviet Russians misuse their power. And it is against this misuse of power that we are fighting. Rabindranath Tagore, the Indian poet and thinker, whose centenary was recently celebrated in Moscow with considerable pomp, once said: "He who misuses

power, breaks the key and is forced to use an axe instead". The Soviet Russians have indeed been obliged to use an axe.

The Soviet Russians have been seized with panic at the thunder of the revolutions and with fear at the idea of the self-determination of the peoples! Russian tyranny is getting lost in its own contradictions. It is affirmed that the "reactionaries", the "kulaks", the "superstitious", the "bourgeoisie" and the "fascists" had long since died out, or have been in camps and prisons so long that they can no longer be a danger. We are so few in number . . . and we have no power. But one thing we have, which the Kremlin tyrants lack, — and that is faith in what is right and the idea of justice and freedom.

And it is this faith that has always liberated us from evil and trouble in the course of the centuries. Evil and trouble do not last for ever. And this applies to our day, too. It is our duty to do our utmost to ensure that the strength of our faith never diminishes. We are supported by the countless millions of persons of our peoples who hate tyranny and slavery. True, Russia will never concede the right of self-determination to our peoples, but it will not be able to change the course of history. The day that this right is realized, Russia's power in our countries will come to an end, and the Russian tyrants and their agents will end on the gallows, as was the case in Budapest five years ago.

Petition of the Slovak Liberation Council to the UN

The Slovak Liberation Council addressed itself in a petition to the General Assembly of the United Nations to adjudicate independence to Slovakia pursuant to its declaration of December 14, 1960, against Colonialism.

In this petition, the Slovak Liberation Council puts the following demands:

- 1) to put the Slovak question on the agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations and by its final decision to call upon the Governments of the Soviet Union and of Czecho-Slovakia to implement immediately and unconditionally, in regard to Slovakia, the principles of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples;
- 2) to bind, by its decision, the Governments of the Soviet Union and of Czecho-Slovakia, immediately
 - a) to release all political prisoners and detained persons in concentration and compulsory labour camps;
 - to remove all hindrances, erected in the scheme of the Iron Curtain on Slovakia's border, for the purpose of

preventing her inhabitants from communicating with neighbouring countries;

to withdraw from Slovakia all military, semi-military, police and secret units, all foreign agents, dispatched to Slovakia;

to permit the return of all Slovaks, transferred or deported by Prague and Moscow outside Slovakia;

- b) to allow that free elections are carried out in Slovakia under the strict control of the United Nations and that the rule of Slovakia be entrusted to a free Slovak Government, responsible only to the will of the Slovak people;
 - c) to refrain from any intervention in the realization of Slovakia's independence as well as in her territorial integrity and internal affairs;
- 3) to send United Nations military units and its organs to Slovakia to ensure that all its decisions are carefully observed and scrupulously carried out.

20 Years Since The Outbreak Of War Between Slovakia And Soviet Russia

It is now 20 years since the Slovak Republic declared war on Soviet Russia. This war concerned the Slovak people and it was to determine the fate of Slovakia.

When the war broke out between Germany and Russia, the Slovak government immediately severed its diplomatic relations with the Soviet government. And a few days later, it also declared war on Russia.

This was a natural and spontaneous reaction on the part of the Slovak government. The Slovak people had always been anti-Communist, and from the outset the Communist Party had been prohibited in the Slovak Republic. The opinion prevailed that the Communist ideology together with Russian imperialism represented a threat to the national characteristics and culture of all the peoples of Europe and, in fact, of the whole world. In particular, the atheistic materialistic ideology of Communism and its social system, which is hostile to every form of personal initiative, were regarded by the Slovak people as a grave danger. For this reason the Slovak people held the view that the free civilized peoples of the world should disintegrate the Soviet Russian imperium into its national component parts and should enable the subjugated peoples of this imperium to regain their national right of self-determination.

Since the entire people of Slovakia manifested this attitude, the Slovak government considered it its duty to take part in the war against Soviet Russia. It is of course obvious that they did not merely want to declare war formally, but actually wanted to do their share towards liberating the peoples subjugated by Moscow. For this reason the Slovak Republic took part in the war actively on the side of Germany, Italy, Finland, Roumania, Hungary and Croatia. Units of the Slovak army fought above all in Ukraine and in the Caucasus region. The Slovak soldiers were welcomed with joy by the population everywhere as their liberators, just as after the war, namely in 1947, the units of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) were welcomed by the Slovak people.

Although the Slovak army gained a number of victories in the fight against Soviet Russia, they were not however decisive for the final issue of the war. This was in part due to the unequal fighting strength on both sides.

After the United States of America had saved the Soviet Russian imperium from a

complete collapse, the Soviet Russian army began to hit back. As a result of the successful Russian counter-offensive, the Slovakian army was gradually forced to retreat.

In the late summer of 1944 the Soviet Russian political and military leadership succeeded in carrying the war into the territory of Slovakia. Russian paratroops and political commissars organized a revolt of the Communist underground movement in Slovakia. The main participators in this revolt, which was to facilitate the entry of the Red Russian army into Slovakia, were Russian partisans, Communists who had fled from German concentration camps, and native criminal elements. This campaign, politically directed by Khrushchov, was represented in a falsified form to the West by Communist propaganda, namely as a "Slovak national revolt". In reality it was an international Communist campaign against the government and the social system of the Slovak Republic and its purpose was to serve as a military aid for Soviet Russian warfare.

During this campaign the Slovak people had an opportunity to experience personally the Russian Communist system in all its brutality. Although the revolt collapsed after a few months, a large part of Slovakia was devastated and countless persons were murdered.

The defeat of the Communist partisan revolt in Slovakia, however, could not save the country from Russian occupation. In spring 1945 the whole of Slovakia was occupied step by step by the Soviet Russian army. Against the will of the people, Slovakia was forcibly incorporated with the Bohemian countries and the artificial state structure of Czecho-Slovakia was thus revived as a satellite state in the Soviet Russian sphere of influence.

Since the end of the war the Slovak people have been forced to live under alien Russian rule and Communist dictatorship. The process in Slovakia has been similar to that in the other countries of the Russian imperium. The country is being exploited to an ever-increasing degree by Moscow; the people are terrorized and oppressed. The results of this disastrous development are slavery, suffering, misery and despair.

The Slovak people have not, however, reconciled themselves to the idea that they have lost their national freedom and state independence. Even after 16 years of subjugation and exploitation they are still definitely oppo-

sed to the supremacy of Moscow, to the entire Communist system, and to the unnatural Czecho-Slovakian state structure. The Slovak people continue to put up a constant passive and active resistance against Moscow for their national freedom and independent statehood.

Neither the Slovak government nor the nation have capitulated to Soviet Russia. Hence the war between Slovakia and Russia still continues. When on May 12, 1947, the Tripartite Pact was concluded between the USSR,

the CSR and Poland in order to combat jointly the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the Slovak partisans continued fighting on the side of the UPA.

Today Slovakia belongs to an even greater front of the fight against tyranny, — a front which includes the entire freedom-loving, anti-Communist and anti-Russian world.

From the point of international law, the Slovak Republic continues to exist as a state occupied by the enemy.

Haji Ibrahim T. Y. Ma

Malaya's Fight Against Communist Infiltration

Our country started fighting the Communists in *June 1948 and only ended in July 1960*. This meant 12 long and difficult years. The fighting cost thousands of lives and specially the wasting of labour and finance of the country. Stoppage of work on rubber and tin—which are our riches—has been fantastic, because many areas of the huge rubber plantations and tin mines were occupied by armed Communists, and the workers in the mines and rubber tappers ran away. Rubber trees which might have produced billions of dollars of rubber have been wasted and the trees were damaged and became old; the mines were abandoned!

The Communists used the following intrigues in our country:

The building up of the Party apparatus in Singapore and Malaya.

The use of "United Front" tactics.

Economical subversion.

The infiltration into schools and social organizations, and the hot war when all previous forces failed.

The counter-measures that the government of Malaya took were:

To outlaw the Communists.

To increase the production of the land by all other means to enable the common people to live in a better standard of life.

To mobilize everybody in the village by organizing them into home guards apart from the troops, police and special constables.

To put up large scale resettlement for the people who want to be free of the Communist threat.

To use the intensive food denial campaign by starving the Communist terrorists of *food* and *salt* and *medicine*.

To reward the people who denounce the Communists or kill them.—\$ 5,000 for each Communist killed.

In one word, our government did not do anything that the Communists can do and we do what they cannot! We have trackers who know the jungles well. But the Communists, though expert in jungle warfare, are not half as able as our trackers who, like greyhounds, can even scent their whereabouts!

Psychological warfare was used by distributing millions of pamphlets to the public and dropping them all over the jungles. Loudspeakers were used in the jungles all day. Moving pictures were shown to the people.

Mosques, churches, temples were and are the best places to disseminate anti-Communist propaganda. We must not forget that Communism is A RELIGION DENYING the existence of God, the Creator of the world. I repeat once more that only those who are religious-minded can fight Communism. It is because of this

religious-minded people, which is 65⁰/₁₀₀ of the total population of Malaya, i.e. Moslems in a big majority and some Christians—that we are able to thrash the Communists in our country. Some Communists are still lingering in the jungles on the Thai-Malayan border but they are for the moment remaining inactive and hardly pressed by the troops of two countries—Thailand and Malaya—and the Communists are trying to infiltrate into our schools and associations of the workers, a fact to which we pay constant attention.

The Communist danger today is greater than in previous years. They are fighting in Laos, and Laos is not far either from Vietnam or Malaya or Thailand or the Philippines, particularly with the advance of modern communications. We should be ready to face any eventuality. Therefore we should speak little but work more and sincerely. (This does not mean that we should stop our intensive propaganda.)

We should strictly organize the anti-Communist movement and request our respective government to smash corruption, if there is any, and give better treatment to and look after the welfare of the working class, solve the unemployment problems as soon as possible, and, lastly but not least, raise the standard of living of the common people.

We must firmly back the Laotian sovereignty and consider Boun Oum's government a legal one.

We must condemn the great powers which have indirectly exerted pressure over Laos to cause its political troubles; this will of imposing a political regime in Laos is contradictory to the Charter of U. N. which asserts that every country has its right to choose its own allies, and to solve its internal affairs by itself.

Afraid to Attack Russian Colonialism

Comments on "The Political War of the Communists at Work" by Madame Suzanne Labin, introductory speech held at the Conference on the Political Warfare of the USSR in Rome, November 1961.

It appears essential from the standpoint of the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism to add some important supplementary remarks to certain points mentioned by the speaker.

I should like to quote and subsequently comment on certain statements made by Mme Labin in her speech, namely as follows:

"Communism is employed in the service of a government. Communism has identified itself with the interests of Soviet Russia."

To which I should like to remark:

In order to be victorious over the enemy, one must clearly recognize him. In this case it is modern Russian colonialism and imperialism which in Communist disguise is now manoeuvring to enforce Russian rule on the world, a fact which was rightly realized by Karl Marx in his day. For in 1853 he wrote: "What has changed? Nothing! Russia's policy is unchangeable. Its methods, its tactics, its manoeuvres may change, but the lodestar of its policy — world domination — is a fixed star."

In those days the Russian colonial empire, in which peoples such as the Ukrainians, Caucasians, and Baltic nations, etc., were incarcerated, was not yet ruled by the Communists.

There is no Soviet colonialism but solely a Russian colonialism, for "Soviet Union" is merely a designation for the Russian imperium which happens to bear this name. Thus the West must expose Russian colonialism in order to make the Afro-Asian peoples realize the new danger which threatens them in the form of even more ruthless imperialists and colonial masters. From the point of view of political and military strategy this realization is of the utmost importance, for if one does not know who the main enemy is and where he is, then it is well-nigh impossible to combat him successfully.

At this point I should like to refer to the ideas expressed by that famous British military writer, Major-General J. F. C. Fuller, on the political and military warfare of the West, and also by Air Marshal Sir E. King-

ston-McClough. Major-General Fuller regards the disintegration of the Russian colonial imperium in every form into independent national states of all the nations incarcerated in it, irrespective of the date when they were subjugated, as the most decisive precondition for the success of the West's political warfare. This idea has already been expressed by the US-Congress and the President of the USA in the solemn and historic proclamation on "Captive Nations Week". Through the medium of their highest legislative body the American people have shown that they are on the side of the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and have declared the aim of American policy to be the restoration of the national independence of all the peoples subjugated by Russian colonialism.

In its excellent publication "Der aktuelle Osten" of October 10, 1960, the National Union for Peace and Freedom has also professed itself in favour of the disintegration of the Russian imperium.

We are of the opinion that these clear realizations regarding the enemy and the friends should be accepted as the guiding principles of the political warfare of the West against the Russian colonial imperium.

The second quotation from Madame Labin's speech:

"Actually the Soviet Union is not a state at all but a Party."

From the above statements it is obvious that the Soviet Union is a Russian colonial empire set up by the Russian imperialists in a modern Bolshevik form after overthrowing the national states such as Ukraine, Georgia, Azerhaidjan, Turkestan, Armenia, Byelorussia, etc., which had been restored in the years 1918/21 by national revolutions. Thus it is not, as was stated in the speech in question, a case of a party, but of Russian colonial masters who rule over foreign peoples in their imperium. The Communist system is only a form of Russian alien rule in the subjugated countries.

The speaker in question also affirmed:

"The weakest front of the Soviets is the internal front and hence we must concentrate our blows on it... It is quite correct to affirm that the attitude of the masses in the developing countries is determined by myths and ideologies far more so than in Europe, and not by needs."

To which I should like to comment:

It follows from this statement that the internal front in the Soviet Union is not only anti-Communist, but also anti-imperialist and national. This means that the subjugated peoples are fighting for their national independence by the disintegration of the Rus-

sian imperium, as the essential precondition for the realization of the democratic and humanistic idea and, above all, of the restoration of their social and state political order on a national and religious basis. The peoples subjugated by Russia and their not only really democratic but also national idea are the vulnerable spot of the Soviet Union. The liberation revolutions behind the Iron Curtain are national and anti-imperialistic and not merely anti-Communist.

The myths and ideologies both in the developing countries and in the Russian-ruled countries include not only the humanistic and democratic ideal but, above all, liberation nationalism, a fact which is even stressed in the programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Paragraph 6, with regard to the developing countries. It is a historical fact that the democratic and humanistic ideal did not suffice to arouse the enthusiasm of the colonial countries of Africa and Asia. It was liberation nationalism, the idea of national independence, the realization of which, as I already mentioned, is the precondition for human freedoms in a colonial country, which first became the myth of the peoples. I do not think the democratic system can be realized in any colonial country in the world without the national independence of the country in question. Every type of colonial rule is a discriminative rule as far as the peoples and individuals are concerned. Hence liberation nationalism was, is and continues to be the vulnerable spot of the Russian colonial imperium. There can be no democracy without national independence!

As the fourth point I wish to quote the following sentence:

"It is the aim of the present Russian campaign of violence to kill Berlin politically."

Berlin and East Germany constitute a part of the subjugated peoples who hold the key position in the fight against Russian colonialism. The German problem can never be solved as something separate and detached from the indivisible liberation struggle of all the peoples subjugated in the Russian sphere of influence. Hence it is imperative that a global offensive counter-action of the free world should be started in cooperation with the underground movements of the subjugated peoples. Any compromise in Berlin means the recognition of the status quo in the entire subjugated world, which is what Russia is really out to achieve in order to destroy the hopes and the confidence of the subjugated peoples in the West. And this in turn would mean that the West has lost the decisive battle.

Either we all become free together, or else we perish one after another! S. S.

A Message to the Members of the United Nations Organization, New York

Dear Sirs,

We take the liberty of submitting certain proposals to you in connection with the debate on colonialism which was held in the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Colonialism must be abolished everywhere in the world and not merely in the framework of the Western colonial powers. It would indeed be fatal if the newly founded states of Africa and Asia, in their justified fight for national independence and the abolition of feudalism in their countries, allowed themselves to be misused by Russia for the latter's imperialistic aims and were to lose their newly attained independence in another Russian colonial world empire—the World Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics—by Communist deceit and cunning.

To express the solidarity of all the peoples on earth who, irrespective of race, religion, size and wealth, are fighting for national freedom and independence, social justice and human rights against colonialism and imperialism, against Communism and feudalism, against inhumanity, tyranny and slavery, and for God and their native country, we submit the following proposals in the common interests of all governments of the free countries of the world that are members of the UNO:

I. That at the next plenary session of the United Nations a resolution be passed on the necessity of abolishing the Russian colonial imperium and liberating all the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism in the USSR and in the so-called satellite countries by restoring their national independent states in their ethnographical territories.

II. That in accordance with the preamble and Articles 1 and 2 of the Statutes of the UNO, the General Assembly of the UNO shall resolve:

1) Russia shall withdraw its armies of occupation and the police forces under its control from all the countries which it has occupied in the USSR and all the so-called satellite countries.

2) Free democratic elections shall be held in all the countries hitherto subjugated by Russia.

3) National armies shall be set up to guarantee the independence of the countries concerned.

4) The Russian state shall confine itself to its ethnographical territory, once all the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism in the USSR and in the so-called satellite countries have restored their independent, national, democratic states. The peoples subjugated by Russia in the USSR and in the satellite countries, who have a centuries-old and in some cases a thousand-year old state and cultural traditions, shall not, as is at present the case in official world politics, be refused those rights of state sovereignty now claimed by the newly founded states of Africa and Asia, if the principles of the indivisibility and right of self-determination are not to be merely declarations but are to be applied in practice.

5) The further inclusion of the greatest slave-dealer in the history of the world, the Russian colonial imperium, in the UNO would be contrary to all the principles for which the newly created states and the old-established peoples of Europe, Asia, America and Africa are fighting. Since the Soviet Union continues to violate the principles contained in the UNO Charter and signed by it, it should be excluded from the UNO (Article 6) together with all its Communist satellite governments, seeing that the veto right (Article 27, par. 3) has been abolished by the UNO General

Assembly with the votes of the free peoples. In this way the UNO will become a world freedom organization with equal rights for all peoples, whether great or small, rich or poor.

6) As representatives of the peoples suffering under Russian colonial rule, the authorized spokesmen of the national resistance against Bolshevism and Russian colonialism should be admitted to the UNO. All colonial empires in the world and all artificially and forcibly created state structures shall be abolished and in their stead independent, national, democratic states of all the peoples of the world shall be restored or set up. The freedom of the individual and the freedom of the peoples, that is to say the national state independence of the peoples, are indivisible in the whole world.

III. Furthermore we propose:

1) That the General Assembly of the UNO should declare its solidarity with the Resolution on "Captive Nations Week" Res. H. Con. Res. 636, 86th US Congress) unanimously adopted by the US Congress.

2) That the General Assembly of the UNO should recommend all its freedom-loving members to issue their statements declaring their solidarity with the fight for freedom and independence of the peoples subjugated by Russian colonialism through their parliaments, and to observe Captive Nations Week in an appropriate form and way in their countries.

3) That, irrespective of the attitude of the UNO, every freedom-loving government should suggest to the parliament of its people that Captive Nations Week be observed in keeping with the spirit of the noble resolution passed by the US Congress. This would be an excellent initiative towards bringing about the global expansion of a world freedom movement against the attacks of aggressive Russian despotism.

We trust that we shall have your sympathy and support for our petition which concerns the cause of all freedom-loving mankind. Those who help the subjugated and the enslaved are helping their own cause, too. One part of the world cannot live in freedom if the other part is forced to live in slavery. "Our cause is the cause of all mankind"—were the words of that great American, Benjamin Franklin, in 1777 regarding the fight for freedom of the American people.

And we can rightly and even more justifiably say the same of the fight for freedom of our peoples who are subjugated by Russian colonialism in its modern form, namely godless Communism, which threatens all mankind and its culture and civilization and destroys all human and sacred values.

Yours very respectfully

December 1961.

The Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc
of Nations (A.B.N.)

ABN Guests from Rome

On November 3rd the members of the ABN in Munich had the pleasure of welcoming the President of the Institute for Ethnical Problems, *Prof. Dr. Leo Magnino*, and the *former Bulgarian Minister Christo Stateff* (member of the Central Committee of ABN), both of them from Rome. In a short report Prof. Magnino gave a survey of the political situation in Italy and of the opportunities for anti-Communist activity in that country. He stressed in particular that he considered it essential, on the strength of his long experience, that one must have an intimate knowledge of the problems of the European and,

above all, of the subjugated peoples in order to conduct the fight against Communism effectively. National subjugation, he said, could serve as the best counter-argument in the fight against Russian Communism, and the national idea, he added, was the most effective weapon. He went on to point out that all efforts to disseminate the view that the national idea was outmoded were merely in keeping with Communist propaganda. In his report he also mentioned his visit to Yugoslavia and stressed with considerable gratification that the entire Croatian people were definitely anti-Communist.

Japan's Important Role in the Fight against Russia

Welcoming address by Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko at the session of the Central Committee of A.B.N. on November 15, 1961.

I wish to say on behalf of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) that it is a great honour and pleasure to me to welcome in our midst today our esteemed friend and guest from Japan, *Prof. Dr. Juitsu Kitaoka*, the Director of the Free Asia Association.

Prof. Kitaoka, who holds the chair for social politics, industrial law and economics at the University of Tokyo, was a member of the Japanese delegation at the 7th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist

spokesman of the Japanese delegation, in which capacity he deserves our especial recognition and gratitude.

It is a well known fact that the courageous Japanese people were victorious in the war against the Russian imperium 55 years ago. This victory in 1905 contributed a considerable share towards shaking the foundations of the Russian imperium, towards the victorious national liberation wars and towards the restoration — if only for a short time — of the state independence of the nations



Prof. Dr. J. Kitaoka, Director of Free Asia Association, with ABN representatives.

League (APACL) which was held in Manila in May 1961. Our friend is one of the most consistent and uncompromising anti-Bolshevik politicians in Japan. The Japanese delegation at the Conference in Manila was headed by the President of the Free Asia Association, *Dr. Tetsuzo Watanabe*. Dr. Watanabe was elected chairman of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL). The ABN is extremely grateful to the Japanese delegation in Manila for it was the first delegation which in the plenary session of the Conference actively supported the adoption of the ABN resolution on the necessity for the disintegration of the Russian imperium, on the right to national independence of all the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism, and on universal support on the part of the free world for the national liberation movements. On this occasion Prof. Kitaoka acted as the

incarcerated in the Russian tsarist prison of peoples. It was our victory, too.

Russia was, is and will continue to be our common enemy, the enemy of Japan and of our subjugated peoples. Our Japanese friends politically support our fight for national independence. And we, too, wholeheartedly recognize the right of the Japanese to the liberation and re-incorporation of the Japanese ethnographical territories conquered by Russia into the Japanese motherland.

The anti-Bolshevist freedom-fighters are glad that the old heroic spirit of Samurai and of the Kamikadeses is gradually being reborn in the younger generation in Japan, as was seen recently from the death of that hero Ottoja Jamaguchi.

May I be permitted to express our great pleasure once more at being able to welcome in our midst the representative of the regeneration of courageous anti-Russian Japan.

“Most Precious Things — Freedom, Belief and Nationalism”

I am not concerned with giving an explanation regarding the doctrine and principles of Communism as all peoples are wise enough to realize that world Communism is like an octopus bearing destructive principles with far-reaching consequences, threatening the security and peace of the world, and posing as a permanent menace to the high and noble principles of mankind, and if unleashed will lead to the destruction of all the decent qualities latent in the human race.

I wish however to give you a comprehensive statement on the presence of Communism in Jordan, — how did it infiltrate into the country, and how was it fought and defeated in the early stages of its existence, thus exposing it to the general public as an abominable disgusting midget.

Jordan was free from this menace until the advent of the Palestine calamity when over one million Arabs were dislodged from their homes by means of brutal violence and political manoeuvres, and displaced by a people of various nationalities rounded up from all over the world by the *blind creed* of world Zionism. It was on account of this most ugly and beastly disaster the world has ever known, that Communism found its way into the tents and caves of the refugees, and planted itself in a soil saturated with bitterness and harshness arising out of this tragedy.

It was in the year 1948, a year of dispersion and refuge, that Communism started sowing its seeds and spitting out its venom among those refugees who had given up all hope of attaining human justice in the international field. In the midst of this bitter atmosphere those seeds which were continuously nourished by Communist agents flourished and grew.

Of course it is not unknown to us that Communist plannings for countries outside the Iron Curtain differ in accordance with the situation in each country and the standard of its people. For example, in one country, Communism hails a national slogan, while in another country which maintains different principles and aims, Communist agents denounce such slogans. This rightfully is ample proof that Communism cannot exist except in a troubled and confused atmosphere. It resembles field-worms that live in the mud. As soon as the mud dries up in the fine weather the worms die. So it is with Communism, with its weak and poisoned nature, it cannot exist in a healthy and stable country.

As I said a little while ago, in Jordan, Communism fixed its evil roots amongst the despairing refugees ever since the existence of

the Palestine tragedy. Later developments have shown that the Communists followed its traditional course of infiltrating into the ranks of labourers and workmen, the poor class of the people, the adolescent students and the unemployed youth. Their next step was to organize themselves and distribute clandestine pamphlets until three groups of Communists of different categories were established. There were the idealists, the opportunists and the decisive and the deceived weak-minded group.

In the holocaust of this Communist delirium which existed in an atmosphere plagued with despair, bitterness and unemployment, the Communist agents ventured on sowing the seeds of disturbances and agitation by despicable means, with an aim of changing the system of government and spreading chaos and confusion. This prompted Jordan, led by its hero His Majesty King Hussein Ben Talal to realize that standing by with folded arms in the face of these subversive activities will not only endanger Jordan's existence but also the existence of the Arab and Moslem world. So in 1957, His Majesty the King declared a Holy War against world Communism in an historic message, the contents of which were adopted ever since by the government and the people as Jordan's constitution. In this message, the King exposes the destructive principles of Communism, pointing out the dangers that those principles carry, and explaining the means by which the nation could combat and defeat this evil.

His Majesty did not stop at that but went to the United Nations to deliver his historic address before the General Assembly, in which he affirmed anew that he is and will continue to be the leader of the Arab peoples in their struggle against Communism, both on the Arab and international fronts, sacrificing all means at his disposal to save his people and country from this imminent danger.

On the domestic front, the Jordan Government in the light of the broad lines drawn by His Majesty the King, took positive steps in combatting Communism, taking into account that such steps will also act as a deterrent and protective measure for the aforesaid three groups of people who fell victims to this evil.

The Idealists

This group which had rigid and fanatic ideas were difficult to reform in spite of all the efforts used to persuade them to do so. Therefore drastic measures had to be taken, and the emergency regulations for combatting Communism were enforced against them. As

a deterrent measure, these laws include a punishment of 15 years imprisonment for anyone who belongs to the Communist Party, or propagates for it whether actively or morally. Here we can state with conviction that this group of Communists were totally dislodged from Jordan after arresting their leaders and confiscating the machines that were used for printing and distributing their flimsy and absurd ideas.

The Opportunists

This group is mainly formed from half educated people or mercenary politicians. They are only interested in achieving their aims by using any possible means at their disposal. These cheap-minded people were hired by Communists. They were branded with nationalism and given such names as the "National Liberation Front" and the like. As soon as the veil dropped from over the ugly face of Communism, these people failed in their mission and felt dismayed. Later, they repented, but it was too late, and they finally found themselves back where they started from. Still they have learnt a lesson which they will always remember because they were ridiculed and became the laughing stock of the people.

The Deceived and Weak-minded

Unfortunately this group of people were easily led and influenced by the sweet promises of the Communist agents. They were caught in the trap due to ignorance on the one hand, and the wish for a better imaginary situation on the other. The group was mainly formed from adolescent students and unemployed labourers.

The latter category were in actual fact more difficult to deal with than the students. The Government however was successful in overcoming the harmful ideas that infiltrated into their sick minds by means of establishing labour offices and drafting new labour legislations which guaranteed their rights and instituted social justice. It provided work for the labourers on decent terms, fixed reasonable working hours for them with a moderate pay and adequate compensation. In addition to all this, work was provided for them in the various economic projects in line with our emblem, — "Let us build this country and serve this nation."

In the education field, a purge of all schools and educational institutions was carried out, thus eliminating the teachers who were suspected of poisoning the minds of their students instead of giving them the proper education. This drastic measure was followed by lecturing the students daily on the dangers of Communism to the country and people. This programme served its good purpose. It armed the students with im-

munity to Communism and created out of them true citizens with strong characters, who willingly refuse to countenance the admission of characters which are contrary to their high principles.

However the fact still remains that by their fundamental nature and inherited traditions the Arab peoples loath Communism and oppose it. As for Islam, it provided for its followers sound and upright principles which would isolate them from Bolshevism and renegation, and makes out of the Moslem an adamant soldier who would fight fiercely against the dangers of Communism.

It is not surprising therefore to see our great king and leader His Majesty King Hussein, the leader of the Arab peoples, the author of Arab renaissance and heir to the prophet's message, rise up in struggle to preserve our nationalism and traditions and to defend Islam reiterating in his address before the United Nations the basic principles of the Jordanian people's policy with regard to the new Communist imperialism which started to invade the world, clad in deceiving and brilliant uniform, when he said:

"This is Jordan's policy and this is its immortal message in the face of the greatest danger threatening our present world and the three most precious things in it, Freedom, Belief and Nationalism."

From Letters to ABN

Dear Sirs.

Buenos Aires

The communiqué of the preparatory Committee of the Conference of Neutralist Countries, issued in Cairo on June 13, 1961, says: 1) that it is the duty of the participating countries to help all the movements of national liberation, and 2) that the right of self-determination of every people and the liquidation of colonialism is one of the most important problems to be discussed at the Conference.

On this occasion, this Institute has sent to the participating governments a Memorandum dealing with national oppression and economic exploitation in Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia is not a national but a plurinational and heterogeneous State created after World War I and restored after World War II. Peoples and minorities integrating it were deprived of the right of self-determination. — Yugoslavia can thus be maintained only by means of violence and is the most flagrant case of national oppression and colonialist exploitation.

We remain most respectfully Yours

INSTITUTO CROATA LATINOAMERICANO
DE CULTURA.

In Defense Of Truth

Current political talk among Bulgarians in America puts it this way: THE STATE DEPARTMENT CONSIDERS DR. G. M. DIMITROV THE BEST AMERICAN INVESTMENT in a future Bulgaria. Responsible factors are unofficially quoted as having used the term "investment".

Facts and circumstances force us to accept this talk as undisputable truth and unless immediate steps are taken to change this truth we are under obligation to forewarn all Bulgarians — in exile and in Bulgaria, that a new dictatorship, similar to that established on September 9, 1944, is in the making and that the freedom under the State Department's "investment" in a freed from Communism Bulgaria will be the same freedom which this "investment" brought to this country in 1944.

We have repeatedly challenged this policy of the State Department. We challenge it now again. Using the President's letter to the younger readers of his Pulitzer Prize winner book "Profiles in Courage" as a foreground for this editorial, we want to clear the background of this American "investment" in future "free" Bulgaria.

Here are the facts! Let history and the Bulgarian people — in exile and in Bulgaria — judge them according to their merits!

1. Dr. G. M. Dimitrov bears full political responsibility for the coming to power of the present Communist regime in Bulgaria and for the mass executions that took place in Bulgaria after September 9, 1944.

2. The followers of Dr. G. M. Dimitrov are still in the present Communist Government of Bulgaria.

3. Dr. G. M. Dimitrov's claims for leadership of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union are unfounded misrepresentations. It was the Government of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union of Constantin Muraviev, Dimiter Gitchev and Vergil Dimov, — nationally recognized leaders of the Union — and of the Bulgarian Democratic Party of Nikola Mushanov which was toppled by the Communist coalition "Fatherland Front" of Dr. G. M. Dimitrov, C. Muraviev, D. Gitchev, V. Dimov and N. Mushanov were thrown in prison where some of them died and some of them are still imprisoned by the very Government in which Dr. Dimitrov took part through his political group "Pladuc".

4. On October 12, 1944, Dr. Dimitrov joined the Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist party and the other groups of the "Fatherland Front" in a public declaration proclaiming the Communist Party to be democratic and the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union

and the Bulgarian Democratic party — undemocratic. Here is the partial text of this declaration:

"...The other parties and organizations ... cannot be admitted in the Fatherland Front. That includes *Democrats*, *Liberals*, *Gitchevists* and *Radicals* as parties. In general, outside of the Fatherland Front there are no democratic political organizations..."

5. Dr. G. M. Dimitrov's program for a future Bulgaria envisages reestablishment of the Fatherland Front combination and suppression of the liberties and the freedom of the Bulgarian people.

6. During his heyday period in Bulgaria — September to December 1944 — Dr. Dimitrov made numerous statements declaring that the foreign policy of Bulgaria led through Moscow.

7. The following telegram, published in "Borba" (1/19. 1961), in photostat as it appeared in the Bulgarian Press (Zaria 11. 10. 1944), is a significant document in Bulgarian political history:

Moscow, Joseph V. Stalin,
Marshall of the Soviet Union.

On the occasion of the anniversary of the October Revolution we extend to you greetings of the Bulgarian peasants and their admiration for the liberation exploits of the glorious and brotherly Red Army.

The article in the paper explained that the telegram was addressed to Stalin by the "Secretary General of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, Dr. G. M. Dimitrov".

8. Dr. G. M. Dimitrov is widely known in Bulgaria and abroad as a pre-war Intelligence Officer for the Royal Yugoslav Government when subversive and open political activities of his group "Pladuc" were financed by Belgrade.

9. Dr. G. M. Dimitrov's Committee is a shelter for deserting or planted abroad Communist agents. His political background and ideological affinities and past cooperation with Communists present no obstacles for them to infiltrate through him the Bulgarian exile movement. The examples of Trifounov and Mladenov are too well known to be forgotten.

10. The great majority of the founding members of his Committee resigned and he himself hand-picked his new associates in a way that no one of them was able to challenge his authority.

11. Dr. G. M. Dimitrov faked false evidence against Mr. Toncho Teneff — one of the most

distinguished leaders of the Bulgarian parliamentary opposition to Communism in 1946 to 1947, closest friend and associate to the leader of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union D. Gitchev, in whose name he heads the exile representation of this Union. Severely criticized by Mr. Teneff for his methods and policies, Dr. Dimitrov denounced him as being sent abroad by the Communists and subsequently intimated that he had indulged in this fabrication on instructions from the Americans.

12. Dr. George Petkov, one of the earliest associates of Dr. Dimitrov, after resigning from his Committee, accused him of preparing "to substitute the present dictatorship with another one".

13. Mr. D. Matsankiev, another associate of his, after resigning from the same Committee accused Dr. Dimitrov of faking false personnel arrangements and having misappropriated vast amounts of funds supplied by the American Government.

14. Mr. K. Shopov, of the same category, cited Dr. Dimitrov for passing death sentences against him and other Bulgarian political exiles in Istanbul, for attempts to have these sentences carried out, for beatings, threats, slanders and . . . for the murder of two brothers in Italy.

These are a few of the universally acknowledged facts!

Do these facts have any meaning at all?
They certainly do!

For those who have chosen Dr. G. M. Dimitrov to be their "investment" in future Bulgaria and to be the present "spokesman" for Bulgaria in exile, thereby endorsing his political actions as outlined above, September 9 is a day of national liberation!

For those, who recognize September 9 as a national tragedy — and they are the entire Bulgarian people — Dr. G. M. Dimitrov is the Trojan Horse of the Communist take-over of Bulgaria.

The logic of these facts is too obvious and irrefutable to be overlooked or ignored!

It certainly is a grave mistake to underestimate the intelligence of the Bulgarian people and expect that it ignore or overlook this logic!

It certainly is an error of judgment; it could not be irresponsible personal politics of incompetent officials, to persist in continuing this policy of "investments" and "spokesmen".

The American policies on Bulgarian exile affairs are in urgent need of reconsideration, re-evaluation and radical change! This need is dictated by American vital interests in future Bulgaria — not by Bulgarian politics. This is a time of challenge and opportunity!

The time is ripe for all Bulgarians too to recognize the reality of facts in the American attitudes on Bulgarian political matters and draw the necessary conclusions. There is a political solution and the beneficiary of that solution is Dr. G. M. Dimitrov. There is an Intelligence solution and it embraces all those who disregard the importance of political matters. The first solution implies commitment for the future — the second solution is an underhand dealing and nobody openly accepts responsibility for it. The time has come that those deciding who is worthy of being their political choice and who is unworthy for it, and who is to be a paid mercenary agent, know that we, the Bulgarians, are aware of this important distinction. The time has also come for those Bulgarians who are unaware of this distinction, or pretend that they are unaware, to realize that they are just doing a mercenary work serving Dr. G. M. Dimitrov, that they are involved in underhand activities — not in a bona fide political work.

The time has come for all of us to recognize the political solution and distinguish it from the Intelligence work, to recognize the political opportunist and the political mercenary, the political "investment" and the political dupe, the political ignorance and the political trickery.

We do not hesitate, in the words of President John F. Kennedy, to be those who have the courage to advocate, at the risk of personal and political sacrifices, a cause which is unpopular with the authorities! We are prepared to carry the burden of this unpopularity! But we are honestly and sincerely convinced that we are advocating a just and positive cause!

Reprinted from

"BORBA"

Published by the
Bulgarian National Front

September—October, 1961, New York.

*From a letter to
the Press Bureau of the ABN.*

I beg to acknowledge receipt of and thank you for your publications, which, I find, are very useful for my personal research work and general reference purposes.

Yours sincerely,

Tsu Sung-chiu

Deputy Chief, Information Department

The KMT Central Committee

Republic of China.

The Church and Religious Faith in Ukraine under Constant Persecution

"The religious 'remnants' are still alive in our midst. We have done a great deal towards exterminating them, but there are still many deficiencies and faults in our atheistic activity"; this statement was made last year at the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine in Kyiv by the Party's First Secretary, M. V. Podgorny. "It is imperative that the Party organizations, the Ministry of Culture and Education, the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Vocational Training, the Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge, as well as all the ideological institutions should continue to conduct an atheistic propaganda, namely by various ways and means; and special attention must be paid to the individual influence to be exercised on the faithful believers. We must not overlook the fact that our enemies cunningly endeavour to agitate and use the sects and various other religious groups against the Soviet country". This speech on the part of Moscow's gaulceiter in Ukraine was not only an open admission of the fact that religious faith could not be exterminated amongst the Ukrainian people in spite of all the efforts on the part of the Bolsheviks, but also an announcement to the effect that even more rigid measures and more large-scale actions would be taken against the Church and religious faith in Ukraine.

The first thing that was then inflicted on the Ukrainian people was an avalanche of atheistic propaganda. Thousands of agitators were sent to the towns and villages, schools and clubs. Courses and lectures were organized, discussion-evenings and exhibitions, individual and group talks, in order to convince the population that God does not exist and that religion is "opium for the people". In order to train the agitators, special atheistic secondary and high schools were founded; and in order to supply them with material, authors and journalists were commissioned to write new anti-religious articles, pamphlets and books, and playwrights and screenplay writers were instructed to produce plays and film-scenes with atheistic contents. The provincial theatres were to give priority to such plays. Two plays which were commended in particular by the censors and supervisors of this anti-religious campaign were "The Monk As Seducer" by H. Filling and "Drops of Poison" by O. Lukatzky. The extent to which the Bolsheviks go in their anti-Church and anti-religious fight can be

seen from an extract on the atheistic activity in Ukraine.

"During the past few years the regional Party organization has activated its atheistic propaganda among the workers considerably. The regional theatre in particular has done valuable work in this respect. It even took its plays to the remotest villages (the Shytomyr district) . . .

"In the 8-grade school in Budkivsko (Cherkassy district), as well as in the teachers' institute in Vynnytzia 'pedagogical lectures' were held on anti-religious themes . . .

"In the town of Dnipropetrovsk a 'University of Atheism' was founded, where hundreds of young workers will study in two-year courses . . .

"At the sugar factory in Horodytche (Cherkassy district) a public trial was held at which an illegal group of faithful, under the leadership of the priest Mytrofan Koval, was sentenced. One of the accused was a student of the Kyiv institute, Helena Semydkurna. She attended the secret prayer meetings but lived in Kyiv . . .

"In the rayon of Nesterivsk a 'Touring Club of the Atheists' was founded. The club was supplied with a film projector and appropriate literature. 75 teachers must place themselves at the disposal of the club as lecturers . . .

"In the course of its two years' existence the 'House of Atheism' in Lwiv has held 40 propaganda evenings . . .

"In one year over 4,000 lectures on scientific atheistic themes were held in factories, kolkhozes and elsewhere in the Lwiv district. There are 33 active groups engaged in studying the problems of atheism in this district. They have registered 1,500 Komsomol members as visitors. 9,000 mass actions were carried out against religion . . .

"In three provincial towns atheistic departments were opened in the museums . . .

"In Ukraine 250 discussion evenings for questions and answers were held in one year; numerous concerts were also arranged. These social events were held in conjunction with atheistic lectures . . .

"A 'House of Atheism' was built in Odessa. There are at present numerous such houses in 28 provincial towns in the region of Odessa . . .

"The official organ of the Ministry of Higher Education in the USSR announced

that from now onwards atheism would be introduced as a subject in all the schools in Ukraine. Nine different themes are to be dealt with... etc., etc.”

We could quote many more such examples, but the above should suffice to show the efforts made by the Russian occupants in Ukraine to destroy not only the Church but also the Christian faith there. So far, however, these efforts have only met with success in the fight against the Church as an organization and institution. By administrative decrees practically all the churches in East and Central Ukraine have been either converted for other purposes or have been pulled down. Bishops and priests have been arrested and sentenced to imprisonment. It is only in the large towns that one or two churches have been allowed to remain open in order to demonstrate the “freedom of religious worship” to foreign tourists. In the west and southwest regions of Ukraine all the churches were so far accessible to the faithful provided that they could raise enough money to pay the exorbitant taxes imposed on them. The first step in the fight against the Church in these regions was the liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and its incorporation in the Russian Orthodox Church. Amongst the newly installed priests there were numerous Communists in disguise, who acted as agents for Moscow. Here, too, the Bolsheviks resorted to further measures in 1961 and closed numerous churches. Many of the churches which had no priests were likewise seized and closed to the faithful.

In addition to the propaganda campaign and defamations against the priests, the bishops and the Vatican, the Party agents also try to carry out acts of terrorism against the undaunted faithful. A group of American students witnessed one such act of terrorism at Easter this year in Kyiv Cathedral. During the service Komsomol members sneaked into the church and at a given sign began raging against the worshippers. They beat old persons and children, tore their clothes, shouted insults at them and dragged them out of the church.

But in spite of all these measures, the Bolsheviks are unable to achieve their aim. The provincial paper “Pidkarpatska Pravda” (“Sub-Carpathian Truth”) recently published an article on the priests of the Uniate Church in which it was stated: “They assemble in the catacombs, they join the underground movement, they wander from place to place, they call together their faithful flock in secret in peasants’ huts, hold their services there, baptize children, preach and exhort the faithful ‘to only recognize the supremacy of the Vatican’. One of these priests assumed the name of ‘Uncle Hnat’ for his

secret activity. He had his headquarters in the village of Brochniv Osada. The faithful assembled in the hut belonging to Andriy Homechyn.” The paper reports that this priest was “exposed and sentenced”. It also admits that this apostle of the 20th century had received his instructions from a “prior”. But we assume that “Uncle Hnat”, whose real name was Father Soltys, did not reveal who his prior was, otherwise the paper would undoubtedly have mentioned this fact. This report proves that the Church is organized underground on a large scale, for not only priests, but also deacons and quite possibly bishops, too, look after their faithful flock in the underground movement.

In recent years the Ukrainian press in exile has published many eyewitness accounts and letters which clearly prove that not only the Catholic Uniate Church but also the Orthodox Church in Ukraine carries on its work underground. Religious faith is stronger than ever. Proof of this fact can be seen from the following incident which was reported in the paper “Mündchner Merkur” of July 24th. — In Lwiw two high Communist functionaries seized hold of an Orthodox priest on the street, blindfolded him and took him to a house, where they asked him to baptize a child. Even Lwiw Radio mentioned this incident, a fact which proves that it was not an individual case, otherwise no mention would have been made of it at all.

We should like to quote the following passage from the Lwiw provincial paper “Vilna Ukraina” (“Free Ukraine”): “On Wednesday, August 19th, the threshing-machines were silent all day in the kolkhoz ‘Radianska Armija’, because it was... a religious feast-day. All along the roads and paths leading to the village of Rohisne one could see long lines of people dressed in their Sunday best; and the church-bells pealed the whole day. But it was not only in the village of Verchivci that the threshing-machines were silent. In Berestiany, the headquarters of the 4th brigade of the kolkhoz ‘Chapayev’, too, the mechanic Mihaylo Paulichtiak did not put in an appearance at work, and the whole machinery was idle for 24 hours.”

“We are as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and behold, we live; as chastened, and not killed.”

H. Corinthians, VI, 9.

From Behind the Iron Curtain

ARMENIA

A group of workers at the shoe factory No. 3 in Erivan organized an armed attack on the member of the Party bureau at the factory, V. Sarkisian. The papers describe the attack as a particularly dangerous crime... For having favoured dangerous elements who were employed at the factory, the managing director Ahasafian was dismissed from his post and was committed to trial and sentence by a court.

(from "Pravda")

*

The Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia imposed a severe Party sentence on the public prosecutor of the Republic, Hevorkian, his deputies Hukasian and Kotcharian, and dismissed them from their posts for having failed to assess the social and political significance of the facts connected with the murder of a member of the "Drushyny" and with the acts of violence against the "Drushyny". The deputy of the President of the Supreme Court of the Armenian Republic, Arakelian, and the President of the investigation department of the public prosecution office of the Republic were likewise sentenced to Party penalties and were dismissed from their posts because they had not considered the murder of a member of the "Drushyny" in the village of Saryk Bachkend and the fact that another member of the "Drushyny" was wounded in the aluminium works there as a serious matter.

(from "Pravda" of October 8, 1961)

ESTONIA

"The Party organizations in Estonia have not paid sufficient attention to the creative work of the Estonian intelligentsia... In their literary works some critics diverted the attention of the Party from the main task of literature and art, and they spread harmful aesthetic views which savour all too clearly of bourgeois nationalism and revisionism. Public and literary allegations on the part of these critics were not discovered by the Communists who are members of the unions for creative work. Nor were the nationalist tendencies of the critics and of other literary historians exposed..."

(from "Pravda" of October 4, 1961)

A tribunal of the Supreme Court of the Republic sentenced the leaders of a partisan group to death by shooting. They belonged to a group of the worst enemies of the Soviet people — the bourgeois nationalists, and their leaders, H. Rolf and Y. Wijk, during the German occupation carried on an armed fight against Soviet partisans on the territory of the Estonian Republic. In addition, they also carried out terrorist attempts at murder against representatives of the Communist Party and of the Soviet government... In order to escape their "just punishment" the leaders of the group took on jobs in lumber-camps, where they continued their anti-national fight against the Estonian Socialist Republic... The death sentence has been executed.

(from "Isvietsiya", No. 60, 1961)



GEORGIA

The "Komsomolska Pravda" recently published answers to anonymous letters which were sent to the editor of the paper by young Georgians... "We are not Hahan supporters! We have a right to our own thoughts, we are entitled to express our own opinions. The youth that reacts enthusiastically to the appeals of the Party is a hypocritical youth. We do not want to be such a youth", so the young people wrote in their letters. (Hahanova is a brigade-leader in a Russian textile factory, who, "in order to further the spread of Communism", volunteered to lead a brigade of female workers who were behindhand in their work and to accept less wage for her job. For this action on her part she was awarded the Order "Heroes of Socialist Work of the USSR" by the Central Committee of the Communist Party.)

(from "Komsomolska Pravda", No. 101, 1961)

*

More than 100 industrial concerns in Georgia last year and 80 this year failed to fulfil the quotas of the gross production plans. The reasons: absenteeism on the part of workers, passive resistance against the recently introduced high norms, poor wages, protests against the "socialist obligations" enforced by the highest Party authorities.

(from "Pravda" of October 3, 1961)



LATVIA

In an article entitled "We Must Increase Our Vigilance Towards Public Enemies", published in the paper "Soviet Latvia", the head of the KGB of the Latvian Republic, Y. Wewers, wrote as follows: "The worst enemies of the Latvian people, the bourgeois nationalists, do not hesitate to resort to the most cunning methods in order to sabotage the socialist construction of the Latvian Soviet Republic, and in doing so, terrorize the representatives of the citizens and of the authorities . . . Thanks to the vigilance of the Latvian workers and to the general assistance given by the Latvian people, the security organs have discovered several groups of public enemies and traitors, as well as of anti-social persons and have liquidated them . . . These groups entertained criminal relations with Latvian bourgeois nationalist centres in exile and were carrying on espionage for Western imperialism . . ."

(from "Sowjetskaja Latwija", No. 130, 1961)



LITHUANIA

. . . "The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Lithuanian Republic has recently committed serious errors in the Republican Committee for Architecture and Building as well as in the State Publishing Department for political and scientific literature in assessing the past of Lithuania. Certain historiographers and literary experts do not criticize the national demands of the Lithuanian people, nor do they expose in their true light old, national, hostile conceptions . . . The Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania stresses that every Party organization should therefore aim to combat the recidivist elements of bourgeois nationalism ruthlessly and should in no case relax its vigilance and activity in exposing the slightest trace of nationalism and of subversion on the part of agents in the service of foreign imperialism . . ."

(from "Pravda" of October 4, 1961)



SLOVAKIA

Increasing Centralization

The countries of so-called Czecho-Slovakia are being placed under the centralized administration of Prague to an ever-increasing degree. The local authorities in Slovakia continue to be deprived of more and more competence. A significant example of this

fact is a new regulation, according to which it is necessary to obtain the permission of a certain central authority in Prague before factories, bridges, streets and public squares can be named or renamed. The ultimate decision rests with Prague, for instance, as to whether Roosevelt Square in Bratislava is to be renamed Lumumba Square, or Stalin Square is to be re-christened Khrushchov Square. Such is the real nature of Slovakia's "self-administration" in the framework of the Czecho-Slovakian state structure!

*

Picture of Atheist in Ecclesiastical Offices

In addition to various other restrictions, the latest decree of the Communist regime with regard to the churches is typical of the Communist "freedom of religion". According to this decree, a picture of the President of so-called Czecho-Slovakia, Antonin Novotny, must hang on the main wall in all parochial offices and ecclesiastical offices in Slovakia. Apart from a picture of this atheist, no other pictures or religious symbols may be hung on the same wall. The papal flag is prohibited completely.



TURKISTAN

A worker employed in the concern "The Red Chemist", P. Husenko (a Ukrainian), killed a voluntary member of the reserve militia ("Drushyny"), A. Litvonov (a Russian). Husenko was sentenced to death as a dangerous criminal. The Russian press describes Husenko's terrorist deed as an example of the "brigandism" that is directed against the active members of the "socialist order of society".

(from "Isvietsiya")

*

The commander of the Drushyny detachment in the town of Karaganda received information to the effect that workers living at the boarding-house belonging to an assembling concern for sanitary and technical installations were secretly listening in to radio programmes from abroad during the night. At the orders of the Party organization, the Drushyny detachment thereupon raided the boarding-house in the middle of the night in order to arrest the residents. The workers, however, fired at the detachment.

(from "Kasachstanska Pravda", No. 194, 1961)

*

One of the largest corn-growing areas — that of Kustanaisk — has for a number of

years had the poorest harvests and thus is unable to fulfil the state "quotas" of agricultural production. In the districts of Koktchetau and Dchambul thousands of sheep die every year. This year 400,000 died... Kazakhstan will again be unable to fulfil the plans for state corn deliveries this year... The reasons are as follows: arbitrary action as regards carrying out work on the part of the "volunteers" on the Soviet farms in the uncultivated regions, numerous unsatisfactory technical cadres, a growing lack of discipline, negligence in looking after cattle on the part of the kolkhoz workers, and the increase of private farming by the workers in the collectives... (The districts of Kustanaisk, Koktchetau, Dchambul and Pavlodar in Kazakhstan are the chief deportation regions to which Ukrainians are sent by Moscow.)

(from "Pravda" of October 3, 1961)

*

During the first six months of 1961 the industry of the Republic failed to fulfil the gross production plans. In the course of investigations into the reasons for this state of affairs by the organs for state-control, A. Bilocerkiivsky, the departmental head of the Economic Council of Tadzhikistan (of the Soviet collectives) who is in charge of labour and wages, stated that in the second quarter of this year alone as many as 25,207 workers were absent from work in the concerns.

(from "Isvietsiya" of September 12, 1961)

*

The paper "Pravda" drew the attention of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Tadzhikistan and Kirgizstan to the fact that "the question of constantly combating bourgeois prejudices and views, religiousness and bourgeois nationalism, has recently been neglected in the Republics".

(from "Pravda", Nr. 20, 1961)



The Party rayon committee of Talnik in the district of Cherkassy "recommended" that a member of this same committee, O. Ovtcharenko, should be voted chairman of the kolkhoz "The Red Star" ("Tshcherwona Zirka"). By way of protest against this recommendation the members of the kolkhoz did not appear at the meeting. At a subsequent general meeting the kolkhoz farmers voted for another person of their village in spite of the fact that the Party rayon committee had insisted again that Ovtcharenko should be voted.

(from "Pravda Ukrainy")

Stanislaw district. Organs of the state security service (KGB) discovered a juvenile underground group which was engaging in activity against the Soviet state. This group published anti-Soviet underground literature which sharply criticized the Party, the local Party leaders and the newspaper of the rayon. It was run by an underground staff.

(from "Komsomolska Pravda")

*

A railway guard at Kremenchuk station, Semen Nossariv, was arrested by the KGB for "having travelled about in railway trucks and making out anti-Soviet cards which he printed in hand-writing". He then put these cards into the letter-boxes of private houses. They contained a request to make copies of the cards and to pass them on to other persons. Before the war Nossariv was in the army and later fought in the front lines. At an earlier period in his life he was a valet.

(from "Molod Ukrainy", No. 97, 1961)

*

From the Report of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, N. Podgorny, at the 22nd Congress of this Party in Kyiv. (This Congress was held from September 27th to 30th, 1961.)

"... The fighting task of the Party organizations consists in ensuring an active attack by socialist ideology on hostile ideas and views and in ruthlessly exposing the anti-national character of capitalism and its ideology, *bourgeois nationalism* and cosmopolitanism..."

(from "Radianska Ukraina" of Sept. 29, 1961)

*

From a Resolution passed at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine.

"... The 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine stresses that the Party, Soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations shall devote special attention to obliterating the remnants of bourgeois opinions and customs and, above all, all traces of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism from the minds of our people..."

(from "Radianska Ukraina" of October 3, 1961)

Our cause is the cause of all mankind, and we are fighting for their liberty in defending our own!

Benjamin Franklin,
1777.

BOOK - REVIEWS

Marie Kerhuel: Le colosse aux pieds d'argile (The colossus with feet of clay). Editions Subervie, Paris, 1961. 384 pp.

In her excellent and indeed unique book, the authoress, Mme Marie Kerhuel, proves most effectively on the strength of painstaking and accurate research that the Russian colossus only stands on feet of clay and that its collapse will be inevitable before long. For the Russian imperium, whether tsarist or Communist, is an artificial political structure that is bound to crumble to pieces in the end.

Lack of space unfortunately prevents us from quoting all the profound ideas that characterize this book, which is certainly an invaluable handbook on Russia and a kind of encyclopedia on that country and its history, as well as on the peoples subjugated by Russia.

The authoress rightly stresses the fact that by resorting to violence and falsehoods and making use of favourable opportunities a truly barbarous people, the Russians, have been able to expand to such an extent and to subjugate countless peoples who possess a far higher standard of culture and civilization, and she points out that the Russians have to a considerable degree been aided in their plans in this respect by the reprehensible naivety of the West.

Practically every one of the peoples subjugated by Russia and their tragic fate under the ruthless Russian regime are mentioned in Mme Kerhuel's book. She devotes especial attention above all to the tragedy of Ukraine and emphasizes that the culture and civilization of Ukraine are closely connected with the culture and civilization of the West.

She deplors the fact that the allied Major Powers did not support the Ukrainians in their struggle against Russia, for the Ukrainians were the sole force which would have been able to hold up the advance of the Red Army, and this would, in the opinion of the authoress, certainly have changed the course of history.

It is interesting to note that Mme Kerhuel foresees a grave yellow peril for the Russians, who, after all, only number about 65 million. But this fact does not however deter the Russian minority from murdering and systematically exterminating the non-Russian majority in the USSR. As the authoress very rightly emphasizes, the peoples of the Baltic states and, above all, the Ukrainians and Caucasians are Europeans, which is more than one can say of the Russians.

On page 268 Mme Kerhuel gives a detailed account of the formation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) under the leadership of Stefan Bandera. In 1943 the UPA carried on its military operations practically throughout the whole of Ukraine, with the exception of some of the more important communication routes, which were controlled by the Germans and the Russians. The authoress holds the view that the presence of the UPA detachments behind the lines of the German troops was one of the main reasons for Germany's military collapse in this theatre of the war. She also mentions the fact that almost simultaneously with this collapse the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was called into being in order to combat the Red Russian invaders.

With great clear-sightedness the authoress voices the opinion that the President of the USA, F. D. Roosevelt, pursued an extremely unfortunate policy towards the USSR and that the entire civilized world is at present still suffering from the effects of this policy.

On pages 285-297 she sharply censures the erroneous policy of the Major Powers (she is referring in particular to Great Britain) towards the Russian imperium and, at the same time, points out that there can be no Russian imperium without Ukraine. There is a considerable divergence of opinions in parliamentary circles in the USA (House of Representatives — investigations by the Kersten Committee and by the US Government, State Department) on the subject of the USSR. The Government of the USA continues to adhere to a pro-Russian policy in spite of various declarations, as for instance the proclamation on "Captive Nations Week". It is, incidentally, significant that both the Russian Communists and also the white Russian emigrants in the free world have violently protested against the holding of this "Week" in the USA.

The authoress regards the year 1956 as a premonitory sign of the ultimate disintegration of the Soviet Russian imperium, for in that year numerous anti-Russian revolts broke out in different parts of the USSR, — in Thilisi, Kyiv, the Baltic countries, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, and East Berlin, etc.

In the latter part of her book Mme Kerhuel discusses the imminent clash between the free world and the Russian Communists and expresses the opinion that neither Germany nor Turkey, but the peoples enslaved by Moscow will help the Western powers to defeat the USSR in the event of a war between the West and the Soviet Union.

On page 368 she stresses that it is imperative that the West should at last comprehend the actual political situation, for

it is a situation which forces the West to adopt a military strategy. The West, so she adds, must adopt measures to attack Moscow in its most vulnerable spot, that is to say it must apply the same methods to which the Kremlin constantly resorts, namely internal subversion. Mme Kerhuel then puts the following suggestions to the Western powers: firstly, that they should work out an international plan for the liberation of all the peoples subjugated by Moscow, that is not merely the satellites; and secondly, that deeds alone must prove decisive, since declarations do not suffice. The Russian imperium and not Russia proper — Muscovy with its 65 million inhabitants — must be disintegrated, for the Russian imperium is an artificial political structure which has been created by the application of violence and the abuse of rights. Under the sickle and hammer, as under the tsarist crown, this artificial structure with its ruthless and sinister power, so the authoress adds, stands for all that we hate most, — tyranny, cruelty, lies and enslavement such as mankind has never before experienced in the whole of its history.

She goes on to stress that Moscow must not be allowed to possess Ukraine, a large and valuable territory with a population of 42,000,000 inhabitants. In addition, there are a further 10,000,000 Ukrainians who have been deported to Asia, most of whom would return to their own country at once, given the chance. Ukraine under normal conditions could look forward to a very considerable development both as regards agriculture and industry, and could become a state with a population of 50,000,000 to 65,000,000. These two facts are decisive. For the possession of Ukraine raises Soviet Russia to the rank of a major power, but loss of this territory would reduce Soviet Russia to a state of secondary importance. It is therefore not surprising that the Russians refuse to discuss the independence of Ukraine. What is more, so Mme Kerhuel adds, Ukraine is a natural ally of the West; it is in a position to repulse an onslaught from Asia. And hence the independence of Ukraine is a guarantee for the freedom of Europe.

In conclusion the authoress points out that the disintegration of the Soviet Russian imperium has already begun, for it is a disintegration that is inevitable. The Soviet Russians have used the nationalism of the coloured peoples in order to destroy the Western empires. It is now the turn of the nationalism of the Europeans whom the Russians have enslaved. It is only a small stone that has been set rolling but it will in the end cause the colossus with feet of clay to topple down.

The book contains three interesting maps; the first one shows the European USSR and part of the Red Russian possessions in Asia,

the second one the entire Soviet Russian imperium under the designation "The last colonial imperium — Moscow", whilst on the third map all those places in the USSR are marked where revolts have taken place against Soviet Russian tyranny.

Mme Kerhuel has completely broken with the method of the falsified historiography of Russia, to which the West unfortunately still adheres, and has given a faithful and true account of the political situation in Central and East Europe, a fact which will no doubt greatly displease Russian "experts" in the free world. Her book will undoubtedly fill a noticeable gap in that field of science which occupies itself with Russia and the political conditions prevalent in Central and East Europe, and by this we also mean the information invented by the Russians about their native country in Western political literature.

The subjugated peoples in the so-called Soviet Union are extremely grateful to their courageous advocate in Western Europe for this invaluable book, which is indeed a revelation of the political truth and hitherto unsurpassed in merit on the Western book market. May its mission of enlightenment on the real Russia be a decisive success in the West!

W. Kapotivsky

Prof. Kurt Glaser: *Czecho-Slovakia. A Critical History.* Published by The Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, 1961. 275 pp.

In this excellent book Prof. Kurt Glaser gives an account of and criticizes the origin and development of the artificial state of Czecho-Slovakia. And in doing so, he endeavours to refute the "Czecho-slovak legend". In his opinion this legend consists above all in the following untruths:

- That there is a "Czechoslovak nation" —
- That the Slovaks are not a nation, but only a branch of the Czech nation —
- That the Slovak language is a dialect of Czech —
- That a Czecho-Slovak state existed in the early Middle Ages —
- That Czechs and Slovaks, since they began to struggle for freedom, have always wanted an independent Czecho-Slovakia —
- That Thomas G. Masaryk and Eduard Benes were the greatest and most ethical statesmen of the twentieth century —
- That the republic they established was a model democracy —
- That the Sudeten Germans were people sent by Adolf Hitler from the Reich to stir up trouble —
- That the Slovak Republic established in 1939 was a Nazi puppet state —
- That the "Czechoslovak" political exiles who came to the United States after February, 1948, were tried and true fighters against Communism, whereas anyone who fled before 1948 was probably a Nazi collaborator.

Prof. Glaser succeeds most effectively in refuting all these erroneous views and in exposing the true nature of this questionable state structure. In view of the extensive character of the subject-matter it is inevitable that there should be a few inaccuracies here and there, but they in no way detract from the merit of the book as a critical study.

The author's account of the internal political development of the Slovak Republic is somewhat

onesided; this is not his fault, however, but that of the Slovak emigrants who have given him information which is not entirely objective. In spite of the said faults, however, Prof. Glaser has compiled and arranged his interesting and extensive material in an excellent manner, and his work is one of the best and most informative books on this subject.

It would indeed be a good thing if more of such objective books on this artificially obscured question were to appear in future so that the world at last learns the truth, namely that so-called Czecho-Slovakia from the very outset has been and continues to be a swindle.

C. P.

Salvador Diaz-Versón: La Mentira Se Viste De Historia. Una tesis sobre la crisis de America. (Falsehood Disguised In History. A thesis on the crisis of America.) Private printing press, Miami, 1961. 38 pp.

This pamphlet is a thesis on the Cuban crisis and an investigation into the errors and false decisions which led to this sorry state of affairs. Salvador Diaz-Versón, himself a well-known Cuban national fighter, politician, anti-Communist and publicist, is particularly fitted to discuss this question. He gives a precise and informative account of events prior to and after January 1, 1959, the date on which Communism under the leadership of Fidel Castro gained a foothold in Cuba.

The opinion is expressed again and again in the West — in official government statements, in books, pamphlets, articles and newspaper reports — that the present situation in Cuba can be traced back to a "betrayed revolution". But in the book under review Fidel Castro is exposed as an old Communist who as early as 1943 was already a loyal agent of Soviet Russian imperialism. His subversive activity in Cuba was by no means directed against Batista but against democracy and civilization. Batista and his government were merely a pretext for Castro to justify his war against Cuba and, in fact, against the human ideals and values of the Western hemisphere. His "revolution" began and developed on Communist lines, with Moscow as the head leader. Moscow also spread propaganda for Castro in the West, where he was glorified everywhere as the "militant voice of freedom". But no mention whatever was made of the true Cuban revolution which began as a political opposition against Batista as early as 1952. Castro's Communist front of "July 26th" had no connection whatever with the hopes, principles and patriotic ideology of the Cuban people. There are many different conceptions of the revolution which are all represented as historical facts.

In a most convincing way Salvador Diaz-Versón unmasks Fidel Castro and reveals the truth about the Cuban revolution.

The pamphlet is dedicated to John F. Kennedy, "in whose hands as President of the United States, the home of freedom, lies the future of the world and on whom its freedom or its subjugation depends". At the same time this little book is also an appeal to the entire free world and its governments to start an offensive against rapacious Russian imperialism in order to defend Christian civilization, to protect the rights of man and to save freedom.

Let us hope that the voice of the authorized spokesmen of the subjugated peoples will not pass unheeded.

M. Y.

MONGOLIA

ANTI-COMMUNIST RIOTS REPORTED IN INNER MONGOLIA

Anti-Communist uprisings are spreading in Inner Mongolia, reports from behind the Bamboo Curtain said on August 7.

The reports said that an anti-Communist riot broke out in Inner Mongolia last March. Another followed a month later.

The second bloody riot was touched off by the people's demands for a better standard of life and their opposition to the commune system, according to the reports.

More than 30 Communist cadres were reported to have been killed by the anti-Communist rioters.

The reports noted that anti-Communist forces in Inner Mongolia are growing from day to day.

RED CHINA

COMMUNE SYSTEM COMPLETELY FAILS IN SHANGHAI

The teeming millions of Shanghai simply cannot be communalized. This was stated by a refugee on August 4th, who recently reached freedom from that once-proud cosmopolitan coastal city on the mainland.

Despite great Communist Chinese efforts the organization of Shanghai's populace into urban communes, originally scheduled for last summer, was never accomplished, the refugee disclosed.

Although it is no longer a secret that the Peiping regime's vaunted commune system had not been very workable, the Reds had admitted it to be a total flop.

ABN Guests from Overseas

In November ABN also received a visit from Mr. *Walter Dushnyk*, Editor of the "Ukrainian Bulletin" and the "Ukrainian Quarterly" in USA, and also a member of the political board of the Ukrainian Congress Committee. The purpose of his visit was to intensify the cooperation between "ABN Correspondence" and these two highly qualified publications.

On December 9th the staunch friend of the subjugated peoples, Mr. *Arthur Maloney*, member of the Canadian Parliament in Ottawa, was welcomed by members of the Central Committee in Munich. Mr. Maloney gave a short report on the latest campaigns carried out by well-known Canadian personalities in order to give support to the prob-

lems of the subjugated peoples. In particular he mentioned the courageous attitude of Prime Minister Diefenbaker before the UNO in defending the subjugated peoples. In the discussions which followed, the members of the Central Committee who were present on this occasion expressed their recognition at the fact that Prime Minister Diefenbaker and the Canadian government were adopting such an uncompromising attitude as regards the Russian Communist imperium and were emphasizing the necessity of supporting the subjugated peoples. Various other problems were also discussed in detail, in particular the intensification of the anti-Communist fight and the cooperation between the free and the subjugated peoples.

CONTENTS:	<i>Presidium of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Units Abroad)</i>	
	National Idea A Grave Danger To Moscow	3
	We Accuse Khrushchov	4
	<i>Dr. D. Donzov (Ukraine)</i>	
	The Era Of Civil Wars And The West	5
	<i>Jaroslav Stetzko (Ukraine)</i>	
	Russian Imperialism Or International Communism	8
	<i>His Excellency Mao-lan Tuan (Free China)</i>	
	Asia and Africa must be on the Alert	12
	<i>Niko Nakashidze (Georgia)</i>	
	The Russian Communist Myth	14
	<i>V. Kajum-Khan (Turkestan)</i>	
	Russian Colonial Power Gaining Foothold In Africa	18
	<i>Prof. Dr. F. Durcansky (Slovakia)</i>	
	Discrimination Against The Slovaks Must Cease	21
	<i>Dr. Alexander Suga (Rumania)</i>	
	The Forgers And We	24
	<i>Dr. Ctibor Pokorny (Slovakia)</i>	
	20 Years Since The Outbreak Of War Between Slovakia And Soviet Russia	26
	<i>Haji Ibrahim T. Y. Ma (Malaya)</i>	
	Malaya's Fight Against Communist Infiltration	27
	<i>Prof. Dr. J. Kitaoka as Guest of A.B.N.</i>	32
	<i>Adel Shamayleh (Jordan)</i>	
	Most Precious Things — Freedom, Belief and Nationalism	33
	In Defense of Truth	35
	From Behind the Iron Curtain	39
	Book Reviews	42