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Editorials

Mass Revolution against Bolshevism and Russian Imperialism

The friction between the U.S.S.R. and the Western Powers, and the growing possibility of a new world is of ever increasing importance for the development of the revolutionary movements in bolshevist controlled countries. Preparations for war, and still more, war itself will mean greater oppression and general distress; on the other hand the anti-Bolshevist attitude among the masses will be strengthened thereby.

The thought of war is always present with the Soviet people, overshadowing everything in their daily lives. It is not morbid or a passing mood, but a reality, arising from the whole trend of Bolshevism, and supported by the world situation.

The broad masses of the nations subjected by Bolshevism expect war, although they are fully conscious of its horror, suffering, destruction and the sacrifice it demands. It hangs like the sword of Damocles over these people, a fate that is destined for them by Russia's insatiable imperialism and the urge to conquer the world.

On the other hand the subjected peoples connect a war with their hopes of the collapse of Bolshevism and their liberation.

This idea encourages the development of a revolution for liberation, for it lights up the implacability of Bolshevist oppression and deepens the conviction that it cannot last for long. This conviction stiffens the resistance against cruel reality, allows no thought of the inevitability of serfdom to creep in, and counteracts resignation and passive obedience.

The Bolsheviks are well aware of all that and fear the outcome of such an

attitude in case of war, which explains the ridiculous contradictions in Bolshevist policy and propaganda of late. On one side, they boast of fantastic rearmament and military strength against the alleged aggression and war potential of the West, on the other they issue Draconic laws against the spread of war talk. Everyone knows that this new wave of mass terrorism, under the cover of a love of freedom, is in reality, not directed against material and psychological preparations for war, which the Bolshevist regime is pushing at high speed, but solely to keep the revolutionary spirit and hopes, cherished by the masses, in check.

The hope of a war waged by the Western Powers against the U.S.S.R. is a real factor which might neutralize the effect of the propaganda that Bolshevism is all powerful and Russian imperialism invulnerable. This factor

must be recognized and properly estimated by the revolutionaries, in order to make the best use of it and fit it into the plans for an active war; for the effect of permanent terrorism, and propaganda as to the invincibility of the Russian imperium, is not to be under-rated. The suggestion, drummed into the people, that resistance is madness and that all the sacrifice is in vain and that it would be so much more reasonable to submit and adapt oneself, in order to live at all, is all too insidious and persuasive. Resignation, however, would be the greatest obstacle in a liberation revolt. That stone wall must be overthrown first of all, so that the revolutionary potential, strengthened by the hatred of the ruling powers and the longing to abolish them, may break through, to fill the minds and strengthen the wills of those suffering under the present re-

Tokayev speaks of Western Ignorance

The well-known Soviet military expert, Colonel Tokayev, who recently "chose freedom" and is living at present in the West, wrote an article for the New York emigrant paper, "Sozialistichesky Wyestnik", published in the No. 3, 1951 number, on the nationality problem in the U.S.S.R., from which we quote the following.

"... We are now rapidly approaching a third world catastrophe and that enjoins upon us the duty of realizing the value of the teeth we possess, before they are knocked out. A former correspondent of the "Völkischer Beobachter" made the statement that the Hitler government only grasped the fact in 1944 that the U.S.S.R., was not Russia, and that it was not populated only with Russians, but with 200 different peoples, with their own historical destiny, their own traditions, psychology and geographical position, as well as their own national development, religion and language. Each of them has its historical name given by the State Constitution and anchored in the laws ...

In reality there is no "Russia", nor are there "Russians", nor a "Russian" people" in the pre-revolution sense. In law, and as an actual fact, there is only a "Russian Federal Republic" of

many peoples, the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Turkmenistanian, Georgian, Armenian, Azerbaijani, Tajikistani, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, and Karelo-Finland S.S.R. There is no collective "Russian people" or "Soviet people", there are only peoples: Russians, Ukrainians, Baskirs, Georgians, Tartars, Estonians, Byelorussians etc.

When certain emigré circles, statesmen, journalists or the radio, continually talk of Russia, the Russians or the Russian people in this general sense, it only shows their ignorance of the elementary reality that 65% of the population in the U.S.S.R. is not Russian at all and does not feel concerned when the word Russian is used ..."

Tokayev then quotes the words of a speaker who said at a meeting in 1936, "Comrades, no Stalin, or Molotow, will ever succeed in depriving the non-Russian people of their State, land and regional administration. To-day that is less possible than ever".

After giving a number of examples of the awakening of different peoples in U.S.S.R. to a sense of nationality, Tokayev continues, "A number of similar examples and other symptoms of growing activity among the national liberation movements enable one to

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gime. If the subjugated peoples were conscious, only for a moment, of this strength and would rise spontaneously against the tyrants, instead of obeying the regime's orders of self-destruction, that same regime would be blotted out.

The first duty of the revolutionary leaders is to bring this realization home to the oppressed peoples. That is our present object. We must make these people conscious of their own strength and fighting powers to achieve their own liberation, independent of the world situation or outside help. Hand in hand with the conviction of the inevitability of war, belief in the imminent overthrow of Bolshevism must be awakened, especially in places not reached by revolutionary propaganda, or where the ground has not been fertile enough.

Hope of a war to come can also have a negative effect, in that help will be expected from outside, so that people merely wait to be liberated. Revolutionary political propaganda must be directed so that it promotes revolutionary effort at home, turning passive waiting into active fighting.

The conception of a revolution for liberation in case of war must be put

Tokayev speaks . . .

state with some assurance that it is incorrect, politically harmful, and anti-Democratic, even tactically dangerous to label the national democratic elements in U.S.S.R. as stubborn anti-Russianists . . ."

Tokayev then gives a report on the underground movements in the different Soviet Republics and stresses the fact that surprise attacks, shots fired from ambush at members of the occupation powers, are the order of the day. "Organized partisan battles often break out under the banner of the national liberation struggle and from what we know, with the support of the democratic elements in various parts of the imperium, as far as that is possible under Soviet conditions. In any case, no one desires the national liberation action to fail, except the incorrigible imperialists, and it is time that the Russian democrats in exile took this matter into account in their platform."

As an illustration of the real attitude of the non-Russian peoples towards Moscow, Tokayev, cites, among others, the unambiguous remarks of a Byelorussian women teacher, who said to his face, in September 1947,

"Your know, Comrade Chief, whatever kind of war it may be, we Byelorussians and not you Muscovites who let others pull the chestnuts out of the fire, will be the first to suffer. It will not be Moscow that is plundered by the Germans or their own people, not your women that will be raped. It will not be you who are driven out of your bunker homes, or your houses that will be destroyed or burnt down. We have had enough of all that, and you had better leave us alone. Go and live in your Moscow, love your Stalin, we can manage without you . . ."

before the broad masses in an appeal formulated as follows:

All subjected and oppressed peoples must rise in a common revolt against Bolshevism, at the very beginning of war, without waiting for its end. Revolution is the end of Bolshevism and the end of its war. Revolution means freedom and peace.

The revolutionary fight should be started by the organized insurgent forces, underground organizations, army detachments and in workers' circles. This struggle will then be joined by the masses at the actual front, as well as in the rear. Success depends on the support of the masses and the suddenness of the outbreak at all focal points. The revolution must not be allowed to develop into small engagements, or become a war of entrenchment, it must run like wildfire and consume the whole State apparatus, thus bringing the entire war machinery to a standstill. The burning torch of the revolution must be carried everywhere, and at once, and the revolutionary slogans must be lucid and stirring, deepening the belief in victory and intensifying the readiness to fight. By propagating the aims of the revolution, the whole nation and each individual, will be prepared for the fight and a psychological atmosphere will be created which will guarantee the execution of all the directives issued by the revolutionary leaders.

After the collapse of Hitler-Germany, when the great Soviet masses still possessed their arms, would have been the most favourable moment to get these masses to join the fight for freedom which was already being carried on against Moscow by our insurgent formations. Instead of which, the weapons were laid down and men returned to their hated yoke, to live under the oppression of the regime they had fought to preserve. The illusory hopes of improvement and some evolution in the Bolshevist system, obviously played its part then, but is that all to be repeated now?

Apart from that, war alone, no matter how it ends, cannot bring liberation. Foreign powers waging war have their own aims and objects and do not fight for the freedom of other nations. Without taking an active part against Bolshevism it is not to be expected that the victors will meet us half way, so no more is to be hoped for from a war, than that it offers the subjugated peoples the opportunity to free themselves by their own efforts.

The anti-Bolshevik revolution in a war would not only mean the end of serfdom and the foundation, of personal and national freedom, with the least possible sacrifice, but it could mean the sudden ending of the war itself and the saving of millions of soldiers' and civilians' lives, as well as villages, towns and whole nations, from further destruction and from atomic warfare. If the broad masses, conscious of the justness of their national cause, ranged themselves on the side of the revolution, then only the worst enemies of individual and national freedom would remain to defend Bolshevism, namely, the N.K.V.D.

M.V.D. criminals and upholders of Russian imperialism.

The revolutionary uprising must not be put off to the end of the war. The sacrifices required to carry out a revolution victoriously, are often made in a few days, in a war. It would be a mistake too, to watch for failures and crises in Bolshevist strategy. To weaken the Bolshevist war machinery by drawing out the war, would cause useless bloodshed for our own peoples and the destruction of our own countries.

The adversaries of the U.S.S.R. might apply the strategy of systematic and slow exhaustion and delay pitched battles, in order to create a crisis in the Bolshevist conduct of war. In that case, however, Bolshevist destruction and use of man-power would be of the utmost importance for our peoples.

Probably two sorts of troops would be disposed of, those made up of reliable elements, especially M.V.D. units, would not be sent to the front lines, but held in reserve for emergencies and used in the hinterland to checkmate the army.

Other detachments would be put in at the centres of attack where dams of human beings would be formed, composed of a sort of "refractory company" of elements hostile to the regime. This distribution would, of course, take national and territorial standpoints into account and be a matter of special selection. The Bolsheviks would methodically sacrifice the greatest number of subjugated peoples who might be the first to turn their weapons against them, while the Russians and convinced communists would be spared. After the same plan, the war burdens would be distributed so that those nations hostile to Russian-Bolshevist imperialism would be exhausted first. Thus the theory that the revolutionary forces would become stronger as the war went on, would be entirely erroneous.

Revolutionary propaganda must be directed at impressing upon the masses and every individual that the revolution must begin with the war and that every one must take part in it, if freedom is to be won. Nor is the revolution to be kept a secret from the Bolsheviks. They may learn and know of its reach and importance. We are not planning a conspiracy like a coup d'etat aimed at the seizure of power. That kind of revolution is hardly possible in the Bolshevist world, nor could it produce a general upheaval among the masses. It would only be an episode. Potentiality and permanent success lies, in our case, solely with the masses.

Propaganda must be directed towards awakening the consciousness and the inner conviction of everyone, and point the way each one is expected to follow. All then must prepare silently and inconspicuously to be ready when the call comes.

The wider the circles in this process of preparation, the greater the difficulty for the enemy in preventing the uprising, the more intricate the distinc-

Joseph Caligula

By Dr. D. Donzow

I say Joseph Caligula in order to distinguish the Caligula of our days from the Caligula painted by Suetonius. Because he who reads the Suetonius history of that Emperor will doubtless agree that Joseph Stalin is his real reincarnation.

Before his death, Lenin warned the Party not to give full power to Stalin because of his viciousness and brutality. Before his death, the old Tiberius used to say now and then, that to allow Gaius to live would prove the ruin of all men and provide a viper for the people.

Gaius Caligula caused the death of his grand-mother Antonia. Joseph Caligula caused the death of his wife Aleluyeva. The first put his brother and all who helped him to the throne to death. The second also put to death all the "old guard of Bolsheviks", who helped him to the throne.

Others, Gaius Caligula secretly put to death, falsely asserting that they had committed suicide. Joseph Caligula compelled many of his friends, such as General Frunse, to undergo an operation which, unfortunately, was unsuccessful.

Wishing to have one of the senators torn to pieces, Gaius Caligula induced some of the senators to assail him suddenly on his entrance into the House, with the charge of being a public enemy. Wishing to have one of the Party men torn pieces, Joseph Caligula induced some other Party men or the Party press to assail him suddenly with the charge of being "the people's enemy".

Gaius Caligula, thinking that his exiles were praying for his death, sent his emissaries to butcher them all. The same was done by Joseph Caligula, who sent his assassins to butcher Pet-

elements; a fact which will create an atmosphere of tension in the army in war time, and in the communistic government apparatus as well. Besides which, the division of the Russians as reliable, and the other nationalities as "enemies of the people" would be a heavy burden for Soviet nationality policy in time of war. The Bolshevik regime would thus be involved in difficulties and contradictions and lose one position after the other. Just these facts, however, would make the way clear for a revolution with a definite aim and plan.

Our information must keep two alternatives in view, to be sure that each one decides for the active fight and does not persist in passive waiting. Not only must the proper realization of the situation be made clear, but the way out of it too. The will, and the feelings, of the masses must be so stirred that they take up the fight with enthusiasm.

lura, Trotzky, Kutyepov and others, or to repatriate them.

Suetonius tells us that not all Caligula's punishments were for serious offences, but merely for criticizing one of his shows, or for never having sworn by his genius. The omission of the sacred name, Joseph Caligula, by some speaker or writer would entail suspicion of being a "counter-revolutionary", deserving the penalty of death.

When a Roman patrician on being thrown to the wild beasts, loudly protested his innocence, Gaius Caligula took him out, cut out his tongue and put him in again. When an enemy of Joseph Caligula, on being thrown to the wild beasts of the Soviet "Court of Justice", protested his innocence, Joseph Caligula imprisoned him again and brought him anew before the Tribunal, after he had been "persuaded" that he really deserved the sentence of death.

On signing the list of prisoners who were to be put to death every ten days, Gaius Caligula said that he was clearing his account. The same proceeding is called by Joseph Caligula the "clearing" or "purge".

Sometimes Gaius Caligula gave exhibitions in Greek and Latin oratory, in which the losers were forced to compose eulogies upon the victors, or ordered to efface their writings with a sponge or with their tongue, unless they elected rather to be beaten with rods or thrown into the river. Joseph Caligula also gave political exhibitions, in which the losers, too were forced to recite eulogies upon the victor, i. e. upon infallible Joe. The latter himself ordered the confiscation of their writings in all the libraries, and forced them to erase their written "mistakes" with their own tongues, revoking them.

Having had a great desire for popularity, Gaius Caligula had assumed various surnames, he was called "Pious", "Father of the Armies" and "Best of Caesars". The Muscovite Caligula assumed himself the surnames of "Father of the People" the "genial Leader", "the Sun of the Country" etc.

Gaius Caligula ordered that statues of the gods, including that of Jupiter of Olympia, should be brought from Greece in order to remove their heads and put his own in their place. The Muscovite Caligula had old history books of the Party so reprinted, that all "great achievements" of Party Leaders such as Trotzky, Lenin and others appeared as the achievements of Stalin.

Gaius Caligula thought of destroying the poems of Homer. He removed the writings of Virgil and of Titus Livius from all libraries, railing at the former as a man of no talent and very little learning, and the latter as a verbose and careless historian. Precisely the same was done by the Muscovite Caligula with many great authors of ancient Russia, who deviated from the "general Line" of the Party ideology.

Gaius Caligula frequently wore the dress of a triumphant general, precisely as Joseph Caligula, who possessed no more military genius than Hitler. In order to prevent the brains of Roman citizens from unnecessary strain, Gaius Caligula occupied them with gigantic public works. He had planned to dig a canal through the Isthmus in Greece, he built Liburian galleys with utter disregard of expense, built moles out into the deep and stormy sea, tunnelled rocks of hardest flint, raised plains to the height of mountains, and razed mountains to the level of plains, all with incredible dispatch, since the penalty for delay was death. Joseph Caligula did the same and for the same purpose in our days in U.S.S.R., also with utter disregard of expense and the lives of millions of labourers!

Having reduced the finances of the Republic, Gaius Caligula turned his attention to pillage, through a complicated and cunningly devised system of false accusations, auction sales and taxation. The system of false accusations of all classes in the country, the bourgeois, the "Kulaks", "rich", peasants, etc., was employed also by Joseph Caligula in order to pillage them and to enrich himself and his clique.

Why is this historical parallel so interesting to us? Because the case of Joseph Caligula is not a separate case, nor an exception, but a tendency of the political and social movement of our time, which necessarily leads to Caesarism. Our continent is full of greater and smaller, dead or living Caligulas. Such a one is Tito, is Thorez, is even Lewis of America, of whom one paper wrote that he or the other modern Communist leaders have a power over the masses which is more effective than was ever the power wielded by Louis XI, because they can thwart the will of the people in the name of democracy.

Where is the reason to be found for this movement towards Caesarism? In the driving of the masses towards the ideal of equality which excludes that of freedom; and, as in the time of the Roman Caesars, in the degeneration of the ruling classes of many countries of the Occident.

Suetonius wrote that the richest citizens of Rome used all their influence to secure the priesthoods of Caligula's cult and bid high for honours. There are many citizens of Europe to-day who do the same, with the difference that the name of Caligula is not Gaius but Joseph. Gaius forced parents to attend the execution of their children and take dinner with him immediately after witnessing their death. Half of the European nations attend the execution of the peoples of another half of Europe and their leaders take dinner with the delegates of Joseph Caligula simultaneously, while witnessing the death of those nations.

The same causes produce the same consequences.

The nations of Europe to-day — like Rome, at the time of later Caesars — need new leaders.

Azerbaijan Commemorates its Independence

(May 28, 1918—May 28, 1951)

After a rich historical past, during which Azerbaijan enjoyed independence, the country in the 19th century fell a victim to Russian imperialism. In spite of a series of revolts in 1802—1804, 1826, 1837, 1870, in which the Azerbaijan people fought heroically against Russian occupation, making every effort to burst the fetters of the conqueror, all its attempts at liberation proved in vain.

On May 28, 1918, after the fall of the Czarist regime in Russia the country's independence was at last proclaimed and our people were able to realize the longed for ideal. But even in the dawn of State independence, the horizon darkened and menacing clouds of red Russian imperialism rolled up which were to prove far more ruinous than Czarist tyranny.

The new imperialists in the Kremlin made use of every means to trick the peoples of the Russian empire, one of which was to assure them under the signatures of Lenin and Stalin, of "the right to self-determination, including the possibility of ceding from Russia". To lure our people into the trap, Lenin himself appealed to all Moslems in the east, in December 1917, with the words: "Listen, you Turko-Tartars of the Caucasus, whom Czarist Russia robbed of religious freedom and national existence. We declare your national, cultural institutions as free, and we will defend them... Organize your national life yourselves!" Lenin's special envoy, Shaumjan, who, first as president of the Soviet and later as "Sovnarkoms" in Baku, worked hard to conquer the Azerbaijanians and all the other Caucasus peoples, met with determined opposition and his special mission failed.

After that the Bolsheviks resorted to force. In April 1920, they had several units of the Red Army simply invade our country, and thus after hardly two years of independence, Azerbaijan once more came under the Russian yoke. This time it was accompanied by the well-known cruelty and unscrupulous, sanguinary terrorism. Our independent, national republic was overthrown and liquidated, our national elite destroyed and our cultural life, which was just beginning to blossom, was crushed. What followed was the establishment of the usual Soviet terrorism in Azerbaijan, carried out by the notorious "Ceka" led by that hangman Ponkratjew. Systematic murders, merciless depredations were the regular thing. A real campaign began against our economy religion, national traditions, not even our mother-tongue was spared. A violent russification started in full force.

Victims of the boundless terrorist methods included: the Prime Minister of our national government, Fatali Chan Choj, with a whole series of leading men in public life, well-known professors, authors of world wide repute, poets and dramatists, such as Huessejn Dshawid, Jussif Tshemensemli, Kafur Kantamira, S. M. Gani-

Sade, Seid Huessejn, Ahmed Dshad. Some 2000 mosques were turned into kolkhoz stables. 3000 clergy were liquidated, among them Sheik Gani, Kasi Mustafa Efendi, Sheik Achunda, Habib Efendi and others. More than half a Million Azerbaijanians were shot, exiled, and deported for no fault of their own.

On the economic side the plunder amounted to half a milliard tons of petroleum, millions of tons of cotton, silk and raw materials. Thus the Bolsheviks themselves have surpassed the ill-famed Ivan the Terrible in ferociousness, and realized Peter the Great's covetous plans, which the Romanov dynasty had not succeeded in doing in all the centuries.

Nothing of all, that was able to daunt our people or to throttle its will for freedom and independence, the Bolsheviks were not permitted to exercise their methods of violence in Azerbaijan, unpunished. A number of armed revolts broke out in 1920, 1922, 1925, 1929/30, 1933, and later, which gave the Bolsheviks a great deal of trouble. More than once they had to put heavily armed detachments, in greatly superior numbers, in action in order to crush these revolts, and so unmercifully was it done that our whole country was turned into a Katyn.

There is no better illustration of Moscow's despotic rule and its interest in Azerbaijan, than the following telegram from Stalin and Molotov to the sham government of the Soviet Azerbaijan "Republic" on the occasion of its 15th anniversary: "The U.S.S.R. exists thanks to mineral oil, — the black gold of Azerbaijan. The annually larger harvests gleaned from the cotton fields of Azerbaijan feed the textile industry of the U.S.S.R."

It is one of the deceitful practices of the Bolsheviks to mislead the world into believing that Azerbaijan is a "fully qualified" member of the "Sov-

iet family", or that our people had voluntarily joined the U.S.S.R., and that the red Russian troops had come into the country as liberators of the Azerbaijan proletariat. Such statements are mere inventions and bare-faced lies.

Were the Bolshevik assertions true, the Azerbaijan "proletariat" would not constantly rise against their "Liberators" and it would not have been necessary to liquidate the national Azerbaijan divisions of the indigenous "proletariat" and to import occupation forces and N.K.V.D. units from Russia, in their stead.

If the Bolshevik assertions are true, why then all the executions, arrests, deportations, which liquidated the Azerbaijan proletariat? Why the special courts and all the paraphernalia of ferocious Bolshevik terrorism? Where is the logic and where the truth?

In a certain sense Stalin is right when he declares "Bolsheviks are made of special material". They are only good enough to spread lies, provocation, death, terror. In the days when the Azerbaijan people gave the world real preceptors in the sphere of science and art, they had not only no literature of their own, but no standardized language. When Azerbaijan was independent and flourishing the Russians were living under alien domination.

The Bolshevik statement that Azerbaijan accepted serfdom under Moscow voluntarily, that the Russian people had contributed to raising our national culture, is just as untrue as the boast that broadcasting, telegraph, aviation, and all the achievements of the human mind were discovered and accomplished by Russians.

On the anniversary of Azerbaijan independence we wish to say to the Bolsheviks, "You may write and invent what you like, but history cannot be falsified. No power in the world can make the fact null and void, that 32 years ago our people were choked in blood and subjugated by you Bolsheviks, and have fought during all these years against oppressors and will not give up the fight until the sacred aim of national freedom is won. We shall be victorious because our cause is a just one.

With the help of our brothers of the Turko-Moslem world, allied with our subjected brothers, the peoples of Caucasus, Turkestan, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Idel-Ural, Crimea and the Baltic countries we shall achieve our ideal. We count, too, on the support of freedom loving peoples everywhere in the world, and especially that of the western democracies.

The day is approaching when the rising sun will no longer look down upon the graceless symbols of the hammer and sickle but on our blue-red-green-banner, the emblem of the freedom and independence our people.

A. Ismail

A.B.N. fights for:

the national and State independence of all nations subjected by Russia, true, unadulterated democracy, religious freedom, the return of all deportees and expellees to their home lands.

A.B.N. fights against:

the subjugation of nations, hatred between nations, and imperialism, — totalitarianism of every kind, — every sort of one party system, — racial discrimination.

Bolshevist Infiltration in West Germany

A Warning German Voice

The political life in the West German Federal Republic has been marked in the last few weeks by three features:

Indifference towards world and foreign politics, resulting from the occupation with personal, usually economic cares, and an almost naive confidence that the West, especially the U.S.A., will not leave Germany in the lurch; lassitude towards anti-Communist defence; and the comparatively effortless spread of camouflaged Communist relief organizations.

An inner connection between the two last symptoms may be supposed. To the same extent in which Communist propaganda seeps through and gains ground, the lack of resistance shown by constructive forces in the tension between East and West, increases, and so these forces succumb to the "national" bait dangled by the East.

The weakness of the so-called organizations of the right, their ideological uncertainty and vagueness and their splitting up, owing to rivalry, means, on the other hand, the special strength and danger of the Communist relief organization. Their number and their ambiguous national slogans facilitate their work of infiltration in the West, because they are guided by the will of a camouflaged centre.

When, in the course of the economic social recovery in West Germany, a political will began to come to the fore, kindled by the division of the people and their position between East and West, this "national" propaganda of the Communists set in and quickly created its special organization and tactics. They seized upon the terms used in German politics and turned them to suit their purpose, "a united Germany", "unity", "freedom", "peace". Besides the Communist party, working openly, "Freie Deutsche Jugend" (Free German Youth) and the Communist controlled V.V.N. "Verein der Verfolgten des Naziregimes" (Association of the persecutees of the Nazi regime), the so-called "Land Committees for Unity and a Just Peace", exists, which coordinates countless local organizations. A not complete list mentions the following organizations:

"Provisorischer Landesausschuß Nordrhein-Westfalen für die Einheit und Unabhängigkeit Deutschland" (Provisional Land Committee of Nordrhein-Westfalen for the Unity and Independence of Germany) — in Düsseldorf; "Dortmunder Kreis für ein einiges, unabhängiges Deutschland" (Dortmund Circle for a United Independent Germany); "Recklinghauser Aktionsgruppe" (Action-Group of Recklinghausen); "Bund deutscher Einheit" (Alliance of German Unity) — in Oberhausen; "Ausschuss für ein einheitliches Deutschland" (Committee for an United Germany) — in Muenster; "Landesorganisation Freunde der deutschen Einheit" (Land Organization of

Friends of German Unity) — in Frankfurt; "Gesellschaft zum Kampf für die Einheit Deutschlands" (Association for the Fight for Germany Unity — in Hamburg; "Karlsruher Kreis zur Wahrung der Deutschen Einheit" (Circle for Maintenance of Germany's Unity) — in Karlsruhe; "Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Deutsche Einheit" (Labour Community for German Unity) — in Württemberg-Baden; "Rhein-Ahr-Kreis für Einheit und Frieden" (Rhein-Ahr-Circle for Unity and Peace) — in Ahrweiler; "Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Ost-West-Gespräche" (Labour Community for East-West Negotiation) — in Lübeck; "Ausschüsse für Einheit und Gerechten Frieden" (Committees for Unity and Just Peace) — Munich and Bad Reichenhall; "Aktionsgemeinschaft für Frieden und Völkerverständigung" (Active Community for Peace and Understanding among Peoples) — in Nürnberg; "Landesausschuß für deutsche Einheit" (Land Committee for German Unity) — in Kassel; "Komitee der Kämpfer für den Frieden" (Committee of Fighters for Peace) — in Mannheim.

The localization of these foundations and their names show the wish to give an impression of a spontaneous voluntary organization and to deny connection with a superior, much less a Communist centre; therefore any mention of Communism or the Soviet Union is carefully avoided in the titles. In appeals to the parties, the Federal Government, the Federal Parliament, and in letters to different men in public life, these organizations urge that

the efforts of political representatives of the East Zone should be given a hearing and that every opportunity of an East-West discussion should be made use of, in the interest of Germany's "unity", as the phrase runs. The dependence of the groups on a centre may be recognized by the fact that their activities harmonize with those of the political representatives in the East Zone, both with regard to time and tactics.

Beside the above named there are other organizations which are not so shy about their Communist tendency, in spite of the disguise of their names: "Society for Study of the Soviet Union" which has branches in Munich, Stuttgart, Bochum, Hamburg, Hannover, Dortmund, Cassel, Frankfurt, Düsseldorf, Mainz, Aachen, Bielefeld, Solingen, Muenster. "Hamburger Arbeitskreis für gesamtdeutsche Fragen", "Nauheimer Kreis", "Bund der Kriegsgegner in Muenchen" (anti-war society), "Internationale Frauenliga in Hamburg und Stuttgart", "Aktionsgemeinschaft der Jugend für das einige Deutschland" in 28 cities and towns of West Germany; parts of the European movement "Sammlung zur Tat", remnants of the "Schwarze Front", the "Kulturbund zur demokratischen Erneuerung Deutschland" and groups against remilitarization, and peace organizations.

They are spinning a web around the West German Federal Republic, which is growing ever closer. Any one who supposes that these groups, with their motley names and their slogans, are only on paper, greatly under estimates the fanaticism of the functionaries who guarantee their activity.

Peter Shwarz (Germany)

„The Voice of America“

From a long criticism of the programme of the "Voice of America" from the view point of the subjugated peoples, we give below some extracts:

"Americans who wish to make broadcasting a success in the psychological war against Moscow must acquaint themselves with the history of Muscovite despotism, as well as with the present relations between the Muscovite people and the subjected nations. It is quite wrong to say the same thing to the oppressors and the oppressed. If the managers of the "Voice of America" do not wish to do more harm than good, or have the enormous sums which the U.S.A. government is spending for the radio wasted, they must from committees from the various nations the transmissions are intended to reach, to study the matter. Among the citizens of U.S.A. there are plenty of people from those nations now suffering under Muscovite rule who would be competent for the purpose.

First and foremost, these nations want their national independence from Moscow recognized. It is from that standpoint that they weigh everything that happens either side of the Iron

Curtain. Unfortunately they hear very little concerning that vital point. The "Voice of America" in the Ukrainian language, for instance, carefully avoids mentioning the former, or the present, heroic struggle going on in Ukraine against Muscovite occupation.

It would seem as if names of such heroes of the first world war, as General Simon Petliura and Colonel Eugene Konowalets were not allowed to be mentioned, nor even the Commander-in-Chief of the U.P.A. General Taras Chuprynka, who was killed last year and is held in high esteem by all Ukrainians at home and abroad.

Reports in the American and European press of the fight of the U.P.A. and other militant organizations against the Muscovite occupation, are also passed over in silence.

The subjugated nations are the natural allies of the free nations in the common struggle against Muscovite despotism, but the former do not know, under the circumstances, what to think of the United States, the sponsor and guarantor of freedom for all the nations in the world."

The Significance of Turkey as a Neighbour

Turkey and, indirectly Iran (Persia), are the only neighbours of Ukraine and the Caucasian people which have remained outside the Soviet sphere of influence. They may be regarded as the only window to the free world, for it is only here in the south that a free country and a free people border ours. This fact is politically of the utmost importance. In Turkey the democratic spirit of the free world pulsates on the threshold of our country. Hitherto our political circles and press have given more attention to far away Australia, than to our close neighbours, Turkey, the Iran or Irak. It is easy to imagine that once we have succeeded in establishing our state independence we must turn to Turkey with more interest than i. e. Poland.

In a war the role played by Turkey would be of the greatest importance for the development of Ukraine, as it would be the centre of the operations of the West against Moscow. There can be no doubt whatever that Turkey, which has kept its army fully mobilized ever since 1939, whose military outlay is 50% of the whole budget (the highest percentage in the world), with 700,000 soldiers under arms, will have one of the most important tasks to fulfil in a future war. It may be forecast to-day, that the first soldier to enter Baku and to land at the Crimea, in Odessa, or Mar-yupol, will be the Turkish soldier.

When we try to visualize the events of a third world war we must see the importance of familiarizing the troops who come to us with our history and our ideas of liberation. They must not be allowed to confuse us with their ideas of "Russians", and must be well-informed that we are Russia's enemies too, and desire its dissolution and the freedom of all nations. We must make them our friends and win their respect for our position.

Churchill was Right

That this strategic development is within the limits of possibility is clear, when we remember that Winston Churchill in World War II, tried to convince the Americans of the advantages of landing on the Balkans instead of in the Atlantic theatre. At that time operations from south to north, and not from west to east, were under discussion. The experiences of the last war have proved that Churchill's plan was right. If it had been realized then, the Bolsheviks would not be in Berlin, Prague and Vienna now. As the world looks to day, this conception has more to it than at Hitler's time.

Importance of the South

As we have already mentioned the Allies are only directly at the frontiers of the U.S.S.R. in the south. It is only from Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan that they would be able to reach Soviet territory on the first day of the war. Besides, there are inestimable natural resources in the south, without

which the U.S.S.R. would hardly be able to carry on a war. Then again, the south is the weakest point in the Russian imperium, — Ukraine and the Caucasus region, — where the people are ready and waiting to pull their weight against Moscow. Finally, the strongest allied military forces are concentrated at the moment in the south.

It may be realized from the above that the only active front ready for war is south of the U.S.S.R. and not west. There are many signs that this strategy has been taken into account, as the journeys of military experts from U.S.A. and Great Britain to Turkey, important diplomatic conferences etc., indicate: Air bases are to be dis-

tributed along the north coast of Africa, over Tunis, Libya, Egypt to Irak and Iran. This plan would enable American B-29 bombers to drop their deadly loads at any point in the U.S.S.R. It seems likely that the roles the different western allies are to play, have already been cast, that the U.S.A. is to supply the air force and the British the land troops which are to occupy the Caucasus and the Crimea, in order to force a wedge in the Red Army positions and force it to retreat.

Let us, therefore, devote more attention to Turkey and the countries of the Near East and see that they are properly informed of our aims.

R. I. Horlenko (Ukraine)

The Language of Figures

The thirty-fifth volume of the revised complete works of Lenin appeared recently in Moscow. It is published by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute in an edition of about a hundred thousand. The State publishing houses of the various republics have been instructed, besides, to issue this work in their respective languages. The works of Stalin and other Party literature which the Politbureau considers important and necessary for the State to have circulated, will be handled in the same way. It is therefore not surprising that the editions of party literature run into such huge figures, to the detriment of the philosophical and other literature.

A survey of Soviet book production in the last thirty years shows a conspicuous number of these giant editions of party and propaganda literature, — in the first place the bolshevik "bible", that is a "Short Outline of the History of the Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks". On its eleventh anniversary, the end of 1949, it had an edition of almost 50 million copies. It has been translated into 38 languages. The German edition reached ten million copies. The works of Lenin and Stalin in three decades, appeared in some 11,500 editions with a total of over 685 million copies. Adding to these countless popular editions and the commentaries on the two "classics" of bolshevism, it does not require much imagination to realize with what the libraries in the Soviet Union are crammed. All that at a time when neither sociological nor political works of non-Communist origin are published at all.

These two figures alone will show under what pressure of propaganda the peoples of the Soviet Union have to live.

In comparison, how modest the figures are for world classics that have been translated into the respective languages and of course "edited" in the last three decades.

Schiller leads with 685,000 copies, then Cervantes with 650,000, Goethe 590,000 and Byron 499,000. During the

same period the not very important, but Communist French author, Andre Barbusse achieved 2,075,000 copies. In spite of the marked tendency to close the Union off from all Western influence, the desire of the non-Russian peoples of the imperium to become acquainted with western literature seems to be invincible, for in the period covered by the report, Victor Hugo was published in 41 languages of the Union, Shakespeare in 20, Romain Rolland in 19, Heine in 17, Maupassant in 16, Schiller and Dickens in 15. The Russian language dominates over all the other languages to such a degree that there is not a shimmer of equality as far as the languages of the different Soviet Republics are concerned. As an example: In 1946 in the whole Soviet Union 70,200,000 copies of polite literature were printed, 65.5 million copies were in Russian and the remaining 6.4 million were left for the others, though the number of Russians (Muscovites) is less than the total population of the other states. In other words the Muscovite State claims for itself, tenfold opportunity to extend its literary development over the "brother" peoples in the Soviet Union, — a test case for the trend of its cultural policy, showing it up in vivid colours. Another example: the works of the greatest poet of the second largest nation of the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian, Taras Shevchenko, have only had an issue of 5.3 million copies in thirty years, while Gorki's works, in Russian and other languages, had an edition of 44.5 million copies. Even a still dubious figure like Ilje Ehrenburg has the honour of an edition of more than 6 million copies of his persiflage of Western culture.

In the report on "the thirty years of Soviet achievement" the figures for Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are included. For Latvia, for instance, only three authors are mentioned; J. Rainis with 156,000, A. Uptis with 345,000 and W. Lazis with 159,000 copies. The figures for two Turkmenian writers are

Karaganda

Stalin's Shame and Symbol of Resistance

On March 24, the "Arbeiterzeitung", Vienna, published an interview with an Austrian returnee from the forced labour hell, Karaganda. Four days later the Communist "Oesterreichische Zeitung" had an article on the same Karaganda, according to which it was a paradise.

The Communist paper writes: "Karaganda is the heart of Kasakhstan. The Karaganda area possesses fabulous riches. Everything is found there, coal, lead, copper, zinc, nickel, petroleum, manganese ore, phosphorite, silver and gold. Under the Czarist yoke and the local feudal lords, the wealth of this tract of land lay neglected and it remained a backward colonial border district. Under Soviet rule, however, wonders have been worked. The Soviet government and the Communist party have spared neither means nor effort to put life into this country."

It is true, wonders have been worked and no effort has been spared, that is to say, human beings. The Soviets have succeeded in turning the whole province of Karaganda into a gigantic convict colony. The Austrian returnee says on the subject.

"There is no need of the barbed wire there, that is so typical of convict camps. The hundreds of miles of steppes in which there are only sand, stones and low-growing herbs, but no road, only one strongly guarded railway line, make escape impossible. Karaganda is primitive beyond words, no tools, no nails, no paper to write on. Fires are lit with two sticks and a bit

given, Machmut-Kuli 450,000 and W. Kerabayew, 950,000.

In this connection it may be of interest to note that from 1946-1949 altogether, some 4,500 children's books were published in editions reaching million copies.

Finally something about the Soviet press, which, according to the latest figures, has a total of 33.5 m. copies. The two leading papers "Pravda" and "Isvestiya" dispose of a million copies each. It must be remembered that the press in the Soviet Union is strictly party bound. The general line of the Politbureau which is to be followed is given by the two above-named papers, so that the press in the different Republics has no other material to dispose of than the Moscow newspapers, local news excepted, of course. What the Soviet people themselves think of these two newspapers is strikingly shown by a "bon mot" circulating in Moscow. It must be said beforehand that "Pravda" means truth and "Isvestiya" news, and so it is said that there is no truth in "Pravda".

The above mentioned publishing figures may contribute to showing up the legend, that equality prevails among all the "brother nations" in the U.S.S.R.

K. V. A.

of wick, and the time is told by means of improvised sun-dials. Yet the land is immensely rich in minerals."

With incredible cynicism the Communist paper declares, "The Russian people have given the people of Kasakhstan every aid in building up the new life. On the vast territory of Karaganda the greatest building activity is under way. From all parts of the Soviet, people are streaming in, Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Bas-kirs, Kirkiz, all filled with the one wish to wring the wealth from the ground for the service of man".

It is not only Soviet citizens who through there "filled with the one wish", but Latvians, Esthonians, Volga Germans, Poles, Austrians, Spanish republicans, and last but not least, Communists from all over Europe, whose blind faith in the Soviet Union is rewarded by banishment, populate this huge region. The doctor looking after the sick, the hospital nurse who helps him, the engineer managing the mines, all are prisoners.

The authority quoted by the "Arbeiterzeitung" apparently saw nothing of what the Communist paper then reports, during all the long years he spent at Karaganda.

"The workers of Karaganda, with justifiable pride in the work of their hands, now draw a profit from their enthusiastic toil. The miner receives the best pay. The hewer, B. Kotrashow, for instance, earned 72,000 roubles last year. There are sanatoriums, and rest homes for the miners, too. The State grants the miners long-term credits to build their own houses. There are hundreds of small villas of four to five rooms, with a garden each."

"There are few stone houses", reports the former prisoner of war, "and they are from the Czars' time. Most of the houses are built of clay, while hundreds of thousands of banished people exist in caves and holes."

The Communists are silent on the fact of the high rate of mortality which makes the returnee's description all the more moving.

"Around the town of Karaganda there is a broad girdle of common graves of the thousands of nameless victims of dystrophe which rages in the oppressively hot summer months, when swarms of insects spread the germs. Dystrophie has many causes, the utterly inadequate food supply for the hard work of the mines; the water merely trickles from the soil of the steppes; the climate, — in summer there are sand storms and unbearable heat, in winter at a temperature of 52° C. below Zero, heavy blizzards, — is beyond the endurance of any European in the long run. The coal dust that gets into the lungs and the vermin do their bit also.

When the Kasakhstan spring comes and the snow slowly melts, the steppes are transformed, into fairy-like blos-

soming fields. The banished, however, have no eye for the beauties of this hated land. Hunger, the sense of the uselessness of it all, and resignation are their constant companions."

The Communist article closes with the words,

"Karaganda to-day is a highly developed centre of the Soviet country, which has been created by Soviet hands in an unbelievably short time.

The near future, however, offers a still grander prospect."

So much for the conventional avowal of the Stalin slave system, in comparison with which the punitive measures of Czarist Russia fade away. But just as the strength came from the exiles in banishment, to which the Empire of the Czars succumbed, so Karaganda is not only the "Centre of the Soviet country" but it is also the symbol of the resistance of the peoples of U.S.S.R. under which, one day, Soviet Russian tyranny will succumb too.

Jews in U.S.S.R.

The unhappy lot of the Jews in the Russia of the Czars has gained worldwide notoriety. Since Ivan the Terrible who, upon seizing the city of Polotzk in Byelorussia in 1563 gave the Jews of this city the choice between submitting to baptism or being downed, anti-Semitism in Russia has continued unabated and resulted in a long series of cruel pogroms in the 19th and 20th centuries. Even after the proclamation of the Constitution, 1905, the Jews in Russia were massacred in thousands by notorious "Black hundreds".

The history of Soviet Russian domination is also full of anti-Semitic acts by the Soviet Government, although the Soviet Government was very careful not to issue laws disabling Jews as such. Moreover, the Soviet Government issued laws preventing all manifestations of anti-Semitism and thus was able to create the impression, the world over, that the Soviet Union is a sort of paradise for Jews. In fact, despite all these laws declaring that "the preaching of racial or national exclusiveness, or hatred, or contempt is punishable by law", the Jews were persecuted in the Soviet Union. The Jewish businessmen and shopkeepers were annihilated and their property "nationalized", the Jewish political parties were outlawed and their members banned to Siberia and even the Jewish religious practices were ridiculed and religious instruction to Jewish youth strictly prohibited. Instead of the Hebrew language and culture, which were banned the use of Hebrew being punished. Yiddish was imposed by force, as the language of the Jews in the Soviet Union, although it was only a dialect of the German Jews. All these acts, derogatory to the Jewish national dignity, cannot be classified otherwise than as a policy of anti-Semitism which attempted the assimilation of the Jews into Russian culture.

New repressions of the Jews by the

The Grey War along the Baltic

Prof. Franklin Scott, the specialist for Scandinavia at the North West University, has coined the expression "grey war", for the situation on the Baltic Sea. In this he characterizes the existing campaign, which is a mixture of diplomacy, threats, espionage and violence, carried on by the Soviet in order to make the Baltic an enclosed Red Sea.

It needed a scientist to investigate this, as scientific forgery is one of the means used by Moscow in this "grey war" to give the political demands at least an appearance of right. Moscow aspires to the control of the straits leading to the Atlantic, as an open door for its fleet massed in the Baltic and its much enlarged submarine flotilla. To-day, the Soviet already controls the south east, from Leningrad almost to Lübeck, thus dangerously close to the straits, — a matter of about 100 miles in fact.

When the Kremlin proceeded to insist on the extension of its territorial waters from 3—4 nautical miles to 12, the Soviet scientific authorities were entrusted with the task of proving that this demand was justified. The crux of the matter is to prevent warships, not belonging to nations bordering on the Baltic, from passing through Ore Sound and the Belt. Members of the All Soviet Association for Cultural Relations

Soviet Government after World War II are registering a fresh wave of the traditional Russian anti-Semitism. For months there have been reports of an intense anti-Semitic trend in the Soviet Union. According to responsible Jewish sources, the newest anti-Semitic development has all the signs of being officially approved and directed. But even now the Soviet are careful enough not to discriminate the Jews as such. It is "cosmopolitanism" which has suddenly become dangerous to the Soviet regime. This new "crime" of cosmopolitanism is being described as "a fruit of the American imperialist reaction", but the "cosmopolitans" are found mostly among the Jews who, therefore, have to be arrested and deported immediately.

In his article: "Popular Changes behind the Iron Curtain" (The Annals of the American Society of Political and Social Sciences for September, 1950), Eugene Kolisher, demographer of the Library of Congress handles the tragedy of the Jews in the Soviet Union. "Before the war, he writes, this was the largest concentration of Jews in the world. Of the 4,500,000 Jews in Ukraine, Poland and Byelorussia there have been left no more than 640,000 or 15%. The rest were exterminated by Hitler. Now the Soviets are transporting these survivors, to Asia and have removed from the one city of Lviv 35,000."

We have nothing to add to this statement. The tragedy of the ancient people is in full swing. The Humans in the Kremlin are responsible for it.

O. M.

with Foreign Countries, as well as the specialist for international law, Prof. Korowin, and the young lawyer Molozow, came to the conclusion desired by the Politburo, that the principle that the Baltic was an open sea was incompatible with the protection of the sovereignty and national independence of States lying along its coasts. Finally, the Soviet Academy of Science declared openly in a bulletin that the time had come for the Baltic States to make an agreement to exercise a collective control in Ore Sound and the Belt.

It is obvious that Moscow means that control to lead to the establishment of Russian bases at the Baltic Straits. The parallel with the Dardanelles is perfectly clear. There is no use in going into the arguments brought forward by the Moscow authorities, who unearthed the treaties of the 17th century, which had hardly ever come into force, in order to prop up Moscow's demands both historically and legally. In practice, the Soviets and the Poles bring in all the vessels approaching their coasts within 12 miles. There is no sea where shipping and fishing are so much interfered with as the Baltic Sea. Fishing boats continually disappear, their crews are held often for months in Polish or Soviet prisons.

Moscow's protest against the U.N. guarantee of the Autonomy Statute for the Aaland Islands at the entrance to the Gulf of Bothnia, is a part of the same chapter. Here too, the Russians are out to eliminate the influence of any State not adjacent with their territory.

The most dangerous weapon in the Soviet arsenal for the grey war is espionage. Moscow has spread a net of spies all over the Baltic countries. Its centre is Stockholm and the leading strings are held by the Soviet Military Attaché there. Agents passing themselves off as "political refugees", and

the crews of Polish ships running regularly into Swedish harbours play an important part in this work. These Polish ships, according to observations made by Polish emigrants, have unusually large crews. The extra "seamen" generally go ashore at once on landing, exchange their papers with other agents and go to earth somewhere, while the agent who has been "relieved" goes on board with all the material he has collected. The so-called "political refugee" then registers with the authorities, receiving from them by reason of his forged documents and other data, identification cards and perfect freedom to go where he will, all of which he makes use of for his nefarious business.

Besides this activity in the sphere of law, seafaring and espionage, an intense propaganda campaign is carried on, aiming at keeping the Scandinavians in a state of uncertainty and nervousness. By diplomatic steps, radio broadcasts, threats in the Soviet press, the attempt is made to discredit the governments in the eyes of their own people, while, at the same time, they are warned that political commitments with the West will be followed by dire consequences.

Quite recently, "Pravda" pointed out, in connection with Norway's participation in the Atlantic Pact, that the Norwegian government was following a course that would involve "dangerous consequences for Norway and might lead to disaster". A few days later, radio Moscow declared that high ranking Swedish officers had discussed military collaboration against the Soviet Union with Finnish politicians. Similar and repeated threats are served out to Denmark too. Until now, however, this blackmailing manoeuvre has failed. Still, Moscow continues with unabated tenacity. Academies, professors, diplomats, the army, radio and press, spies and agents bear the arms in this campaign which the American Professor Franklin Scott has named the "grey war".

On the Anniversary of Croat Independence

(10. 4. 1941 — 10. 4. 1951)

The Croats rejected, and still reject, the "Yugoslavian idea", because it is not compatible with, and therefore unbearable to the Croatian mind and heart. Forsaken by the West, Croatia fought a war to the knife for her national and State independence. All that sacrifice of life and limb, however, was in vain. To-day when our country has become a victim to Tito-bolshevism, it must be emphasized that Croatia never was fertile ground for Marxist-Leninist ideas.

It was to ward off the Communist-Bolshevik danger that the Croats fought so desperately in the second World War. For us Croats it was by no means a war of aggression, but of defence, to preserve our national existence and the sovereignty we regained in 1941. White and red "Yugoslavs", however, began a guerilla war against

us, to destroy our young Croatian State. Unfortunately they found allies in the West as well as in the East, and Croatia found herself left to her fate.

We Croats are often dubbed "Fascists" by the West. But this slander will be shown up by the light of history. Our struggle for freedom and independence began long before there was either Fascism or National Socialism. Anyone who respects truth will admit that two facts cannot be denied. First that the Croatian soldiers fought wholeheartedly against Bolshevism in the second World War, but not against the Western democracies. The high command of the Croatian army issued explicit orders that in case the Allies landed, the troops were to offer no resistance to Anglo-American forces; second, the guerilla detachments and communist Yugoslav leaders had

„Russian Liberation Revolution“

Fantasy and Reality

The fact that there has been little or no definite U.S.A. policy regarding the Soviet Union, caused certain American circles to seek new ways and means to solve the problem. Some people were naive enough to believe the fairy tales told by Russian emigrants, that for a few hundred million dollars they could start a "national Russian revolution", and get the power into their own hands. And it was imagined that this object could be attained without either a "hot" or a "cold" war, and the world given a peaceful life by the wave of a wand.

The 34 years of Bolshevism, however, has taught us how illusory that all is. The West must know by now that the Russian people never seriously resisted Bolshevism, on the contrary it was the Russians who lent it motive power and who carried its totalitarian principles abroad. The Bolsheviks were only able to seize power through the support of the broad masses in Russia proper, who sympathized with Communistic ideas and aims. These Russian masses were then mobilized to nip the awakening freedom movements among the non-Russian peoples, in the bud. Again it was the Russian masses who helped the Bolsheviks to drive the nations who had freed themselves from their yoke, into the dungeon of nations.

While in 1917—1920 the broad masses in Russia proper were the support of the regime of oppression, all non-Russian peoples resisted stubbornly for three years and were silenced in a sea of blood.

Resistance in Byelorussia, Ukraine,

secret orders to offer stubborn resistance should Anglo-American forces land.

The end of the war was by no means the end of the fight of the Croatian nation against Communism and "Yugoslavism". There is a ramified and well established resistance movement going on against that double tyranny. The leader of the guerilla war, General Rafel Boban enjoys the reputation of a hero of legend.

No communist terrorism is able to break down or overcome this resistance. In this struggle all the Croatian exiles are heart and soul with their heroic brothers at home and are straining every effort to contribute to their support. Enlightening the general public in the West on the Croatian national problem, is one of the most important items in our task.

When the hour strikes, the whole Croatian people will rise to a man and fight. They will be as brave and as ready for sacrifice as they were of old in the sea battle of Lepanto, in the blazing ruins of Siget, on the outer walls of Mohac, or in the trenches at Stalingrad, because they will know they are fighting for state independence and freedom.

From an article by Dr. Andrija Ilic.

Caucasus, Cossackia, Turkestan and wherever non-Russian peoples lived, have become popular uprisings.

Now all these nations are held under the Bolshevik yoke by Muscovite stadtholders, who are, above all, Russians and who hold the key positions in the government of the non-Russian countries of the U.S.S.R.

It is a mistake to count Marshal Tukhatschewskyj's conspiracy as a sign of an anti-Bolshevist attitude among the Russian people, for in reality it was merely a plot by a military clique, to gain power. The Russian people showed no interest in it at all.

In the second World War it was clearly shown that the Russian masses were for Bolshevism and ready to strengthen its power, as Stalin himself

pointed out. Russian soldiers would not surrender, even when Hitler and his accomplices, assured them that they would leave Russia undivided. They did not even cross into General Vlassow's army, although his programme was drawn up in the spirit of Great Russia. They preferred to die in German camps rather than go over to Vlassow, who, at the end of the war, actually had only one division under his command and in the end, that proved Moscow inclined. When the German collapse came in Prague, these men attacked their allies from the rear.

Moscow's nationalist-Russia propaganda, the eulogies to the Russian people and the privileges they enjoy at the hands of the Bolsheviks, are the best proof that the Russians were and are the driving power behind Bolshevism. It is the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. who rise again and again against the tyrants in Moscow and who can hardly wait for their national liberation movement.

W. Glaskow (Cossakia)

Universary of Georgia's Independence

The 26. May is the 33rd anniversary of the declaration of Georgia's independence in 1918. It was declared, after 117 years of oppression and subjection, at a solemn meeting at Tbilisi, presided over by President Noc Shardania.

Once again the national flag flew from the Parliament building, announcing Georgia's freedom.

At the time, England, France, Germany, Belgium, Turkey, Argentine and a number of other states acknowledged Georgia's independence.

Sad to say, the State was but short lived. From the north came a great wave of Bolshevism and overflowed the land. In an unequal and desperate fight our people struggled hard to protect their freedom from the mighty Russian imperium and only succumbed after seas of blood had been shed, and our best sons had been killed. Our brave men under General Masnjash-wili and the national guard were unable to stem the flood.

Like their predecessors of Czarist times, the Bolshevik robbed us of

our country, our freedom and our wealth.

For 4,000 years the Georgians had lived in the Caucasus. The ground of our country is soaked in the blood of our ancestors, for we have had to fight again and again to free ourselves.

In all the past 117 years Georgias has only felt politically bound to the Russian empire, otherwise she led her own national life, and every Georgian knows to-day that it is an honour to be a Georgian.

May 26, remains as a symbol of the unflagging spirit of the Georgians and a pledge for Georgia's regeneration. That day is the pole-star for our independence. — the symbol of hope that the Prometheus bound to the Caucasian rock will be released and live a life to which a history of 4,000 years gives a right.

The spirit of our forefathers and of the present generation too, never lose sight of this ideal. The fight will go on until all Georgians are able to live in a free and independent national State.

Is there any Resistance in Russia?

In connection with the sensational statements by the Russian solidarity group of the T.S. under the leadership of K. Boldyreff, that they have organized a Russian anti-Bolshevist movement in their ethnic territories, the editor of the "Sozialisticheskoy Wyestnik" and chairman of the R.S.D.R.P. (Russian Social Democrat Workers Party), R. A. Abramowich, in an article in the "Forward" declares that that is all fantasy.

Abramowich writes: I am sorry to be obliged to say at the very beginning, that there is no illegal underground organization at all in Russia proper

which could carry on active anti-Communist propaganda.

Sometimes the activity of real partisan armies (chiefly Ukrainian) is reported, waging war against Stalin's regime and led by their own generals. Two years ago the magazine "Look" which has a circulation of over 2,000,000, published an article by the Russian emigrant Boldyreff, in which he reports wonders of his revolutionary organization in Russia . . .

The Russian press at the time branded Boldyreff as liar and swindler . . . Every Russian emigré knows that all these sensational announcements are a fiction of the brain."

From behind the Iron Curtain

BULGARIA

A Secret Wireless Station in Bulgaria

Leaflets Call All to be Ready to Fight

We have received reports that a secret wireless sender was working in Bulgaria under the name of "Gorjanin". Transmission are at 20.30 hours. Listeners are instructed how to listen in without peril to themselves.

At the same time, great quantities of leaflets were circulated all over the country bearing the following words: "Bulgarians! Unite! Prepare for the fight against the murderers of our home country!" The population is called upon to boycott all Communist undertakings and resist Moscow's yoke in every sphere of life.

* * *

London (U.P.) an active member in the guerilla war against Bolshevism in the Balkans, who arrived here recently, states that the underground movements there have grown so strong lately that, communist functionaries in many cases dare not carry out the government's instructions concerning industry and Koghoy economy. Last year alone 1000 communist functionaries were killed by guerillas. To protect the oil fields from sabotage, the troops in Rumania had to be reinforced by 50,000 men last year. 10 oil trains from Rumania were blown up on Bulgarian territory.

Many of us", said the guerilla fighter, "have been executed and many innocent people have had to suffer, but in spite of that our forces are increasing and we shall not cease fighting till we are free again."

HUNGARY

The Hungarian Reader under Guardianship

Hungary is "enjoying" two significant experiences at present. Firstly, it has become startlingly clear how much totalitarian governments resemble one another and how consistently their measures follow, one after the other. Whether the dictator is a fascist or a stalinist, — the Hungarian libraries and publisher are "purged". On the other hand, the occasion shows plainly how extremely difficult it is, even for a communist, to keep his balance in every rope-dance called for by party lines. For the over-zealous elimination of "harmful" literature broke the necks of those responsible for it. In their haste, they forbade books that Moscow is still allowed to read, among them Andersen's and Grimm's Fairy Tales; besides they erred in "historical and ideological" matters.

Altogether the Hungarian index contains 10,000 "bourgeois" books, among them those by Thornton Wilder, Gab-

riel D'Annunzio, Marcel Proust, Rudyard Kipling and the Tarzan stories — Walt Disney's "Snowwhite" had to go, because the Prince was not a people's Stakhanow worker, or a "hero of the Soviet Union".

It is still not certain whether the "Good Soldier Schwejk", from the neighbouring Czech literature, will fall under the red ban, as such plays as Molnar's have. The bad example of the sly "Imperial and Royal" soldier might seriously upset the discipline of the people's armoured division.

The confiscated books, by the way, are to be turned into pulp to get material for valuable Marxist literature. But, please note, only carefully edited issues of works by Lenin and Marx, not Marx quotations by any chance, which might undermine confidence in the Soviet Union, such as the following, which Marx wrote in 1835 in the "New York Tribune": "When the western nations have given more care to juster social conditions, worthy of a human being; when they have abolished castes and privileges and have created free political institutions; when they have unfettered industry and emancipated their thinking, then they, too, will regain their power and greatness. The Russian giant, on the contrary, will crush the explosive force of ideas and progress in the masses.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Youthful Martyrs

Prague. According to an announcement in the official Communist paper, "Rude Pravo" 7 young people were condemned to prison sentences of up to 25 years, because they destroyed pictures of Stalin and burnt communist party documents. Beside which, they were accused of blowing up a car belonging to the Security Police, with dynamite.

To justify these disgraceful sentences, passed on youthful fighters for country and freedom, the communist papers add the following commentary. These admirers of the American way of life were disguised as Ku-Klux-Klan, and disposed of arms and dynamite.

POLAND

New Oppression

In Stettin (Szczecin) the prisons in the Pomorzany and Mikulowska streets, for political prisoners serving long sentences, have been enlarged. In a Stettin suburb, at the end of the Gospodarza street, a large concentration camp is being built.

On April 9, several hundred arrested persons were taken to Stettin prisons. A Soviet officer, the worse for drink, shot down a workman because he happened to jostle him in the crowd. As

the crowd became menacing, the officer had to hide in a Soviet office in the Square of July 22. The enraged populace threw stones at the building and broke all the windows. The K.B.W. (Corps for Home Security) surrounded the square and arrested all the people there. The officer in question has been entrusted with the investigations.

* * *

The Russian language as compulsory subject has been introduced in all Polish elementary schools from the 4th form upwards. In the army, too, recruits have two Russian lessons a week.

TURKESTAN

Armed Resistance

The struggle for the independence of Turkestan is still going on. In Western and Eastern Turkestan i. e. in the whole of Turkestan our compatriots are fighting under the symbols of national unity against the Russian and Chinese oppressors.

According to news we have received in the last few days the Ourbashi Rakhmankul with his armed groups is fighting in the Pamir mountains against the enemies. Our enemies the red Russians and red Chinese, attempt by every method to suppress this national resistance. Some Afghans, hired by the Russian government, undertook to persuade the group of Rakhmankul to give up the fight. A man from Badakhshan brought the Afghan proposals to Rakhmankul. The proposals were: to give up the struggle in the Pamir mountains and to come for negotiations to Kabul. Rakhmankul however rejected these proposals and decided to continue his fight.

Moslem World Conference

On the occasion of the Moslem World Congress held on the 2nd February 1951 at the capital of Pakistan, Karachi, the branch of the National Turkestan United Committee in Pakistan, transmitted their greetings to the congress and gave a report on the situation in Turkestan.

From our representatives we have received particulars of this congress of which we will give some details in our next number.

Assassination of the Minister

According to radio Urumuchi the minister of the Eastern Turkestanian government, Djanim-Khan was arrested and shot on the 5th February 1951 by order of the red Chinese government. Djanim-Khan was known as man of great religious and national feeling who by every means strove for the independence of his country. The news of his death has caused great mourning among our compatriots in all parts of the world. In Rawalpindi, in his commemoration, a divine service was held. At the same time that we received news of the death of Djanim-Khan, we were also informed that some

of our compatriots had succeeded in escaping their Chinese persecutors and have arrived in the free world.

„Nationatist Authors“

During recent times purges have taken place in the Turkestanian writer's Union against "unreliable young authors".

The Soviet newspapers of Aug. 1950 make mention in a series of articles on bourgeois nationalist influence in Turkestanian literature and of hidden representatives of the bourgeois in the ranks of authors. For example H. Tokombaj, K. Janats, K. Esmambet, A. Uteke and Umitali and others have deviated from Bolshevist ideology and have given full expression in their school books to nationalist ideas. A number of other authors i. e. Samanchin, Baichi and Bekten have purposely "misrepresented" books on literature when proof reading.

Punishment of Allah Worshippers

According to recent information received from Turkestan, a new attack is being launched against national customs, and the Islamic religion. The Soviet newspapers severely criticize the adherents of Islam, some of whom are even to be found amongst members of the Communist party and make mention of punishments meted out to them. Fazzullaoglu, a member of the Communist party was dismissed from his post and punished, on instructions from the Party, for his negligence in the fight against the Nationalists. The Director of the secondary school in the district of Kaganovichabad was dismissed for the same reasons.

UKRAINE

From Reports of the U.P.A.

The Martyrdom of the Peasants. The Ukrainian peasant is being squeezed all the products of his hard toil by the enormous forced deliveries he has to make. According to decree every peasant in the possession of 1 hectare of ground is obliged to deliver 152 lbs. of meat, approx 250 quarts of milk per cow, and 150 eggs per hen. Aside from all the mal-treatment and blackmail, countless peasants are sent to prison while the distress at home increases more and more. To compel them to go to the collective farms, the peasants are beaten with iron rods, the are tied to horses and dragged to the village hall. A peasant woman of the village of Nebyliw had her leg broken, a peasant from Topilsk an arm, and a woman of Nowytja died after inhuman torture, while another woman from Berlogy went mad; In this way the collectivization was carried out "successfully" in 15 villages.

The peasants of the village of Bolo-chiwitzi (Drohobytch) refused to thresh on Sunday and therefore the work was to be done by "voluntary" trippers from Truskawetz. The peasants, how-

ever, damaged the machines which led to intervention by drunken M.V.D. agents. When they began to swear at the "trippers" the peasants attacked and disarmed the M.V.D. agents and beat them up.

Ukrainian peasants are living on starvation rations, and the worst time is the spring. They have only potatoes, cornbread, cabbage and root vegetables. They have to make their clothes themselves out of flax and hemp. Footwear they have to cobble together out



U.P.A fighters resting

of leather they have tanned themselves. Rubber boots are produced from old tyres.

The entertainments organized for propaganda purposes- such as cinemas, exhibitions, dances etc. are boycotted by the peasants, unless their atten-

dance is forced. Nevertheless their morale is high and the spirit of resistance is strong. The Ukrainian peasants are prepared to endure everything, deportation to Siberia, imprisonment and torture; they will not give way. Mass arrests and deportation have only strengthened their national feeling. In each peasant the consciousness that he is Ukrainian born and must stand by his nation at all cost is very much alive.

Although the churches are closed and services may not be held, the people gather round their church on Sundays and holidays to pray together. The ideals of our liberation movement are warmly welcomed by the peasants, as they point the way to a free Ukrainian State which is the only salvation from the misery of to-day.

The country school teachers are familiar with our ideals and always read our illegal literature. They often give us their aid, for they are in full sympathy with the liberation movement. Their task of education is sometimes sketchily fulfilled and then only under the threat of terrorism. They are, not infrequently, in hot water with the government for their "inadequate" work in promoting the Communist spirit.

The village priests live in great material need. The villagers support them as far as possible. Priests belonging to the Ukrainian Catholic Church are forced by arrest and imprisonment to go over to the "Kremlin Orthodox Church".

From the Soviet Press

The Kremlin as the Elder Brother of Hungary

The character of the celebrations on the occasion of the sixteenth anniversary of the "liberation" of Hungary by the Soviet Army, reveals the fact that Hungary is on the way to becoming a Soviet Republic. The Soviet press is careful not to draw too much attention to this event. The speeches held by the Hungarian "dignitaries" at the festive assembly at the municipal theatre of Budapest were all the more flamboyant.

They were, of course filled with glowing thanks to Stalin and the band of U.S.S.R. described as Hungary's "elder brother".

This outburst of "loyalty" may, to a certain, extent be regarded as an answer to the intention of the Western Powers to place the question of peace treaties with former Balkan enemies in World War II on the agenda of the planned conference of the four Foreign Ministers, respectively to revise them.

A Branch of the Kyiv Academy of Science at Lviv

The Kyiv Radio with the usual demagogic to do, announced on April 3, the inauguration of a branch of the Ukrainian Academy of Science in Lviv. From the address held by the prize-winner, a Ukrainian "scientist" named Yosyp Shtykalo, it is to be learned

that Muscovite "science" in Lviv is following a thoroughly practical aim, viz. to raise the inadequate productive activity of the area of Lviv to the greater glory of Muscovite imperialism.

It is true, the President of the Academy Paladin, as well as the local professors M. Woznyak, M. Rudnitsky, Parashchuk, Kozij, Slobodyan, and others, declared at the inauguration that the task of the branch was to promote the cultural work of West Ukraine, united for ever and always, with its bother country (sic!) . . .

The choice of the Institutes organized in Lviv, show however, that that branch of the Academy is meant to exploit the West Ukrainian population more and more. The Michurin Agrobiology has apparently the task of enclosing the refractory West Ukrainian peasants in "kolkhozes" and force them to work there for the Kremlin despots, in fulfilling the annual plans drawn up in Moscow.

The "productive" friendship between professors and workers has the same time task in the newly founded industrial enterprises. The comparisons drawn by Y. Shtykalo between the dark past under Austrian and Polish dominion and the present "blissful" state are the usual order of the day, followed by humble subjects. As a matter of fact, hundreds of thousands of West Ukrainian workers are being deported beyond the Urals.

Significant Awards

The Moscow paper "Pravda" of February 15, 1951, had an announcement on "awards conferred on officers, non-commissioned officers and men of the frontier troops, as well as members of the kolkhoz in the frontier districts", "The Lenin Medal" and the "Red Banner" medals and others, were awarded. Among the 20 M.V.D. officials thus distinguished, were 5 generals, 10 colonels, 2 captains.

As is generally known, the Soviet "frontier troops" are in reality M.V.D. troops doing police duty. It is their task to watch the population in a strip of land 180 km wide along a frontier, to terrorize them, to evict them, to break all resistance and finally to furnish the Soviet secret service with information, even from beyond the U.S.S.R. borders.

The medals conferred leave no shadow of doubt as to the "great achievements" of these special units in the "frontier district", respectively what they have to achieve. Their chief concern is to keep down the wide-spread resistance in Ukraine. The members of the kolkhoz mentioned in the same breath, are nothing but spies employed by, or members of the M.V.D. troops working against the population.

It is most significant, too, that these lists which according to the "Pravda" were to be continued, suddenly stopped. Apparently it was a slip or indiscretion, for which the person responsible has probably had to pay dearly.

Russification in Vassal Countries too

From the leading article in the "Pravda" of April 11, 1951 we quote the following:

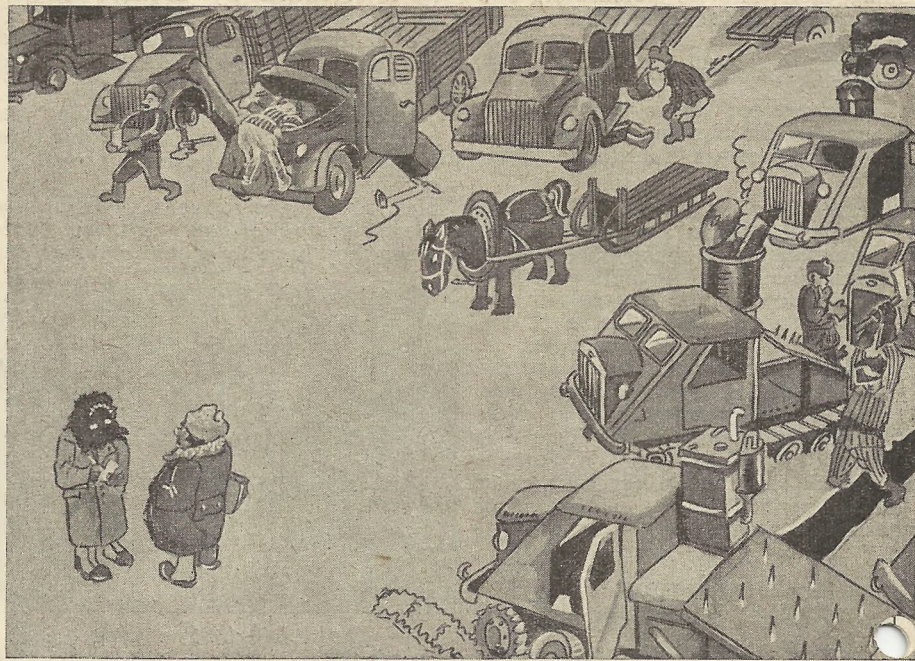
"In the countries of the 'Peoples' Democracies' most favourable conditions have been created for intellectual work . . . At all universities, lectures on Marxism, Leninism, dialectic materialism and social economy are held. . . . Scientists are learning more and more thoroughly the only right creative methods . . . By discussions on all questions of literature and art . . . the influence of the directives from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on the development of the cultural and artistic life in these Democracies, is guaranteed."

This article is proof enough that russification is going on at pressure in all the vassal states.

Nomen est Omen

The official Soviet paper "Pravda" of February 22, 1951, publishes the results of the elections for the "Supreme Soviet" and gives the names of the elected candidates. In the Ukrainian Krasnodar district (Kuban) only 4 of the 20 members elected, bear Ukrainian names, while the other 16 are out and out Russians. The ratio is the same in the Altai region (Siberia) where Ukrainian settlers are preponderant. In all the so-called "autonomous" Soviet-Republics and government districts the deputies, almost without exception, bear Russian names, there are very

Mechanized Forestry



"What do you need a horse for in such mechanized forestry?"
"Well, what do you think! To transport the wood, of course."

(„Krokodil“, Moscow, 10. 3. 1951)

few belonging to the nation they represent. These names speak for themselves and make all further commentary superfluous.

The Wish and Reality

The communist press reports as follows, on the "elections" in Lithuania.

"Vilnius. Comrade Stalin was the candidate here. The electorate swarmed from all sides to the polls. At 6 a. m. the booth was surrounded by a closely packed crowd, by 8 a. m. all had voted. 98,9% of the electorate were at the polls and Comrade Stalin received 100% of the votes.

A Lithuanian who recently fled to the West, tells how the "elections" were carried out in Bolshevik occupied Lithuania. "In our village on election day there were bands playing, and dances were arranged. Special premiums were announced for the first at the polls. R., a peasant, distributed hand-written leaflets saying: "Rather cut off your right hand than give your vote to our traitors and oppressors.

At least 50% remained away from the polls. The ballot boxes were driven through the villages to rouse some enthusiasm. When they appeared in our village with the ballot box, many people fled from the place and the convassers found only empty houses. My grandmother said "I would rather vote for the cemetery". When it became perfectly clear that, in spite of everything, there would be no success, the commissioners folded the papers themselves and stuck them into the box. The doyen of our village, who, for form's sake, was allowed to attend the

counting of the votes, was threatened with 20 years imprisonment if he dared to hint at how things were done. The ceremony ended with a festive entertainment for the election committee, after they had officially declared that more than 90% had attended the election and voted for the Communist Party candidate . . .!"

„The All-Canadian Peace Congress“

(from our own correspondent)

The communist branch in Canada, the so-called "Canadian Peace Congress", convened a meeting, April 7 and 8, 1951, of all Communist and pro-Communist organizations in all parts of Canada.

At the initiative of the A.B.N. in Canada, a counter-demonstration was prepared and carried out in front of the Messianic Hall, where the Congress was held. On Saturday and Sunday leaflets were circulated all over Toronto, giving the real aims of the "Peace Congress" the "fifth column" of Communism. Some 3000 persons of different national groups took part in the demonstration. They carried signs and slogans in English.

The press here, reported the anti-Communist demonstration, and the wireless also broadcast a report.

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A. B. N. Speaks to the World

A Serious Warning

We are devoting a good deal of this issue of our bulletin to material from the great anti-Bolshevist Convention of 22 peoples of the A.B.N., on June 3, 1951 in Munich.

From this material the reader can obtain a clear idea of the depth of the anti-Bolshevist, anti-Russian and anti-imperialistic feeling, even the embitterment prevailing among these 22 nations. In 22 languages at the Munich Convention we might say that actually only **one** fundamental speech was held, only one profession of faith was laid down, namely — "we will have no Russian Empire; we will have no federation with Moscow! Away from Moscow! We want our own, thoroughly independent States, we want a free world in which each nation may decide independently upon its own destiny!"

The great Munich Convention, however, was not only the disowning of Moscow; it contained also a grave warning to the West, especially to the U.S.A.

The A.B.N.-nations know full well that the West, including America, is clinging stubbornly to the idea of a great indivisible Russia. The A.B.N. peoples see again and again with bitterness and repugnance that the West still describes them as "Russian nations" or "the peoples of Russia".

In the opinion of the West, the self-determination of nations only reaches to the frontiers of the Moscow Empire, within that Empire it loses its validity.



Mass Rally of A.B.N. Members

In other words, what is fair for the Western nations is not fair for the nations of the East. With this sort of two-facedness no constructive policy can be achieved in East Europe.

The Munich Convention came just in the right moment. May 26, 1951 the broadcasts in the Georgian language were begun by the "Voice of America". The introductory words were spoken by U.S.A. State Secretary, Dean Acheson. That was the first time an official American personality had spoken directly to one of the peoples subjugat-

ed by Moscow. Mr. Acheson spoke of the "common ideals" which were a bond between the two peoples, the American and the Georgian. He proposed that the Georgians should join with the American people in a common future, a future which "would bring the Georgian nation liberties which it did not enjoy to-day".

Mr. Acheson refrained from defining more exactly "the common future" and "the liberties" which the Georgian people were to enjoy. Whatever freedom

(Continued on Page 2)

**Greetings
to the Fighting
Home
Countries**

The Convention adopted unanimously with enthusiastic cheers the following resolution:

"We bow our heads in deep veneration before the countless sacrifices made by our heroic countries and send our hearty greetings to those carrying on the fight there, the national liberation organizations, the insurgent armies and formations of our oppressed, but by no means conquered peoples. We solemnly declare that we shall do everything to attain our common aim — the restoration of our independent States."

Freedom for Nations! — Freedom for Individuals!

Quotations from the Speeches at the Public Meeting of A.B.N.

June 3, 1951, in Munich

From the Opening Speech by Prince N. Nakashidse (Georgia)

"In this address I'm speaking not only to the members of our subjugated peoples assembled here, but purposely also to all the representatives of the so-called free world. For it must be realized that . . . all the people on our earth, this side and that side of the Iron Curtain, are faced by the same destiny . . . Never has the idea of the indivisibility of freedom, peace and security been so true as to-day . . .

The western world still talks of merely restricting Soviet-Russian aggression, of coming to an understanding with Moscow . . . and even proclaims the preservation of peace . . . and the status quo as the highest aim of western policy. We ask, however, where is the indivisibility of peace as long as the West gives itself up to the illusion that it can lead a pleasant, peaceful life this side, while on the other side millions of people are fighting against and languishing under the most frightful tyranny the world has

A.B.N. speaks to the World

(Continued from Page 1)

he may have had in mind, one was certainly not included: the freedom to separate from Russia and erect an independent national Georgian State. For, hardly had Mr. Acheson's words died away, when a speaker of the State Department hastened to make it clear that U.S.A. policy was not directed at supporting any national, separatist tendency among the "peoples of Russia". The words Mr. Acheson had addressed to the people of Georgia "must not be misunderstood".

An answer was given in Munich on June 3, 1951 which also was not to be misunderstood. The peoples of the A.B.N. are not willing to enter into discussions with Moscow on any basis whatever, with the purpose to consider "mutual interests", "the common way of life" and the like. What we want is absolute, full, unconditional freedom. There can be no debate about freedom. One has it, or dies for it; it cannot be divided. The word "democracy" is not some sort of charm which can bring two different things about at the same time, i. e. preserve the unity of Russia and give the "peoples of Russia" their freedom.

If Russia really wants to be free, it must free "its" peoples unconditionally. That will be the acid test for Russian democracy. The peoples combined in A.B.N. will take up the cudgels against any power which does not respect their wish for complete freedom. But they wish to become and to remain friends with the West, friends and allies of America too.

ever known? Where is the indivisibility of freedom when the "preservation of the present peace" is only to be a reprieve for the western world . . . ? Where is the indivisibility of security when the peoples of the West intend to buy security at the expense of perpetuating the misery of our peoples . . . ? Why does no one think of their re-

Away with illusions . . . away with tolerance! The mask of dissembling Russian Bolshevism has fallen and its challenging face is a warning to be active: If the world, Christianity and our whole civilization, is to be saved at the last minute, the joint front of the West and the subjugated peoples must take action at last. It is not enough to stamp out Bolshevism, which is the double face of audacious insatiable



Presidency of the A.B.N. Convention — Prince N. Nakashidse speaking

sponsibility for the millions of subjugated nations? . . . Where actually does the standard begin for the protégés for whom the world conscience and international ethics feel responsible to-day? . . . Are not our peoples just as well worth defending and protecting as the South Koreans, the inhabitants of Formosa and the Philippines?

Russian imperialism. If the world is to be saved from deadly peril no half measures will do . . . That means destroying the very foundations of menacing, boundless Russian imperialism and giving back their freedom and stashed to the subjugated peoples, so that at long last peace and security may reign in the world."

Greetings from the Scottish League for European Freedom

The Chairman of the Scottish League for European Freedom, John F. Stewart, sent the President of the Central Committee of A.B.N., Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, a message of greetings for the Congress of A.B.N. June 3, 1951, which we give in an abbreviated form:

Dear Mr. Stetzko,

There is no use shutting one's eyes to the fact that the position of the non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R. is not generally understood in the West . . .

There is one large section of the public, both here and in America, which blindly supports anti-Communism and the restoration of freedom and independence to those countries overrun by Russia since 1939, but takes no ac-

count of the wishes of the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. Almost the mass of this section thinks there is no other solution wanted or possible than the keeping together of the whole Russian Empire . . . If the Empire is preserved, the treatment of the non-Russian peoples will be the same as under the Bolsheviks.

It is admitted now on all sides that, at the back of every international evil

The West on the Wrong Way

From the speech held by Yaroslav Stetzko (Ukraine), President of the Central Committee of A.B.N.

Friends! Fighters for the freedom of your peoples! Friends from the free world!

In our epoch full of dangers and great events we, the representatives of the peoples subjugated by Russia, decided once more to appeal to public opinion in the western countries, because the trend in the policy of the Western Powers, especially that of the U.S.A., is making us uneasy. We, here, raise our voices in the name of oppressed Karelia-Finns, Etshonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Byelorussians, Slovaks, Czechs, Hungarians, Serbs, Croats, Albanians, Slovenes, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Ukrainians, Cossacks, North Caucasians, Georgians, Armenians, Aserbaijanians, Turkestanians, the people of Idel-Ural, the Siberians, and, especially in the name of their underground liberation movements.

We hope that our protest, our demands, our warnings will be heard, above all in the West where the decisions as to the policy of the Western Powers are made. We particularly want the truth of the indivisibility of freedom to be understood and grasped at last.

To-day, happily, there is no need to warn the West of the menace of Bolshevism, because, aside from a few incorrigibles, the fact has become clear to all.

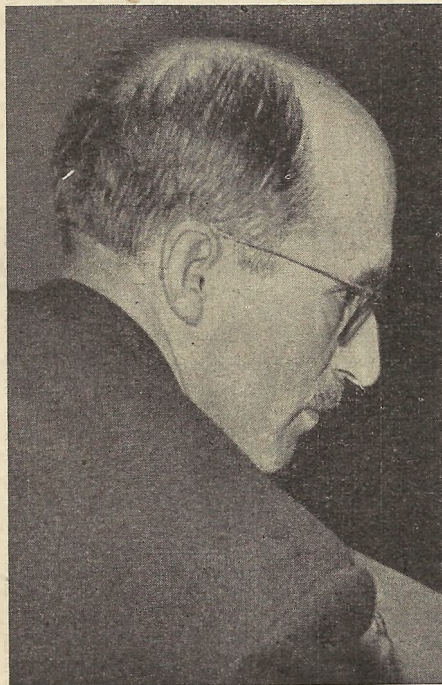
Now, however, comes the question how the West is to act in order to accomplish its task. It is no longer a matter of preserving peace — that has gone already — but of securing victory. The answer from official quarters, up to now, fills us with misgivings. There is a serious danger of the same inexcusable mistakes being repeated in certain official quarters, expressed in the attitude of the Western Powers

is Russia . . . Russia will not be deterred from her own path, whether Stalin or Kerensky is in the seat of power. No "Peace Campaigns" in reality organised by Russia, will be effective. No boast by America of having more or superior weapons than Russia will deter Moscow . . .

The only safety for the world does not seem to me to be in better weapons, "Peace Congresses", Atlantic Pacts, United Europe, or anything of the sort. The only plan is to take the power from Moscow to hurt anyone, and this can only be done by the complete liberation from any kind of Russian control of the non-Russian States of the U.S.S.R. They are all States of superior civilisation to Russia, their peoples outnumber the Russians by more than 2 to 1, they have no imperial policies, their natural resources, if used for the peaceful development of their own countries are more than sufficient for prosperity, they have no wish to be dragged by Russia into any of Russia's wars, no matter for what purpose, and no small countries cause world wars.

to the Russian dungeon of nations.

Over the whole earth, wherever there is no real State independence or national sovereignty, irresistible liberation movements are at work. India, Pakistan, Indonesia, the Philip-



Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, President of A.B.N.

ines and many other lands have joined the ranks of the free peoples. It is still seething in Marocco, Indo-China and elsewhere, but gradually the Western World is yielding to these countries. The countries this side of

This would certainly mean the disintegration of any kind of Russian Empire, but, on the other hand, it would compel the Russians to turn themselves to getting an honest living in the world.

To my mind, the object of the oppressed nations ought to be proclaimed as, not wishing America, Britain, or anyone to "liberate" them; they have had plenty of experience of "liberation" in the past. They will liberate themselves, and they have a right to expect support from the West, not that they should support the West in liberating them.

As for the Scottish League for European Freedom, its whole work is devoted to educating public opinion to this end, and it has reason to claim some success . . . The amazing stupidity and appalling danger to the West caused by the surrender to Russia of Finland, the Baltic States and so much else of Europe, is becoming apparent even to the muddled thinking of the West, and will have the inevitable result.

Yours sincerely
J. F. Stewart, Chairman

the Iron Curtain which have not yet sovereign rights, are approaching independence more and more.

And behind the Iron Curtain?

The national liberation movements there, are still more vigorous, though the circumstances are much harder in a totalitarian State. In spite of all the persecution by the Bolsheviks these peoples never cease their fight.

It is hardly six months since the news echoed through the world of the death of the Commander-in-Chief of the U.P.A., General Taras Chuprynka, the leader of the revolution in Ukraine, killed fighting against an M.V.D division. But at the same time another piece of news reached us, that the fight was going on under another leader. The men fall, but the fight continues without a break.

A year ago the Bolshevik paper "Pravda" reported severe fights with the insurgents of Osman Batus in Turkestan, and alleged that they had been overcome. Yet recently information reached us from Pamir that the fight was going on, just as in the Caucasus. The other day the "Pravda" announced that the Supreme Council of the Soviets had bestowed decorations and awards on members of the M.V.D. for work against "political bandits", i. e. members of the underground. Maturing national revolutions will burst the dungeon and national States will arise instead, as soon a peace is established in the world.

Our aim is:

Sovereign national States for the peoples subjected by Moscow, within their ethnic borders, reparations for all the injustice suffered, especially from the occupation powers — i. e. return of all deported, resettled and expelled persons to their home-countries.

Even the sham republics set up by the Bolsheviks confirm the fact — *nolens volens* — that mighty national movements exist in the U.S.S.R. which the Russian Bolshevik imperialists are trying to neutralize, both by their unheard of terrorism, and smoke-screens of the so-called "independent federal States" which, in reality, are nothing but Muscov's colonies. It was not by accident that Bolshevism in 1917 took up the parole of "self-determination of the nations, including the right of secession". The very fact that it did so is clear evidence that deceit was required beside terrorism to enslave the people. It is not the Russian people with its other so-called "tribes" which forms the Empire, but different nations have been forced into this Empire.

There is no united, indivisible Russian Empire, there is, for example, only a united and indivisible Turkestan, Georgia, Aserbaijan, Armenia, North Caucasus, Ukraine, Byelorussia, and there is also a national ethnographical Russia — but the Empire, the dungeon of nations, must be broken up. Whether the leading circles in the West like it or not, the process of bursting the U.S.S.R. dungeon of nations by the national anti-Bolshevist liberation revo-

lution has already begun and sooner or later will be achieved!

The third, independent power within the Soviet Union is at work — the subjugated nations. It is not a question of so-called insignificant "minorities", but of ancient, highly developed States, whose capital cities existed when some of the present western metropolies were not on the map at all.

We are not fighting for the creation, but for the re-establishment of States which have existed for hundreds, in some cases, over a thousand years. In the struggle to recover our independence our peoples behind the Iron Curtain have made the greatest sacrifices. Does the West intend to stand in our way and attempt to force upon us another, a new form of a Russian dungeon of nations?

The Age of Nations

The world is not developing into an enforced Union or World Empire, that is to say a "World Union of Soviet-Socialist-Republics". — but rather into more independent States whose consolidation is based on equality and freedom without distinction of race, size, wealth or any other peculiarity. The free nations and those still to be liberated will, by reason of their national, independent democratic forms, and mutual respect of rights and liberties, combine in world institutions for mutual aid and co-operation and there, without any "right of veto" and the like, they will discuss and settle their affairs in harmony.

War as the means of settling international disputes will only cease when there are no more superior and inferior nations, no masters and slaves; when certain people in every nation cease their robbing; when each individual is content with what he has and gives up coveting from his neighbour what he has not; when all chauvinism and international hatred has ceased.

The greatest enemy of truth, freedom, justice and harmony among men and nations is the Russian Empire no matter what hue it may take, red, pink, green or white. Its present high stage in development is Bolshevism. It fights no longer for a division of spheres of influence, but solely for its exclusive, total and absolute domination in the world, i. e. for a Moscow World Empire! There is no end to its covetousness. Wherever in the world there is a small nook where speech is free, there Bolshevism stretches its tentacles. That is its law. Yet the idea of liberty, no matter how remote, might send its rays into their dungeon.

The A.B.N. comprises the Mongolian, Slav, Ugro-Finnish and other races; all of whom face Russian imperialism in a common front line. We reject and oppose Panslavism as a form of Russian junkerdom. The Russian State must be confined to its own ethnic borders to prevent the pressing of its "order" on other people.

The conception of a World Empire is alien to the national liberation idea. **Only with the latter can victory be gained, not by half measures.**

Therefore the efforts of imperialist circles among the Russian emigrants,

which are aimed at upholding the Russian Empire, if only within the frontiers of 1941, are indirectly an advantage for the Bolsheviks, for they disintegrate our common front and discredit the Western World in the eyes of our subjugated people as accomplices in setting up a new kind of serfdom.

Condition for National Liberty

Real freedom of the individual is the condition for national liberty. A.B.N. is fighting against Russian imperialism, against serfdom, but not against those Russians who stand aloof from the oppressors. We call upon the Russian masses to shake off imperialism and be content with a state within their ethnic borders. We do not protest against the collaboration of the West with Russian anti-Bolshevik circles when they speak on behalf of their own people, but we do protest against the collaboration of the West with Muscovite imperialists, we protest against all assistance given to any new form of serfdom planned for us, even if it is called "white" this time.

For us every Russian imperialist, even though he calls himself a democrat, is a Bolshevik tool. And it is the same with those who have collaborated with Bolshevism, for, on one side, they demoralize the anti-Bolshevik front; they confuse the minds of the subjugated nations in their notions of the West thus strengthening Bolshevik supremacy. If the West supports such elements it means that the fate and the real freedom of nations is a matter of indifference. We on our part are ready to co-operate with such circles as lay no claims to our countries and are content with their own ethnic territory. That is our one condition.

We here publicly accuse the white Russian imperialists and their friends in certain western circles of undermining the united anti-Bolshevik front, fostering chauvinism, and confusing the objectives. In that they harm the Russian-Muscovite people proper.

We blame them for their indirect support of Bolshevism because they ignore the most important factor in liberation: the national ideal. What should our people fight for in common with the West? Only to change their fetters? Why will those chauvinists and new totalitarianists not recognize the greatest truth of our time, namely national and personal freedom for every individual? Some people in the West look upon them as democrats and our liberation movement as undemocratic. Where does the truth lie? Is the man who fights for freedom a fascist, while he who seeks to enslave him is a "democrat". Since when have these terms been confounded in the West?

No one can openly go against our ideals. It is also an error when some western people believe that we, in propagating our ideas, are driving the Russian people into Bolshevism.

The West has not to choose between us and Russia as a nation. The West has rather to choose between the ideas of a future order, i. e. between the idea of national liberation, or further

enslavement. If it chooses the former it will have our peoples and the Russian people proper behind it, that is to say, of course, if the sound element among the Russians stand aloof from their imperialist compatriots. Should the West choose enslavement, then our people will be against it. **That is not lightly said! It is a considered opinion!**

The explosive power of the national idea can be seen by its effect, when its greatest enemy, — Moscow, uses it as a means to stir up the colonial peoples of Asia and Africa. Why does the West not support this idea behind the Iron Curtain with honest intentions, when the Bolsheviks do so much this side with treacherous intent?

No Hatred for Russians

And another thing. Not long since, the Bolsheviks decried the fight of the Ukrainians, Turkestanians, Azerbaijanians, Byelorussians, the people of Idel-Ural, Siberia and others as anti-Russian. To-day, in the exhilaration of their chauvinism and russification policy, it is the fight of Bulgaria, Poles, Hungarians, East Germans etc. that is anti-Russian, and to-morrow it will be the turn of France or Italy if we do not all conform to their way of thinking.

Any people attempting to shake off Moscow's chains counts with the Russian despots as hostile. Moscow alone allegedly knows no hatred of other nations. Shall we defame Bulgarian, Hungarian, Rumanian, Croatian, Czech, Slovakian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Siberian, Cassackian, Georgian, or North Caucasian fighters for independence as chauvinists or Nazis, although we neither claim foreign territory nor hate any other nation?

We wish the Russian people to enjoy freedom and want Russia's friendship, just as we want the friendship of all other nations who respect our rights, on the basis of freedom and equality. We regard the readiness of the West to break up the dungeon of nations and restore full sovereignty to all nations on the basis of their national ethnic borders as the **first condition to a victory over Bolshevism.**

Our Appeal to the World

We appeal to the Western World to leave the decision as to our future to us. Do not, if you are really democrats, as we are from the bottom of our hearts, hang more chains around our necks. Treat us like you treat other western nations upon whom you have no wish to force your will. Do not forget that our peoples have announced their will to freedom, not in paper plebiscites but with their blood. If Bolshevism should once rule over your countries and you had to fight against it, would you think it necessary to hold a plebiscite to decide whether your people should be free after the victory?

Measure our peoples by the same rule you claim for yourselves. Don't forget that just as you have the collaborators with Bolshevism in your lands and deny them the right of speaking in the name of your people, our people, too despise them because they have contributed to strength-

ening tyranny in the subjugated countries. Do not repeat the mistakes of the past.

Our National States a Guarantee of Peace!

Would there be any Bolshevik menace if the western countries in 1917 had not helped to maintain the dungeon of nations? Should one have to fear a Russian atomic bomb? None of our national states would have been in a position materially to produce it. The Soviet Union is so placed because all the wealth of various peoples and countries is at its disposal. Was it not in your and your children's interest to destroy this horror then? Would a Georgia with 3 million inhabitants, a Byelorussia, or a Turkestan, have been able to produce that weapon to-day when, aside from U.S.S.R. and U.S.A., even Great Britain is not able to do so? Were the Moscow despots deprived of the mineral oil of Aserbaijan, the bread, iron and coal of Ukraine, the cotton of Turkestan, the wood of Byelorussia and the riches of other countries, would they be in a position to threaten the world and finance a world revolution? Only the national States can guarantee world peace, for they cannot pile up war material, and reserves of manpower singly. They therefore, are really a guarantee for peace, progress and humanity.

Military Strategy

Ladies and gentlemen!

Strategy depends on the political conception of a war. The political conception of the dissolution of the Russian dungeon of nations demands, of course, a strategic conception of the war. If this dungeon is to be left in some form or other, the co-operation of the subjected peoples will be excluded. For a strategic conception of the war the constitutional anti-Bolshevist attitude of the West is not sufficient. It must be based on a positive idea: the dismemberment of the Russian Empire as the dungeon of nations, national liberation of the peoples subjugated by Moscow.

It is time that the West made some decision in this direction. In making these demands to-day we are not acting from our own egoistic interest, but because it is high time to prepare effective counter-action.

The Subjugated Peoples — A Second Front

The victory of the West is only to be gained if there is an adequate second front behind the Iron Curtain.

National revolutions are necessary and for them favourable conditions must be created, in order to assure co-operation with the free world.

The West cannot count on success without co-ordinating and bringing the operations of the West into line with the front of the subjugated peoples. Such co-ordination is only possible if the West recognizes and supports the political platform of the subjugated peoples. That is, the conception of the dissolution of the Russian dungeon of nations and recognition

of the sovereignty of the liberated States therein.

Bolshevism is preparing, and, in some places, waging a two-front war; aggression from outside and civil war within. It draws the West into periphery wars, such as Korea, China, Indo-China, for the purpose of attrition and to bring the West into conflict with the other nations. So the bastion of tyranny must be attacked in conjunction with the subjected peoples, i. e. the second front. The real core of Bolshevism, ethnographic Russia, must be overpowered, for only then will its forces in the whole world break down. The moment the West makes a counter-attack on the bastion of evil, on Moscow itself, the real ethnographic Russia, the subjugated peoples with some help from the West would not find it hard to settle accounts with the Russian Bolshevik occupation troops in their countries.

Possibilities Not Fully Used

Conclusions should be drawn, now, from the fact that the Soviet army is made up of soldiers of different nationalities. It is known, for instance, that the Far East divisions, stationed near Korea, are for the most part men belonging to our nations. Would it not be advisable to start now a political offensive by broadcasts etc. in our sense, so that our ideas penetrate from all sides into the U.S.S.R.? Why does the West not make it possible for the broadcasting stations in Europe, Asia and the Near East to appeal to the subjected peoples in our names and with our representatives? Why don't un-

compromising fighters against Bolshevism broadcast from the stations available to the West? And why are broadcasts not composed in the spirit of national freedom? Why are these important factors not in the hands of approved anti-Bolsheviks who have never had any dealings with Bolshevism?

Our Idea is Advancing

The subjected peoples are a supreme power. They are not a "fifth column" of the West, but an equal partner and a valuable potential ally. In contrast to Bolshevism, which can only attract a certain sort of person in the West, the West could win whole nations behind the Iron Curtain on one condition, support of the national idea.

It is necessary and high time to bring the two great plans of the free world and the subjugated peoples to a common denominator.

Slowly our conception is advancing from its previous isolation. The sooner it penetrates into competent quarters the better it will be, not only for us, but for the whole freedom-loving world.

Finally, we shall never cease our cry: the Russian Empire, whatever colour it has, must be divided up into national independent States among which there also should be a Russian State within its ethnic borders.

Those are the conditions for victory and for enduring peace in the world, a peace for which we all long, but we place freedom above peace and life.

Long live freedom and justice for all!

From the Speech held

by General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak (Hungary)

Chairman of the Military Commission of A.B.N.

"... Bolshevism is already at work, with the help of its „fifth columns“, stirring up unrest, civil war, revolutions and partisan warfare everywhere in the world, and in this way there is no stopping it... It is quite possible that the cold war could continue, that the Korea of to-day may be followed by other Koreas, and the present state of affairs last for years. That is certainly the basic idea of Cominform policy. In the present cold war and the warfare of to-day, the Soviet „fifth columns“ and „ideology of world liberation“ decidedly have the advantage and are able to support any Communist attempt inside a country with money, experts and arms from outside...

They know perfectly well that their greatest danger is not atomic bombs, not modern weapons, aeroplanes and western army divisions, but the yearning for freedom which cannot be eradicated from the hearts of the subjected peoples... These masses form an important power. It is true, they have no modern weapons at their disposal, but as soon as they feel and know that the moment of their liberation is approaching they will be able, through their singleness of purpose, their deep faith and their defiance of death, to be a match for the achievements of technics,

and will dare a national revolution against the loathed system of terrorism... The future will show what importance is due to the strength of this inner resistance. Our insurgent units, especially the U.P.A. have been fighting for years in the woods and mountains without outside support.

These capable soldiers know the Russian tactics, training, weapons and territory and could, if necessary, be increased tenfold in a short space of time. The military value of the U.P.A. and other insurgent forces must be highly estimated.

It is time to act, for any delay is an advantage for the Soviets and adds to their strength and will cost the west heavy casualties. Our A.B.N. units are ready, prepared in the ideology that was born in the trenches and insurgent warfare, in the martyrdom of our home countries and the political education in emigration...

Those who languish in prisons and concentration camps and those who are fighting in the mountains and woods will not have things done by halves, they expect uncompromising action from us, for the sake of our much-trying peoples.

To that we shall adhere!"

From the Address by A. Ismail, the Representative of Azerbaijan

"... Thirty-one years ago the red imperialists fell upon our democratic republic and abolished its national independence which was proclaimed and recognized in 1918. For the second time in its history our country fell victim to Russian imperialism. For three decades people have fought desperately. The national revolts in Azerbaijan against the Moscow oppressors have never ceased. No reprisals by the Moscow despots have succeeded in suppressing the will of our people for freedom. Our fight against Bolshevism will last till our aim is achieved... As long as terrorism, fear, oppression and slavery exist there will be no peace on earth."

From the Address by Dr. A. Kamenoff, the Representative of Bulgaria

"... In the name of the National Bulgarian Front, as bearer of the liberation struggle at home and in exile, I declare the complete solidarity of the Bulgarian people with the conception and ideals of the A.B.N. and swear allegiance to the common fight for liberation of all subjugated nations... The subjection of our country towards the end of World War II. was only possible after it had been declared at Teheran and Jalta as belonging to the Russian sphere of influence, thus the Red Army was able to march into Bulgaria... without a fight... In those critical months the fatal conspiracy by the so-called "Fatherland Front" began to spread, and against the political will of the people played Bulgaria into the hands of Moscow..."

In the government of the "Fatherland Front", which was set up by the Red Army under the deceptive slogans "death to Fascism" and "Freedom for the People", the national and State life of Bulgaria was washed away in blood. The pro-Russian groups of the leftist agrarians, left Socialists and the "putsch" party of "Sveno" had been Communist partners.

These groups were blind enough to contribute to depriving the Bulgarian State of its power... The Bulgarian people, however, who have been cast into their present martyrdom by these Russophile collaborators of Communism, feel that their behaviour in exile is a provocation. The "National Bulgarian Front" considers it as its duty to warn the West against taking such emigrant politicians seriously and supporting them..."

From the Address by Dr. St. Stankievic, the Representative of Byelorussia

"... And to-day, likewise, persecution and the annihilation of the Byelorussian people have not broken their will or belief in liberation... At present two large groups of partisans are operating in Byelorussia: — The Byelorussian Army of Defense and the so-called "Black Cat"... The existence of the Russian dungeon of nations, in the form of the U.S.S.R. is a disgrace to-day

in the epoch of great democratic ideas, a disgrace which must be wiped out. The democratic world which yesterday saw in Bolshevism a partner and ally, begins to-day to call it by its right names. Names we have known for thirty-three years i. e. criminality, barbarity and robbery!"

From the Address by W. Glaskow, the Representative of Cossackia

"... Kerensky's so-called democratic government refused to recognize the expression of the people's will in the Cossack parliament. He began an open war against the Cossacks with the object of forcing them once more into the Russian Empire.

The Cossacks... continued their fight against their alien oppressors. This liberation struggle is being carried on by our brothers at home, and also here in the free world by small groups of Cossack emigrants. The uprisings in 1922, 1928, 1932/33 and 1937 are the best proofs that the Cossack nation has not given up its fight for freedom and independence.

During World War II. more than a hundred thousand Cossacks fought for freedom and independence. We Cossacks are proud that we were never on the side of Bolshevism, were never the allies of Communism."

From the Address by Dr. Stjepan Buč Representative of Croatia

"... Just as Moscow finds labels for Russian imperialism, 'Little Moscow', i. e. Belgrade does so in south-east-Europe, in order to veil Serbian imperialism... Our struggle is still more difficult to-day, as we have to overcome double obstacles. On one side we have to contend with the traditional political imperialism of single nations, resp. their cliques which have gone into partnership with Communism, besides which there are two Iron Curtains, not only one. The Iron Curtain drawn down upon us by the West Causes us pain..."

I am sorry to say that the West itself has drawn a curtain of its own which prevents it from seeing clearly what is going on behind the imperialist Communist one, and therefore from coming to the proper conclusions... It prevents the western politicians, organizations and peoples from looking behind the Iron Curtain. They only see tyrannical governments at the head of artificially formed states, maintained by brute force. Thus false plans are set up... They can't realize that the idea of self-determination is the strongest force to-day behind the Iron Curtain..."

From the Address by Fr. Yanik-Horak, Representative of Czechia

"... Slavery prevails in the once free Bohemian countries... That is the truth behind Gottwald's bloodthirsty régime... which not even the Iron Curtain can stifle, nor Kopecky's propaganda ministry, nor even the hundreds of agents who went into exile at Gottwald's orders... Do governments,

above all the American Government, know how many of those Bolshevist agents from the ranks of Benes-Czechoslovakia, financed by American money, are practising espionage and sedition?..."

From the Address by Dr. A. Soysal, Representative of Crimean Tartars

"... Russian Bolshevism, after the second world war, when the free peoples were endeavouring to create peace and social well-being in the world, drove the Crimean Tartars out of their home country, just because they expressed their centuries old wish to be free from Moscow. As the representative of the Crimean Tartars I accuse the Soviet Union of the extermination of whole peoples..."

From the Address by Dr. L. Liptay, Representative of Hungary

"... Bolshevist forces once more brought agitators back to Hungary. The Soviets went so far as to insist on Communists being accepted in the government, against the will of the people..."

To-day not more than 5-4% of the population, at the outside, are Communists, and yet the population has suffered untold cruelty and terror at their hands for years now..."

The western world should know... what strong passive resistance is offered by the people... Cardinal Mindzenty's martyrdom has given the people great moral strength in their unequalled perseverance... It is a silent, hard, unyielding, heroic fight for freedom."

From the Address by G. S. Julay, Representative of Idel-Ural

"... After overthrowing the Idel-Ural Republic, which the Turko-Tartar National Assembly had proclaimed in the liberation revolution of 1917, the Bolsheviks destroyed the political unity of the Turko-Tartars by dividing Idel-Ural into three autonomous republics..."

The deportation of the Turko-Tartars from their homes into places as far away as Königsberg, was for the purpose of uprooting our people from their own soil..."

The persecution of Islam in Idel-Ural was not only based on the godless Bolshevist philosophy, but also to abolish this essential element of national consciousness from the Turko-Tartars..."

The policy of extermination carried on by Bolshevism, called forth freedom organizations and underground resistance movements in the whole area of Idel-Ural. The armed revolt in Tartary and Baskir in the years of war communism, the underground organization "Sultangaliefshchyna", the activity of anti-Moscow Tartar-Bashkir-national-Communists which were liquidated with much loss of blood in 1936/37 prove that the Turko-Tartars, since losing their own Stateship have carried on their fight for freedom... 50,000 Tartar-Bashkirs fully armed fought against Bolshevism in World War II."

From the Address by Mg. Julijs Bracs, Representative of Latvia

"... After the collapse of Poland in World War II. the Baltic States... were occupied by the Soviet Union. We call that year of Bolshevik rule the "gruesome year". Some 8% of the Latvian population were killed, shot, deported or fell in the resistance movement.

Latvian resistance at home is alive still. Caution prevents me from giving any details in public...

We shall fight for victory and after the victory is won, we shall return home from all the countries in the world. But the victory must be decisive. No new Russian imperialist State must be permitted to arise again."

From the Address by Dr. B. Huk, U.P.A. Fighter, Representative of Ukraine

"I speak in the name of fighting Ukraine... There is no armed or active resistance within the Russian ethnic borders, but only where, not only social serfdom, but also national oppression exists; that is to say, only among the subjugated peoples..."

The Ukrainian liberation movement opposes Russian despotism, hatred of everything foreign, its effort to supplant Ukrainian culture with Russian which is alien to Ukrainian feeling, while clinging to a national consciousness that has grown through the centuries, national dignity, the love of truth,

justice, and freedom for nations and individuals...

The object of the immediate revolutionary struggle is the psychological mobilization of the broad masses, the winning of new forces for the fuller development of a future armed encounter...

Ukraine and other subjugated peoples cannot be overwhelmed. Our fight goes on and will continue till the Russian imperium is shattered, no matter what colour it may adopt."

From the Address by Dr. Ct. Pokorny, Representative of Slovakia

"... Freedom can never be a gift, one must work and fight for it. That is why the anti-Bolshevist resistance movement in Slovakia and the Slovak fighters for freedom, in the Carpathians, have been carrying on an unequal, bitter struggle full of self-sacrifice and heroism for the last six years against the red Prague dictatorship... and against that unnatural State formation called Czechoslovakia. Our fighters for freedom in Slovakia are just as forsaken and as self-dependent as all the other revolutionary resistance fighters of the A.B.N., and have been so for years... In battles they can only rely on the mutual aid given by the underground movements and revolutionary insurgent detachments of other subjected nations which are united by the common ideal of freedom and the right of self-determination..."

From the Address by A. Bater, Representative of Turkestan

"... The national, armed struggle which the Turkestanians have carried on for years against the Red Army, reached its climax in 1922/23 at the time of Enver Pasha. After the collapse of the national resistance in 1923, the Turkestanians went underground and took up the fight from there against the alien dominion forced upon them... In spite of unceasing terrorism, the alien régime has not succeeded in breaking resistance... oppressing the national will for freedom, much less in winning the people over to it."

From the Address by J. A. Noreika, Representative of Lithuania

"... We must make it clear to the Western World that the present danger of aggression does not lie with Germany, Japan, National China or Spain, but solely and alone with the Kremlin and the Communist States... Let us spread the view that the Kremlin is no match for the combined co-ordinated forces of all the anti-Communist nations and will soon be forced to capitulate... I, therefore, in the name of the Lithuanian Central Delegation in A.B.N., give the watchwords: all to action in the World War against the world enemy — Russian and Bolshevik imperialism of whatever colour it may be!"

RESOLUTIONS

Passed at the Public Meeting of the Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.)

June 3, 1951, in Munich

I.

At no time in history has the whole civilized world been so menaced by catastrophic ruin as the present.

Never has world policy played such trumps into the hands of the destructive powers of evil, as now. Trumps of politics, economy and strategy.

We are standing on the threshold of a new world war which will decide the future of the whole world.

Our subjugated peoples with their national anti-Bolshevist liberation movements, form the power which will decide the issue of the coming conflict.

It is significant that the parole of self-determination which the Bolsheviks put to their own uses in 1917/18, to mislead our peoples, is still paraded by Moscow. It is a strange thing that this parole in the mouths of the Bolsheviks, even now, takes effect with people who have not yet experienced themselves what "self-determination" means in the Bolshevik "language". Thus self-determination, besides the "Fifth Column", is a strong weapon at the service of Moscow Bolshevism, with the help of which the peoples of whole continents are being stirred up in order to make them tools for the conquest of

the world. That makes the fact that the western world fails to see the importance of the national idea, all the more tragic. The strong forces of the national movement in the oppressed nations have not been taken into account in the struggle against the world menace represented by Russian-Bolshevism.

In view of this situation we, the representatives of the national resistance and liberation forces of the peoples subjugated by Moscow, namely: Albanians, Armenians, Aserbaijans, Bulgarians, Esthonians, Georgians, Idel-Uralians, Cossacks, Croats, Latvians, Lithuanians, North Caucasians, Rumanians, Serbs, Siberians, Slovaks, Slovenes, Czechs, Turkestanians, Ukrainians, Hungarians, Byelorussians, hereby declare:

1. Aggressive and destructive Bolshevism is only an enlarged form of Russian imperialism which has grown ever greater in the course of centuries by the conquest of other lands and the enslavement of alien people in Europe and Asia.

2. The thirst for conquest has been developed more especially on ethnic Russian soil. The Russian people alone

has been its motive power, breaking, by deceit and force, all resistance put up by the non-Russian peoples of the Czarist empire, to bring them eventually under Bolshevik-Moscow law. It is, therefore only logical that all the non-Russian subjected peoples should wage a war of resistance and for liberation from Moscow, while on the ethnographical territory of Russia there is as good as no struggle at all.

3. To crush all resistance and make these people tractable for its criminal conquests, Bolshevik Moscow makes use of means unheard of in history, to break the spirit of and annihilate whole peoples. Such means as mass executions, torture, starvation, death-bringing concentration camps, deportation and mass resettlement. And it is these methods which they are preparing for the whole of the free world.

4. Like the Czarist régime, Bolshevism strives for the russification of the people subordinated to it and to secure a hegemony for the Russian people as "master-men". The manpower and economic potential of the subjected peoples have been exploited and misused to help the Muscovite empire of the U.S.S.R. to world do-

mination. It remains with the Kremlin to nourish Russian messiahship, to encourage the feeling of self-confidence and superiority and increase chauvinism.

5. The Russian political circles abroad, even if they are anti-Communist, are incapable of turning their backs on traditional Russian imperialism. They deny the right of the peoples, formerly oppressed by Czarist, and later by Bolshevik Russia, to their State independence. They oppose the abolition of the Russian dungeon of nations and the restoration of State sovereignty for the subjugated nations. Kerensky recently made this clear when he declared, "rather the worst dictatorship than the dismemberment of Russia".

6. Our peoples have fought stubbornly against Russian slavery for centuries. In 1917/18 our peoples set up their independent national States and were willing to live at peace with all their neighbours, Russians included. The unaltered Russian imperialism, this time in the guise of Bolshevism, ruthlessly destroyed and crushed the newly gained independence of our peoples.

7. The Russian-Bolshevik campaign for the destruction of our peoples was idly watched by the world. Not a finger was raised when the potential of our peoples was abused to spread Bolshevik aggression. Thus Moscow was enabled to extend its dominion right into the heart of Europe, after the second World War, and throw a number of northern, central and southern European States into the mill of Bolshevik russification. At the same time Moscow succeeded in dominating many places in Asia and acquiring important spring boards for its purposes.

8. In spite of all the cruelties they have to endure our subjected peoples have not lost their belief in freedom, nor have they given up their fight. This fight, of course, is not only directed against Bolshevism, but also against Russian imperialism of every sort, whether in monarchist, "solidarity", socialist or "democratic" garb.

9. Our peoples have seen through the so-called all-Slavic idea, Pan-Slavism, as the perfidious weapon of Russian imperialism. It is a weapon that Bolshevik Moscow uses to-day for the russification and assimilation of Slav, semi-Slav and even non-Slav peoples. We reject the pan-Slavist idea most decidedly because we are convinced that it only benefits Russian imperialism, and means the further ruin of our peoples. We refuse every kind of racial ideology and fight alone for our own national freedom and State independence.

10. Notwithstanding our implacable struggle against Russian imperialism of every sort, we recognize the sovereignty of the Russian people within their own ethnic boundaries. This, however, only on the basis of mutual respect and the recognition of our national sovereignty, our own vital interests and our right to State independence. Under these conditions we offer our hands in friendship to the Russian people for our common fight against Bolshevism.

II.

At this decisive hour we put the following demands to the West:

1. In the fight against Moscow's aggression the Western Powers must not depend solely on their material superiority in armaments, but, above all, on a morally superior ideology. As the experiences of Napoleon and Hitler have shown, Russia cannot be conquered without an idea that carries all before it. In order to crush Bolshevism the West must promulgate now the watchword of real self-determination,



Segment of the A.B.N. rally

guaranteed by national sovereignty, as the most effective ideological weapon against Russian Bolshevik imperialism.

2. The inalienable right of the oppressed peoples to national independence and State independence must be unconditionally recognized and guaranteed now. Unnatural State groups and federations formed against the will of our peoples, are to be rejected. It is alone by this means that the resistance of the peoples oppressed by Moscow can be brought to a common denominator with the West and a genuine alliance with our people be initiated.

3. Co-operation with the national revolution of the subjected people for the liquidation of the Russian Empire as the seat of world incendiarism.

4. Restoration of the free, independent national States of all the peoples within the Soviet-Russian sphere of power, as the only right way of abol-

ishing permanent Russian world aggression and the threat of war, as well as the creation of a constitution of the world, which will guarantee real peace.

5. Our oppressed peoples claim equal rights with the peoples of the free world, with regard to the Atlantic Charter and the principles of the United Nations. We ask and expect that representatives of our peoples be admitted to all the institutions of the United Nations, including those representing the national revolutionary resistance movements against Russian-Bolshevik imperialism and who have not lost their legitimation by any collaboration with Bolshevism.

6. We demand that any maintenance of the Russian dungeon of nations, of no matter what colour or form, after the overthrow of Bolshevism, as well as all attempts at collaboration with certain, so-called "all-Russian liberation centres", be given up once and for all. Russian neo-imperialist institutions are likely to obstruct the liberation struggle and discredit the Western World in the eyes of the subjected peoples, as holding the stirr for a new tyranny.

The exclusive support which former collaborators of Communist despots enjoy in the West is likely to harm the respective peoples fighting at home against that same tyranny.

7. As the most important factor for the success of psychological warfare against Bolshevism, we demand that competent representatives of our national liberation organizations and underground movements be consulted in all Western initiatives. The broadcasts, especially, by the "Voice of America", "B.B.C.", "Free Europe", must be so arranged that not only the language of each individual nation, but more especially, the contents and the spirit of the transmissions meet the requirements of the inflexible liberation movements, and appeal to the unquenchable national will of the people in question.

8. And finally, we demand that the free world, in fighting against the Russian-Bolshevik threat, and for world freedom, does not permit itself to side-tracked to secondary fronts, but concentrates its full striking power on the fundamental evil, which is Russian imperialism. It is that which must be exterminated once and for all, so that freedom, peace and general culture may flourish once again on God's earth.

Just published:

Oleh Martovych:

New book:

UKRAINIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN MODERN TIMES

176 pages, 11 pictures. — In English.

Published by "Scottish League for European Freedom", Edinburgh.

This is a short story of the Ukrainian national liberation movement covering the period from Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky till U.P.A. (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) (1600—1950).

Place orders: A.B.N. Correspondence P.O.Box 70, Munich 35
Germany/Bavaria.

The price in Great Britain: 6 sh.

In other countries: equivalent of 2 U.S.A. dollars.

Freedom for Nations!

Freedom for Individuals!

Editorials

An Appeal to free Peoples of the World

Voted unanimously at the AB.N.-Convention, Munich, June 3, 1951

To-day, when the inevitable conflict between two irreconcilable opponents, — the world of tyranny and the world of liberty, — is approaching a crisis in psychological, ideological, political and military spheres, we feel it is our historical duty to draw the attention of the World once again to the following:

1) It is a dangerous illusion to believe that any reconciliation between Moscow and the free world is possible. Bolshevism as ideological totalitarianism would be denying its very being if it did not always remain aggressive.

It is placed before the alternative either to attain world domination or fall to pieces. Do not think, therefore, of reconciliation and cherish no illusions about living peaceably side by side! Think only of victory and how to secure it, so that you are not defeated yourselves.

2) To secure victory two things are necessary. First you must be morally strong, as well as armed to the teeth. Secondly you must win the subjected people to our side by a straightforward policy which shows you have confidence in them. You should contribute to the building up of a second front, both political and military, of the subjected peoples behind the Iron Curtain and support their national movement for freedom, their political underground organizations and insurgent armies.

That, above all, is the pledge for your victory.

3) As for your military strength, it appears that before long it will be great enough to cross swords with Moscow. That, however, is but one condition for your victory over our common world enemy.

The first mistake is in combating only Communism, but not Russian imperialism at the same time.

The second mistake is made in treating the U.S.S.R. as a political and national entity.

The third is derived from the other two, namely that you aim at abolishing the Bolshevik regime, but not at the dismemberment of the U.S.S.R. and the reinstatement of sovereign national states of the peoples caged therein.

Russia must be forced back to its ethnic boundaries! Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Bvelorussia, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Caucasia, Georgia, Aserbaijan, Armenia, Idel-Ural, Siberia just as well as Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechia, Slovakia, Poland, Hungary and Albania, and also the Serb, Croat, Slovene people subjected by Communism, must become free again and attain their independent national States within their ethnic boundaries.

4) We must warn you seriously against certain Russian groups abroad which, although they are anticommunists, still cling to the idea of a Russian Empire. They are trying to persuade you that the peoples of the U.S.S.R. have no other wish than the end of the Communist regime, and not to regain their national independence. Such misleading statements are dangerous, for they may cost you the sympathy of the non-Russian population of the U.S.S.R., which constitutes no less than 65% of the total population of the Soviet Union.

We wish to warn you, as urgently, against working with collaborateurs of Communism, for that might discredit you in the eyes of the oppressed peoples, and alienate the national revolutionary, really anti-Bolshevist, forces.

Keep the friendship of the subjected peoples! Do not antagonize our peoples by supporting any new form of Russian despotism or any variation of Communism or Bolshevik imperialism.

5) Nations of the West! Out in the free world in our days a number of peoples, — India, Pakistan, the Philippines, — have, achieved their State independence. Do you not realize that the same irresistible development, carried along by the explosive power of the idea of independence, is at work in the Soviet sphere of influence? Those are the forces with which alone you can achieve victory. Only the second front of the national freedom movement and the insurgent armies behind the Iron Curtain, can avert the tragic ruin of the world under communist totalitarianism and Russian imperialism. Give your support to this second front which is already in existence and without which there can be no victory.

Do not forget that the majority of the soldiers in the Soviet army, as well as those in the vassal States, are our countrymen and your friends! Make it possible for them to fight on the side of freedom! Freedom, however, means independence in one's own national State!

Freedom, for the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. means the dissolution of the Russian Empire and the restoration of independent national States!

Freedom-loving people all over the world, unite in the fight against Bolshevism and Russian imperialism, for the freedom of nations and the freedom of individuals!

Central Committee
of the Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations
(A.B.N.)

June 3, 1951.

„Russian Democratic Committee“ in U.S.A.

On May 9, the „Voice of America“ broadcast an article in Russian by an „old Russian democrat“ R. A. Abramovich, recommending the formation of a so-called „Russian Democratic Committee“. The article was not only published in the Russian exile press, but unfortunately also in the paper of the American Federation of Labour. This obliges the organizations of the subjugated nations, especially those living in U.S.A., to take a stand against these plans of Russian imperialists.

Mr. Abramovich proposes forming a Russian Committee of the leading „Russian democrats“ and the „democrats of other nations in the U.S.S.R.“. It is a Punchinello riddle why a Committee of representatives of different nations should be called „Russian“. It seems the „democrat“ Abramovich regards the subjected nations merely as „national minorities“ in a Russian Empire, although they unerringly continue their struggle against Russian oppression. Actually, he makes no secret of it; for he declares that the political plans of the Committee to be formed, are identical with the miserable Russian programme of 1917.

Mr. Abramovich, mindful of his powerlessness, „promises“ the oppressed nations of the U.S.S.R. the „self-determination of national minorities“ under the supervision of the U.N., while even the Kremlin despots, — on paper, — recognize the independence of the national Soviet Republics. In this way the Russian exiles are doing Bolshevik demagogy an invaluable service.

When Mr. Abramovich and other Kerensky helpers allege that „the great majority of the Russian people are of their opinion“, the question naturally arises, why they impose on the hospitality of the U.S.A. while the despots in the Kremlin rule with the blessing of the Church? The answer is very simple; because neither the millions among the privileged classes in Russia, nor the mass of slaves under their direction, have any idea of overthrowing Russian despotism and setting up Russian exile „democracy“ in their place.

It is a pity that the plans of the Russian „Democratic Committee“ cannot be ignored; it is not possible to do so, because they will cause confusion in the political circles of the West and might arouse illusions as to „Russian democracy“.

It is not difficult to prove that the Bolshevik government is carrying on at home and abroad the traditional imperialistic policy of its predecessors, and it is no less clear that the Russian emigrants abroad who allegedly raise their voices „against“ the Moscow government, have **nothing in common** with the members of the subjugated nations fighting stubbornly for the restoration of their independent States, and for that reason could not co-operate in a joint Committee.

Is Cooperation with the Russians Possible?

By V. Kayum-Khan

We publish an article by Veli Kayum-Khan, the President of the National Turkestanian United Committee, the Chairman of the Political Commission of A.B.N., the Deputy Chairman of the Council of the Peoples of A.B.N.

Just now when the world is undergoing a complete change and when the national demands for the independence of Turkestan are beginning to play a part in world politics, the Russians both this side of the Iron Curtain and behind it, are acting against us. They are determined to carry out the legacy of Czarist Russia. Murder, looting, arrests and oppression are prevalent in Turkestan.

The Russians sometimes disagree with regard to the ruling system in Russia, but their policy of expansion and their views on colonial policy are the same. The Czarist Government, which conquered Turkestan and attempted to make a colony of it, was overthrown in 1917. This Government was succeeded by the Government of Alexander Kerenski who also pursued the same imperialist policy in Turkestan, but also in Aserbaijan, the North Caucasus, Georgia, Armenia, Idel-Ural, Ukraine, Cossackia etc.

The red regime which succeeded the Kerenski Government also followed in the foot-steps of its predecessor. The crowns and colours changed but the principle of imperialist expansion and the oppression of foreign peoples remained unchanged.

The Kerenski group speaks about the great and indivisible Russia. Kerenski is not opposed to Stalin's policy of colonisation. The Monarchists are pursuing the old Czarist imperialist policy and wish to subjugate Turkestan and other countries.

The group N.T.S. (National Labour Union) comprises chiefly the new generation of the old Russian emigration and some new emigrants who call themselves Solidarists and who speak of an imaginary "all-Russian people". They, too, hold the view that the aspiration for independence among the peoples living under Russian rule is more dangerous than Communist propaganda. They too wish to uphold Russian rule over the other peoples.

The new Russian emigration is represented in the Vlassov group. The members of the emigration, who were educated and grew up in Red Russia before the Second World War, entertain the same ideas as all Russians, both this side and behind the Iron Curtain. They all propagate the idea of an indivisible Russia. Vlassov was supported only by Russians; we did all in our power to oppose his aims at Russian hegemony, while 120,000 armed Turkestanian soldiers and all other Turkestanians stood fast by the N.T.U.C. The National Turkestanian Congress of 1944 approved the committee's work and pronounced those as traitors who joined Vlassov or any other Russian group. Vlassov's object was to realize his imperialistic aims with the assistance of Russophile circles in the German Government. The sponsoring German Government and Vlassov him-

self forgot that it was not a question of fighting solely the Bolshevik regime, but a question of fighting for the liberty and national independence of Turkestan.

We find that all Russians have the same imperialistic tendencies and feel, therefore, that cooperation with the Russians in a mutual fight against Russian Communism is impossible, as long as the Russians stick to their imperialistic policy. If, however, the Russians were to abandon their imperialistic policy, we could live on good terms with them. No Turkestanian has ever been a traitor to his country. No true Turkestanian has ever extended any help to his enemy.

We do not wish to divide Russia proper, we only want to have our independence, as Turkestan is not Russian soil and we are not Russians. The same applies to the Caucasus, the Crimea, Idel-Ural (Volga Tartary) and Ukraine, and others. We possess our own culture, our own language and our own country. The N.T.U.C. has always maintained and still does so, that they are not opposed to the Russians if these latter remain in their own ethnographical territory and do not attempt to rule over us. We will continue our struggle for liberty until we achieve our aim — there can be no question of compromise.

It would not be difficult to find a basis for negotiations if the Russians were to change their attitude, but it is useless to pursue colonial principles in

the 20th century, at a time when it has been accepted, both in England and the States, that such principles are out of date.

N.T.U.C. must draw together still more closely all Mohammedans, Turko people and non-Russian people, as Russia by her imperialist policy and Communist ideas is threatening all the cultured nations of the earth. Russia wants to extend her power as far as the Indian Ocean and the Orient. The time has come for the East and West to unite. Attempts at separatism and neutrality, as have been observed in some nations, are a grave danger for their countries and for us. There is no room now for Western and Eastern pride, we are all in the same boat and must overcome the world danger.

We now mention, in order to illustrate the Russian methods applied for combating the vanguard of the liberation movement, a few of the directives Moscow issued to her representatives abroad.

1. To create dissension between the old and the new emigration;
2. To create dissension between the individual political groups or to foster dissension artificially by interfering in their private lives and influencing their press;
3. To discredit the politicians living among the emigrés by involving them in scandal and thereby trying to convince the Western Powers that these politicians are not to be regarded as serious representatives;
4. To cause religious dissension and to use it as a weapon;
5. To exploit insignificant quarrels between the national groups and thereby to obscure the principal issue which is the struggle against Communism;
6. To slander and discredit the leading politicians and to produce a state of frustration among wide circles of emigrés;
7. To destroy national organizations and replace them by decentralised groups, which are led by nonentities.

This is the aim of the Russian 5th column. Our reply to the above-mentioned Russian plans is unity, national integrity and national discipline and we are determined to keep to the decisions of the National Congress of 1944.

When we talk of Turkestanian unity, we do not wish to say that we want to separate ourselves from the Turki-Islam and other peoples; on the contrary, we wish to live in the closest contact with them. We wish to maintain Turkestanian unity because the Russians wish to make "nations" of our tribes and "languages" of our dialects, in order to divide us up more easily.

Only one people lives in Turkestan, there is only one language, one culture, one religion and one history, i. e. Turkestanian.

We do not have an East Turkestanian and a West Turkestanian problem, but only one indivisible Turkestanian problem.

The Turkestanian people wishes to live and work with the Turki-Mohammedans and all non-Russian peoples on terms of closest friendship.

A. B. N. Press Conference in Edinburgh

The President of the Central Committee of A.B.N., Yaroslav Stetzko, the Chairman of the Military Commission of A.B.N., General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak, and the Chairman of the Political Commission of A.B.N., Veli Kayum Khan, who are all now in Great Britain, met June 20th, 1951, in Edinburgh for a press conference at which the political aims and tasks of the A.B.N. were discussed. Leading Edinburgh newspapers like "The Scotsman", "Evening Dispatch", "Daily Record", "Evening News" etc. took this occasion to give some positive expression to the struggle and the political aspirations of our subjugated peoples.

In this connection "The Scotsman" writes: "The West could never defeat Russia unless a second front was established behind the Iron Curtain, formed by underground national organisations and of insurgent armies and formations of peoples subjugated by Bolshevism."

"Evening News" comments as follows: "If another war broke out, A.B.N. . . . hopes to organize its own political and military strength within the Soviet Union and bring about the fall of Russia by means of national revolutions."

"Evening Dispatch" says: "Bolshevism, Mr. Stetzko said, launched its attack against the entire world, and it must be counter-attacked on a similar scale. In order to combat it, all sane forces in the world must be mobilized and the final blow dealt in cooperation with the underground movements of the subjugated nations . . . It was necessary to unite both the strategy of the free world and that of the underground movement of the oppressed peoples in the name of one idea and one purpose."

Third Conference of the O.U.N.

In the second half in the month of April, the Third Conference of all the groups belonging to O.U.N. (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) in foreign countries was convened. At the Conference the attitude of the O.U.N. towards the liberation struggle in Ukraine itself was discussed, and the tasks of the O.U.N. groups abroad, in connection with the present world situation.

Here some highlights of the resolutions passed:

1

International politics at the present moment are marked by the contentions between two blocks of States at variance in their outlook, social structure and policy. This struggle is led by two world powers, U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. The aim of the U.S.S.R. is to bring the whole world under its yoke, to form a U.S.S.R. covering the world. The U.S.A. tries to bar the imperialism of the Bolsheviks and, by the aid of its economy, as leading power in economic and political life, to sway the world.

2.

The block around the U.S.S.R. is formed by force against the interests of the subjugated nations. The formation of a West Block has been brought about by threat to their national existence on the part of Moscow.

3.

Besides this procedure of forming two opposite blocks there is another factor of increasing importance which is actually determining the character of the 20th century. That is the liberation movements among the subjugated peoples and their struggle for national independent statehood. The liberation movement in Ukraine and that of other subjugated peoples under Moscow's yoke forms a third automatic power striving for the overthrow of Russian imperialism and the formation of independent national states.

4.

The aims of the nations subjugated by Moscow have had little or no recognition from the States of the western block. That attitude on the part of the West deprives the anti-Bolshevist front of an important revolutionary factor.

5.

Should this situation remain unaltered, the Ukrainian fight will go on independently from that of the two blocks. An analysis of this development leads us to the following statement:

a) The existence of an independent Ukrainian State, as well as those of the other States subjected by Moscow, would in no wise run counter to the aims of the Western Powers.

b) The nearer the conflict approaches, the more aware the free world becomes of the lack of a leading idea in its fight against the U.S.S.R. and, as the latter is an imperialism, the objective can not only be to change the political regime, but must be the destruction of that Empire.

c) As a war becomes more imminent, the U.S.A. and the Western States will realize that victory cannot be assured

merely with diplomatic pressure and their own means alone. In any case they will have to reckon with revolution and a war of the different peoples against Moscow's imperialism.

d) During a war, the national liberation movements would be of decisive importance in the military defeat of the U.S.S.R.

There must be a change in the attitude of the West towards the overthrow of Russian imperialism and recognition of the national and State rights of the subjected nations.

6.

Our foreign policy must be directed at combating those forces which seek to disturb our action, particularly circles among the Russian and Polish exiles.

7.

To develop this foreign policy it must be borne in mind that all the activity of Ukrainian circles is built up on the same principles:

a) rejection of any kind of federative conception without compromise, and all undermining of the principles of unity; b) the work must be based on the liberation fight at home, on its forces and ideas; c) complete independence in political activity.

8.

Our work must go on in the field of publicity in:

a) press conferences and verbal information; b) mass action; c) diplomatic steps; d) counteracting moves made by the Western States, from the standpoint of Ukrainian interests.

9.

Through the A.B.N. our organization, working with the organizations of the subjugated nations, has not only been able to mobilize the idea of the dismemberment of the Russian Empire, but has even managed to obtain some understanding of the matter in the Western World. We must continue to act in this direction and add to the success hitherto attained.

10.

As regards the Russian side, we may say that Russian imperialism is what it always was and always will remain. Our hostile attitude is directed against those Russians who are realizing Moscow's plans in Ukraine, not, however, against those who do not support or serve that imperialism.

11.

We regard the political influence of the White Russian emigrants, — ambassadors of Russian imperialism, — as the greatest danger after Bolshev-

An Action that was Prevented

The A.B.N. with its own means had built a radio station in Belgium (Ham-aen Honveignés, Commune Wannes lez-Stavalot) which was in operation only for a short time, from October 1950 till February 1951, because the Belgian police confiscated the apparatus and arrested the operators.

March 3, 1951 the Belgium court in Verviers sentenced 3 Ukrainian patriots and anti-Bolsheviks to imprisonment and fines, although they were working for Europe and Belgium against Communist danger. That happened under the government of the Christian-Socialist Party. The Belgian lawyer for the defence, a deputy of a Christian party and a well-known Socialist, was only willing to take over the case for the defendant for a large sum of money, which the Ukrainian miners in Belgium had to collect among themselves. That is just an example of the "help" given by certain circles in the West for the anti-Bolshevist campaign.

At the same time, however, the Bolsheviks, what with their free press and their deputies, have unlimited possibilities of undermining western public opinion, especially in Belgium.

Those are facts, painful, bitter facts, which are a shame for the West. For we are fighting our battle for the West too. If our struggle were not a proved obstacle, the Bolsheviks would have occupied Europe long ago.

The fact can be proved. Is the influence of the "fifth column" so great in the West already, or does the West not realize what is to be done? Why must some anti-Bolsheviks and anti-Nationalists still remain in American isolation camps, while the Communist party, which is preparing your destruction, is free to carry on?

In face of these happenings the question may be put why does the West not support our struggle, strengthen our people and thus keep their confidence in the West alive? On the other hand the U.S.S.R. gives the "fifth column" in Western countries every imaginable kind of support, so that it may dig the graves of democratic ideas.

ism. Every attempt to negotiate with Russian imperialists must be thwarted. We must concentrate our strongest intellectual forces in order to intensify and deepen our work of enlightenment.

12.

Polish political circles, even in exile, are still contemplating an imperialist expansion of Ukrainian, Byelorussian and Lithuanian territory. Such plans must be most decisively rejected and combated. Polish-Ukrainian understanding in their joint liberation campaign, can only be on the basis of mutual recognition of the State sovereignty of the two nations, and the integrity of their ethnic territory, as well as the recognition of those rights for our allied nations, especially Byelorussia and Lithuania.

John F. Stewart

On his Eightieth Birthday

On July 1, 1951 our great friend, the Chairman of the Scottish League for European Freedom, John F. Stewart, celebrates his 80-th birthday.

It is a great joy to us that Mr. J. F. Stewart has reached this ripe age in the best of health and full of energy and creative power. We know we are expressing the wish of all the peoples in the A.B.N., in wishing Mr. Stewart many happy returns of the day and the hope that he may preserve his good health and well-being in the coming years too.

We believe that Mr. Stewart will agree with us when we say that perhaps the greatest reward for his untiring efforts in the cause of A.B.N. will be when in the near future, we may repeat these birthday greetings from our own countries that have been liberated from Bolshevism and Russian imperialism.



The Tragedy of Cossacks 1945

By W. Glaskow

It is six years since, after the end of the war, a deed was committed which has no equal in history, while the whole free world looked on in silence. Thousands of Cossack refugees, the aged, women and children who had escaped from the claws of Bolshevist tyranny were handed over to Stalin. For that terrible deed the former Western allies of the Soviets bear the moral responsibility. It will remain a dark spot in the annals of western democracies for they delivered up these unfortunate people literally to be tortured.

The right of political asylum had been regarded for centuries as sacred, and all free States with any sense of self-respect recognized the right for every fugitive. The Cossacks in their free republics have always granted asylum to all who needed it. No one was refused even though the granting of that right often brought them into conflict with powerful neighbours, Turkey, Moscow and Poland. In later times, too, in 1917, after the union of the Cossack Republics, thousands of Russian emigrants were given asylum and, in spite of the demands made by the Bolshevist despots, the Cossacks refused to give them up, because they would not deny that sacred right.

The freedom loving Cossacks, the sworn enemies of Communism, could

not imagine that that sacred right could be denied by representatives of the civilized Western World. It never entered their heads that representatives of Christian civilized States, to please "good old Joe", would deliver up the victims of Communism to certain death.

That sly old deceiver Stalin and his accomplices succeeded in persuading his gullible allies to hand over the most ardent enemies of Communism, the Cossacks, to be destroyed. They labelled them German collaborators and refused them asylum.

It was not the Cossacks, the undaunted fighters for justice, for the rights of their people to freedom and independence, who were collaborators, but Stalin was Hitler's ally. August 23, 1939 he concluded a treaty of friendship with Hitler and a secret agreement for the division of Poland. By his collaboration with Hitler he opened the way for the second World War. He broke old treaties, seized Latvia, Esthonia, Lithuania, a part of Poland, Rumania and Finland. After September 1939 he delivered many wagons full of grain, cattle, mineral oil, iron ore etc., which he had taken from the peoples he had subjected, — to Hitler and thus helped him to wage war against Belgium, Holland, Norway and France.

(Continued on Page 15)

In the U.S. Congress

On April 17, 1951. Charles J. Kersten, Representative of Wisconsin, moved a resolution in the House of Representatives recommending active and moral help from the U.N. for the liberation struggle being carried on by the nations subjected by Moscow.

Referring to the American Declaration of Independence and the principles of equality for all people and their right to life, freedom and happiness, it is affirmed that Communism, which by deception and treachery played the power in Russia into the hands of a criminal minority, later, through military aggression occupied the free democratic republics of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Armenia, Georgia, Aserbaijan, and others and then the Baltic States.

After affirming that all these peoples are fighting unceasingly against this Russo-Bolshevist injustice, Congress man Kersten demands in his resolution that:

1. The United States Congress to stir firm the historical friendship of the American people for the peoples of the Soviet Union — Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Esthonians, and other non-Russian peoples, with whom the United States is connected by the same ideals and the desire for freedom and democracy.

2. The United States Congress to insure the common struggle of the American people and the peoples oppressed by the Soviets, against Communist imperialism.

3. The United States Congress to express the firm determination of the American people that non-Russian peoples in the Soviet-Union are to enjoy the right of self-determination, including the right to decide on their own form of government.

4. The United States Congress to express its belief in the speedy liberation of the subjugated peoples.

To make that possible the President of the United States be asked:

1. Not to enter into any negotiation or any connection with the present Soviet government which might in any way contribute to the stabilization, or spread, of Soviet power over the subjugated peoples;

2. To develop a strong foreign policy, taking into account the danger of the Bolshevist regime and its imperialist character towards non-Russian peoples;

3. To make use of every opportunity that U.S. representatives have of calling upon the institutions of the U.N. for aid for the non-Russian peoples, in order to realize their liberation;

4. To secure material help for the active liberation campaign of the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R., from the government, or private institutions.

After the well-known demand made by the Republican candidate for the Presidency, Harold E. Stassen, this resolution brought in by Mr. Kersten is a further important attempt to solve the political problem of the subjected peoples in a way that is in the interests of the western world.

From behind the Iron Curtain

ALBANIA

An Island of the Cominform

Albania with its 1.1 million inhabitants is the most isolated country in Europe. It is closed off from the free world on one side by the Iron Curtain, on the others by the Cominform States and Communist-Yugoslavia. The Soviets with their ships and planes have the monopoly of communications with the outside world. Once a month, an Italian ship lands post from the West and collects the outgoing mail. The Italian and French are the last of the diplomatic corps there and they are closely watched by the secret police and their movements are restricted. The actual power is in the hands of the Soviet ambassador, W. Chubakhin. He and his immediate followers, — all Russians, not one Albanian, — occupy all the important posts in the country. He even gave orders recently that the sessions of the Albanian government were to be held at the Soviet Embassy.

The Moscow "Pravda" has threatened that should occasion arise Soviet troops would occupy Albania. A menace which affects not only Albania, but also Yugoslavia and Greece.

ASERBAIJAN

„Bourgeois Nationalism“

At the 18th conference of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan which ended on May 28, 1951 attention was drawn to serious "mistakes" and "abuses" in scientific, cultural, economic and political work. The following extracts from a speech by M. D. Bagirov, the principal secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Azerbaijan deserve notice:

"Inadequate control in many plants and the absence of book-keeping and financial reports, account more than anything else for unsatisfactory work in the sectors of industry and transport. The party must fight daily to strengthen Bolshevik control and conduct systematic investigations to see whether directives issued by supervisory organizations are carried out.

The co-ordination of party and plant is one of the chief conditions for the fulfilment of the economic plan. In order to carry out the directives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, local organizations charged with ideological work among members of collective farms will find it necessary to devote more attention both to manual workers and intellectual workers and a higher level of education must be demanded of Party officials in plants and collective farms.

The Work in scientific institutes of research is also far from satisfactory.

A check last year revealed that the drawing up of the program of work was not always taken seriously; 76 out of the 199 subjects of research planned for 1950 proved to have neither scientific nor practical value. Serious errors were also discovered in preparations for holding scientific examinations. Heads of former scientific institutes of research were too lenient towards the influence of friendly relations between candidates and members of the board examining for degrees.

The party organisation revealed an erroneous and unscientific conception of what was supposed to be the progressive nature of "Mjuditismus" and the so-called Shamil movement, which has been stressed by Soviet historians. Criticism of the errors in the light of some of Azerbaijan's historical problems is important for the party's work. The speaker emphasized especially the need for a constant fight against symptoms of "bourgeois nationalism".

S. Abramov, the regional secretary of the Communist party in Bergkarabagh, stressed in his speech that party organisations in the country did not sufficiently concern themselves with collective farms, with the result that the experience of activists was not widely known or utilized.

S. Gordiew, the party secretary in Kirovobad emphasized that local organizations of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Azerbaijan were not interested in publicity work in Azerbaijan and did not answer any questions.

BULGARIA

Anti-Communist Movement

We have received a report from Bulgaria that unrest in the country is growing. Peasants are leaving the collective farms in great numbers and fleeing to hide in the woods. In several places the Communist forces are met with armed resistance. Partisan activity is increasing in the mountainous districts.

BYELORUSSIA

Extermination of the Population

The memoirs of the former Spanish communist general, **Valentino Gonzales**, who writes under the pseudonym **El Campesino** were recently published in Paris with the title "La vie et la mort en U.R.S.S."

General Gonzales fled to the Soviet-Union after the Spanish civil war and later, as is usually the case with refugees in U.S.S.R., he was a prisoner for years in Workuta and other concentration camps in the Soviet-Union. In 1949 he succeeded in escaping.

In his memoirs (pages 92 and 104) Gonzales in speaking of the Byelo-

rusians says, that of all Soviet-Republics Byelorussia has suffered most from the N.K.V.D. In 1944-46 three great "purges" took place. In 1944 the accusation was mainly espionage and masses of suspects were shot. In 1945 "enemies of the home country" were sought and sent to Siberia. The most terrible purge was that of 1946 when great numbers of Byelorussians were deported to Siberia or put into local concentration camps. As a result of these purges, Gonzales declares Byelorussia is the most depopulated of the Soviet-Republics.

There are a great many concentration camps, of which best known, according to the author, are the camps in the environs of Miensk, Rahatschow, Kalenkawitschi, Krytschawa, Baranawitschi and Hlybokaye.

CROATIA

Anti-Communist Resistance

(Croatia Press) Bishop Dr. S. Cekada, the Croatian bishop of Skolpje, who was ordered by the Vatican to take over the administration of the see of Banyaluka, was commanded on March 7 by the "national authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina" to leave this "People's Republic" within 24 hours, or he would be taken to Skolpje under the armed escort of the U.D.B.A. The Bishop wired to Tito for protection, but received no reply, so he had to leave Banyaluka.

The Communist government of the People's Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is almost entirely composed of Serbs, to whom Dr. Cekada is a thorn in the flesh, partly because he refused to acknowledge the "Union of Catholic priests" founded by Communist authorities after the model of unions of Serbian Orthodox priests. This Communist experiment proved unsuccessful in the case of Catholic priests.

Should Tito ever send an answer to the Catholic bishop's protest, it would doubtless run: "In view of the decentralization of the administration I cannot do anything in this case, it being the affair of the People's Republic in question."

Who could maintain now, that Tito's Yugoslavia knows nothing of "democracy"?

According to a report by Tanjug, a Yugoslavian press agency, a trial was opened in Zagreb on 4. 6. against 16 teachers and students of a Zagreb theological college who are accused of having formed a "Croatian National Committee" in order to upset Tito's régime. They are said to be connected with A. Pavelitch.

CZECHIA

Stakhanov Working Methods

May 9, 1951 the Moscow "Komsomolskaya Pravda", reported from Prague, "Yesterday there was a special, much enlarged, meeting of the chair and

committee of the Central Council of the Czechoslovakian Trade Unions, at which a delegation of the Soviet Stakhanov workers attended.

Mr. Frantishek, chairman of the Central Council of the Trade Unions emphasized in his speech that the delegation of Soviet Stakhanov workers had visited more than 40 plants; this had been of great use to the workshops of the Republic. Mr. Supka expressed warm gratitude to members of the delegation for giving the workers of Czechoslovakia the benefit of their experience.

Members of the delegation spoke of the impressions they had gained during their stay in Czechoslovakia.

The secretary of the Central Council of the Trade Union, Zdenek Valoukh, informed the Assembly that the chair of the Central Council was working out measures for spreading knowledge of the excellent results achieved by the Soviet Stakhanov workers.

This news shows how false the hopes of the Benes clique were, that they could set up an "independent Czechoslovakia" with Moscow's help; an independence and hegemony of the Czech people which was to oppress the other peoples within their borders. As soon, however, as the growing dependence on Moscow became clear, these men emigrated to the West and now spread the tale of Moscow's deceit, to conceal their own guilt. To-day, from U.S.A. they are still demanding national freedom for the Czechs and the retention of national slavery for the Slovaks, Sudeten-Germans and Carpatho-Ukrainians.

ESTHONIA

Signs of Resistance

The Congress of the Communist Party in Esthonia, as the "Pravda" reports, has shown that there is opposition at work against the Communist régime, although more than 10 years have gone by since Esthonia was included in the U.S.S.R. and in 1950 there was a "purge" among "the politicians and intellectuals".

In the debates at the Congress the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Esthonia was sharply criticized although, according to the Pravda, the majority of the members declared that during the purge the nationalists bourgeois elements in the administrative, economic and cultural institutions and corporations were well screened.

The resolution adopted by the Congress stresses the necessity "of a continuous struggle against the remnants of national, bourgeois ideology".

LATVIA

Deportations

In its issue of 4. 4. 1951, the "Latvija", the organ of Latvian emigrés, publishes a message broadcast by radio Alma-Ata (Central Asia) according to which, 160,000 Esthonian, Latvian, and Lithu-

anian families had been deported in the course of the last six months to the Soviet Republics of Kasachstan and Turkmenia. According to the same source "some hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Moldavians have been transferred to Turkmenia where they have transformed steppes that have been uncultivated for hundreds of years, into fertile land. "All transferees, both people from Baltic provinces and others, themselves wished "to be transferred to these areas."

* * *

On April 23 and 24 the C.C. of the Soviet Latvian C.P. held a plenary session and undertook some changes of its functionaries. Instead of the former C.P. secretary A. Nikonov who is minister for agriculture, since January of this year Karlis Krumins, hitherto secretary of the Latvian Komsomol, was elected to the secretary-ship.

LITHUANIA

Resistance in Villages

On May 17, 1951 the "Pravda" published an alarming article headed "Party Work in Lithuanian Villages", in which an improvement in the activities of the Bolshevist Party among the Lithuanian peasants is asked for. The article says,

"It is a question of excluding kulaks from the collective farms. The kulaks and other hostile elements have even taken over leading posts in the collective farms. The collective farms must be most decisively freed from these people.

* * *

On 15. 1. 1951 the "Tiesa", a Soviet Lithuanian paper writes as follows about wages in a model collective farm: "In the last financial year, "Karolis Pozela", a collective farm, had an income of 250,000 roubles the half of which came from the cattle. This income was divided in the first place between the state and the M.T.S. and the formation of a common fund. What was left paid for the work done. A kolkhoze worker received for one working — day 1.72 kg of corn, 2 kg of feeding-stuffs, 118 grams of sugar and 1.5 roubles. Lower wages will scarcely be found anywhere in the world, particularly when we remember that only about 120 working days per year are counted for many of the kolkhoz workers."

The "Tiesa" of 25. 3. 1951 describes in a leading article the advantages of the Soviet trade system:

"Quite a number of the directors of trade companies do their work very badly; they do not even supply their customers with goods of which there are adequate stores. An inspection, for instance, that was recently held in co-operative stores in Vilnius, revealed that in many of them there was neither salt, soap nor tobacco . . . The plundering raids at trading centres have not yet been stopped. Many such raids were carried out in Kowno and in other towns and districts. Plundering

has been particularly frequent in co-operative stores where thieves and scoundrels got hold of goods amounting to millions.

RUMANIA

Russification

May 20, 1951, the "Pravda" published the following report from its Bucharest correspondent,

"At present more than 7,000 courses are being held in the Russian language. They are directed by the Central Committee for Organizing Courses in Russian. The commission has issued a number of pamphlets and posters, in huge editions, with the theme "Knowledge of the Russian language is the most powerful means of acquiring and spreading valuable Soviet experience, in the way socialism should be built up". The commission is having 100,000 text books of the Russian language printed for these courses.

To satisfy the demand of the workers to learn Russian, "Arlus", the "Society for the Strengthening of Cultural Bonds with the Soviet Union", has organized several thousand more big courses which are to last 3 months. These courses have already been started in the factories of the towns Stalin and Bucharest, as well as in a number of others in the Republic."

Just as the Russian despots, before the Bolshevist revolution, subjected the peoples under their rule to russification, so now their successors continue their efforts on new victims of their imperialism.

Will western politicians, once the peoples of central Europe have learned Russian, count them as Russians, just as they do to-day with the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Turkestanians etc.? Will British politicians think B.B.C. transmissions in Rumanian, Czech, Slovak and Hungarian just as superfluous then, as they do now for the non-Russian peoples?

TURKESTAN

The Lack of Care for the Disabled and the Families of the Fallen

No care is taken now of the Turkestanians who were compulsorily recruited and sent to the front. The war wounded and disabled are left to their own devices. The relatives of those who fell in World War II spend their time going from one government office to another without achieving anything. More and more names of war wounded appear in the columns of the Turkestanian newspapers because their appeals to the Soviet authorities for assistance are disregarded. There is a state of chaos in the offices of Social Welfare in the district of Kant in the province of Pishpek, which is run by Ivchenko. Disabled soldiers besiege these offices for weeks on end. The complaints re-

main in the offices for months without any action being taken on them. One war widow's petition was pigeonholed in the desk of an official for 10 months without any action being taken on it. Vanilov, manager of the works engaged on making artificial limbs, is guilty of gross slackness in the carrying out of his task. The newspaper agreed that the prevailing conditions, which were even intolerable for a Soviet State, were, if possible, rapidly deteriorating.

Increase of Thefts and Looting

B. Sadiqqizi, the Deputy President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan, in an article on "the increase of thefts and squandering of state property in the kolkhoz of the republic", stated the following: "From the Kolkhoz, May 1st" in the village Telpakhinar in the region of Uzon of the Surhandarya district, the sum of 216,856 roubles had been embezzled. 557,590 roubles were stolen from the kolkhoz Kirov in the village of Qatagan in the district of Kanimeh. The complaints by the kolkhoz peasants to the district, party and Soviet organs, were not given a hearing."

The same things also happens persistently in Kirgizia. For example, in the Talas district, the statute of the kolkhoz was not obeyed and the kolkhoz property squandered. According to the books of kolkhoz Voroshilov, 5 121 sheep and goats were registered, the auditors however found that 117 sheep and goats were missing. After 2 weeks a further 117 sheep and goats were missing. 71 sheep were missing from the kolkhoz Cholpan-bai and no attention was paid to the working hours and the stipulated output of work. The number of missing cattle rose to 2,228 in the course of a year.

The kolkhoz peasants also divided the tilled land belonging to the kolkhoz amongst themselves for their own use. 1,638 such cases were recorded in the whole region (extract from Soviet press of 27. 7. 50 and 19. 8. 50 and from the B.B.C. broadcasts of 12. 12. 50).

The Struggle against Purdah

In August 1950 in Tadzhikistan an open letter was published by the "active party women"*) against purdah. The Party and Soviet organs sent their propagandists into all districts with this letter. In Stalinabad alone 675 propagandists were mobilised to go from house to house. The motion was put forward at meetings to dismiss officials who had 2 wives, or who allowed them to go veiled. Although propaganda is made that the abolishment of purdah is not obligatory, pressure is applied against those who continue to observe it. For instance in the kolkhoz "Karl Marx" in the district of Gussar, a woman wearing the veil was threatened by the Chairman of the village Soviet and the President of the kolkhoz. This woman was not given any peace until she ceased to wear it.

*) "Aktivistki" ardent women Communist enthusiasts who engage in propaganda in their spare time.

UKRAINE

„Voluntary Collectivization“

(From O.U.N. reports). We have often reported on the methods used by the Bolsheviks to force the peasants into the kolkhoz. Below we give some examples, taken from reports of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Underground Movement of the 1st quarter 1950.

In that period by terroristic methods the Bolsheviks were able to form collective farms in the following villages:

- Sloboda Neb., kolkhoz "W. I. Lenin" with 115 peasants farms;
- Nebyliw, kolkhoz "J. W. Stalin" with 45 peasant farms;
- Kaminy, kolkhoz "T. H. Shewchenko" with 270 peasant farms;
- Topilsko, kolkhoz "I. Y. Franko" with 64 peasant farms;
- Nowytia, kolkhoz "New Life" with 452 peasant farms;
- Krasna, kolhoz „32 Years of Red Army“ with 285 peasant farms.

The above kolkhoz' were organized in 1950. During that time the population suffered unspeakably under Bolshevik atrocities. People were beaten with iron rods, tied to horses and dragged to the village halls. That was not enough, for at the village hall the executioner was waiting to force the signatures by twisting arms and wrists, causing agonizing pain. All that usually took place at night. Whenever the peasants tried to prevent them from entering the house, the windows were broken in and the owners dragged out.

During this „voluntary“ collectivization 535 people were maltreated.

At Nebyliw on January 19, 1950 four peasants were beaten to death because they would not join the kolkhoz. January 20, the Bolshevik, Ivan Wynnyk, killed two peasants T.O. and N.D. for the same reason.

February 16, the head of the N.K.-V.D., Bakumenko arrived at Nowytia with 120 Bolsheviks. While organizing the collective farm they ill-treated more than 350 persons. 15 of them were severely flogged and a peasant woman, M.J. died a few hours after being ill-treated.

February 27, the district secretary of the Communist Party, Boryak, and the public prosecutor Moskowkyj with 150 Bolsheviks terrorized the inhabitants of Berlogy to force them into the collective farm. 120 persons were maltreated, the peasant woman D.N. so badly that she lost her wits and had to be sent to an insane asylum.

March 18, at Ukryniw Stary 16 peasants were maltreated by Maslow and Luchnikow, authorities for agricultural affairs and 25 other Bolsheviks. They took 13 houses, dragged out the peasants and had them sent to the station of Kalush.

March 20, 8 Bolsheviks smashed the windows of several houses at Berlogy on which posters had been put up against collectivization. They then arrested the peasant woman T.N.; the Bolshevik Pekarskyj and two others raped her.

Many other such cases are reported.

Examples of Soviet Spoliation

Some villages in the district of Stanislaviv are an example of how the Bolsheviks exploit the Ukrainian people.

Maydan. In 1945 the village had 110 hectare of arable land 85 of which grew wheat, the rest, root vegetables, potatoes etc.

The Bolsheviks demanded 256 cwts of grain, 12,000 roubles in taxes, 9,000 roubles for tank convoys, 25,000 roubles for the "State Loan".

Stara Huta. 100 arable land, only 37 of which is cultivated. Demands made: 110 cwts of grain, 5100 roubles in taxes, 10,000 roubles for tank convoys, 15,000 roubles for the "State Loan" and 2,800 roubles for other expenditures.

Mikitinzi. 600 hectare arable land 275 of which is cultivated. Demands: 620 cwts of grain, 95,000 roubles in taxes, 15,000 roubles for tank convoys, 38,000 roubles for the "State Loan".

Pidpechary. 1,337 hectare arable land of which 476 is cultivated. Demands: 842 cwts of grain, 325,000 roubles in taxes, 60,000 roubles for the tank convoys and 160,000 roubles for the "State Loan".

Kolodivka. 695 hectare arable land, of which 315 is cultivated. Demands: 400 cwts of grain, 126,000 roubles in taxes, 10,000 for the tank convoys and 75,000 for the "State Loan".

Dobrivlany. 318 hectare arable land, of which 180 is cultivated. Demands: 280 cwts of grain, 30,000 roubles in taxes, 35,000 roubles for the tank convoys, 57,000 roubles for the "State Loan" and 46,000 roubles for other expenditures.

The Tragedy of Cossacks 1945

(Continued from Page 12)

To even the most slow thinking people to-day, it must be clear that the Cossacks were neither servants nor agents of a foreign power. They did not fight to change the Russian or Soviet power for another, but they were, and still remain, deliberate political fighters against any kind of oppression and arbitrariness, against every sort of dictatorship, and for the freedom of the Cossack people fettered by Russian slavery.

There can be no doubt but that these freedom-loving people had and still have a right to claim respect for their political convictions, support in their struggle for freedom and also the elementary rights of political fugitives.

We Cossacks know very well why Stalin wants to destroy us. We were the living witnesses of his crime and his reign of terror. With other freedom-loving people we constitute a mighty power against the red dictatorship which is already planning a new World War.

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„Ukrainian Liberation Movement in Modern Times“

By Oleh Martovych

Edinburgh, 1951. 176 p. 8°. No. 5 of „Todays World Handbook of Current World Affairs“, published by Scottish League for European Freedom, Edinburgh.

*

The literature on Ukraine which has appeared in the last ten years in English is not very copious or varied. Oleh Martovych who is a well-known Ukrainian author, does, however, give the names of 30 books on Ukraine written in English in his bibliography. Then there are 14 periodicals in English which report regularly on Ukraine. The author has taken the trouble to find out and name some 100 articles about Ukraine which have appeared in magazines and newspapers in different parts of the world in the last 10 years.

This is the richest and most carefully collected list of publications in English on the subject of Ukraine which has appeared up to now, and it will certainly be of the greatest use for every English speaking student interested in East European problems.

But the real value of the book lies in itself. It is a work which gives the reader a deep insight into the political and social life of Ukraine in recent times. For the reader it is as if the "other side of the moon" were suddenly revealed; the sight of a world which for the West, has hitherto been almost unknown and unnoticed.

Almost all the aforesaid 30 English books on Ukraine have a general, historical, informatory character. They begin with Ukraine's early history, the coming of Christianity, stretch over 4 epochs of Ukrainian history and devote, at most, 10-15 pages to modern times. The reader thus learns a good deal but nothing thoroughly.

With Oleh Martovych it is different. The author devotes hardly 30 pages to the course of Ukraine's thousand-year-old history as an introduction. The bulk of the book is the story of the last 30 years, the years before and after World War II being especially brought into the light.

In the conception of the world today Ukraine exists only as the place officially represented in the United Nations by the Soviet-U.N. delegation. Oleh Martovych writes of quite another Ukraine: the anti-Bolshevist; fighting, freedom-loving Ukraine, steadily, even fanatically determined to erect on the ruins of the Muscovite Empire — in common with other Moscow subjugated nations, — an independent, sovereign, democratic, national Ukrainian State within its ethnographical borders.

The question is often discussed in the West how East Europe will be, what will happen, what forces will come to the fore, what transformations will take place when one day, as is to be expected, there comes a collision between the democratic West and Bolshevik East?

Whoever wants the answer to these questions should read Oleh Martovych's book. He will learn from it, for instance, that for the last three decades there has been a powerful **Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.)** at work covering the whole country, only waiting for a favourable moment to burst out into a revolution. He will learn that the revolutionary liberation struggle is directed by the **Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.)**, both in political and military matters, and is based on the well-organized, disciplined **"Ukrainian Insurgent Army"** (U.P.A.).

No East European riddles need be guessed. All basic national, social and cultural forces are here which in an uprising will automatically appear on the surface. It is only essential that they are recognized and properly estimated. In the eleven chapters of his book the author gives his western reader all the necessary information. He reveals the historical foundation of modern Ukrainian life, describes the make-up and aims of the different political parties; describes what they have in common, but also what their differences are. He analyses the deep-lying social forces in Ukraine which, when the time comes, will contribute their full measure to the fall of the Russian-Bolshevik regime.

One day "new" names will be famous in east Europe and far beyond, the

names of Stepan Bandera, Colonel Andrij Melnyk, Yaroslav Stetzko, Colonel Vassyl Koval and others, the living leaders of the coming Ukraine. Their names will be as well known as those of the leaders killed in action, such as the Ukrainian President Simon Petliura, Colonel Eugen Konovalets, General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka. Anyone who wishes to know more about the coming men who will be the decisive factors in East Europe and Ukraine, must read Martovych's book. To-day these are, so to say, submerged names in the same sense as Prof. William H. Chamberlain calls his book on Ukraine "The Submerged Nation" (New York, Mac-Millan Co. 1944).

Mr. John F. Stewart, Chairman of the "Scottish League for European Freedom", a good friend of Ukraine and well-informed on the whole situation, has written an introduction to Martovych's book. Mr. Stewart is one of the leading men in post-war Europe, who have realized that only by using the revolutionary potential of the nations subjected by Moscow can Bolshevism be brought to a fall. He sees Ukraine as a pillar in the liberation movement.

The book is illustrated with 11 portraits of Ukraine's historical figures, photos of U.P.A. units, etc.

The make up of the book is good and it will be an asset in filling up the gaps in the West's knowledge of Ukraine.

Z. P.

The Press Echo of A.B.N.-Convention

Over 30 newspapers resp. press agencies sent representatives to the A.B.N. meeting in Munich June 3, 1951, among them **Associated Press, United Press, Reuter, D.P.A. (Deutsche Presse Agentur)** numerous German daily papers and weeklies, the German refugees press and the free press of the subjected nations abroad.

The Bavarian Radio reported it in the evening news on June 3, 1951. The weekly newsreels „Welt im Film“ and „Fox“ took pictures.

When this paper went to press, the following notices had been published.

„Die Neue Zeitung“ (American Newspaper in Germany) of June 4, 1951 under the headlines, **“East-European Refugees Protest against Oppression by the Soviets“**, makes special mention of the speeches by the President of the Central Committee of A.B.N. and the Chairman of the Military Committee of A.B.N. and gives the gist of the resolution demanding the dissolution of the Soviet Union's "dungeon of nations", the restoration of the independent national States and the restriction of the Russian State to its own ethnic borders, which was unanimously adopted.

„Süddeutsche Zeitung“, Munich, of June 4, 1951 stresses in its report the psychological measures proposed by the resolution, viz. a change in the trend of the programmes of the "Voice of America", "B.B.C." and "Free Europe" into one of "undiluted national will".

„Münchner Merkur“ of June 4, 1951 gives first place in its report to the Speech of the President of the Central Committee.

„Nürnberger Zeitung“ of June 4, 1951 places its exhaustive report on the front page of its Monday issue, under the heading "25 Eastern Peoples Demand Freedom".

„Basler Nachrichten“ published Reuter's report on the meeting on June 4, 1951.

The meeting had a special echo in the German expellee press "Volksbote", an independent weekly paper, which devoted the whole front page of the June 9, 1951 number to a report on the meeting, under a heading of the three letters A.B.N. Large sections of the speeches by the President of the Central Committee of A.B.N. and the addresses of the representatives of Croatia, the Czech National Group and Slovakia were given.

„Frankfurter Rundschau“, of June 4, 1951 underlines in its own report "the third power which will be decisive in the coming conflict, . . . the national liberation revolution of anti-Bolshevist peoples" and that the national liberation struggle is still going on under the "most difficult circumstances".

„Main Post“, Würzburg of June 4, 1951 points out in its report, in large type, that the underground struggle in Turkestan and the Caucasus is still being carried on, and draws attention to the extensive expeditions made by the U.P.A. in other subjected countries.

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

Vol. II. No. 8/9 · Aug./Sept. 1951

* Published in English, French and German *

Price: 6d; 10 c

Western Book-Keeping by Double Entry

The "Voice of America" recently introduced broadcasts in the Georgian language. U.S.A. State Secretary Dean Acheson inaugurated the transmission personally by an introductory speech.

For the first time an American in a high official position spoke directly to a nation east of the Soviet frontier of 1939, for long decennias subjugated by Moscow. State Secretary Acheson pointed out the common principles and ideals which connect the two peoples, — the American and the Georgian. Mr. Acheson proposed that the Georgians should "share a common future with the Americans which would bring the Georgians freedoms, such as they did not possess today".

Hardly had Acheson's words faded away in the air when a State Department speaker hastened to explain that U.S.A. policy was not directed at supporting any "nationalist" or "separatist" tendencies among the "peoples of Russia". "The words of the State Secretary must not be misunderstood" — the spokesman stressed.

That made it clear why Mr. Acheson had so carefully avoided elucidating the "common ideals" or the "freedoms" proposed for the Georgians. Whatever freedoms they may have been, one was certainly not among them: the right of the Georgians to secede from Russia and their fundamental right to live in a national State of their own.

This freedom which is a matter of course for the West and a precondition for all the other civil and human rights, is still denied the Georgians. Moreover, even to claim it still is in the eyes of official America a tendency to "nationalism" and separatism. So what is right for the West is no more right for the East. This is political book-keeping by double entry.

Perhaps the day is not far when the aspirations of, for example, the Latvians,

Continued on Page 12

The Fetish of the Soviet Frontier 1939

Although the public in America, England and the rest of Europe, seem to be getting reconciled to the idea that the armed clash with world Communism and the Soviet Union inevitably must come and, although in America armaments are frantically being rushed through, there seems to be no definite idea how this war will be waged.

The West is overpowered by the thought of Russia's vastness. The thousands of miles from the Oder river to Vladivostok are reckoned with a horrified gasp. The thought intrudes itself, how can a campaign be carried out in that engulfing immensity, where is it to begin and where to stop? It is like falling into a bottomless abyss.

The Western hesitation is very well known and it is duly taken into consideration in Soviet politics and made use of in Soviet propaganda. The Russian thesis is proclaimed and adopted by the West that geographical reasons alone make it impossible to conquer Russia, added to which there is the deep love of country, so strong in the Russian masses. Allegedly they have always risen as one man and seized their weapons when "sacred mother Russia" was to be saved. It runs like this: as long as it is a question of political disputes outside "real" Russia, Russia will allow herself to be "coaxed". For instance, the lot of the satellite states might be discussed, it might even be possible for Russia, one day, to withdraw without loss of face from countries west of the Soviet frontier of 1939. But should the claims of the democratic West go further, it would be quite another story. The Russians would show no mercy in that case.

In order to impress these ideas, Russian intimidation propaganda quotes many historical examples; especially the disastrous campaigns into the interior of Russia under by Charles XII, Wilhelm II., the foreign armed interventions at the time of the Civil War and, most especially, Hitler's horrible defeat. "Many came in but few came out again" the Russians are wont to cite in speaking of those occasions.

There is no overlooking the fact that this Russian propaganda has a strong and fairly lasting influence on the West. In America particularly. The result is that American political thought and planning halts almost instinctively at the Soviet frontier of 1939. That frontier has the power and effectiveness of a political fetish, a taboo.

These facts explain why America has a fairly clear idea of what has to be done in case of war, with the states and peoples west of the Soviet frontier of 1939. The American public, without more ado, openly discuss the plans regarding these countries and their practical execution. In this American policy is quite clear.

It will be required that all states lying west of the Soviet frontier of 1939 receive their full sovereignty again. In this it is believed. American policy is on firm ground. It is confidently expected that no Russian government will be able to incite the population of the Soviet Union proper, much less those of the Finnish frontier districts, Byelorussia, Ukraine the Caucasus, Idel-Ural, Turkestan, etc. to fight another fanatical "fatherland war".

The activities and enterprises of American institutions such as "National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc." and, partially, the "Crusade for Freedom, Inc.", are significant in this respect. For some time they have been sending broadcasts from "Radio Free Europa", Munich. Programmes covering a whole day are put on the air for Czecho-Slovakia; daily programmes are being prepared for Hungary, Rumania, Slovakia and Bulgaria.

Sunday, July 22, 1951 a "University Free Europe" was inaugurated in New York, with permanent seat in Strassbourg, France. It is closely connected with the "National Committee for a paring statesmen, lawyers, civilservants from the New York Times of July 23, 1951, has the task of training and preparing statesmen, lawyers, civil servants, economists etc. for East Europe, in case of a collapse or the abolishment of Bolshevism. The students admitted to this University are Albanians, Bulgarians, Czechoslovaks, Estonians, Hungarians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, Rumanians and Yugoslavs, that is to say all members of nations west of the Soviet frontier of 1939. But there are no Ukrainians, no Byelorussians, no Georgians, Armenians, Idel-Uralians, Turkestanians, etc. included; no nationals east of the Soviet frontier of 1939, can enjoy study at this Strassbourg University.

This is significant, and seems to point out that America is apparently not interested in training a corps which, after the war, would be able to take over the democratic direction of these countries and the responsibility for them. This too, leads to a much more important conclusion viz. that America has in general no constructive plan

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The Giant is not so Tough

By Major-General J. F. C. Fuller, C.B., D.S.O.

Reprinted from "Answers", No. 3082/1951)

Are we enthralled? Is Russia what she appears to be, an unattackable all-conquering giant?

That her empire now covers a quarter of the globe including eight hundred million of its inhabitants is indisputable, nor can it be questioned that her resources are enormous and that her army is greater than all other armies combined.

Yet there is something strange about this immensity and power. Seeing that ever since the days of Lenin, Russia's aim has been to revolutionise the world, why, it may be asked, now that the Western European nations are so weak, does not the giant stride out from behind his iron wall and impose his will upon them?

Is it because he fears the atomic bomb?

But why should he? For he now has this weapon and his empire is not an easy bombing target.

Are His Feet Made of Clay?

Is it because he is still exhausted? — Possibly, yet no more so than his opponents.

Is it because he wishes first to test out his subversive tactics? — Again this is possible; nevertheless, ever since the introduction of the Marshall Plan they have increasingly become less effective.

May not there be still another reason, one which fear obscures from us? That the iron wall he stands behind prevents us from seeing that his feet are made of clay, and were he to move they would crumble and he would topple over and be smashed into a thousand fragments.

When we examine this possibility, we shall discover that actually it is not only a probability but very near a certainty, and that therefore we are living under the spell of a dread illusion, cunningly exploited by the giant

and magnified by our ignorance and credulity.

First of all, is there such a thing as Russian Communism?

Between 1917 and 1920 there certainly was, but it led to so profound a confusion that in 1921 Lenin substituted for it his New Economic Policy, and out of it, under Stalin, there rapidly emerged a mixture of State Capitalism and Asiatic despotism.

Instead of being a land of classless angels living in an Eldorado of blissful equality, today Russia is a country inhabited by two antagonistic classes, again the "haves" and the "have-nots", but this time called "state bureaucrats" and "state serfs".

World Revolution

All that has happened is that what Stalin calls "Communism" has replaced the Tsar and the Church, and what is still called "world revolution" is nothing other than Tsarist Imperialism of a super-ruthless kind.

The population of this vast despotic empire is the most heterogeneous in the world. It is a mosaic of two hundred different peoples, millions of whom have nothing in common with Russian culture and do not speak Russian.

As in the days of the Tsars, these millions are seething with unrest. In both world wars they rose and fought against Moscow, and in the second, had it not been for the brutal way they were treated by the Germans, Russia would probably have succumbed.

Twenty-four of these nations are now banded together into what is known as the A.B.N. (Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations).

In Russia it includes Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Estonia, Georgia, Idel-Ural, Kosakia, Latvia, Lithuania, North-Caucasia, Siberia, Turkestan, and Ukraine. And in the occupied

countries — Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Eastern Germany, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Serbia, Slovakia, and Slovenia.

In Ukraine, the most important in the Russian group — its population numbers 42,000,000 — an Insurgent Army, known as the U.P.A., has been fighting for years and still remains unconquered. And from Eastern Germany monthly between twenty and twenty-five thousand people seek refuge in Western Germany — a sure measure of discontent.

In spite of deportations, the struggle of the A.B.N. is irrepressible. All its members seek liberation from the Soviet regime; all reject national communism (Titoism) and fight for the extermination of Bolshevism.

They demand self-determination, and are opposed to Russian Imperialism of any kind, whether Tsarist, Bolshevik, Socialist, or Democratic, for they know that one and all spell despotism.

Unfortunately for the detested Soviet régime, these subjected countries supply the greater part of Russia's agricultural and industrial needs. Ukraine is in itself the economic centre of gravity of the Soviet Union.

This is why Hitler in 1941 set out to conquer it. Besides being the main granary of Russia, it supplies 70 per cent of its sugar, 40 per cent of its coal, 70 per cent of its coke, and 60 per cent of its iron ore. Fifty-five per cent of Russian production comes from Ukraine as well as hundreds of thousands of recruits for the army.

The following percentages show clearly how dependent the Kremlin is on the subjugated countries:

Almost the entire production of oil comes from Azerbaijan, N. Caucasia, Turkestan, and Ukraine; 100 per cent of manganese ore from Georgia and Ukraine, 40 per cent of copper from Turkestan and Caucasia, 80 per cent of lead from Turkestan, 80 per cent of zinc from Ukraine and Caucasia, 80 per cent of mercury from Turkestan and Ukraine, 80 per cent of sulphur from Turkestan and the Turkmenistan, 100 per cent of cotton from Turkestan and Caucasia.

Therefore, the more discontented the subjugated countries become, the more impossible is it for the Russians to wage a war of aggression.

Systematic Destruction

It is often thought that the strategic strength of Russia lies in her expanse. But under present-day conditions this is less true than in the past, because the remoteness of many of the industrial centres from the more likely areas of military operations enables enemy aircraft, by destroying the inter-linking lines of communication, to sever the one from the other.

So vast is the area to be defended, that no Russian air force, however strong, could prohibit the systematic destruction of either railroads or industrial centres.

Further, the Russian railroad system is so thin that from the Pacific to Poland and Rumania it could be paralysed by air attack. There are few junctions and any attempted diversion

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for the solution of the national, social and constitutional problems of the Soviet Union in itself. America knows what to do with countries this side of the Soviet frontier of 1939; but Washington does not know what to begin with the countries and nations beyond that frontier. The task seems so enormous, the space so vast, the peoples so varied that no one apparently dares tackle it.

The purely military plan of bombing out the chief towns, railway junctions and chief industrial centres of the Soviet Union exists, but there is no plan for the occupation or the administrative and national-political order in this gigantic territory.

Even the Americans, accustomed as they are to everything on a large scale, shrink before the enormity of that task. They concentrate on the idea of crippling the Soviet Union by their arms; the tendons of the colossus are to be cut, an end has to be

put at long last to Russian aggression. But what is to be done with the remaining masses of humanity, no one knows. They resort to wishful thinking that some "all-Russian national committee" with influence over the "national minorities", or some sort of Russian "exile government" may be formed which will take over the care of the new order in Russia. The Americans will not cross the frontier of 1939. They are afraid of it.

But they need not be afraid. The western horror of the "invincibility" of "holy mother Russia" is unfounded. The only way out is the liberation programme as offered by the A.B.N. We know with dead certainty: Americans will experiment awhile with the "Russian problem", but in the end they will turn to the A.B.N. programme. There is no other way of overcoming Moscow-Soviet imperialism. The fetish frontier of 1939 can be overcome. Z. P.

PANSLAVISM

By Dr. Stjepan Buč, form. Croatian M. P.

The term "Slavism" is variously understood even to-day, for, to a certain extent, it is a remnant from the past. In the last and earlier decades of our century the label "Panslavism" enjoyed a more important meaning, which was not surprising in those days; for there were circles in the Slav countries who believed in it and therefore fell into the error themselves. The broad masses, however, were always more or less indifferent, if not hostile, to the panslavic idea.

There is no "Slav Race"

In the West one often hears people speak of a "Slavic or Slav race", even among educated persons. In reality this term is utterly ridiculous, for it has no support, either in science or historical empiricism. No one has ever attempted to analyse a type for this "Slavic race", much less define its traits.

The well-known Swiss anthropologist Eugen Pittard once made the statement, "To find out what really lies behind all that, the label "Slavs" must be removed". — It is a conglomeration of every kind of racial, national, cultural and other elements, that is to be found nowhere else in the world.

The Greeks, that is to say the Byzantines, have the credit of coining the term. Whenever they were in doubt how to name an unknown tribe they used the word "selavini" or "selavi"

for it. "Sclavi sive Avari" became, so to speak, a matter of course in writing. It is therefore no wonder that the Persian author Gurdese once thought, — "The Magyars are the finest Slavic tribe".

There is a Nordic, an Alpine, a Dinarian, a Mediterranean race, but not a Teutonic, or a Roman, and still less a Slavic race. If there were, we should at least know its anthropological characteristics. We have no idea what the term "Slavic" is supposed to represent, when used for a race.

Pittard, who studied the Slavs of the Balkans particularly, writes: "Are these Slavs in the Balkans ethnic relations of those of Russia and to what degree? The question answers itself and is negative."

To-day, we know absolutely that Croats and Serbs are not of the same race. The former are determined by Nordic, the latter by Mediterranean elements, just as the Bulgarians are by those coming from the Volga, as the name Vlgari resp. Blgari shows. The ethnogenesis of the Czechs can only be explained by a strong Celtic basis with a determinative nomadic strain. The origin of each of the Slav peoples can be explained, however, with the help of the usual "building material", without the "Slavic element". The racial and ethnic differences between the Russian and the Ukrainian people are just as clear.

While the Nordic element is strong in the Ukrainian people, it is difficult to say of Russians whether "they are Slavized Mongols or Mongolized Slavs" (Padany) "The Russian", says Professor Padany, "is not only different from the Western man, but also from all others who are known as Slavs."

There is no all-Slav History

Just as every Slav people is different from the anthropological standpoint, its history and culture is different too. There are, it is true, epochs in the history of individual Slav people when they lived under the dominion of another Slav people, but they were not assimilated, each people kept its own culture and national characteristics. These "communities" were not voluntary either, they were the result of force majeure or betrayal. They were always regarded as slavery on the one side, and the cessation of that kind of "community" was celebrated as liberation. Even a systematic policy of assimilation on the part of the dominating Slav people for the other "brother people" was not able to undermine the real differences, or equalize the ethnic differences, and brought about no unification.

As there is no "Slav race" in an historical sense, there is no general Slav culture, only differentiated culture, as for instance Ukrainian, Serbian, Slovakian etc. History, of course, does point out many experiments made to create a civilization, disregarding all national peculiarities and pressed upon the people by police measures, such enterprises, as experience has shown, were doomed to failure from the very start. National culture cannot be made as we can see from the U.S.S.R., the so-called "Czecho-Slovakia" and "Yugo-Slavia". There never has been an all-Slavic culture in the past, nor does it exist to day.

The language factor cannot be taken either as a proof of Slav unity or a common denominator of the "Slavic world". There is, without doubt, a Slavic group of languages, just as there is a Germanic (German, English, Dutch etc.) and a Latin (French, Italian, etc.) group. That, however, does not do away with the fact that the languages of the so-called "Slavic people" are just as different from one another as their genetic origin and their national cultural development. "There never has been a prime Slavic, uniform language", the leading Slavist, Professor Jagic declares (Archives of Slavic Philology, Vol. 22, p-33).

It is only an arbitrary supposition that peoples using a similar language must be related. Linguistic relationship and the results of comparative philology do not, by a long way, prove a uniformity in a political and historical sense. There are no fewer than 1 billion persons between the English Channel and India which could be included as Indo-Germanic from the philological view, but it would never enter anyone's head to speak of "Indo-Germanism", much less pan-Indo-Germanism in a political sense.

There are only Independent Nations

Alone the national idea can be a criterion and bring some order into

of transport would lead to inextricable confusion.

Also distances are so great that replacement of railway traction by motor transport is seldom practical. Added to this, the most important railroads leading from east to west run through Ukraine and Baltic States, both of which are hostile to the rulers in the Kremlin.

Finally, what of the Russian army? Is it as formidable as we are led to suppose? This would seem doubtful, seeing that since the last war ended over 16,000 Russian officers and men have deserted and sought refuge in the West.

Also there are two further reasons why the Russian army is suspect. One is that 42 per cent of its recruits come from the subjugated peoples, and the other is that since 1945 scores of thousands of Russian soldiers have come into contact with the West. The result has been that Soviet propaganda on the achievements of Communism has been considerably discredited. Therefore, it is highly probable that the structure of the Russian army is weaker than it was in 1939.

Attacking from Within

What can we deduce from this?

That though the vast Russian empire is all but invulnerable to attack from without, within it is packed with high

explosives. The 150,000,000 subjugated peoples constitute a bomb of such superatomic power, that if detonated the Soviet regime would be blown to smithereens. Therefore, Russia must be attacked within.

Only the subjugated peoples can do so, for they alone can turn the ideological weapons, now being used by the Kremlin against all non-Communist nations, against the Kremlin itself.

What, then, should the Western nations do?

They should enter into alliance with all subjugated peoples, offering them liberation from the Bolshevik yoke, and self-determination once they are freed from it.

To achieve this aim, out of all anti-Bolshevik peoples they should create a common anti-Bolshevik front, directed and aided by an anti-Bolshevik Cominform.

National Committees of all subjugated peoples should be established and recognised as provisional governments; refugees should be cared for and organized, and agents trained and planted in each subjugated country to foment resistance and keep it alive.

In short, the Western nations should cease to be enthralled by what they see, and attack what is so carefully hidden from them — the feet of clay of the Russian colossus.

things. It is this idea which has blown the romanticism of naïve pan-Slavism overboard. After democracy, it is the national idea which is determinative in modern historical development.

Ernest Renan says — "The nation is a soul", while the wellknown sociologist Max Weber formulates a Nation, most strikingly, as "a community of souls having the same sentiments, the adequate expression of which would be an independent State". Accordingly development has decided for ethnic units and against geographical ones, and that is also valid for the so-called Slav peoples.

The experiments with arbitrary state forms, for instance, "Yugoslavia", "Czechoslovakia", to say nothing of despotic U.S.S.R., have proved monstrous miscarriages. The national idea has remained unconquered and each Slav people, like every other nation in the world, aspires to its own independent State.

Certain fanatics infected by Pan-Slavism dreamed, some years ago, of a great "union of all Slavs in a federal State", taking that between Germany and Italy as an example. But they forgot in propagating this idea that there was no analogy whatever. For while, in the case of the Germans and the Italians, it was a question of uniform peoples who for centuries had been conscious of themselves as nations, the "Slavs" were absolutely different races, each with its own national consciousness and each having followed its own historical way.

"Slavism" in the Service of Imperialists

Over against the broad masses of the Slav people who had always been indifferent to Slavism, there were a few individuals in Slavic lands, and perhaps a few circles, who worshipped the idea of Pan-Slavism. For them, Moscow had always been a sort of Mecca, from which they expected some miraculous blessings. These persons were the henchmen of Russian Messiahship.

A hundred years ago, the father of Croatian nationalism, Ante Starcevic, in an ironic poem said, "All that is Slavic squints towards Moscow". By way of this political "Slavism" the people of that mentality later, came to Communism when Moscow became its capital. Some became active agents, others remained only friends and sympathizers... After they had done what was expected of them they... were shot or hanged by the spirits they themselves had called up. Some of these elements succeeded in escaping abroad, mostly to the U.S.A. where they usually rally round the "green international". They have been crushed by the wheels of history and there is nothing left for them but to wait for their physical death.

Most of the "Slavophiles", however, are leaders in the present governments in Moscow, Warsaw, Prague, Belgrade, Sofia etc., serving the "all-Slav ideal" in a symbiosis with Communism. What they are really, is genocidal imperialists of the worst sort, such as the world has been spared from till now.

Ardent Russian Chauvinism in U.S.S.R.

Judging the real situation in U.S.S.R. we have often ascertained, that today, as well as in the past, the Russian people is the main basis on which the Kremlin builds its power. Our enemies have — on such occasions — tried to reproach us with chauvinism and hatred against the Russian people. In reality Russian chauvinism is increasing rapidly in the U.S.S.R., as well as among the Russian emigrants. It stresses everywhere the superiority of the "great" Russian people over the other peoples, its Messianism, its unsurpassed genius in technics, art, science etc. The Soviet press demonstrates every day the better qualities and superiority of the Russian people, even outdoing Dr. Goebbels in stirring up nationalism.

All the achievements of science, all inventions and discoveries, simply must have been made by Russians!.. Russian music, fine arts, literature and dramatic art must be the best and must be a model for other nations. The Russians are introduced to all other nations as exemplary in every respect. Never before have Russian chauvinism and nationalism taken on such terrible and ugly forms as now in U.S.S.R. The Kremlin knows very well that in a future conflict it may only rely on the Russian people proper, and therefore its excellency is praised, exaggerated and glorified. Due to that, the Soviet press takes advantage of every possibility to awaken chauvinistic feelings in the Russian people and to stress its precedence over the other nations.

To avoid future reproaches of prejudice, we quote some extracts from the "Ivestija", of May 24th, 1951, referring to the 6th anniversary of the reception of the Red Army officers by Stalin in the Kremlin, and which repeat his eulogies of the Russian people.

"Comrade Stalin", the paper comments, "spoke words, which would for ever be remembered enthusiastically and gratefully."

Moscow, like Belgrade makes use of a "Slavic" political co-ordination. A characteristic example of this method in Belgrade was the execution of the 80 year-old Croatian historian, Professor Segvic, who was sent to the gallows in 1945, only because for 50 years he had devoted himself to the theory of the Gothic descent of the Croats. "Because by his teaching he had undermined 'Slavic' unity," ran the excuse for his murder.

Western short-sightedness has allowed Moscow, Belgrade and Prague to extend their domination over alien peoples, by the pretense of an imaginary "Slav community" and "unity". When once these imperialist centres have been confined within their own ethnic borders and the peoples subdued by them have regained their freedom, then too, the phantom of "Pan-Slavism" will vanish.

Thus Pan-Slavism is revealed as a mere label in which a few Utopians

"I want to propose the toast to our Soviet and above all to our Russian people" — Stalin said.

"I drink to the Russian people, especially, for it earned, during the last war, recognition as the leading force of the Soviet Union."

I drink to the Russian people, not only because it is our leading people, but also because it possesses a clear mind, a steadfast character and endurance."

Then a long harangue of praises of the Russian people followed, concerning not only its support of the Soviet power, but also the qualities it had revealed in the history of the past.

Thus the Russian patriotism of Alexander Newsky, Suvorov, Kutusov and Nakhimov, the Russian literature which had prepared the soil for Communist ideas were lauded. "And it is not by accident that Russia became the cradle of Communism", the newspaper exclaims. "The Russian people can be justly proud of the way it has fulfilled its historic task. In the course of its existence the party of Lenin-Stalin has educated the masses to love their home-country and the Russian people.

Lists of all the wonders which the Russian people have performed under the Soviet regime, follows. Moscow is defined as the Mecca of "progressive mankind".

It sounds like a bad joke when the "Ivestiya" declares that the peoples of the Soviet Union sing the following lines:

"Great Russia created an indestructible Union of free republics, expressing herewith all the love and gratitude they feel towards the Russian people, — the leading people of the Soviet State."

We ask, is it possible for prisoners to love and be grateful to their warders?

"The great historic rôle of the Russian people, as the leading nation, was proved in the years of the great

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seriously believed. That label, however, served only definite political purposes and always under abnormal circumstances. Thus the "Slavic" peoples in the former Danube monarchy resorted to this "label" in order to resist Vienna and Budapest. After the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire the far worse tyranny of Prague and Belgrade began and the new oppressors took up this label and used it for their own imperialistic purposes.

At any rate any kind of Pan-Slavism is now a thing of the past, its label is in evil repute and in tatters. It has lost all attraction and will deceive no one any more, so there can be no question of any political reality in it do-day. What the West should do to bring stability and order into the present chaos is to assist the national ideals behind the Iron Curtain to gain victory. These much-tried peoples will appreciate and cherish their regained freedom and know how to defend it against everyone.

Enough Speculations with the East Problem!

By Roman Ilnytsky/Ukraine

The fact that the U.S.S.R. of to-day consists of 16 national republics and comprises more the 50% of non-Russian population, places the West before a series of difficult problems. Is a uniform propaganda possible for the whole territory covered by the Soviet Union? Should the West seek to appeal to the Russians, or the non-Russian peoples? Is the West to decide for a united Russian Empire, or for its dismemberment and consequently the formation of a system of national States in the East?

What have the Russian Emigrants to say on the question?

The answer of the Russian emigrants to these complicated questions is simple, but superficial. They say, "There is no serious national problem in the U.S.S.R. The Ukrainians, Georgians, Aserbaidjanians, Turkestanians, Byelorussians etc. only desire the abolition of the present political and social system, they do not aspire to have independent States of their own, nor do they wish the Russian Empire to be divided up, on the contrary, they are so accustomed to that Empire and living with the Russians, that they wish merely the status quo."

If the West does not understand that, and should favour the dismemberment of the U.S.S.R. into national States, the Russian people will be for Stalin and defend his imperium stubbornly.

They base their arguments on an alleged historical fact which they expect to have an immense influence on the West, — they point to Hitler's defeat in the eastern theatre, and say that Hitler also had in mind the dissolution of the Russian Empire, encouraged national movements and collapsed through that fatal plan. Just stand for an undivided Russian Empire, you Americans, who are so inexperienced anyway in European problems, and you will win, for the whole Russian people will rise and help you.

How much of that is true?

Two things are really true:

1. The proper policy for the East will be more decisive than weapons.
2. The West must be warned against a repetition of the mistakes Hitler made in the East.

What were these mistakes? The allegations of Russian emigrants do

not bear out the historical facts. Hitler did not want any national states, built on the ruins of the U.S.S.R. On the contrary, he fought against all political ideas aiming in that direction. We all saw him divide Ukrainian territory up, one part of which he gave to Rumania, another to the General Gouvernement Poland; furthermore, the Ukrainians experienced the "Reichs Commissariat Ukraine" under the bloodthirsty Erich Koch. We saw tens of thousands of Ukrainians transported to concentration camps and we lived to see the U.P.A. starting a fight against these conditions. The same happened in Byelorussian and the Baltic States.

Thus Hitler was certainly not favouring a policy of natural national development of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. He not only persecuted our fellow citizens who fought for a programme of separation but also cold-shouldered the German politicians who approved of it.

These facts have been proved by extensive publications, such as those brought out by American experts, based on documents from German archives. They all confirm the following:

1. At the beginning of the war, when the peoples of the U.S.S.R. did not yet know what Hitler was about, hundreds of thousands of "red soldiers" surrendered to the German army.

2. Most of those soldiers, however, belonged to the non-Russian nations. The Russians among them formed only a small minority.

3. The Russians remained on Stalin's side, even at the beginning of the war, when nobody yet knew, what Hitler was planning.

4. After the end of the War, Stalin repeatedly praised the fidelity of Russians, while the other peoples were never even mentioned by him.

5. On the contrary the non-Russians were severely punished for their disloyalty. All the world knows now about the banning of the Crimean Tartars, Chuvashens and Chechens.

6. When Hitler felt that the war was lost he tried the tactics which the Russian emigrants now advise the West to follow. He made an agreement with the Russian general A. A. Vlassov, having listened to the same Russian exiles, hoping to paralyse the Red Army's power of resistance by consenting to the restoration of the Empire.

What did he achieve? The Russian Empire card was not a trump. The Russians did not desert Stalin, Vlassov was only able to set up two divisions. The hundreds of thousands of prisoners of war did not join up.

Why did Hitler try to come to terms with the Russian? He was impressed by their ninety millions and their political experience. Negotiations with

them seemed more appropriate than with a dozen small nations which in his eyes were simply slaves, without any statesmanship and political elite.

It is a fact that none of the great conquerors or reformers of Europe, thought of dismembering the Russian Empire and of setting up national states in its place.

Will the Western Powers also shrink from playing this trump card, which all until now have avoided?

The Kremlin's East Propaganda

The Kremlin has always been aware of the natural aspirations for independence of the politically advanced peoples. It is therefore not by accident that the Soviet Union introduced the principle of "independence up to complete separation", and gave each nation its own "Socialist Soviet Republic". Centralization in its old form was no longer possible.

The Ukrainian people as the most populous among the non-Russian nations was especially courted. The Ukrainian S.S.R. received its own constitution, including the assurance that it might at any time leave the Union if the people so desired. Furthermore this constitution established a Ukrainian government in Kiew, with its own foreign ministry, its own army and, between 1921 and 1923, the republic was permitted its own consular representatives abroad. Ukraine was acknowledged as the official language. The old Russian allegation that Ukraine was merely a part of Russia was thus officially denied.

The concessions remained on paper, in reality, however, they were nullified and Ukraine definitely became Russian. During World War II Moscow could not avoid granting Ukraine some privileges, again: the Soviet-Ukrainian author, A. Korneichuk, became deputy foreign minister in Moscow; one of the highest military orders of the U.S.S.R. was named after the greatest Ukrainian statesman, Bohdan Khmelnytsky; Ukraine was admitted to international organizations, such as the U.N. Ukraine was even acknowledged as an independent partner in the case of war, with the right of declaring war and concluding peace treaties. Manuilsky represented the Ukrainian S.S.R. as its foreign minister abroad.

1950 Ukraine was more courted than ever: she received her own national anthem and flag. The illusion of having an independent state was to be strengthened in the Ukrainian people. The Kremlin wished to take the wind out of the sails of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement by representing itself as the real founder of the State of Ukraine. It wants the Ukrainian people to believe that those who are true Soviets, are the true Ukrainian patriots. It is clearly to be seen, that the Kremlin recognizes the fact,

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national war... the trust the Russian people placed in the Soviet government," said Comrade Stalin, "was the decisive factor which secured the historical victory."

This playing upon the patriotic and chauvinist feelings of the Russian people plainly shows that Bolshevism is counting more especially on their support, less on the non-Russian subjugated nations. Therefore these eulogies!

W. G.

that Ukraine is ripe for national independence.

What is the West to do now?

It is easy to guess, what effect the Western propaganda of today has on the Ukrainians, Byelorussians etc. if one considers the effect Moscow's propaganda has. The Bolsheviks say: the Ukrainians and Byelorussians etc. etc. from independent peoples which are, however, related to the Russian people. The West says: no, the Ukrainians or Byelorussians are only part of the Russian people. Moscow says: Ukrainians you have your own, independent state within the Union and may if you desire — leave the Union and be quite independent. The West declares: you Ukrainians and Byelorussians have no right to a state of your own, you have always lived in the Russian Empire, and it is much better for you to go on living in it, as part of it. Moscow says: Ukrainians, Byelorussians, you can have your own foreign representatives, become members of international organizations, and all this you owe to us Russians, your friends and protectors. The West says: Ukrainians, Byelorussians, as you are only a part of the great Russian Empire, it is much better for you, if your interests in the politics of the whole world are represented by your central government in Moscow.

Which propaganda will be successful? Which will fail? Is the West to be outdone by Moscow in this respect, too?

What is the West to do? We think the following arguments would not fail to impress the non-Russian peoples: Communism did acknowledge your right to live in a state of your own, under pressure of your national power. But do you really live in a state of your own? Can you really demand your independence openly? No, you cannot. But listen! We want to help you to gain in reality what Communism only promises. If you fight for that, we shall stand at your side.

What will the Russian People say?

Considering the above arguments, the West will certainly ask: What will the 75,000,000 Russians say, if we proclaim the dismemberment of their Empire? Will they not take Stalin's side at once and absolutely?

We can answer this question with another question. We ask: why was Lenin then not afraid of the parole of national independence? Did the Russian people rise against him, then? Did not Stalin repeat Lenin's parole? Why was he not afraid to divide up the former united imperium into federal republics?

If Stalin can afford a propaganda aiming at the independence of Ukraine, why should the West lose anything by using the same arguments?

No, there is no danger that this propaganda will do any harm to the plan of the West to get the Russian people on its side. The Russian people — not its emigrants — have grown quite accustomed to the idea that the Ukrainians, Turkestanians, Georgians, Aserbaijans etc. are independent peoples,

The U.P.A. Red Cross

By Bohdan Melodya-Kruk, Battalion Doctor of the U.P.A.

Like every other army at war the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) has suffered casualties which necessitated provision for the care of the wounded and convalescents, so the task arose of procuring doctors, nurses, hospital equipment, instruments and medicines under the difficult circumstances prevailing in an underground movement.

Special ambulance corps were set up very early in the campaign. Since 1945 they have born the name of Ukrainian Red Cross, and carry on the tradition of the former Red Cross of the old 1918—1920 fights for freedom. Below we give the first more complete report on the activity of the Red Cross with the U.P.A., based on notes taken down by a doctor.

The First Units

The first ambulance units with the U.P.A. were formed in northern Ukrainian districts when the army was formed. As the U.P.A. grew, things became more complicated so that the beginning of 1944 the ambulance service covered the whole field of operation. Everything required for the care of wounded was lacking. In a two front war against Hitler German and Bolshevik occupation, and without supplies from the air from any foreign power there was no other possibility but to fend for themselves. The underground network of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) performed wonders in procuring instruments, medicine etc. through connections with Ukrainian medical circles.

The support of Ukrainian doctors and medical students made it possible, in Spring 1944, to buy medicines for 1½ million zloty in Lviv. Besides, fighting groups of the U.P.A. attacked enemy bunkers capturing medicines and instruments; moreover the stores of the ambulance detachments were replenished by voluntary contributions from doctors and chemists. Underground depots were built in the woods where stores could be properly kept.

Training

The training of a suitable ambulance staff offered a good deal of difficulty. Schools were set up for male and female personnel. Conditions for the enrollment of volunteers were; sufficient school education and loyalty to the ideals of the U.P.A. and the O.U.N. On finishing their training, candidates received a diploma stating their individual abilities, whereupon they were appointed to ambulance stations or U.P.A. units. The U.P.A. issued a

and it will adapt itself to their separation from the Empire, just as the British did when India and Pakistan became independent, or the Dutch, in the case of Indonesia.

Soviet propaganda has unwittingly contributed much to this development.

special text book by Dr. Jurko and Dr. Shuvar "Ambulance Directives".

Underground Hospitals

When Ukraine was reconquered by the Bolsheviks in the summer of 1944, the most arduous, most difficult and dangerous phase began for the Ukrainian Red Cross. The number of wounded increased continuously so that new ways and means had to be sought for their care. Above ground buildings were out of the question as hospitals or convalescent homes, added to which provisioning the stations and military hospitals was becoming ever more difficult, owing to frequent raids by the Red Army and N.K.V.D. Consequently U.P.A. technical groups began to build underground hospitals i. e. ambulance bunkers. They were generally prepared for 6—15 beds, contained a kitchen, a office, ventilation, and canalization plant and water supply. They had to be so cleverly camouflaged that Soviet scouts would not be able to find them. The wounded had to be given a few weeks, sometimes months of undisturbed quiet. In building these bunkers the greatest care had to be taken that no trace of building operations was noticeable. The technical units of the U.P.A. are to be congratulated on their masterly work.

It frequently happened that the inmates of the bunkers heard the steps of enemy commandos over their heads, without, however, being discovered. On the other hand it happened sometimes that the bunkers were discovered, either by accident, good spying or be confessions, which captured U.P.A. men made after torture; then bunkers were cleared out.

The U.R.C. suffered its greatest losses in the Spring of 1947 in Lemkivshchyna (Lemken district) when, after the treaty between Moscow and Prag c. Juli 7, 1947, Soviet-Russian, Polish and Czech troops and police, started evacuating the Ukrainian population from the villages, thus depriving the U.P.A. of its support. The enemy troops, which were in greatly superior number, caused the U.P.A. and U.R.C. terrible losses.

Heroism of Ambulance Unit

At the beginning of the offensive against the U.P.A. the ambulance station at Khreshchata fought a heroic battle. When the enemy had discovered its exact situation, 500 men started a regular siege under the command of a colonel. There were 12 men, a physician, Dr. Ratay, a chemist, Mr. Orest and one member of ambulance corps, Mr. Arpad, three female assistants and 6 wounded resp. sick U.P.A. soldiers. On the enemy's call to surrender, they opened fire. A Polish N.K.V.D. soldier who had taken part in the siege and was later taken prisoner by the U.P.A., described the fate of the defenders: When the munition was coming to an end they directed the last shots and handgrenades against themselves. The

last man set the 100 litre barrel of petrol on fire so that nothing should fall into enemy hands and then killed himself. Even the Czech and Polish press was not able to conceal this heroic incident.

Of course the enemy press always stated that the U.P.A. could never have erected ambulance stations without support from the West. The truth is, however, that only the readiness of the Ukrainian people to make sacrifices, made the Ukrainian Red Cross possible. For instance, school children were told to collect medicinal herbs, even during the time of the German occupation. Of course, part of those supplies was lost, due to the lack of proper store-rooms, but a great part of them was saved and was later at the U.R.C.'s disposal. This action was also of great educational value. The U.R.C. edited a special text-book "Medicinal Herbs and their Use" which every U.P.A. ambulance man carried with him.

Population Support Red Cross

With the assistance of the population the food question was solved by the economic department of the U.R.C. Wounded or sick soldiers received a daily ration of fat 50 grs; meat 200 grs. bread 500 grs; potatoes 1 kg; sugar 50 grs; and vegetables and cereals as well. Of course it frequently happened that enemy troops halted supplies, so that the staff of the ambulance stations were reduced to potatoes and salt or "chyr" (porridge of maize) "partisan food". In general the Red Cross stations received provisions for 5-6 months from the commissariat of the U.R.C. or the U.P.A. detachments. Stores were kept in special underground depots.

Ambulance Men of other Nationalities

At first the doctors took care of the wounded, but as casualties increased ambulance men had often to substitute for doctors who were then only attached to the battalions. The ambulance men were not always Ukrainians; there were Georgians, Jews, Germans and members of other nations among them.

Lack of doctors necessitated the better organization of the ambulance service. First came ambulance men for platoons, then for companies of a hundred (ambulance man or doctor) on to the highest degree, — the battalion doctor. The platoon ambulance men had to give first aid, and care for the wounded, until they could be removed to a collecting point. There a doctor or company ambulance man took over.

The doctors or company ambulance men were responsible for the general health and hygiene of the whole unit and the instruction of the men. The U.P.A. battalion doctor's work was mainly organization. He gave instructions, directed the men's training and undertook inspections. He was in contact with the district doctor and had the various ambulance units under his supervision.

The district pharmacist took care of the medical supplies. As far as pos-

sible he supplied the field ambulances with medicines, which in part he put up himself in his underground laboratory.

Transport of Wounded

The transport of the wounded depended to a great extent upon local conditions and the underground laws. Enemy alertness often prevented transport by horse and cars, so the wounded had to be carried on makeshift stretchers, or over a comrade's shoulder, by devious paths to the ambulance centres. The wounded always had



Unit of Ukrainian Insurgents Army U.P.A.

At barber's shop in a hide-out, deep in Carpathian Forest, 1950

their eyes blindfolded when they were being transported, so that the position of the Red Cross station remained a secret.

The underground network of the O.U.N. took over the care of the disabled U.P.A. men. That was possible as the enemy directed his attention more especially to the fighting units and the O.U.N. network was out of reach.

Winter made things extremely difficult. As warm clothing was not always to be had the wounded and the nursing staff suffered very much from the cold. Transport to the ambulance stations took longer than at other times, as traces of footsteps left in the snow would have been fatal. They, therefore, had to be carefully obliterated or cunningly confused.

Aid for Deportees

The activity of the U.R.C. was not restricted to the U.P.A. units. The Ukrainian population energetically resisted Bolshevik terrorism in punitive and deportation actions, and in many places suffered serious casualties. The Bolsheviks left these people lying where they were, uncared for. It was then the task of the U.R.C. to come to their aid in every possible way. Then, too, there were epidemics which the authorities took no trouble to overcome. Finally, in some districts the Bolsheviks resorted to bacteriological warfare against the population which the U.R.C. had to combat by systematic vaccination, procuring the serum on the "black market" at high prices.

Multiple Activities

The selfless work of the U.R.C. deserves special mention. It kept to the

international regulations for warfare and the treatment of the wounded strictly, in consequence enemy wounded were cared for too, — in contrast to the way the U.P.A. wounded were treated when they fell into the hands of the Bolsheviks. Families of the bereaved were notified. Special precautions were taken to obviate any danger to these families, and documents left by the dead were returned to relations.

The U.R.C. was divided into a military branch working with the fighting units and a civilian branch working

for the population. Both branches collaborated. One of the tasks was the training of qualified medical officers and ambulance men, the procuring of instruments, medicines and the transport of the wounded and sick. Many men and women gave their lives in fulfilling their duty. Some day their story will be told by historians.

... Hands blackened by the sun, wind, and baking potatoes on the field; ragged coats and caps, tattered footwear, but with a smile on their faces, sharp eyes and the expression of an iron will, — that is how the U.P.A. soldier looked that I often met at home . . ."

Estonian National Council

The "Estonian National Council", a central organization of the Estonians in the free world, held in Stockholm, Sweden, its 3rd Congress on Sunday, April 29, with 200 delegates from all over Sweden, where the greatest number of Estonian refugees have obtained asylum. The purpose of the Congress was to discuss ways and means in the struggle for the liberation of Soviet-occupied Estonia.

In a declaration the Congress called upon all free nations to aid and support the struggle for freedom of the Estonian people. The Estonians who have succeeded in escaping to the free world regard it as their mission to speak for their unhappy countrymen and to work for their liberation. The Estonian refugees must collaborate with their comrades in misfortune from the other Soviet-occupied countries.

From behind the Iron Curtain

ALBANIA

The "peoples republic" blossoms

The Soviet news agency, TASS reports from Tirana, June 7th, 1951.

"The regular meeting of the Assembly of the Peoples Republic of Albania was convened yesterday in Tirana. Abdul Kellesi, Minister of Finance gave a report on the budget. Revealing the imperialist character of the politics of U.S.A. and England, and the provocative policy of the Belgrade, Athenian and Roman puppets, he stressed the determination of the Albanian people, led by the workers party and Enver Hodsha, to continue socialist construction and to defend their country. Kellesi emphasized the fact that in 1951 there was a surplus of 8% in the revenue. The income from the socialist section in 1951 will amount to almost 40% of the total income, whereas in 1950 it was only 31%. The economic plan for 1951 provides for an increase in building of 35% in comparison to last year, and a 49.6% rise in industrial production."

The Soviet press report that in 1951 Soviet agricultural machines will be working for the first time in the fields of Albania.

Fiery political speeches against the free world and eulogies of the Communist party for their handling of the budget, as well as questionable figures of planning and production show that Albania is on the way to the status of a Soviet Republic. There was no need to mention Soviet tractors.

ARMENIA

Armenian Authors do not "Toe the Line"

According to a report in the "Pravda" of June 27th, 1951, the full meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Armenia recently discussed the weak points in Armenian literature. Manikonyan, the head of the section for literature and art in the Committee, declared that the party organizations must lead a consistent campaign against publications which are not compatible with party directives, such as relapses into bourgeois nationalism, formalism, cosmopolitanism, lack of ideas and political indifference. The Pravda report mentions especially that in many Armenian novels "Soviet reality is distorted".

Talk of a relapse into "bourgeois nationalism" in modern literature, runs like a red thread through all the meetings of the Communist party in Armenia, Georgia, Aserbaijan among Volga-Tartars and in other republics. The repeated allusions in the Soviet press seem to point out that these relapses are wide-spread. The authors among the non-Russian peoples are

obviously making an effort to hold their positions in "bourgeois nationalism" i. e. to preserve national obstinacy against the growing russification.

BULGARIA

Resistance Increasing in spite of Terrorism

Extracts given below, taken from the Communist press of Bulgaria, show a true picture of present conditions in this much tried country under Soviet Russian despotism.

In a speech, Cherwenkoff, Prime Minister by the grace of Stalin, said recently: "In order to put a stop to repeated enemy attempts to hold up the Communist revolution a new general political attack must be initiated against internal enemies. Their venom must be extracted with an iron hand and they must be exterminated once and for all."

The wave of terrorization against open enemies and resistance movements continues unabated, parallel with the persecution of so-called "disappointed Communists" -- which reaches even the cabinet. Arrests disappearances, innumerable concentration camps, shadow the majority of the Bulgarian people at every step. Notwithstanding the careful covering up of all signs of resistance it cannot be altogether concealed.

The government paper "Rabotnichesko Delo" of April 5, 1951 reports a great political trial of several persons, for taking part in a Bulgarian "Anti-Bolshevist Legion" to save the nation. A number of them was condemned to death by hanging.

The Communist juvenile paper "The Nation's Youth" in a leading article of April 25, 1951 calls for "a decisive struggle against enemy influence in the schools" and unwittingly reveals the following: "At this moment class war is coming to a head... In Industry the enemy seeks to disrupt production, in agriculture the Kulak elements seek by every means in their power to thwart the plan and the setting up of collective farms, to get around the contributions to the State, to destroy live-stock etc. . . . In the ideological and cultural sphere, too, the enemy still clings to the decaying bourgeois culture and morals.

The class war is especially noticeable among the school children in Sofia, which is no wonder, as Sofia was the stronghold of the Bourgeois. . . . Communistic discipline is being undermined and instruction disturbed. . . . The enemy of the working people is making every effort to get control of the ideas and feelings of the school children. . . . The enemy knows very well that the young, bred in the spirit of bourgeois morals, can easily become a tool for his sinister aims. The means for sedition are manifold. The

teachers and the activists among the pupils are given insulting nicknames; the enemy even frequently succeeds in inspiring the sons and daughters of workmen who have been hitherto loyal members and activists of the Socialist Youth. All means undertaken against this bourgeois influence in the schools have failed and our activists are helpless."

The question of growing resistance in the Bulgarian schools and its danger for the Soviet-inspired regime was also the chief point of this year's Spring Congress of the Socialist Youth in Sofia. The "Nation's Youth" of March 9, 1951 in reporting the congress, comes to the conclusion that Communist ideology has not conquered the pupils' hearts. From reports it may be seen that resistance in the schools is so strong that even Communist activists and informers among the pupils dare put nothing in their way "from a feeling of comradeship".

In treating this question the Communist Bulgarian press does not explain how many young Bulgarian boys and girls have had to pay with their lives, or hard labour, for their "preference for bourgeois culture". Anyone who knows the conditions in Bulgarian secondary schools and universities as they were before the Communist upheaval, can have no doubt that this heroic resistance in intellectual and cultural fields is nothing but fear of that deeply founded anti-Communist movement which was known by the name of Bulgarian National Legion in the thirties and which embraced the whole young generation, and is apparently today the inexhaustible source for the national liberation campaign in the Bulgarian schools.

LITHUANIA

Lithuania's Communists are Slow to Learn

The end of June 1951, a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Lithuania was convened in Vilnius to hear a report by Trofimov, the Russian secretary of the Central Committee, "Pravda" reports July 2, 1951, on the work of the meeting:

"At the plenary meeting weakness in the leadership of party organizations in the villages was sharply criticized. Some district committees seldom discuss statements of accounts tendered by party cells, and fail to take the necessary care in the training of party secretaries. The workers of district and provincial committees rarely attend party meetings at the collective farms and tractor pools."

Members of the plenary meeting deprecated that provincial committees and the different departments of the Central Committee did very little to spread the experience gained in party work, and so few lectures and training possibilities were organized for village Communists. This short "Pravda" report reveals an important feature and one which holds good for the other countries, too, which have fallen vic-

tims to Bolshevik imperialism in the last few years, namely that key positions in these new Russian provinces are held exclusively by Russians. They are secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist party in each land.

It is they who, at the instigation of Moscow, criticize the activities of those traitors who place themselves at the disposal of alien powers against the interest of their own people.

Large Collectives Ruin Villages

"The change in agriculture to large collective farms creates most favourable conditions for building activity", the "Tiesa" (Truth), the Lithuanian Communist paper, writes March 23, 1951. The real objective of large collective farms is the destruction of village communities and small settlements which give a country its wholesome natural structure, and enliven the landscape. That picture is doomed to disappear and yield to the gloomy, lifeless factory character of the large kolkhoz. The construction of these huge factorylike farms requires an immense amount of building material, especially bricks of which there is a great shortage even in the towns, let alone in the country. That the brickyards "Dawn" near Dotnava, only supplied 40,000, that of Plunge "Victory" 70,000 while Klaipeda (Memel) only prepared 100,000 bricks, is much criticized in another place in the newspaper; also that until now only 3 cowhouses have been erected in Dotnava and Pasvalis. The building of large collective farms is lagging behind.

The local party and building authorities of rayons are to blame for the slow progress in production and building plans. In consequence they are most sharply criticized. The Newspaper does not admit that there is not enough timber in the country to carry out the plans, while in another place it praises the prefabricated wooden houses delivered by Lithuania for local constructions on the Volga and in Turkestan. "Workers building the hydroelectric power station at Kuybyshev have received a fine present from the Lithuanian woodworking concern, viz. 25 prefabricated dwelling houses made of Lithuanian timber", the "Tiesa" of April 6, 1951 declares.

The homeland suffers and the "fatherland" at large gains . . . Contradictions of that kind are frequent. Once they are decried as failings and then as credit. At every opportunity, however, the actual progress achieved by agriculture in the former free, independent Lithuania is covered with mockery and scorn.

At the speed of the present building activity in Lithuania there is no saying when the large collective farms will be ready. The plans are there, but their fulfilment is another story.

Training in Communism Fails to Function

The evening courses held by the "Lithuanian Communist Party leave much to be desired, the "Tiesa" writes in its Nr. 39. In all these groups atten-

dance is poor. Hardly half of the compulsory members turn up. The paper recommends severe measures for the absentees. The teachers are also backward in fulfilling the requirements. Comrade Laukaitis does not even master the material himself, he merely reads from text books, without commentary or examples. He gives the German declaration of war against Russia as the cause of the World War, and describes the big farmers (kulaks) merely as the owners of large estates without pointing out the exploitation of the workers.

POLAND

New Constitution

Preparations for forcing a Stalin Constitution on Poland are in full swing. A commission under the direction of President Bierut has been charged with the preliminaries. From a speech held in the Sejm it appears that "a Constitution for the country of victorious socialism" is to be drawn up to "strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat" and to be the expression of the real relationship of the class forces.

Dissatisfaction and the hostile attitude of the peasants caused the regime to demonstrate in a series of trials that the government cares of the peasants and that only unreliable officials and policemen are to be blamed if there are any violations of the law.

In Plonsk several policemen were sentenced to 5-7 years prison because they beat the peasants when they bought corn. In a trial in Gryfice which caused quite a lot of excitement, even a party-secretary and some "activists" were sentenced to 1-6 years imprisonment.

But the beaten and exploited peasant is not to be deceived or contented by the punishment of some subordinate officials. He wants to see his real torturers hanging on the gallows.

Good Train Derailed

The Berlin "Nachtdepesche" reports that Polish partisans derailed a goods train conveying material from Poland to the Soviet Union. The Soviet guards, protecting the line, are said to have been killed.

Flights from the "Paradise"

During the past weeks a large number of Poles has succeeded in fleeing from the "people's paradise" in strange ways. For instance 2 employees of the Warsaw airfield, R. Jurek and J. Kozaczynski, who had hidden in the hold of an aeroplane of the Lot line, landed in Paris.

Two Polish fliers landed with a school plane at Passau, Germany and asked for political asylum.

Eight of the crew of the steamer "Batory", laid up in London for repairs, preferred not to return to the steamer.

In Sweden, too, fresh refugees have turned up, among them a young student, who had concealed himself among the bunker coal, on a Swedish steamer, arrived at Göteborg from Gdynia. He reported to the police and begged for alyum. A sailor from a Polish ship in the harbour of Karlskrona failed to return on board.

Prices

A few instances of prices in Poland: 1 kg of cherries costs 10 zloty; strawberries 11.50 zl., new potatoes 2 zl., cauliflower 8 zl., tomatoes 50 zl. At Breslau and Stettin 16-40 zl. is charged for 1 kg cherries. At Szczecin (Stettin) 1 kg of butter costs 22 zl. and one egg 70-80 groszy.

SLOVAKIA

Proofs of Resistance

In April, at Levoce (Leuchau) seven members of the "Slovak White Partisans" were condemned for having carried out sentences against Communist functionaries that had been proclaimed by partisans tribunals. On July 2, Nosek, Communist Minister of the Interior, officially admitted the facts. He had received orders from Moscow to liquidate all "elements of opposition" in Slovakia by the end of May. The partial confession of seven sentences instead of a final report of victory may be regarded as a proof of the fact that he was unable to carry out his orders and that resistance in Slovakia is still alive.

TURKESTAN

The Youth of Turkestan is Refractory

"The office of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Usbekistan has adopted a resolution, in which it is stated that the previous resolution of October 7, 1950 concerning the defective enrollment of new members for the W.L.C.S.M. (Komsomol) and the abolition of these defects has not been fulfilled." Thus the Moscow "Komsomolskaya Pravda" of June 27, 1951, in an article on the situation in Usbekistan.

The work of the youth organizations in the districts of Fergana Surkhan-Daryinsk and Bukhara are described as especially unsatisfactory. The Komsomol organization in the towns of Tashkent and Samarkand are reproached for not being able to attract more young workers to their ranks. Altogether the party, as well as Komsomol, are criticized for working too slowly.

It is important to note that the youth of Turkestan has been successful, in spite of pressure on the side of party organizations, to keep up their passive attitude towards the Komsomol as a Russian organization.

Growing Disinclination to Communist Teaching

In the autumn of 1950 the District Party Committee of Stalinabad called a meeting at which the Party secretary

of the Party Committee, Kuznetsov, made a speech on "the improvement in ideological work". "It has been necessary lately to remove many Communists from their posts, as they absented themselves from attending party teaching, on purpose." The Party secretary stated that among the dismissed persons there were many who had held high posts. He talked about the great number of Communists, who not only did not take an interest in the Party teaching, but did not even attend the Lenin-Stalin lectures! He then went on to criticise the Communists, Komsomols and the intellectuals in the villages, who, in spite of their higher-grade education, did not participate in the propaganda campaign, which is being carried on by the 12,000 propagandists belonging to the 1,056 collective propaganda groups in the districts.

At the district meeting, Erkaoglu, the second secretary of the Party Committee, was deprived of his functions in this connection.

A. Ivanov, the deputy manager of the department for propaganda and agitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (b) of Kazakhstan reported the following on 28. 8. 50: "In 1950, 280 000 party members participated in the party training courses. These are 95.5% of the total party membership." In spite of the large attendance at party training courses the standard of training was very low, as the management of the school was in the hands of men, of whom only 15% of the higher officials had a middle class and university education. The report gives ample proof that the lack of interest in Communist training among the leading Communists is on the increase.

The Wireless under Russian Control

On looking at the programme of the wireless broadcasts in the Soviet Republic of Turkestan, it appears that the time allotted for Turki broadcasts is 1 hour and 56 minutes per day. The time allotted for transmissions in the Kirgiz languages are from:

7.45— 7.56 Political lecture in the Kirgiz language	11 min.
8.59— 9.20 Kirgiz Concerns	41 min.
18.09—18.58 Kirgiz Concerns	29 min.
21.15—21.50 News in the Kirgiz language	15 min.
Total 1 hr. 56 mins	

On the same day, at the same station there was a transmission in Russian which lasted for 5 hours and 50 minutes. This illustrates the pressure the Russians exert on Turki wireless transmissions.

Guerilla War

National Chinese government circles announce from Formosa that heavy fighting is going on in East Turkestan between Soviet units and anti-Communist resistance fighters. The latter are estimated at some 60 000. The information concerning this fighting was given Tschiang Kai Chek by a partisan leader from the province of Sinkyang.

According to this report there are two mechanized Soviet divisions and more than 50 planes in action. The partisans have withdrawn, after stubborn resistance, to the Rien-Chau Mountains. Up to date they have killed over 8000 Soviet soldiers, the deputy commander of a division and his chief of staff and the regimental commanders.

The partisan leader, Elbar Khan reports further that in East Turkestan some 20 000 Soviet soldiers are occupied in the transport of uranium and other important minerals to U.S.S.R. He states that the partisans have the support of the indigenous population. They appeal to the head of the National Chinese government for help, above all for weapons.

UKRAINE

"The Ukrainian Decade" in Moscow

From June 15, — June 25, 1951 the "Decade of Ukrainian Culture" took place in Moscow. With it the Soviets wanted to prove the "indestructible friendship of the Soviet peoples".

This year there were more than 2000 Ukrainian artists, such as actors, singers, composers, musicians, authors, painters, sculptors and workers in applied arts, who could be seen and heard in many a concert, exhibition, and theatre performance. But behind the beautiful facade of a prospering Ukrainian culture, the Soviet management was easily perceptible, which only permitted the products of Ukraine's national culture to go back to the folk plays and farces and burlesques. Every proceeding in a cultural respect is duly controlled to see whether it is a contribution to the glorification of "socialistic realism". The new songs sing of Stalin. The "new" plays praise Stalin and the painters only paint Stalin. After 10 days of the festival, people really might gain the impression that the only thing that inspires Ukraine's cultural life is — Stalin.

Yet the splendour surrounding this "Decade" cannot deceive us. The real Ukrainian culture has meanwhile fled from the mortuary of the Moscow galleries into the underground and emigration, and there the true spirit of the Ukrainian people is developing and proving itself, without any outside support.

Before a Tempest?

In an editorial "Pravda" of July 2, 1951, starts a campaign against the "ideological distortions in literature". Which is actually directed against independent intellectual currents in Ukraine. The editorial was caused by a poem by the well known Ukrainian poet, V. Sosyura, with the title "Love Ukraine", which was published in the magazine "Zvezda" (Star). This poem

had first been published in 1944 in the Ukrainian language and was reprinted several times.

Now Sosyura is blamed for asking his readers in his poem to love "his" Ukraine, an "eternal", "timeless" Ukraine, that has nothing to do with the epoch, i. e. the present socialist Ukraine. "Pravda" remarks that any enemy of the Ukrainian people, coming from the nationalist camp, like Petliura, Bandera etc., could as well have written such a poem.

"The Soviet Ukraine grew and prospered by the solid friendship between the socialistic states, by the irreconcilable struggle against the enemies of the people, the bourgeois nationalists. This Ukraine is not to be found in Sosyura's poem; in that it stands all by itself, without any connection with the other peoples of the Soviet Union . . .

It is well known, that nationalism is always trying to retreat into its own national shell without paying any regard to those facts which unite the working masses of all the peoples of the Soviet Union . . ."

The "Pravda" does not only criticize the editor of "Zvezda", and its publisher W. Druzin, but also the whole Ukrainian press which permitted the poem to be published for 7 years without criticism, and especially the Central Committee of the Communist party of Ukraine. They charge it with not having given enough attention to "ideological questions".

"Pravda" has not only reproached Sosyura for having produced poetry of "ideological distortion", other poets, such as Maksym Rylsky had to suffer the same. Pravda states, too, that similar lapses are to be found in other spheres of Ukrainian art and mentions the text of the opera "Bohdan Khmelnytzky" which was written by Alexander Korneichuk and Vanda Vasilevska.

We think it of great political importance that "Pravda" criticized and reproached Sosyura for a mistake of made 7 years ago, and includes persons whose true Bolshevist ideology and attitude had never been doubted, — on the contrary, had frequently been awarded and stressed. This reproach has nothing to do with the abandonment of the last remnants of national concessions, which had once been granted by the Politburo, for obvious reasons, during the "Great National War". Neither is it caused by the revision of the spirit of the language, based on Stalin's recent "philosophical" perceptions.

Other tendencies are to be noticed. During the last weeks the Communist parties of nearly all non-Russian republics, from Turkmenia, to the Baltic Sea, were attacked by the Politburo on account of their tolerance towards divergencies of a nationalistic kind. A method seems to lie behind the whole affair. A new purge is obviously imminent? The last one Ukraine had to undergo started in 1956 and was ended when the war broke out. May be now the Russian war preparations which will cause a new one.

From the Soviet Press

Clothing only for Small People

Clothing only for Small People

Complaints from various towns of the Soviet Union are reaching the offices of Moscow newspapers, that stock and outsize clothing is not to be had in the shops. The Moscow "Isvestiya" applied to the competent trade chief in Leningrad, Kirsanov, with a request to inquire into the matter. After discussions with him and the representatives of the Soviet clothing factories, the newspaper published an article saying:

"Comrade Kirsanov gave the following explanation, based on his personal observations:

'In the Leningrad shops there are really no clothes for large men.'

But why? What is the reason for it, Comrade Kirsanov? To this question the head of the Trade Department gave a clear, direct answer:

'The factories are not turning out clothes and coats for the broad masses.'

Comrade Dubrovina head of the trust "Leningrad Clothing", cleared up this point.

The material for large size suits and coats is there, but there are no...'

'No what?'

'No instructions from the municipal Trade Department.'

'It all depends on Kirsanow then?'

'Yes, everything depends on him...'

It would be a mistake to suppose that it is only in Leningrad that the clothing factories have no care for tall people. It is an actual fact that many of them produce clothing only for short people, and but rarely even for stock-size. The reason is first, because with one model less, the production plan can be more easily fulfilled. Secondly, it makes it possible to boast of "great saving" at the end of the month. There are good and beautiful materials to be had, it is true, but as before mentioned they are only intended for small people."

(Isvestiya, June 3, 1951.)

Moscow and its War Potential

May, 1951 the "Isvestiya" published a long article by M. Baybakov, Minister for Mineral Oils in the U.S.S.R., containing important information on the changes in mineral oil geography. He says:

"One of the characteristic features of development in the 5 years after the war, is the fundamental change in the mineral oil geography of the country. While five years ago the eastern provinces only produced 12.5% of the total oil production, they now, in 1950, supplied 44%...

Extensive investigations in the east have led to the discovery and equipment of the richest oil fields in the Bashkir Autonomous Soviet Republic, in the Tartar Autonomous Republic and in the province of Kuybyshev."

Lecture in Political Science

"Crocodile", the Moscow satirical journal complains in No. 19 of July 10th, 1951, that political lecturers in the province of Kuibyshev show up unprepared are not able to keep the attention of their audiences. Not in Kuibyshev only...



It's a bit strange, himself a nice fellow, and is talking devil knows what!

A.B.N. Manifestation in Canada

On June 24, 1951 Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Esthonians, Hungarians, Croats and members of other peoples subjugated by Moscow, marched through the streets of Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, in orderly columns to a joint anti-Communist manifestation. Some thousands of people were assembled around the monument to the Unknown Warrior when the priest, Semen Izhyk, himself a former political prisoner in concentration camps, spoke of all those who had been victims of Bolshevik terrorism.

After a march through the main streets, there was a demonstration of protest. At the close, the resolutions which had been passed were sent to the United Nations, President Truman, Prime Minister St. Loran and to the Central Committee of the A.B.N.

Western Book-Keeping ...

Continued from Page 1

Lithuanians, Estonians, Hungarians, Rumanians, Bulgarians and other peoples of the Soviet Russian dominion, to get out of the clutches of Moscow, will also be labeled and denounced as a "nationalist" and "separatist" tendency.

For the peoples united in the A.B.N. it is no secret that in the West, more especially in U.S.A., people cling to the fatal idea of the invisibility of a great Russian Empire. With embitterment and repugnance our peoples hear themselves defined in Western publications, even today, as the "Russian people" or the peoples of Russia". As if these peoples had no names of their own, no national history that lasts for centuries, no honour and dignity of which they may be as justly proud as the nations of the West. The much lauded principle of self-determination seems, for the West, to halt at the frontiers of Moscow's despotic empire. The responsible statesmen of the West, however, should be aware that this double book-keeping will not take them far, nor lead to any constructive policy in the end.

A clear answer to such errors of Western policy was once again given at the great A.B.N. convention held in Munich, June 3, 1951. In 22 languages at this convention in reality only one basic speech was held, only one vow was made:

We want no Russian Empire. We will have no State union with Moscow. We will not be chained to the great Russian Empire. Away from Moscow! We want our own independent national States. We want a really free world in which each nation can decide its own fate.

The peoples of the A.B.N. will no longer, no matter on what basis, discuss with the Russians a "balance of mutual interests" or a "common form of life", or the like. We want our full indisputable freedom. There can be no discussions about the meaning of national freedom. One has it, or one dies for it, it cannot be divided. Democracy is no magic word that can bring about two different things at the same time: retain the unity of Russia and give the subjected peoples so much desired freedom. It simply cannot be done. If democracy means respect for the will of the people, and especially is not to have a hollow sound for the peoples behind the Iron Curtain, the West must decide without ambiguity for real freedom for all oppressed nations. And first of all this means the unconditional separation of these peoples from Moscow, from Russian Empire.

A Circulation of 36 Million Copies

Official Soviet newspapers announce that last year 90 more newspapers appeared in the Soviet Union, published in Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Tadjikian, Moldavian, Tuvinian, Yakutian, Caracalpakian and many other languages. The total daily edition of Soviet newspapers amounted to 36 million copies the beginning of this year.

This information shows the gigantic struggle that is being carried on by the Bolsheviks on the ideological front, and their endeavour to russify the souls of the peoples with the help of their native languages.

Bibliography

Major Tufton Beamish, M.C., M.P.:
Must Night Fall?

Hollis & Carter, London 1950 — X. 292 p. —

In spite of the Iron Curtain there is today in West Europe as well as in America a flood of publications on East European problems. Too many people feel called upon to publish their experiences, impressions and memoirs, in the belief that they are contributing to the better understanding of present East European problems; while on the other hand there is much too little direct archive material, too few documents, too few unprejudiced analyses of actual occurrences.

Major Tufton Beamish, who is a member of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons has written a book which belongs to the above second category. He deals in the first place with the historical background and the actual events in "the people's democracies" Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania, and particularly with the courts, police, army, religion, education, culture, and the life of the youth in these countries. He deals chiefly with the time after the Bolshevik night had fallen upon these lands.

This book gives indeed one of the deepest, most matter of fact, glimpses behind the Iron Curtain. Whoever wants to learn what has been done in these countries since the war and above all how these once Western inclined democratic agrarian countries were overrun and pressed into Bolshevism, must read Major Beamish's book. He has a subtle but sure hand in arranging facts and events, with a good sense for the national peculiarities of the countries he is dealing with, knowing what is essential and what to leave aside. He gives an excellent analysis of the mechanics, the methods and the fiendish machinery for bolshevizing these countries. His description of the Bolshevik meat-machine tearing the living bodies of these nations apart, to make a horrible Communist Frankenstein out of them is outstanding.

For the Eastern reader especially, the fact that the author justly distributes the blame for the rising and later imperialist growth of Bolshevism, is most satisfying. It does not say in the book, that any "dark forces", "super-national plots", or a "special race quality" or a "specific national trait" in the Eastern peoples is to blame for Bolshevism. No, the West is to blame, too, in fact all of us are, to a certain extent. Had we in the West behaved differently, night would not have enveloped these countries and, furthermore, this same night would have been less menacing for Western countries. He castigates the fatal mistakes of the British Labour Government, attacks the Americans, and does not spare even his own Conservative Party. In spite of that his book is optimistic, because the author believes that by the proper handling of the Bolshevik problem, bright daylight will once dawn after this terrible night.

The author has travelled very much in Eastern countries, also after the war; his critical matter-of-factness does not prevent him from expressing warm sympathy for these peoples. As he has obviously gone very deeply into their problems it would be a good thing if he could find time, and the possibility, to turn his attention to

the subjugated peoples of the U.S.S.R. and write a similar book about them. The West is in great need of a book like Major Beamish's. There do not seem to be many such experts among the present generation in the British Parliament, who are so well informed as Major Beamish. Z. P.

*

Alexander Kaeles:

Human rights and Genocide in the Baltic States

Stockholm 1950 64 pp 8°. Eslovian Information Centre.

The middle of June all the members of the Baltic States scattered abroad in the world, keep an exceedingly tragic anniversary: — the beginning of their systematic extermination, deportation and "resettlement" into the interior of Soviet Union.

In the night of the 13th of June 1941, the criminal action began suddenly in all the Baltic States at once: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Since that long prepared for tragic night in which thousands of Balts were arrested, shot and deported far into Russia, the terrorism of the N.K.V.D. later M.G.V. has never ceased. Deportation and eviction continue almost unabated.

That June night of 1941, with its carnage was repeated in other St Bartholomew's nights from March 23rd to 26th 1949.

Alexander Kaeles in his small book gives us a deep insight into these events. It is actually a compilation, put together by the "Estonian Information Centre" in Stockholm, which was founded by the Estonian National Council Mr Johannes Klesment, a former Estonian minister of finance, and the well-known publicist Paul Poom have contributed largely to the work.

The title of the book is somewhat misleading. It should be called "The Rights of Man and Genocide in Estonia", a practically almost nothing is said of the massacres and the statistics of other two Baltic countries.

What the reader learns of the fate of the Estonian people is serious and shocking enough. The authors have made use of an interesting method in their work. As a motto for each chapter they take a quotation from the "General Declaration of Human Rights" of December 1948 by the U.N. and against the background of this declaration, the Soviet actions are described. Thus page for page we read the story of Soviet slavery, torture, cruelty.

Through this juxtaposition we get a striking picture of a completely distorted, chaotic world. Whatever is positive in the U.N. Declaration of Rights is, on the Soviet side, a complete negation. Everything has been turned into the exact opposite of the intended good. And it is all proved, over and over again by hundreds of facts.

We learn that the Estonian people, which up to 1939 counted 1.125.000 inhabitants has, under 10 years of Rus-

sian dominion, lost some 15% of its national substance through execution, massacres, starvation and deportation, i. e. 185.000 of its inhabitants. Instead, over 300.000 Russians and peoples of Mongolian descent have been imported into Estonia. The Russians came in as conquerors, the Mongols were dragged there.

The author quite rightly points out that this fate has not only been meted out to the Baltic peoples. It was the same thing with the Volga Germans, the Chechen-Ingusen, the Crimean Tartars, the Kalmucks, who were all either exterminated or evicted from their homes and settled elsewhere.

In one thing we, unfortunately, cannot agree with the authors. They attribute this Soviet genocide to the idea of Pan Slavism, while in fact it is not the Slavs as such who are to blame for this continuous extermination but the Great Russians the Muscovites who are thus creating a new living space. The Muscovites rage in Slavic Byelorussia, Slavic Cossackia and Slav Ukraine in exactly the same way. These people are being deported or exterminated literally in millions.

Altogether Ukraine has lost in the course of 53 years of organized genocide, some 9 million of her inhabitants. All three Baltic States have a total population of 5½ million, so it is easy to reckon out how long it will take Moscow to make away with the last Balt. How long is the free world going to look on passively at all this? Z. P.

The Anti-Bolshevist Rally in London

On June 30, 1951 some 6000 people gathered in Hyde Park to commemorate the 10th anniversary of The Restoration of Ukrainian Independence. The rally was organized by the Ukrainian Youth Association in Great Britain which to-day has almost 3000 members.

Besides the Ukrainians who have come from all parts of the British Isles, also British spectators were present and many who had come to London for the Festival of Britain.

After a religious service and the blessing of the flags of the different groups, addresses in English and Ukrainian were read by representatives of the political and general organizations, as well as representatives of the Poles, Byelorussians, Slovaks, Czechs, Lithuanians and the British friends of Ukraine. They all warned the Western world that the menace of Bolshevism must be stopped as soon as possible.

At the end of the Hyde Park Rally a resolution was read in English and Ukrainian.

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Moscow's Fight Against "Bourgeois Nationalism"

The great wave of purges, which has been sweeping over the satellite states and the U.S.S.R. since the spring of 1951, has assumed horrifying proportions. According to estimates given by Mose Pijade of the Communist Politbureau in Yugoslavia (and he should know), this is a political campaign launched by Moscow on the same scale as the purges that shook the Soviet Union in the years 1935 to 1938.

Here are, however, differences. Fifteen years ago, the entire Communist party in the U.S.S.R., including Russia proper, was subjected to the purge. Now Russia proper is excluded, and the purge is limited to areas inhabited by peoples subjugated till 1939, and to the countries which became satellite states after 1945. The countries most affected are Ukraine, Turkestan, Azerbaijan and all the satellite states.

Another difference is that, 15 years ago, the purge and the Moscow show-trials shook the whole world. But today, though the numbers involved are as high, the effect on Western public opinion is not one tenth of what it was in 1935—1938. Facts are conscientiously recorded, but that is all. It is no longer a matter of principle, but a problem of statistics. "There is no evil to which we cannot get used", says a Russian proverb. The West seems to have got well used to this evil.

The motives behind the latest purge are of particular interest. It is carried under the slogan of "Down with bourgeois nationalism"! It is no longer a fight carried on by a Stalin clique against this or that "right" or "left" deviation; it is not a fight of the Communists among themselves over the interpretation of Marx-Lenin dogmas,

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The Promise of Siberia

By Kirilo Siberyak

"I don't fear Siberia, Siberia is also a Russian land" — are the words of a Russian song and the Russians like to sing it. Unfortunately, their masters from the Kremlin not only like to sing but still more to act as if Siberia and many other countries of the world were Russian. It is little consolation for us to realize that today Russians from Moscow like to act as if the entire world were Russian.

The Meaning of "Russia"

However, contrary to world-wide opinion, our Siberia has never been Russian, historically and ethnically. To avoid confusion I must stress that by "Russians" I mean the Muscovites. I must point out the fact that "Russia" is a confusing term. "Russia" (Rossiya) was a Greek term to designate the ancient state of the Ukrainian people — the Kievan Rus. In this sense "Russia" was the cradle of the Ukrainian people. The cradle of what we mean by "Russian" people at present was Muscovy, called "Russia", because the founders of the "Russian empire" not only desired to appropriate the history and traditions of the old "mother-city of Russlands", but also to prepare Muscovite expansion on the lands of old Kievan Rus. By right the name "Russia" and "Russian" belongs to the Ukrainians and I still wonder why the latter so easily renounced their old historic name, of which they were deprived by an insatiable Moscow.

Siberia and U.S.A., a Parallel

Speaking of Siberia, I must point out the fact that the origin and development of our country and people show a close and striking resemblance to that of the U.S.A. Therefore, to maintain today that Siberia is Russian is the same as to maintain that the U.S.A. is — British! The American nation owes its origin to colonizing activities in which British, Dutch, Swedes, French and Spaniards bore a share. However, the British share was a preponderant one and the British secured a controlling influence in the development of the U.S.A. As to the Siberian nation in its true sense, the country of Siberyaks owes its origin to the Cossack conquest and to the colonizing activities by many freedom-loving people from Eastern Europe, chiefly by Poles, Ukrainians and Byelorussians in the past and by many others (Balts, Caucasians, Turkestanians, etc.) at present.

The share of the Muscovite serfs in the development of Siberia was very insignificant and, therefore, Siberia of today, is far less Russian than Massachusetts or Pennsylvania were British at the time of American Revolution.

Early History

The Cossacks, and not the Russians, conquered Siberia, which had been under Tartar Khans since the 13th century. It comprised the Khanate of Sibir, and the capital was situated at Isker on the Irtysh River, near the present town of Tobolsk. When there was a clash between the Siberian Tartars and the merchant activities of the Novgorodian Stroganov Family, A Cossack Yermak was called in to help. This "Pizarro of Siberia" began the period of expansion in 1581; another Cossack, Deshnev, developed it till it reached the Pacific in 1648. The rapid conquest is accounted for by the circumstance that neither Tartars nor Turks were able to offer any serious resistance. In 1607—1610 the Tunguses fought for their independence, but were subdued about 1625. Around Lake Baikal some opposition was offered by the Buriats, but in 1650, another Cossack, Khabarov, set out into the Amur valley. The Chinese resisted him and brought Cossack progress to a stop by the Treaty of Nerchinsk, in 1698. Further expansion along the Amur River had to wait till the middle of the 19th century, when, in the treaty of Aigun in 1850 the Chinese recognized as Russian all the country on the left bank of the Amur.

Cossacks Conquerors

Few of us know that the conquerors of Siberia — the Cossacks — consider themselves a separate ethnic group, distinct from Russians. People who have been used to think in terms of Russian imperial mythology cannot think of Russia without remembering the Cossacks of "Russia" and fighting all the enemies of the White Tsar in Moscow. It is true that this warlike and freedom-loving people worked sometimes as frontiersguards for the Tsar of Moscow, but it is true, too, that at other times they attacked the Tsars in bloody uprisings (Razin, Bulavin, Pugachow), which nearly brought about the destruction of the Russian Empire. The fact is that the Cossacks are the descendants of the native Slav population of Northern Caucasia which,

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during the Middle Ages, formed a powerful state of its own — the Principality of Tmutorokan, very loosely connected with old Kievan Rus. This principality fell a victim to Tartar invasion in the 13th century, but at the time when the Moscow princes were clever in winning the good favors of the Tartar Khans, the Cossacks resisted the invaders and formed independent semi-military communities — in the lower Don as Don Cossacks and along the River Ural (Yaik) as Yaik Cossacks. The Cossacks acknowledged no law except that of their elected councils executed by elected Atamans, responsible to the Cossack council. This democratic system had nothing in common with the iron rule by Moscow tsars, and the Cossack communities considered themselves fully independent of Moscow, maintaining only legations there. However, as result of unsuccessful risings against the tsars of Moscow, the latter were able to tighten their grip on the Cossack lands and to deprive them of their independence. In 1917, the Cossacks of Don, Kuban, Terek, Astrakhan and Ural declared once more their independence of Moscow and fought with arms against Soviet-Russian supremacy. At present, the separatist movement is very strong among the Cossacks and they aspire to the establishment of a sovereign state, Cossackia, which would include all lands with a prevailing Cossack population.

Pioneers in Siberia

By far the largest parts of the Siberian population are not the descendants of the Cossack conquerors. Early in the 17th century there were no more than some 20,000 Cossacks in the whole of Siberia. Just before World War I, they formed four Cossack armies ("voyskos"). There were the Siberian Cossack in Western Siberia, the Transbaikalian Cossacks around Lake Baikal and the Amur and Ussuri Cossacks in the Far East. Following the Cossack conquest, many freedom-loving people left their ancestral homes and set out for Siberia in search of freedom and a fresh start in life. Many who were unwilling to submit to the iron rule by Moscow tsars made their way to Siberia, and Siberia looked to them as the Far West of the U.S.A. to such people in America. The composition of those early settlers showed a strong resemblance to that of the U.S.A. There were hunters and fishermen among them, seekers of gold and silver, ranchers and farmers, merchants and industrial laborers. Besides, the central authority of Moscow sent compulsory settlers into Siberia: prisoners of war (Swedes, etc.), convicts, exiles and sectarians. Most important among the sectarians were the Old Believers ("starovery") who, under the leadership of the Protopope Avvakum, maintained the superiority of old customs and traditions in the Russian Orthodox Church. Those descendants of the pure Slav population in Muscovy did not accept the reforms of the Patriarch Nikon in the 17th century which aimed at subordinating the Russian Orthodox Church to the imperialist policies of

the Russian tsars and, therefore, were severely persecuted and massacred by the tsars.

Very many Ukrainians

In the vastnesses of Siberia which were not easily accessible to the henchmen of Moscow tsars, the Old Believers found freedom to worship in their own way, and to live according to their own traditions. Another important group of compulsory settlers were the political exiles. They gave Siberia a tone of its own. This tone was their freedom-loving uncompromising spirit which extended throughout our country, especially in its cities.

In the early nineties of the last century, Siberia received a new influx of voluntary settlers. These were farmers, most of them Ukrainians and Byelorussians who settled in the Far

A.B.N. fights for the liberation of Siberia and its independence

East and South of Siberia. As a result of this immigration, the Far East ("Green Edge") and the South of Siberia ("Grey Edge") became chiefly Ukrainian. In some districts they formed over 80 per cent of the entire population. This cannot be overlooked as the Ukrainians are the bulwark of anti-Russian and anti-Soviet nationalism. In 1918, a third Ukrainian Congress convened in the city of Khabarovsk. It decided that the Far Eastern territory populated by the Ukrainians be recognized as part of the Ukrainian state. Later, Ukrainians were among the staunchest supporters of the Far Eastern Republic.

Recent Immigration

The years of collectivisation and the subsequent policy of persecution of Ukrainians, Cossacks, Byelorussians, etc. have resulted in a new influx of non-Russians in Siberia. Even the Soviet sources (The Economic Geography of the U.S.S.R. from 1940) pointed out that "during the last twelve years (1926—1939) there was a considerable migration of people from the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the Byelorussian S.S.R. to the industrial centers of the Russian S.F.S.R., especially in new manufacturing centers". Due to such migration, population of the Ural region, of Siberia, and of the Far East increased by 5,900,000". The influx of the new immigrants was still bigger during World War II, and continues even now. Hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian workers, engineers and technicians are forced to leave their homeland and ordered to transfer to Siberia. The same policies are carried out in the Baltic lands, in Byelorussia, in the Caucasus and in Turkestan. Thousands of new prisoners of war (Germans, Japanese, Italians, Rumanians, Hungarians, etc.) were forced to remain in Siberia. Besides, there are

millions of slave laborers in detention camps, which form huge slave labor territories. Slave labor territories in North Siberia are completely isolated and even the native hunters are not allowed to enter them. The population of those slave labor camps is estimated at 10 million (in Siberia) and most of them (over 90 per cent) are non-Russians according to Prof. Ernst Talgren, himself a former prisoner in one of these camps (1940—1942).

Increased Population

Consequently, the population of Siberia increased rapidly. In 1911 it was put at 8,719,200. It numbered about 10 million at the outbreak of World War I. Twenty years later it was more than 25 millions. Today it is estimated at 40, or even 45 millions, not including political prisoners in the camps of detention. The vast majority of this population is non-Russian. It presents different racial stock: Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Cossacks, Balts, Poles, Caucasians, Turkestanians, Azerbaijanians, Idel-Uralians, Germans, Jews, etc. Being of different racial stock, the new-incomers feel as Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Balts, Germans, etc. However, if they remain in Siberia, they begin to feel as the Siberyaks. There is no doubt that the second and older generations already feel like that. Anybody who knows the conditions in the U.S.A. understands what I mean by such feelings.

Native Tribes

Some 25 per cent of the Siberian population are the Siberyaks of the second and older generations. They call themselves "Siberyaks" and consider themselves a distinct nationality from the Russians. The analogy with the Americans is striking. They are the descendants of early conquerors of Siberia, early settlers and their native wives and of new immigrants. Besides the European population of different racial stock, there are also nearly 170 groups of native population and certain groups of these have features that show a strong resemblance to those of the American Indian. One people is definitely Mongol in type and speaks the Mongol language. These are the Buryats (900,000) in the Lake Baikal area, closely related to the Mongols of Mongolia. In the Middle Lena valley there are over 300,000 Yakuts, who are an outlying group of peoples speaking Turk. There are Tartars in the Altai mountains (Oirots) and in the Irtysh valley of Western Siberia. The old Asiatics bearing a strong resemblance to both Eskimos and Indians live in the North, North-East and East of Siberia. Besides, there are some 100,000 Jews in Birobijan, a Soviet-made "national home" for the Jews in the Far East.

Thus, Siberia much resembles America and the Siberyaks — the Americans. Like America, Siberia is a new country, rich in natural resources, in energy and in promise. Its size, its high-pitched activity, its youthful exuberance are typically American. The

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U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.

By P. G. Andree

American Unity

Let us start with a little game; suppose an enemy were to land in United States territory, in Alaska, Texas, California or Connecticut. Everywhere he would find Americans, speaking the same language, all feeling and reacting like Americans.

If this enemy were to announce that he had come, for instance, to liberate the State of Texas and the Texan people from the dictatorship of Washington, people would laugh at him, and all Americans, whether from Texas, California, Connecticut or Alaska would do their best to drive him out of the country.

Russian Parallels

Now, suppose an enemy were to land in the territory of the U.S.S.R., in the Union Republic of Turcomenistan, or Aserbaijan, or Ukraine, or Latvia, he would find a different nation in every one of those parts of contemporary Russia, a people with a language of their own, traditions of their own, and quite different reactions. If this enemy were to tell them that he had come to make good Russians out of them and give them a new, good Russian government, they, too, would laugh at him, and ask him what a good Russian or a good Russian government mattered to them as Latvians, Ukrainians, Aserbaijanians or Turkestanians; nor would they consider anyone who approached them thus as a friend.

But if this enemy of the Soviet Union were to come to Latvians, Ukrainians, Aserbaijanians and Turkestanians and say, "We will give you the same rights that every people in the West has" he would be welcomed by these nations as a friend and a liberator, except perhaps for a very small group everywhere in the Soviet Union who are personally interested in maintaining the present regime.

Important Differences

What does all this mean?

It is a dangerous simplification to compare the United States of America with the Soviet Union of Socialist Republics, only because these great powers are both, federal unions in form, and because, therefore (apart, of course, from their system of government), the situation is the same in both.

When a Latvian, Ukrainian or Caucasian emigrated to the U.S.A., he did so of his own free will, desiring to become a hundred per cent American as soon as possible, and he was then proud of his American citizenship.

When Latvians, Ukrainians, Aserbaijanians or Turkestanians became Russian citizens, they were forced to do so because their country was conquered by Moscow. They will not recognize the government of the Soviet Union, or any other Russian central government as their government, but only as an

alien dictatorship which they were forced to accept.

That is the first difference.

Soviet Union Based On Compulsion

The United States of America is a voluntary union of free people in free communities, these — and this is important — being called "States"; they are parts of one and the same great nation, namely, the American nation. If a free plebiscite were held in the U.S.A., it would make no difference to this state of affairs.

Things are not so simple in the Soviet Union, where propaganda, false ideas and slogans used in class strife throw dust in the eyes of outside observers. In Soviet opinion, only part of the population is politically of age and entitled to express its views; it is prepared to say "yes" to all Soviet demands and desires. This must be said in order to explain why 99.9 per cent of the votes in all plebiscites held in the Soviet Union are in favour of present conditions there. It is true that, by constitution, the Soviet Union is also a voluntary union, but we must not forget that the adjective "voluntary" was applied in Moscow, after Ukraine, the Caucasian Republics, Turkestan and other Republics, Turkestan and other areas had been conquered by the Red Army in 1918-21 and after the same fate had overtaken the provinces of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania after 1940. The "free will" of the Constitution was therefore established, and will be maintained by force of arms.

If a really free plebiscite were to be held in the separate parts of the Soviet Union, it is most probable that the population there would not vote for the continuance of the Soviet Union. Up till now it has been impossible to gain such proof, as all attempts in this direction have been suppressed at great sacrifice on the part of those concerned.

Furthermore, the communities that constitute the Soviet Union, i. e. the Union Republics, are not parts of the same, homogenous area, say of Russia, but territories settled by different nations. More than 50% of the population of the Soviet Union are non-Russians.

The Soviet Union, therefore, does not possess the common national denominator present in the United States of America; but it tries to compensate for this lack by creating the fiction of a homogeneous Soviet nation. Russian exiles do the same when they speak of an imaginary Russian people (rossiysky narod), erroneously translated in Western languages as "Russian people". There is a Russian people, but no Russian peoples, no Russian family of nations, no Soviet nation, no nation of Russia. Clear thinking on this point would save much misunderstanding and annoyance. But both the Soviet Union and Russians in exile assume that people abroad accept their fictions and repeat them out of ignorance.

These, then, are further differences.

Some Erroneous Views

Other traditional views, sometimes expressed by Americans, also require to be rectified.

It is, of course, much more convenient to imagine the world as a simple entity, and not to pay heed to complications, just as it is simpler to count in round figures instead of in fractions. Unfortunately the accounts presented us by the world are not always in round figures.

Let us consider, for instance, the advantages of extensive economic areas. It would probably be more practical from the economic point of view if the American continent were an economic unit. But this is not the case, probably because the states of Latin America would not then be able to hold their own. But nobody dreams of forcing a united, and perhaps more efficient extensive economic area on those states. In the Soviet Union, on the contrary, which is geographically speaking a continent, the unity of a big economic area is upheld against the interests of the peoples who inhabit it; it is even propagated by Americans (cf. George Kennan: "U.S.A. and the future of Russia", in 'Foreign Affairs', April, 1951) who assert that Ukraine for instance, is just as much a part of Russia from the economic point of view "as Pennsylvania is of the United States". This as we have pointed out already, is an erroneous comparison, for Pennsylvania's position in the United States is not at all that of Ukraine in the Soviet Union, or as Kennan has it, in Russia. If we wish to talk of extensive economic areas, then it would be nearer the mark to say: Ukraine, or Caucasia, or Turkestan might be part of Russia from the economic point of view in the same way as Mexico, the Argentine or Peru might be part of the U.S.A., provided they so desired.

And this, I think, leads us to a critical point.

Public opinion in America regards the legitimate national efforts of the nations in the Soviet Union as chauvinistic and separatist, because it is easier to speak simply of Russia than of the many different nations that are included in the frontiers of the Soviet Union — the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, the Baltic and Caucasian nations, the Turkestanians, etc.

Why Different Measures?

If I am not mistaken, American public opinion reacted differently to cases that are fundamentally the same as ours. Movements for liberation in India, Pakistan and Indonesia secured the approval of American public opinion, though it might have been more practical from the economic point of view to have left those countries as they were — in the British or Dutch Colonial Empires. If American opinion was right in these cases, it is hard to understand why other measures are applied to Russia and the Soviet Union; the desire of people there for freedom is stigmatized as "Chauvinist separatism"

which would do better to accept Russian hegemony than to shake the "historic frontiers of Russia", divide the country up, or destroy such an "excellent economic unit".

Chauvinism and Separatism

Let us consider separatism and chauvinism for a little, beginning with the former. Contrary to the situation in Indonesia or India, the struggle for national liberty in the Soviet Union is so bitter, entailing such enormous peril for the individual, that it imposes rigid discipline and demands unequivocal expression. That the controversy knows no compromise is the result of measures adopted by the opponents and not by the protagonists of the movement for freedom. Surely this is not chauvinism. We can talk of separatism only when part of a homogeneous national whole tries to secede, if for instance, the State of Texas or California should attempt to secede from the U.S.A. But it is surely not correct to talk of separatism when, for instance, Ukrainians, the Caucasian nations or the Turkestanians wish to liberate themselves from an alien regime. Was it separatism when in 1905 the Norwegian people decided to dissolve peacefully their union with Sweden? Was it separatism when Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, and Rumanians demanded their own national homes after the collapse of the Empire of Austria-Hungary? Surely not.

George Fischer, an American journalist (cf. his article "The Vlassow Case" in 'Der Monat', 1951, No. 54), for instance, speaks only of extreme separatist and chauvinist movements when describing the nationalist movements in the Soviet Union, and he calls their refusal to join a committee under Vlassow, a Russian, "malignant". Were the movements for freedom in the Philippines, India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia extreme separatist and chauvinist movements? Were their efforts to achieve independence "malignant", or was American public opinion, which obviously sympathized with these efforts "malignant"? Obviously not. And sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander . . .

Stalin's Methods

Stalin is perhaps not a sympathetic person, but he is no blockhead. Would such a man, with the enormous powers of a centrally governed state at his disposal, give himself the great trouble to pacify, at least in form, the nations living in the Soviet Union by granting them republics, constitutions administrations, and to take meticulous consideration of them, if he did not deem it practical and necessary? Stalin probably knows the proper strength and value of the national movements among the nations living in the Soviet Union. He tries to control them by making them formal concessions, and when that does not suffice, he applies methods of the M.V.D. and "mass murder". But the Western world will have nothing to do with these last two methods, even in connection with the peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

Another Face of Russian Communism

By Dr. D. Donzov

In the West it is believed that Communism, as propagated by Moscow, is a new social order; the object in itself by which the revolutionary suppression of the "rich" i. e. the bourgeois, in favour of the "poor" i. e. the proletariat, is to be attained.

In reality and, as the Russian Bolsheviks look at it, Communism is quite another thing. It is not the object of a social class movement by the means of a national, Russian-political idea, but an idea which arose under the Tsar which they used no less than the Bolsheviks as a method for purely Russian expansion, preaching also a struggle of the oppressed against the oppressors.

During the Polish revolt 1863 the Tsar's envoy in Poland, General Muraviov, "the hangman", incited the Polish peasants against the great landowners (the instigators of the revolt). The startled West European ambassadors reported from St. Petersburg that "the Tsar had become a Communist" and was encouraging the poor peasants to take possession of the property of the nobles to divide among themselves.

And that was not even the only example of Communist policy (against the "rich") instigated by the Tsar. Just as in 1939 the Bolshevik army invaded Galicia to liberate the poor peasants from the rich Polish landlords, the Tsarist army entered that country in 1914 exactly for the same purpose.

In 1917 the Bolsheviks attacked Ukraine in order to overthrow the socialist government, the so called General Secretariat of the Republic, with the excuse that the General Secretariat was composed of generals, landlords and other bourgeois who were exploiting the poor peasants in favour of the rich, — the Kulaks, Tsar Peter I appealed to the common people of Ukraine against the Ukrainian nobility when the latter with Hetman Mazeppa at their head made an alliance with Charles XII of Sweden against Peter I. He, the Tsar of the rich, in a country where serfdom existed, paraded as the protector of the common people of Ukraine which at that time knew nothing of such bondage. (It was first introduced by Catharine II).

The so-called Muscovite "Slavophiles" (middle of the 19th century), all followers of Tsarism, harangued in their writings against "rotten Europe", against its bourgeois in particular, which was "oppressing" the common people". Dostoyevski expressed his desire to the Frenchman M. de Vogul to see bourgeois Paris destroyed either by her own proletariat, or by the Russian army. All these Khomyakovs, Aksakovs, Leontyevs — most of them tsarists and with proprietary rights over their own people —, urged the Tsar to put an end to all thought of legitimism and start a revolution in West Europe. They all dreamt of an "Imperator Spar-

acus", such as Dostoyevski and Lermontov foresaw. The well known satirist, Saltykov, the Russian Swift, nearly 100 years ago painted a fantastic portrait of Tsarist dignitaries who were sent to communistic barracks (Falansteres) in which all free citizens went to bed at the same time, ate and drank to the minute and were to increase and multiply. This was not only theory, for Arakcheyev, one of the ministers of the "liberal" Tsar Alexander I who had his father Tsar Paul murdered, actually founded such Falansteres, so-called military settlements, where the peasants cultivated the land under strict military regulations.

For a West European who sees only social class warfare in Russian Communism it is incomprehensible from whence these Communist tendencies of the Tsar, his dignitaries, his writers and ideologists arose.

Another phenomenon still more incomprehensible for the west-European, is that while many white Russians were enthusiastic about the idea of Communism before 1917, now red Moscow attacks many Communists, for instance Ukrainian Communists of 1919 to 1920, the Serbian, or Dimitroff Communists in Bulgaria. All that can be easily explained, for the Russians fraternize with the lower classes of other nations when they revolt against their own authorities.

On the other hand, however, as soon as these classes have the power in their own hands Russia goes against them. In both cases it is the object of the Russians to destroy the leading classes and make of the nation a "bellua sine capite"; a herd without a shepherd will fall all the more easily to the Muscovite saviour.

Whatever class of society it may be which has the leadership of a nation that is to be liberated. — nobility, bourgeois, priests (Tibet!) socialist intellectuals, working classes, rich peasants or even a Communist party which is all too independent from Moscow, that class must be fought against. If the poor are the under-dogs in such a nation they are used to destroy the rich who have the upper hand. Should, the poor happen to be on top, then it is the poor who have to be destroyed. It is no question of poor and rich but of who is on top and has the power. A nation that is to be liberated must lose its leading caste in order to succumb to Moscow's leadership. Class warfare is a mask; the Communist idea is merely a tool in Moscow's hands to achieve its national political conquests.

That is why the White Russians under the Tsars longed for an "Imperator Spartacus" to call forth a revolution of the masses in the world; that is why the red Russians make their Spartacus emperor to rule over the wandering herd absolutely, in the name of Muscovite messiahship. Communism is merely his weapon.

Attitude of the A.B.N.

to the "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia"

A "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples in Russia" was formed in Stuttgart by parties of political Russian emigrés, under the leadership of Alexander F. Kerensky, notorious as the Prime Minister of the short-lived Provisional Government in the first months of the Revolution of 1917. The "Council of Liberation" was constituted after the amalgamation of five parties of purely Russian exiles, who maintain that they represent democracy.

This "Council" does not seem to have a broad foundation, as Russians in exile are known to be split up into at least thirty parties, some even say forty-nine. At the press conference afterwards, A. Kerensky stated that the aim of the "Council for Liberation" is to destroy Bolshevism, perhaps without another world war, by means of an internal anti-Bolshevist revolution. This aim is to be realized in three stages: the first stage is to be a campaign of propaganda when the "Council" will distribute leaflets and will broadcast speeches in order "to inform the population of the U.S.S.R. about the real evils of Communism".

Kerensky's "Propaganda Drum"

Mr. A. Kerensky proposes to drum propaganda throughout the entire area of the U.S.S.R. What a man, who has lived for the last 34 years in the safety of exile in the West can tell people who have lived just as long directly under the tyranny of Bolshevism, is not clear. Nor is it clear what kind of liberation can be expected from a leader like A. Kerensky who, when things got dangerous in Russia, fled abroad from Lenin, wrapped in voluminous skirts.

It also seems that Mr. A. Kerensky at the suggestion of his foreign patrons intends to renew his rights "as a Russian Prime Minister still in office" and to form a Russian exile government.

The "Council" declared that it does possess the right and the power to speak on behalf of the nations of Russia, though not a single representative or party of these "peoples of Russia" is, or wishes to be, represented in it.

American Help

It is not the first time that these or those parties of Russian exiles have joined to form a "great committee for liberation"; there have been numberless such actions in the 54-year history of Russian exile. So this formation of exiles would not have been of particular interest if, this time, it had not been backed by certain American "private circles". They give this latest Russian "liberation council" a certain international status and — their money.

A purely "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" has been formed, too and will support Kerensky's Council in all its efforts. The president of the "American

Committee" is Mr. Eugene Lyons; Reginald T. Townshend is executive director and John F. B. Mitchell Jr. is counsel. Its members include William H. Chamberlain, Charles Edison, William Y. Elliot, Allen Grove, Isaac Don Levine and William L. White. The American Committee is organized "to provide advice and guidance, when asked, and to make available to the Russian Council" such funds as it has. The "American Committee" is taking over the whole seventh floor at 6 East Forty-fifth Street, New York City, N. Y.

Anyway, the funds put at the disposal of the Kerensky's Council seem to be sufficient to operate in Munich a big Russian broadcasting station, like that of "Radio Free Europe", and to print much propaganda material. A large house in the Augustenstraße, Munich, has been acquired and equipped for Kerensky's Council and is now the scene of great activity.

Repudiation by the Peoples Oppressed by Russia

The creation of Kerensky's Council has met with very little sympathy from the peoples of Eastern Europe, both in exile and most surely also at home. As soon as the news of its formation was announced, it was greeted by a shower of repudiations, the first of those being sent in by the circles of monarchist Russians in exile.

But the negative attitude of the national organizations of the so-called "Peoples of Russia" whom Mr. Kerensky proposes to "liberate" is much more important. On August 4, 1951, for instance, a Press Conference was summoned in Munich by the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.). On this occasion the A.B.N. stated that the 22 peoples it represents, who live under the rule of

Moscow in the U.S.S.R. and the satellite states, categorically refuse to have anything whatever to do with Kerensky's Council. These peoples do not wish to be liberated by the Russians, but from them. For these nations, the only way to destroy Bolshevism and to liberate the nations oppressed by Moscow and restore peace to the world is to completely disintegrate the Russian Empire into the national states that compose it. The peoples in the A.B.N. do not believe in the possibility of a Russian democracy; there has never been such a democracy in all the 700 years of Moscow's history, nor does the psychology of the people of Moscow lead one to hope for such a possibility in the future. The peoples in the A.B.N. cannot see why they should remain in the Russian union of states even after the collapse of Bolshevism. For them, Kerensky's activity is only the attempt of certain circles of Russian exiles to save the unity and the continuity of the Russian Empire at any price, once Bolshevism has been destroyed. Rentered wise by bitter experience in the past, these peoples do not for one moment believe in the sincerity of Russian "democratic" and other "liberations".

The oppressed "peoples of Russia" have had too bitter experience of Russian "democracy", particularly in 1917/18, to be duped again by the promises of Kerensky & Co. All promises made by Moscow have always come at a moment of Russian weakness in order to disarm and paralyse its opponents. When once it has recovered, Moscow has always renewed its pressure and annulled all former promises and concessions. Every Russian "movement of liberation" inevitably has ended in the more severe totalitarianism and the dictatorship of Russians over other peoples. This must be avoided in the next war, or revolution.

Such were the opinions expressed by the Central Committee of the A.B.N. The resolutions passed on August 24 1951 are appended.

Resolutions

The Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) announces its attitude to the so-called "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" as follows:

1. There are no "Peoples of Russia" within the Soviet Union. That state includes a Russian people within its ethnographic frontiers, and the following non-Russian peoples: Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Turkestanians, Cossacks, Idel-Uralians, Georgians, Armenians, Aserbaijanians, North-Caucasians, Siberians, and others. They do not live on Russian soil, but each on its own ethnographic territory.

These non-Russian peoples were subjected to Russian imperialism by force.

They still continue their fight against Russian imperialism in its present form of Bolshevism, and

struggle for their freedom and their political independence.

2. The term "Peoples of Russia" is a symbol for ancient Russian imperialism which has not changed, and a violation of the feelings of non-Russian peoples. It is intended to lead the Western World deliberately astray, and actually helps to maintain the despotic structure of the Soviet Union.
3. The attempt on the part of Russian exiles to speak on behalf of these is an abuse of the rights of non-Russian peoples, who have long had their own organizations for achieving national liberty, which alone are entitled to represent these peoples.
4. The organizations of Russian exiles which have joined to form the "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" cannot claim recognition as representing non-

The Promise of Siberia

Continued from Page 2

Siberyak is a pioneer and enterprising, and he loves his freedom. He has much in common with the American pioneers including such traits as enterprise, courage, boldness in planning. And even if this Siberyak speaks some sort of Russian, he does not want to have anything to do with the Muscovites, for whom he has utter contempt. The Soviets know of this attitude of the freedom-loving Siberian people and they chose to appease the Siberyaks in order not to provoke them against the Kremlin. Apart from the camps of detention, there is much more freedom in Siberia than in any other country of the U.S.S.R.

Struggle for Independence

However, the Siberyaks have always aspired at autonomy and separation from Moscow. The prevailing freedom-loving spirit of the early settlers and political exiles and the influx of freedom-loving Poles and Ukrainians contributed much to the development of the Siberian "separatism". In 1917, the Siberyaks established a government in Omsk which demanded autonomy for Siberia. Unfortunately, the Allies in the First World War did not understand the movement for the disintegration of the Russian empire. In Ukraine and in Cossackia, in Turkestan and in Siberia they gave their full support for the forces striving for the restoration of the "Holy Mother Russia", of the one and indivisible Russian empire. In Ukraine and in Cossackia the Allies supported the tsarist reactionary Gen. A. Denikin with arms and war material instead of supporting the democratic Ukrainian government and the

Russian peoples, even if a few disillusioned or paid persons have declared their readiness to cooperate. The only genuine claimants to recognition as representatives of non-Russian peoples are the representatives of these countries who take active part in their national organizations for liberation. What is necessary is not the "Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" who do not exist, but the liberation of these peoples from their oppressor, Russia, and uncompromising opposition to all attempts to re-erect the Russian dungeon of nations in any form whatsoever.

5. The peoples oppressed by Russia, who are united in the A.B.N., are fighting for the dissolution of the Russian dungeon of peoples, whatever its form — whether totalitarian or democratic, republican or Tsarist — and the formation of independent, democratic national states in their ethnographic frontiers; they repudiate all cooperation with Russian imperialists, no matter their species, and they will continue this fight to realize their ideals, regardless of the attitude of official circles in the West.

Ukrainian army fighting Soviet Russian aggression. In Siberia, the Allied expeditionary forces and their subordinate Czecho-Slovak force helped the tsarist Admiral Kolchak to power as "Supreme Ruler of Russia" instead of supporting the thoroughly democratic Siberian government. In Ukraine, Gen. Denikin fought with British arms the Ukrainian armies formed to oppose the Bolsheviks, and thus helped the Bolsheviks to create "a single and indivisible Russia" now engulfing nation after nation. In Siberia, the White guards of Adm. Kolchak, allegedly fighting against Communists, fought in the first instance against the Siberian separatists; they claimed that all their opponents were Bolsheviks. In December 1918, Kolchak, having secured Allied support, dispersed the Siberian government in Omsk.

The Far Eastern Republic

After Kolchak's defeat in 1919, it was an ex-lawyer of Chicago — Alexander Krasnoshchekov — who believed that a separate government should be set up in Siberia; he tried to do so without antagonizing the Japanese, who held power over a large part of Eastern Siberia. Thus, the Far Eastern Republic was formed by the will of the people, as expressed through its duly elected representatives; it guaranteed to all classes of society "the democratic liberties that safeguard the peaceful development of social forces" — to quote the Declaration of Independence of the Far Eastern Republic drawn of in April 1920.

The Role of Japan

The creation of the Far Eastern Republic was not in the interest of Japanese imperialists. They decided to intervene and to set up a Japanese civil administration in the Far East. They supported Ataman Semyonov, half Russian, half Buriat, one of the most hated followers of Adm. Kolchak and set him up as a Japanese puppet. A patriotic popular movement rose against the Japanese and their puppet. The Siberian patriot Tripitzin formed a Siberian guerilla army and fought the Japanese with success. The Japanese placed a price on his head, but were not able to catch him.

Under Allied pressure the Japanese were forced to leave Siberia. Now the Far Eastern Republic faced the Soviets. Early in 1922, the Red Army invaded the Far Eastern Republic which ceased to exist on Nov. 17, 1922, when Kalinin issued a proclamation which merged the Far Eastern Republic with the Russian S.F.S.R.

Recent Development

Siberia's importance increased immensely when the Soviet Government turned its attention toward the Pacific and Asia as a whole. New industrial centers were built up in Siberia, a sign of the Soviet "Drang nach Osten", shifting the center of gravity to the East. Consideration of national defence

received first attention in this gigantic enterprise. The labor for these gigantic projects was "contracted" by the N.K. V.D. and Siberia became a huge prison, covering millions of sq. miles, the largest in the world. The capital of this huge slave Empire — Magadan has now more than 1 million "inhabitants", mostly slave-laborers and their guards. It is evident that the population of Siberia has increased recently at the cost of non-Russian nationalities and these are the staunchest enemies of the Kremlin.

Strategic Importance of Siberia

Once the world has become a many-ringed circus of conflict, one of the most glaring spot-lights has suddenly gone up in Korea. This is an area that has always been a traditional zone of Russian imperialistic expansion. For long years Russian armies struggled there in the time of the tsars; now Moscow has made greater headway in our time in the disguise of Communism. Siberia is an immensely essential factor. It has vast strategic importance for the Russian empire. By the possession of Siberia, the U.S.S.R. qualifies as a potential world power, because it controls an impregnable and self-sufficient land-mass stretching from Central Europe to the Pacific Ocean and beyond to the very shores of the U.S.A. This continuous land-mass is not only a strategic redoubt, but also a strategic base for Soviet aggression in different directions. Thus, thanks to Siberia the U.S.S.R. is a Near Eastern, Middle Eastern and Far Eastern power. Siberia, too, makes the Soviets direct neighbors of the U.S.A. Through Siberia the Soviets have an easy access to China. And because of Siberia, the U.S.S.R. is also the leading Arctic power, a fact which acquired great importance with the advent of the continent-spanning airplane.

Its Future Role

The Future role of Siberia is closely linked to the plans U.S.A. have for combatting the Soviets. At any rate Siberia soon may be the battlefield upon which the future of mankind will be decided and perhaps the final act of the world drama may be enacted. Therefore, U.S. policy makers must pay the greatest attention to this area and its population. According to the principles of psychological warfare, it would be advisable to exploit the anti-Soviet sentiments of the Siberian population, which consists of freshly imported Balts, Poles, Ukrainians and Byelorussians, Caucasians and Turkmens, and, combining them with the local separatist movement of the Siberyaks, to help in promoting a sort of American Revolution in Siberia and in establishing the United States of Siberia. These would comprise separate and theoretically sovereign states of the Urals, Western Siberia, Siberian Cossackia, Central Siberia, Southern Siberia ("Grey Edge"), Mongol-Buriatia, Yakutia, Birobijan, Altay, Oirotia, Transbaikalia, the Far East, Sakhalin, Kamchatka which are joined together by a federal government in Nove-Sybirsk (federal territory) and with national reservations for native peoples of

Hungary, Moscow's Military Spring-Board

By Lt. Szabo

The political situation in Hungary has recently become very critical in consequence of the condemnation of Catholic church dignitaries, including Archbishop Grösz, and of the deportation of about 10,000 inhabitants of Budapest who lost their houses and all their belongings within 24 hours.

As a direct consequence of the Grösz trial, the "presidial council" of the Hungarian People's Republic issued a law, saying that archbishop, suffragan bishops, bishops, coadjutors, abbots, and the leaders of the church in the provinces may be appointed only with the approval of the presidial council. This means, of course, the liquidation of the Hungarian Catholic Church by Moscow, where the opposition of the clergy in Hungary was most unwelcome. So Bishop Hainvas, who succeeded to the office of Archbishop Grösz, no longer directs the destiny of the Hungarian Catholic Church, but Beresztoczy, and Lajos Szécsi, two new priests appointed by Moscow. Both have been excommunicated by the Vatican. And the courage of the Hungarian people leads us to expect that such measures will not help either Beresztoczy nor the red priest Szécsi, who were trained for this political function in the Church in Moscow, to do their duty.

Hungarian propaganda attempts to make light of the inhuman deportations from Budapest. The broadcasting station of Budapest announced a list, according to which only barons and counts, general and big capitalists were to be evacuated. They did not say that 80% of the evacuees were old pension-

ers, unemployed and politically unreliable workers.

The economic position of the average Hungarian is determined by two factors: the production target to be reached every day, and food rationing cards; — the raising of the target, political intrigues in the factory, tickets for milk, bread, meat, cheese, etc. in an agrarian country like Hungary — are the main concerns of the Hungarian workman's daily life. Work-brigades, consisting of "volunteers" who work for nothing, are making an underground railway in Budapest on the plan of the metro in Moscow, which is to be the "most modern underground in Eastern Europe". Two thousand guilders have been ear-marked for the project, and 85,000 tons of iron, 30,000 tons of iron cement and 150,000 tons of cement are estimated to be necessary. No one, of course, mentions that the directors of the construction are soviet engineers, Savelyev and Danilia by name, or that its object is purely a military one. The intention is to make two tunnels for express underground trains, under the level of the Danube, able to transport 60 waggons of war material or 45,000 men per hour.

Enormous sums are available for military purposes, but the Hungarian people's standard of living is very low. A place like Szombathely, the capital of a country with 30,000 inhabitants, for instance, has not a single hotel or a bed for a stranger. ("Ludas Matyi", Budapest, p. 6, dated 26. 7. 51.)

In the military field the Soviets are trying to strengthen their own position in Hungary and to organize a powerful

Hungarian satellite army under "General" Stefan Bata. By the end of 1951, the standing army is to be increased from 110,000 to double that number, an enormous effort for a country with a population of 8 millions. Rigorous measures bring in plenty of recruits, but their "fighting morale" is a matter of concern for the Soviets. During manoeuvres last autumn, there was such confusion among the units "in the battlefield", that the soviet Russian general in charge called the entire performance off and ordered the companies to return to their headquarters.

A flood of arms and armaments of all kinds pours into the big army arsenals of Budapest and Szeged. To simplify training, Soviet Russian technical terms have been introduced into Hungarian service regulations. After reorganization, the Hungarian army will comprise the following active units:

- 8 infantry divisions,
- 1 armored car division and,
- 1 division of paratroopers,
- a Communist elite division of 8000 reliable Communists, half of them being paratroopers who are stationed at Pécs, near the Yugoslavian frontier.

It is worth mentioning here that certain armament materials probably reach Hungary via Italy, such, for instance as American motor vehicles, jeeps and scarce raw materials like wolfram, aluminium and nickel ("Ost-probleme" Bad Nauheim No. 29, dated 21. 7. 1951, p. 879).

The exact number of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary is not known, but Soviet units, who exercise great reserve, are garrisoned in every Hungarian town of any size.

In Pápa there is a Soviet military aerodrome, with many bombers and fighting planes; the first relays of Soviet jet planes landed here recently.

In Somlohegy Soviet anti-aircraft troops are stationed, to protect the triangle of Veszprém, the centre of Hungary's heavy chemical industry, from "attacks by Western capitalist aggressors".

In Komárom there are Soviet motorized artillery units, estimated at about 4-5,000 men. There is also a munition dump in the town.

The garrisons of Szombathely, Sopron, Körmend and Kőszeg are moving in the direction of Szombathely — Czéldömölk — Pápa, in accordance with manoeuvres usually held at this time.

2,500 men have been called to the manoeuvres from Körmend, leaving a garrison of 250 men. A Russian military broadcasting station remains in the town, also a unit equipped with "Stalin organs"; the Soviet general Tschibere is the commanding officer during the manoeuvres.

There is a large garrison in Szekesfehérvár and additional quarters have been requisitioned.

North-Siberia. This is how the late Commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), Gen. Taras Churylnka, saw the situation and projected the development, arguing: (1) the desire to get rid of Russian domination is not smaller now in Siberia than it was in 1917-1920; on the contrary, it has increased by the influx of many non-Russian populations into Siberia. (2) The masses of political prisoners should be stimulated and exploited in promoting of these developments; (3) Siberia as a sovereign state with the heavy industry of Magnitogorsk, Kuznetsk, Stalinsk, Komsomolsk and Magadan, with the oil of Sakhalin and Khlyma, with the belt of black earth in the south and the gold mines in Yakutia would be a completely self-sufficient area, its riches and communications would be made available for the entire world; (4) the deprivation of the Russian empire of Siberia would mean a blessing for humanity, as Russia's pressure on the Pacific and Eastern Asia would once and for all be removed.

By the realization of this gigantic project our Siberia would cease to be

the backwater of history and would become a factor of first-class magnitude. It is not illusory: Siberia has never been an organic part of Russia and the Siberyaks have always belonged to a world different from the Russian. This fact may some day prove to be of decisive importance for the future of mankind. Consider well the effects of a sort of American Revolution in Siberia! Today's huge prison covering millions of sq. miles would be a free country rich in natural resources, in the bold and enterprising activity of its freedom-loving people, in the energy and promise of new developments!

We are curious to know whether the power of the foremost nation of the western hemisphere — of the United States of America — is able to cope with this gigantic project? This may well prove the salvation of Western civilization in case of a world-wide war. But for the Siberyaks, the United States of Siberia is only a symbol of the struggle on the huge stage of the Sibirian wastes at the present time: in camps and in mines, in factories and in forests, on the kolkhoz fields and in the cities, everywhere.

From behind the Iron Curtain

ALBANIA

FEVERISH RUSSIFICATION

Now that political and military tension is reaching a climax in the Balkans, Albania's importance for the Soviet Union has greatly increased. The Communist government is strengthening pressure and measures of russification in the hope of overcoming the opposition of the inhabitants, which has been expressed in recent years in a series of acts of terrorism. The Pravda correspondent in Tirana published a comprehensive report of these measures on 6, 8, 1951, which runs:

"The experiences of Soviet Russia are being studied and introduced in all provinces of economy and culture in the People's Republic of Albania. This year the Society for Albanian-Soviet Friendship has arranged dozens of conferences for workmen, peasants and members of intellectual professions; they were addressed by the best workmen who apply the experience gained by Soviet Stachanovists. A mass conference was held lately in Tirana, organized by the same Society. The director of "Enver Hodsha", a metallurgical concern, gave a lecture on technical Standards in industry in the Soviet Union. Working people in Albania show great interest in the study and adoption of Soviet experiences, that help them to build up a new life."

ARMENIA

COMMUNISTS DISCONTENT WITH LITERATURE

The plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist of Armenian party discussed the further development of Soviet Armenian literature. Comrade O. Mamykonian, president of the section for art and literature in the communist organisation in Armenia, enumerated in his speech all regulations issued by the central committee for the successful development of Armenian literature after the war.

But in this republic as elsewhere, tendencies have appeared which the powers in Moscow consider dangerous. "Literaturnaya Gazetta" No. 76, dated 28. 6. 51, describes the dangers of modern Armenian literature for the ideas held by the people, says:

"Thanks to suggestions and support from the party organisation in the Republic, writers in Armenia have taken up cudgels successfully against reactionary bourgeois nationalism, manifestations of formalism, against paucity of ideas, cosmopolitanism and lack of interest in politics."

But Comrade Z. Hyphorian, who is secretary of the Central Committee of

the Communist party in Armenia, remarked that there are certain deficiencies in contemporary Armenian literature due to its enthusiasm for the historical past and its frank, unscientific idealization of the same. Life in ancient Armenia, he said, is unfortunately described without any reference to class dissensions, and Armenian rulers are described as progressive and national heroes, while the reactionary part played by church and priests is not mentioned. This idealisation of the past greatly impedes Communist education of the working classes.

ASERBAIJAN

AGAIN OF DANGEROUS BOOK

In Aserbaijan as elsewhere, the Soviets are much concerned with the spread of nationalism; it is increasing among intellectuals as a result of russification.

In the "Literaturnaya Gazeta" for 7. 7. 1951 there is an interesting analysis of the extent of this "dangerous" and "deleterious" movement which has infected even the cultural and political apparatus of the republic.

"There are proofs in Aserbaijan literature that many old works containing anti-Marxist views are being uncritically idealised for their bourgeois attitudes."

One of the most glaring examples of this tendency is Kütaba's "Dede Korbut", an injurious book which was forced on the Aserbaijan people by scholars for a long time.

At the eighteenth congress of Aserbaijan's Communist party, Comrade M. Bagirow, the secretary-general, said: "Certain leading critics and writers do not display the necessary political vigilance and responsibility... and have propagated this injurious book. "Dede Korbut" is not a national epic. The whole book is a eulogy of the Ogus and nomad tribes, then the reigning class, who came to Aserbaijan as plunderers and murderers. The book is thoroughly steeped in the poison of nationalism. Nevertheless, some leading men of letters have endeavoured to establish "Dede Korbut" as a national epic. H. Arasly, for instance, wrote in an article that was published in 1958:

"The epic of "Dede Korbut" is an ancient monument of the folklore of Aserbaijan. It is rich in content, and has great artistic qualities which place it alongside the most important epics in the literature of the world. In the simple language of the people it describes life in the tenth and eleventh centuries; it reflects the heroism, the thoughts and nature of the people."

The same errors were repeated and developed by Professor M. Rafily. He, for instance, wrote: "The heroes of this ancient national epic of Aserbaijan

are characterized by deep patriotism, national feeling, nobility and heroism." It was a grave political error on the part of the leaders of the Academy of Learning and the Institute for Literature in Aserbaijan to publish this book.

One of the chief tasks of our leading critics and men of letters is to fight indefatigably against bourgeois and national distortions in the study of our cultural heritage, and to reveal in the history of literature and folk-lore all hostile ideas as set forth in Stalin's great works on philology."

DISCOVERY OF SHORTCOMINGS

The plenum of the central committee of the Communist party in Aserbaijan discovered at its August meeting in Baku "considerable shortcomings in party work".

The editorial staff of the two papers, "Communist" and "Bakinsky Rabochy" was sharply criticized. The papers seldom publish articles of propaganda nor do they generalize the experiences gained by propaganda work.

"To generalize experiences" is an expression in the language of Moscow meaning to apply Russian working methods to non-Russian countries. These methods are not welcomed either by freedom-loving members of non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union or by many Communists in party organizations who have hitherto collaborated with the Russians.

BYELORUSSIA

INADEQUATE BOLSHEVIST VIGILANCE

In recent times the Soviet press has been devoting increasing attention to the activity of Byelorussian institutions and Soviet organisation in the Byelorussian Soviet Republic. Many shortcomings in party organisations and Communist propaganda have been discovered and severely criticized.

The "Pravda", in its number of July 7, 1951, reports that the general meeting of the Communist party in the Voroshilov ward of the town of Minsk attacked the program of the Byelorussian Academy of Learning. It was alleged that the political training of the scientific members of the Academy was most unsatisfactory, that of young people backward and neglected. Work within party organisations was said to be on a very low level; the party office did not prepare or carry out meetings. There was little or no criticism and self-criticism among active Communists and too little was being done to train young adherents.

But these shortcomings are not merely local. In a report of 18. July 1951, dealing with a general meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist party in Byelorussia, the "Pravda" states that organizations of the party exercise little vigilance towards the fate of the harvest, they neither take proper care of the seed, nor do they attend to the gathering-in of the har-

vest. This was said to be true of the areas of Witebsk, Mohilev, Gorodon and Minsk.

It is, above all, significant that Communist leaders are also dissatisfied with the activity of the Komsomol and criticize it severely. The "Pravda" states that at the same meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist party, serious faults were revealed in connection with the education of youth and the leadership of young Communist organisations.

These examples prove that the party apparatus has not succeeded in making the Byelorussian people abandon their passivity towards Communist methods of education and in influencing them as desired.

* "READERS ARE ASTONISHED . . ."

The "Pravda" of 9. 8. contains a severe criticism of the "Svyasda", a paper in Byelorussia.

"We regret to announce that this paper has in recent times provoked serious disapproval from its readers. Readers of the paper are astonished that its editors should obstinately avoid dealing with ideological problems. Its editorial staff is quite indifferent to these, particularly to the most important of them, viz., the theories of Marxism and Leninism. The editors avoid dealing with questions like the tendencies of Byelorussian literature and the production of individual writers.

At a recent party conference of the Society of Byelorussian writers, a discussion was held about an article in the "Pravda" entitled, "Against ideological distortions in literature." In commenting on this conference, the editors of the papers in question did not dare to mention the name of M. Tank who was censured for having translated into Byelorussian the dangerous poem "Love Ukraine", written by V. Sossyura.

These serious shortcomings on the part of the "Svyasda" can be explained only by assuming the absence of the proper creative spirit, an uncritical attitude to work and a lack of ideas in the editors."

CROATIA

NO TITO TROOPS FOR THE U.N.

When the United Nations passed a resolution that all member states should provide troops to defend the organisation, many agreed. Tito, however, refused, alleging that pressure on the Yugoslavian frontiers from communist states had never been stronger than now.

True as this statement is, there is another motive behind Tito's refusal: a Communist state, be it Stalin's or Tito's, cannot risk putting part of its army under non-Communist leadership. The reactions to such an object lesson in democracy might be very dangerous for the stability of the government at home. Up till now, Tito's "support" of the West has consisted in saving his own skin and maintaining his dictatorial regime. Except for this,

Tito's foreign policy has been entirely negative. It has not launched a single measure dictated by the desire for a just settlement of internal strife or a regulation of foreign affairs. This need not astonish us when we remember that the continued existence of Tito's regime and the fiction of the Yugoslavian state depends on party dictatorship.

*

BARREN POLEMICS

A Soviet Russian delegation under Molotov and Marshall Schukov took part in the celebrations arranged for the anniversary of the "liberation of Poland". In the speech he held on 21. 7. Molotov attacked Yugoslavia sharply: "Everyone can see what a fate has overtaken Yugoslavia, now in the hands of spies and provocateurs who have sold the Yugoslavian people to American and English imperialists. Everyone realizes that the Tito-Kardel-Rankovic-regime has introduced capitalism into Yugoslavia once more, thus making the country a willing tool in the hands of imperialist aggressors. The Yugoslavian people detests this criminal regime which illegally seized power and maintains it by force and fascist methods. This state of affairs cannot last. The Yugoslavian nations will find the way to freedom and destroy Tito's bloody regime. That is why we must be obdurate towards the enemies of the world proletariat, and why freedom-loving nations must remain faithful to Lenin's teaching."

On 24. 7. the broadcasting station in Belgrade replied to this speech by announcing that the Yugoslavian people had found its own way and that Stalin's way of freedom was not necessary. "Our people has not the desire to exchange its freedom for Soviet Russian occupation."

Molotov's hint that "this state of affairs cannot last long" fully deserves the careful attention it received in the Western press. It suggests that Yugoslavia would become a new centre of danger if Soviet Russian military and political activity should be transferred from South-East Asia to Europe.

This recent exchange of polemics between Belgrade and Moscow need to give cause for alarm. Molotov's statement that "the peoples of Yugoslavia hate this criminal regime", and that it "seized power illegally and holds it with the aid of terrorism" is just as true as Belgrade's reply that Yugoslavs have no desire to exchange their present position for Soviet occupation. The truth is that the present state of affairs is not a state of freedom, as Belgrade mistakenly believes. The nations in Yugoslavia have no leanings towards either Belgrade or Moscow. They wish to secure their democratic freedom by self-determination.

ESTONIA

DISSATISFACTION WITH THE PRESS

The sovietization of the non-Russian republics in the U.S.S.R. is meeting with difficulties. The "Pravda" publish-

ed on 6. 7. 1951 a sharp criticism of the "Rachwa Chajal" (Voice of the People), an Estonian newspaper, accusing it of systematically neglecting its main function, that is, of indifference towards problems of Marxism and Leninism and towards the political education of the masses. It also criticises the provincial paper for not taking note of new publications of Soviet Estonian literature and of ignoring the literature of "brotherly" Soviet nations: the "Rachwa Chajal", it is alleged, does not keep its readers sufficiently informed about cultural events in brotherly republics, or with the best works of Soviet literature which propagate mutual friendship among those republics and Soviet patriotism. The paper is reproached with having published no reviews of books which were awarded the Stalin prize in 1950.

But one of the paper's most heinous offences in the eyes of the "Pravda" is that the point of view taken in commenting on events in the western world is not Communist — things, for example like the lower standard of living among working people in Scandinavian countries, their feverish race for armaments with the support of the U.S.A.; also the struggle of progressive circles in Finland for peace and their rights of living have not hitherto been mentioned at all.

This is not an isolated report. But it proves that the Politbureau in Moscow is not satisfied with the rate of sovietization in recently affiliated non-Russian republics and that its speeding-up is meeting with resistance.

HUNGARY

VIOLENT MEASURES BY THE SOVIETS

According to a communication from "Slobodna Vovvodina", the organ of the people's front of the Vovvodina, a state of siege was declared for the town of Cegled, and 18 persons were arrested, after several acts of sabotage had taken place and the telephone cable of the Russian garrison in the town cut through. Soviet troops were not content with these measures, broke into the people's houses, raped women and girls and handed them over to the Commander of the garrison as "spies".

LATVIA

LATVIA UNDER SOVIET'S COLONIAL STATUTE

More and more products of Latvian industry are being transported to Russia — electro-motors, transportable power stations, telephone equipment, machinery, linoleum and other commercial goods are being taken away for use in Russia. In exchange, Stakhanov workmen from Leningrad are teaching Soviet methods of working to Riga labourers.

At the present, the Riga Opera House is producing the old Russian opera,

"Life for the Tsar". It was composed in order to strengthen the Russian people's devotion to their Tsar and to teach them to sacrifice their lives for the Tsar, if need be, as is done by Ivan Sussanin, the hero. To conceal the reactionary tendency of the opera, it has been re-named "Ivan Sussanin". But the contents have not been altered. The opera is abused today to inspire the Latvian people with feelings of devotion to the Red Tsar.

Documents have been discovered in the Latvian State Archives which "reveal the activity of Anglo-American imperialists in the years 1918-1919". The "Pravda" of 6. 7. comments hereon as follows: "These documents show that the prime movers in the plan to make an anti-Soviet block out of the Baltic States were Anglo-American imperialists. General Berts, at that time the head of the British Military Mission in the Baltic, organized this block, which existed till 1940 when Latvia's working people, with the help of the entire Soviet people overthrew the hated regime of the Ulmanis clique and re-established Soviet power in Latvia."

Anti-Anglo-American agitation in the Soviet Union, which is particularly active in non-Russian republics in the Union, and which draws much support from the alleged attempts of the British and the Americans to colonize these areas, began, significantly enough, with the Preliminary Conference in Paris. It should help to prove that "the readiness to come to an understanding" which the Soviets have displayed since last January is really intended to divert attention from their actual aims with the help of diplomatic manoeuvres, and to gain time for prewarating for them.

LITHUANIA

INCREASING INDUSTRIALIZATION

The Soviet press is now drawing conclusions from the fact that practically all the peasants in Lithuania are organized in an agricultural cartel. There are 120 Machinery and Tractors Stations (M.T.S.).

The transformation of an agricultural country into an industrial one is progressing, industry, for instance, constitutes 55% of the entire economy of Lithuania.

The last fact means, when translated from the language of the Soviets, that Lithuania's economic resources are already being largely utilized for armaments to defend Russian imperialism.

POLAND

PURGE IN THE ARMY

A new Soviet Russian "show" trial marks a climax in the program to eliminate from the Polish army all whose past might lead to suspicions of loyalty towards Moscow, and who might therefore take part in resistance.

Nine higher officers were accused in Warsaw of having prepared an "armed coup"; their names are General Stanislaw Tabor-Tatar, General Franciszek Herman, General Jerzy Kirchmayer and General Stefan Mossor, Col. Marian Utnik, Col. Stanislaw Nowizki, and Col. Marian Jurezki, Major Vladyslaw Roman and Lt. Szczepan Vazek. They are accused of having entered the service of the Warsaw government in 1945 after they had been in contact with British and American government agencies. General Tabor-Tatar and Col. Utnik, who were sent on a mission to London by the Warsaw government after the end of the war, are alleged to have brought to Warsaw instructions for the continuation of their revolutionary activity in their own and the Soviet Army in 1949 after being on leave. Plans for the coup are said to have lain in the hands of General Tabor-Tatar and General Kirchmayer. They are accused of having planned to put "agents" in party offices, to encourage desertion and acts of sabotage against party functionaries, to re-admit in the army officers known to be hostile to the regime and put them in key positions, to isolate Polish troops from their Soviet units and to give information constantly to the Anglo-American Intelligence Service. Their aim and commission was to establish a regime which, like that in Yugoslavia, was to be under the control of the Anglo-American imperialists.

After a trial that lasted for 10 days, the generals were summarily condemned to imprisonment for life, the colonels to 15 years, the major to 12 years and the lieutenant to 10 years imprisonment.

The Communist government of Warsaw evidently hopes to break resistance in the country by such terrorist methods and by abusing the forms of justice.

FLIGHT TO SWEDEN

According to a report from Stockholm, a Swedish ship towed a Polish mine-sweeper into Ystad harbour on August 2, after mutiny had broken out on the mine-sweeper. Twelve Polish sailors had shut up the officers below deck. The mutineers said they were political refugees and sought asylum. They were placed under the protection of the Swedish police, and the Polish boat went back to Poland with the rest of the crew.

On August 4, 4 Polish refugees, including one woman, landed on an aerodrome near Malmö. They, too, had been forced to select an exceptional method of flight; they had seized an ancient plane that had been left on a Polish farm. The engine was in such a state that it seemed impossible for 4 people to fly to Sweden with it. The 4 refugees delivered up their arms and put themselves under the protection of the Swedish police.

During, and immediately after the war, Sweden has opened its doors to about 10,000 Polish refugees. Acts of desperation, such as the two just described, are characteristic of the political atmosphere of Poland today under the dictatorship of Communism.

SLOVAKIA

NEW SENTENCES OF DEATH

On 20. 6. 1951 a new anti-Red group of Slovaks was tried by the State Court of Justice. They were accused of spying for the Western Powers and of undermining the authority of the State in Czecho-Slovakia. The following were condemned to death: Jan Dlhý, formerly a secretary in the French Consulate in Bratislava and Vlad. Valeský. General Bodichy, formerly chief of Police in the Slovakian Republic, was condemned to 25 years' hard labour. The Underground Movement in Slovakia continues to spread; it is gaining influence above all in peasant circles. The convict camps in Yasov, Sastin, Sv. Benedikt, Podolinec, Sv. Anton, Kostolno, Hlohevec, Mocenok, Nováky and the one newly established in Eastern Slovakia are overcrowded. According to the latest information, about 300,000 Slovaks are thus detained. In addition, 20,000 Slovaks have been deported to U.S.S.R. and about 300,000 compelled to settle in Sudetland.

At the moment measures are being taken to transfer Slovak peasants to industrial areas in Bohemia.

THE CATECHISM LIQUIDATED

The catechism and all other religious writings have been removed from schools, libraries and bookshops.

Sermons are the same for all churches, the text being prescribed by the Communists.

The pastoral letter which is issued by the Communists discusses war, or peace, and Western war-mongers. Every parish priest must always apply for permission to hold a procession a fortnight beforehand, giving the number of people expected to attend.

The inhabitants of the community of Koliwa, Livice district and many people in the neighbourhood attended church on the Feast Day of St. Peter and St. Paul and were forced by members of the S.N.B. (Red Police) to leave church and work in the fields. A working brigade must attend to potatoes and beet crops every Sunday.

AGRICULTURE THREATENED

Smallholders, called the wealthy people in the village, are ordered to deliver more than double the quantity they actually produce. If they fail to reach the target, they are accused of sabotage, their property is sequestered and their holding converted into a kolkhose. But if they wish to avoid being swamped in a kolkhose and deliver the required quantity of produce, that does not save them. The commission that takes over the produce, finds all sorts of deficiencies, such as flies and beetles in grain; the farmers are accused of having spoiled their produce deliberately in order to damage the Communist regime. The holding becomes a kolkhose, the peasant is put into some factory or employed as an ordinary agricultural labourer.

TURKESTAN

REGULAR RUSSIAN FORCES IN EASTERN TURKESTAN

Immediately after the Chinese Communists occupied Eastern Turkestan as a result of the coup d'état in September 1949, Russian regular troops numbering 23,000, including the 9th, 7th, 11th motorised divisions and 40th Army unit, were stationed in three Provinces of Ili, Chudhek (Tacheng), Altai; some units of 11th and 40th division between Urumtsi, the capital of Eastern Turkestan, and Kucha; the 7th division between Hami (Kounoul) and Shing-Shingsha and Kansuh. Furthermore, the Russians then forced Chinese communists to recognise as a Chinese State Army all the troops who were stationed at Ili and were under the command of Russian military officers, who insisted that the Chinese should give them authority to increase the army and raise it to be a corps.

After having obtained this authority, they recruited more Russians and called these units "5th Army". A Russian officer named Laskin was appointed Commander of a division and this was confirmed by the Chinese Communist authorities. As this army is familiar with the geographical situation in Eastern Turkestan (so the Russians said), it had to fight against the Basmachis of Usman Batur and Yolbars. By this manoeuvre the army was taken out of the three provinces and stationed at strategical important points in the South of Eastern Turkestan, according to reliable information. At the same time Communist China was urged to reduce the size of the Chinese army in Eastern Turkestan.

The Chinese army here which has been financed by the Russians was ordered to obey Russian commanders instead of General Wang Chen, Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese army in Eastern Turkestan. This state of affairs annoys the most sincere Communist, General Wang Chen, when he sees himself a puppet commander without a command and real authority.

The enquiry mission about minorities, who arrived from Peking in September 1950, were surprised at seeing a special unit with a special slogan and catch words, which were neither Russian nor Asian "Chinese". When the Chief of the Mission asked him "who are these?" General Wang Chen replied: "they are the 5th division of Ili National Army". Let me throw some light on the facts of Ili National Army: the Russians began to set up plans to occupy Eastern Turkestan when the Chinese Nationalist Government who for 30 years (1923—43) had been unable to establish a firm rule here, established it by concentrating more troops. To this the Russians answered by entering into a treaty with Ali Khan, a prominent scholar of Ili, and promised that if he could lead the people and launch a revolution against Chinese rule, they would help and recognise his independence. The rebel Ali Khan with his followers, after defeating the Chinese,

occupied Ili, Chudhek and Altai, which contain the rich mineral fields of Eastern Turkestan containing gold, petroleum, wolfram, uranium etc. The Russians then disguised themselves as pro-Chinese helping them against the rebels, but at the same time working as mediators between them and the Chinese Government; they insisted on the Chinese recognising these three provinces as a separate autonomy. In a treaty of 11 clauses signed by both parties as a result of their mediation, it was stated that the Ili army should be recognised as a Chinese army. The rebels should have full right to appoint all military, civil and administrative officers, the Chinese Government to permit the Ili autonomy to keep a division of 12,000 men. In this way the Ili National army came into existence.

*

SHER MUHAMMED BEK

News has reached us, that the former Commander-in-Chief of the Turkestanian national forces, Sher Muhammed Bek, has gone to Pakistan. There are few Turkestanians who do not know Sher Muhammed Bek. His name is of great importance to our national armed resistance and we Turkestanians are proud of him. To us he is a hero and to the Russians he is a terrible bogey. Especially during the years 1918—23, these decisive years of our national fight for freedom, they learned to know what a dangerous enemy he is. Until now, they consequently have called him "the leader of bandits", but they forget, that they themselves at that time begged him to negotiate with them. They even seem to have forgotten, that the so-called President of the Turkestanian Soviet Republic Nizam Khodja asked Sher Muhammed Bek to work with the Soviets. Nizam Khodja on this occasion said: "I have been nominated as a leader of the Government and you also now must work with us." Sher Muhammed Bek answered: "Do you as the leader of the Government also control the Russian military staff in Tashkent? If so, give orders to the Russian troops to leave our country at once. When this is done, I will be at your disposal." Sher Muhammed was not a "bandit" but a Turkestanian soldier, who fought against Russian oppressors. He was chosen Commander-in-Chief by his countrymen. For 28 years he lived as an emigrant but he has never forgotten his home-country nor have Turkestanians forgotten him.

*

INCREASED ABSENTEEISM FROM WORK ON KOLKHOZ'

Almost every edition of Soviet newspapers gives account of absenteeism in the collective farms in various districts. Non-participation at the cotton harvest has assumed enormous proportions.

One of these newspapers in its edition of September 1950, stated that in the region of Voroshilovabad in Tadzhikistan only 63% of the peasants, who had been detailed to take part in the cotton harvest, came to work. In this district only 40% of the members (peasants) from the Kolkhoz "Pravda",

60% from the Kolkhoz "Stalin" and only 50% from the Kolkhoz "Qahraman" took part in kolkhoz work and the cotton harvest.

The newspaper further states that in the Kolkhoz "Gorki" (which heretofore enjoyed a very good reputation) there is also absenteeism i. e. out of 36 able-bodied men only 20 turned up at work. The same things can be said of the Asonglu brigade. Out of 35 able-bodied men only 18 go to work. The daily net production of each individual peasant is only 36 lbs. of cotton. The daily average output per person as laid down by the Government is 140—150 lbs. As is apparent from the Press, not one of the kolkhoz workers collects more than 40 lbs. per day.

According to the Press, the same state of affairs exists in the regions of Tadzhikistan, Stalinabad, Hojand (Leninabad), Kulab and almost all districts of Uzbekistan, in all regions of Kirgizia, e. g. Osh, Jalalabad and Frunze, in many districts of Kasakhstan and Turkmenistan.

UKRAINE

Ossyp Dyakiv (O. Hornovy) †

The Ukrainian Liberation Movement has suffered a severe blow which can only be announced now. Ossyp Dyakiv (O. Hornovy) was killed in a fight with Soviet M.G.B. troops in November 1950 at a place in Ukraine. He was an office-bearer in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) — an underground movement in the home-country. He was an eminent publicist and a supporter of the modern democratic views of Ukrainian nationalism. Above all, he was concerned with the problem of the friendly cooperation of the nations of Eastern Europe and Soviet Asia as independent states, after the collapse of the Russian empire. He was surprised at his work in a fortified, underground bunker by M.G.B. troops, and as he was not only a man of theory, but a fighter, he immediately seized a hand grenade, and was killed at the early age of 31.

*

"PROSPEROUS UKRAINE"

Soviet documentary film in technicolor, which was shown in Italy and France in 1950, and in the United States early in 1951, was shown in Moscow in July 1951, but only to an invited audience. In Ukraine itself, the film has not yet been shown. It is so blatantly full of distortions and lies, that it would only provoke scornful laughter in a Ukrainian cinema. It is arrant nonsense, not a documentary on a prosperous Ukraine.

*

THE STAKHANOW MOVEMENT

Does not appear to have struck deep roots in Ukraine, as is obvious from the report of a debate on the workmen's cadre at a meeting in June 1951 of the Supreme Council of Soviet Ukraine. Provincial agencies were sharply cri-

ticized for having "criminally neglected the Stakhanow Movement". Some telling statistics were quoted, which is an unusual procedure in the U.S.S.R. These stated, for instance, that in the Poltawa district there were 27,000 Stakhanowists, i. e. scarcely 2.8% of the working population, in Kharkiw, 87,000 (3.6%), in Kyiv 43,000 (3.1%), in Odessa 30,000 (2.9%). As elsewhere, these "champions" are most unpopular with the population. The Supreme Council complains particularly of the absence of young workers in the Stakhanow Movement, alleging that they are prevented from joining by "illegal pressure" and "lack of understanding". Such frank criticism points to sharp personal attacks and purges in this direction in the near future.

DELIVERIES OF GRAIN

Seem to be as unsatisfactory in 1951 as they had been in former years. This is the conclusion drawn from the propaganda offensive that has been launched this year in connection with deliveries. The services of press, radio, and film have been requisitioned, and there has been a flood of meetings and forced resolutions. The entire Soviet propaganda apparatus in Ukraine is working under the motto: "Deliveries are the citizen's first duty". "Old sins" or, to put it more accurately, the old resistance in Ukrainian country to Moscow's policy of exploitation, comes to light in this connection. It was emphasized that "last year's shortcomings must not be repeated this year". It now became known that in 1950, the following districts were behind with their deliveries: 11 districts in the Volhynia area; 7 districts in the Dniepropetrowsk area; 9 in the Lviv area; 15 in the Woroshylograd area. It is significant that in autumn 1950 the Soviet press announced that the targets for these districts had been fulfilled. Also in the current year Soviet "reports of success" must be taken with a grain of salt.

"MORE IRON!"

Is the latest slogan of Soviet authorities in Ukraine. It was introduced when the "Josef Stalin" metal concern in Magnitogorsk challenged recently all metal industrial plants in Ukraine to a "socialist competition". Strict orders have been issued that the iron and steel plan for 1951 of the Ukrainian industries concerned, be fulfilled well before the date appointed; production is to be increased, the costs reduced, the quality considerably improved. As, if charmed by "love for Stalin" and "enthusiasm for work", the following industrial concerns in Ukraine announced that they will take part in the competition: "Leninruda". In the iron-producing district of Kryvy Rih "Dnieprostal", "Ferroaloy", "Zaporishbud", in Zaporoshe, "Azovstal", the turbo-combination "Shdanow" and a whole series of plants in the Donetz basin. Every day other plants announce their intention to take part. The leading organ of metallurgy in Ukraine reports as follows: "It is the duty of every one who is engaged in the metal industry to give our fatherland as much

Moscow's fight against "Bourgeois Nationalism"

Continued from Page 1

"Bourgeois nationalism" is merely the Communist party's synonym for **national patriotism** in the countries concerned, and is expressed in the increasing efforts of those countries for independence. It is Moscow's fight for the preservation of the Russian Empire. It is not a fight between classes or parties, but between nations.

It is interesting to note what classes of society are attacked by the purge. In Poland and Bulgaria, the victims are officers; in Hungary, officers, the remaining nobility, wealthy peasants and the Catholic clergy; in Ukraine, writers and artists; in Rumania, officers and well-to-do peasants. Everywhere it is the middle classes, the intellectuals, the clergy, the intellectually progressive that constitute the backbone of every modern, independent, national state.

The purge has been particularly severe in Ukraine. The criticism of "nationalist deviations in literature" that followed the "decade of Ukrainian culture" in Moscow was only a prologue to the severe purge that was carried out, especially in Western Ukraine. It is also significant that the masses of the people are affected even more than the leaders of society, or people of outstanding reputation. According to news which this paper has from underground sources, thousands of intellectuals have been liquidated — officials, engineers, teachers, technicians, young officers, artists, economists, etc. The Ukrainian people has once more, so to speak, got its "brain removed by operation", lest it should "get wrong ideas" in the event of another World War. In the Second World War, Ukraine proved to be most unreliable, although the country had no great sympathy with Hitler and the Nazis. The situation might become more dangerous if Moscow were to come to grips with the democracies of the West, as Ukrainians are particularly susceptible to democratic ideas of freedom.

The purge has had one interesting result — the entire Ukraine and the other countries affected regard this measure as a certain sign that war is not far off. All are convinced that this is a definite measure of mobilization, though in the negative sense. Ukraine expects war, and through war, its final liberation and independence as a State.

metal as possible, thus making it stronger and mightier; all powers must be pressed into the service of this great, patriotic task." —

Consequently, during recent months pressure on metal industries in Ukraine has been enormously increased, and brutal methods employed. The working-classes in Ukraine can explain this pressure only as preparation for war. It means, they say, that a great war is intended. Ukrainians hope that this will be the last war Russian imperialists will be in a position to wage.

Hungary, Moscow's Military Spring-Board

Continued from Page 7

A big dump of ammunition and gas tanks has been laid alongside the line **Veszerem-Cirez**, but so well camouflaged that it cannot be seen from the railway.

In **Pécs, Siklos, Harkámfürdo, Vajszlo** and **Sumony** schools and private houses have been requisitioned for troops; the Russian general **Saunonov** has his headquarters as divisional commander in **Pécs**.

In **Haymáskér** experiments are being carried out with steering armored cars by radar, new kinds of mines and projectiles. Military life is stirring, troops and material are being collected and garrisons re-organized. All Russian units have double the arms, munition and equipment that their strength warrants (s. "Hung. Research and Inf. Center — Weekly Digest of News from Hungary" New York, 9. 7. 51 and "Hadak Utam", Innsbruck, No. 7, July, 1951).

The resistance of the Hungarian people against the dictatorship forced upon them continues to increase, but open resistance is rendered impossible by the Hungarian political police (A. H.). Secret sabotage, all the more galling to the Communists, is admitted to exist. Even the Communist press in Hungary is obliged to censure severely in articles entitled "Self-criticism" the Hungarian workman's indifference and unsatisfactory morale. In a plant manufacturing building cement 1,112 workmen stayed away from work in one month without excuse; in the same month there were 538 absentee miners in **Szuhavölgy**. Communists consider that miners are particularly unreliable, and the Budapest district court had to make an example of one who was condemned to 11 months' imprisonment because of deliberate absenteeism. In the Danube-Construction Concern, 35,180 working hours were lost as a result of absenteeism and in May 1,352 workmen absented themselves without permission ("Weekly Digest of News from Hungary", New York, 9. 7. 1951).

Such self-criticism in the Hungarian press is cautiously expressed; nevertheless it does reflect the atmosphere of tension in the country.

In the village of **Pálosszentku** two policemen must guard the grain from attempts at sabotage by "wicked kulaks" . . . In the State Food Cooperative Stores in Budapest, the greatest confusion attends the allocation of food-stuffs . . . Too few activists and no applications for party membership . . . More non-members than members of the party are employed in the Hungarian Rubber Factory . . . (all from "Világosság", Budapest, No. 167 of 19. 7. 51). "Világosság" is the official organ of the Communist party of Soviet Hungary.

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"Intolerance Incorporated!"

By John F. Stewart, Chairman, Scottish League for European Freedom

In the *New Leader* of September 10th, there is an article with the above heading (without the exclamation mark, which is mine). The writer, Fred Forrest, is described as a former U.S. intelligence agent and veteran student of Soviet affairs. I think I may, without undue egotism, claim to be an "veteraner" student of Soviet affairs, and, certainly, with much better opportunities of acquiring knowledge, not only in the Soviet Union, but in all the Border States during the whole period between the two wars.

In any case, I cannot remember reading any article displaying more ignorance of the subject on which Mr. Forrest presumes to write and more complete distortion of historical facts. If this is a sample of United States "intelligence" it's little wonder that the United States has made such a ghastly mess of everything connected with Eastern and Central Europe and Russia since they entered the late war. I am sorry that the *New Leader*, which I have so long respected for a well informed journal, has given currency to such nonsense. However, there is abundant evidence that American public opinion, in Senate and House of Representatives and outside, is increasingly coming to realise the correctness of our estimate of the policy necessary to be adopted towards Moscow, including the closest cooperation with the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.-S.R.

Personalities of the Scottish League

May I first briefly refer to the Scottish League for European Freedom and its "eighty-year-old Chairmann (my humble self)", scoffingly alluded to by your contributor.

The Council, dealt with in the same spirit, is composed of a prominent Scottish peer, bearing a great name and inheritor of a great tradition of public service, a recognised authority on foreign affairs; the senior partner of one of the leading firms of mining engineers in the world; the Professor of Law at one of the great Universities; an ex-Australian Governor; two distinguished Members of Parliament, widely respected; a former Unionist Minister; a (now retired) very great Editor of an equally great national newspaper, with a quite unique knowledge of Russian, and Eastern European affairs; the head of one of the oldest

legal firms in Scotland; myself. I cannot help being 80 years old, but I have not yet reached the stage of the Bath chair and the armchair by the fireside. There is little change in the last forty years, and I am still the active director of the Scottish League and do a long day's work for it seven days a week. And, after all, 80 years of age does argue, unless one is a fool, knowledge of the world. It may interest some of your readers that, among other matters, I get correspondence and printed matter from many parts of the world, in seven languages that I understand, English, French, German, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese and Italian, in others such as Hungarian, of which I do not know a word, and in still others such as Ukrainian and Byelorussian of which I do not know even the letters. So it would appear that, from very tiny beginnings, the League's work has expanded and cannot be so lightly dismissed.

History of the League

The League was only formally established in 1944, but its work was continuously carried on from August 1939, when one or two of us correctly interpreted the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of that time and Russia's intentions. Our own great national newspaper's columns have been open to us ever since, have been freely used, and in no single case has one of our forecasts or statements ever been incorrect in the slightest degree, or has been seriously challenged.

My own claim to some little authority is based on the fact that, for over sixty years I have worked in many parts of the world, including United States, Canada, Newfoundland, South, West and North Africa, Spain, Portugal, Soviet Russia and the Border States, and the Balkan and other European countries. I have been on intimate terms with all classes of their peoples from Prime Ministers to dustmen, and have lived for months at a time in the Russian peasants' homes as one of them, over some thousands of miles of Russia.

And now to deal with Mr. Forrest.

Is Nationalism a Crime?

The Schuman Plan, Council of Europe, United Nations, Atlantic Pact and so on have shown and will continue to show the disagreements that

exist between different peoples; they provide good pulpits. Except communists and their fellow-travellers it is safe to say that every decent person in the world loves and is loyal to his own land first of all — that is nationalism, and it will be a sad thing for the world if it is ever eradicated.

I have the honour of the personal friendship of all the leaders of A.B.N., both outside and inside the iron curtain, and have members of them at my home when I can get them, as well as actual fighting soldiers of the Underground armies (U.P.A.). These armies and the Underground Resistance Movements could not have lived so long under the merciless attacks of Russia if they had not the support of the entire peoples. I know all the details of the formation of A.B.N.; that its paternity is "shadily Nazi" is completely without justification.

Every Nation's Right to its own Way of Life

The aim of A.B.N. is the wholly admirable one of each separate nation having sovereign independence and freedom to live its own life within its own ethnic frontiers, and this includes Russia. Has the U.S.A., Great Britain, or any one of the organisations mentioned above any right to force on non-Russia peoples (or any other) a Government and a way of living unalterably opposed to their own, all the more when it is accompanied by Russian-imposed slavery, torture, massacre and deportation? Surely not.

Resistance on Both Sides of the Iron Curtain

The Delegates of the Resistance Movements who are outside the iron curtain do represent these Movements and therefore their nations. They are certainly not self-appointed, but even if they were, it would be nothing new — many great movements in the world for good have originated with individual men (or women, look at Joan of Arc). I shall show their authority later. So far from the Ukrainian Resistance Movement having been formed under the patronage of Rosenberg or any German, its organised army (U.P.A.) was formed and fought the Germans, not when their power was waning, but at its height. Like all the peoples on Russia's western front, from

Estonia to Ukraine, when the Germans entered to attack the Russians they were welcomed as Liberators; as soon as it was recognised that they came as conquerors all these peoples organised to fight them.

The term "Banderites" was coined by both Russians and Germans in the hope of dividing the country and presenting a false picture to the West. Bandera, who is my friend, is the deeply respected leader and organiser of the present Resistance, but the Movement is Ukrainian, not personal.

The Ukrainians and the other 21 members of A.B.N. are anti-Russian, as your contributor says, but quite definitely not anti-Semitic.

Opposition to Russian Imperialism

I fully support the aims of A.B.N. in opposing, not just communism, a name only adopted by Stalin to delude the West, not Stalinism, but the centuries-old world enemy, Russian Imperialism, and it makes no difference if this is run by Tsar, Bolshevik, Communist, Kerenskyist or any other. It is Russian Imperialism from which these nations have suffered for centuries, and the Russian people, like all other people, must bear the responsibility for their rulers' actions. They are different from the Russians, none has ever accepted Russian domination, they were brought into the Russian Empire by force and fraud, and to term them "Separatists" is only silly and ignorant. They are nations.

The Formation of the A.B.N.

A.B.N. was formed, not in 1946 but in 1945 by representatives of 12 nations; it now consists of representatives of the following: Albania, Armenia, Aserbaijan, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Caucasus, Croatia, Cossackia, Czechia, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Idel-Ural, Latvia, Lithuania, Rumania, Turkestan, Ukraine, Slovakia, Slovenia, Serbia, Siberia.

The strongest of these nations is Ukraine, with a population of 45 millions and the richest natural resources of any country in the world for its size. In all, A.B.N. represents 180 million people, bitterly hating all Russia stands for, and has always stood for. Massacre, torture and deportation are not new or peculiar to bolshevism. Ivan the Terrible, Peter I, Catherine, Suvorov were Russians, not bolsheviks.

Russian Terrorism in the Past

Ivan the Terrible drowned 60,000 inoffensive men, women and children when he seized the peaceful little republic of Novgorod; when Peter, in his march of aggression, attacked Finland, he established the seven years period of massacre still referred to as the "Great Wrath — 1714 to 1721. At the same time he attacked little Estonia, which suffered equally during the same period, and Peter's general, Cheremetiev, was able to tell his master that "not a cock crowed or a dog barked between Lake Paipus and the Baltic," he had devastated the whole country. During that time the

Russian Chancellor gave orders that any Estonians who were captured were to have their noses and ears cut off. Catherine drowned 30,000 Cossacks in the Black Sea; Suvorov, sent to conquer Poland, among other atrocious deeds and massacres, destroyed the entire Praga district of Warsaw and its people, and sent the gratifying message to the Tsaritsa, Catherine II, "Peace reigns in Warsaw". Russian "peace" has always meant the peace of death. A list of similar atrocities could be extended indefinitely, and they are Russian atrocities.

The Germans as Conquerors

When the Germans attacked Russia in 1941, the promised to liberate all the enslaved countries, and in all they were welcomed as Liberators; when the Germans proved to be coming as conquerors, all the countries at once organised Underground Resistance Movements which continue in one form or another to the present day; at first against Russians, then against Germans and now again against Russians. Taking Ukraine alone, which seems to be the principal target for Mr. Forrest's animadversions, the Germans first began to remove all stocks of food. In one of his instructions to the Gauleiters under him, Koch states, on August 25th, 1943, "If there will be a shortage of foods in Europe, and if war conditions will require that someone has to suffer from hunger, it will certainly not be the German people. Confronted by a choice of whether it will be our countrymen in Germany who will have nothing to eat, or the Ukrainians, we will know whom to kill. There is no need to give the land to the population in Ukraine, it must be reserved for the Germans..."

When the Germans destroyed the small village of Lidice in Czechia, to avenge some comparatively trifling offence, and killed all its inhabitants, the world rang with horror. There were countless German "Lidices" in Ukraine and nobody cared. Here is one of them.

On July 14, 1944, in the village of Malyn, the people were driven by force into the local wooden church and burnt alive. Those who could find no room in the church were driven into the former village hall and into barns and burnt there too. All this was done by Germans, assisted by Poles, and in all 850 were burnt alive. The shrieks of the unfortunate people were heard about three miles away. After innumerable incidents of this kind, does Mr. Forrest still wish his readers to believe that the Ukrainians were pro-Nazi?

Ukraine's Resistance To Germany

It should again be emphasised that the Ukrainians did not wait for the tide to turn against Germany, but began to organise vigorous armed resistance immediately after their Declaration of Independence on June 30, 1941. The Germans arrested the leaders, shot many and sent the rest to concentra-

tion camps in Germany, among the latter being Stetzko and Bandera, who were sent to the notorious Sachsenhausen, where they remained four years and have the marks of suffering yet. Scores of thousands of men and boys, women and girls, were sent to slave labour in Germany. In short, Germany was attacked at the peak of her power.

Until a Constituent Assembly could be convoked, a National Assembly had been called, when Stetzko was appointed Premier, under the Presidency of the venerable Dr. D. Levitsky, who had been Premier in Western Ukraine in 1918.

Calumny refuted

"While one of A.B.N.'s major aims is the carving of a Ukrainian State out of Soviet territory, Soviet Ukrainians play almost no part in this whole Movement, preferring to join more democratic groups (separatists or federalist)." There are no "groups" except the Ukrainian Nationalist, and the term "separatist" is one of those used to discredit it. There is no such thing as "an impressive record of Stetzko's wholesale massacre of Poles, Russians and anti-Banderist Ukrainians. The Underground Army has fought Moscow-directed Poles, Russians, Czechs, Rumanians and Hungarians, and no war was ever conducted without killing on both sides.

Alfred Berzins, whom Forrest attempts to blacken along with his President, Ulmanis, was not only a Cabinet Minister in free Latvia, but is one of Europe's most brilliant economists. No doubt he did his best to confine renegade Latvian communists conspiring against the State — had he not done so he would have betrayed his country. Veli Kajum Khan is a very able Turkestanian leader, I know him very well, and he has often been my guest at my home. Many brilliant men of many nationalities have been educated in Germany, but Kajum Khan was no more a Nazi favourite than I was.

"When A.B.N. members converse with each other they do so in German, (thanks to their wartime service)." In what other common language would Forrest suggest they should converse? I do not suppose one of them ever heard of Esperanto! My own business connection with the countries of Northern, Eastern and Central Europe goes back over more than 50 years — probably before your contributor was born. I found that, in every single country German was the "common language", both with business men and all educated people. That was many years before Nazism was ever thought of or your contributor's "war service" even imagined.

There would be no "carving out" new States by any member of A.B.N.; all of them have traditions of free self-government going back many centuries.

Certainly, the whole course of Russian history, at least from the time of Prince Andrey Boholubsky in the twelfth century has been one of ag-

gression and the annexation of smaller neighbouring States by violence or fraud or both. In one period of 128 years Russia fought 97 aggressive wars.

Personnel of Russian High Command

As for the Russian High Command, including non-Russians, it is composed of the Politburo, the innermost circle of the inner circle of the Kremlin. The members are — Stalin, Malenkov, Bulhanin, Molotov, Mikoyan, Voroshilov, Beria, Kaganowich, Khrushchov, Shwerinik, Andreyev, and Kosygin; later have been added — Ponomarenko, Premier of Byelorussian S.S.R.; Popov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Moscow Communist Party; Pospelow, Chief Editor of *Pravda*; Suslow, Chief of Communist Propaganda; Shkiryatow, whose job I don't know. These are 17 in all — 12 Russians (70%), 2 Georgians (Stalin and Beria — 12%), 1 Armenian (6%), 1 Jew (6%), 1 Byelorussian (6%). Ukrainians, in number over 45 millions, 20% of the whole population, are not represented, neither are the Estonians, Latvians, Turkestanians and others.

That the Ukrainians and Byelorussians are distinct nations and not Russians has been recognised by no less than U.N., of which they are members, introduced by whom? Stalin, no less.

Why Deportations and Murder?

If there was any reason to believe that the entire peoples are not behind these Movements, why has Stalin thought it necessary, in order to bring them to heel, to massacre or deport at least ten million Ukrainians, a million and a quarter from the Baltic States, and so on. In Ukraine, the planned 1933 famine alone starved six millions to death, and millions more have been killed by the introduction of filthy diseases and the refusal to permit medical treatment. There is no kind of doubt of this.

Britain's Failure in Eastern Europe

It is, unfortunately, not the case that "influential British circles are behind A.B.N. in their ideas, as they fit in with British economic and power interests". Britain has had no Central and Eastern European policy at all for generations. A bitter comment by a distinguished Central European statesman recently to myself is that Britain has been represented by diplomatists who take no trouble to mix with the people, have not troubled to learn their language or political problems and the aspirations of the masses; but they can play golf and tennis, can dance and hand round teas and speak charmingly to the ladies. The ignorance and bias of our Foreign Office and bias of the B.B.C. are almost beyond belief.

American Policy

On the other hand, America is at least groping for a policy after a period of complete ignorance, and it is American public opinion and its in-

Karl Marx on Russian Imperialism

The Ukrainian paper, "Ukrainski Visti" (Ukrainian News) No. 78 (543) quoted an article by Karl Marx which his daughter, Eleonor Marx-Eweling published in the "New York Staats Zeitung und Herold". Although it is a hundred years since it was written, it has sufficient bearing on affairs today to deserve further publicity.

"If Russia had succeeded in getting control of the Dardanelles, it would have been the first step to world imperialism. By annexing Turkey and Greece, the Russians would have acquired possession of first-class ports and excellent seamen. Constantinople would have given the Tsar access to the Mediterranean, and Durazzo would have opened the Adriatic to him... Conquest after conquest, annexation after annexation would have followed. The conquest of Turkey by the Russians would have been the prologue to the annexation of Hungary, Prussia and Galicia and of the foundation of the Slav empire of which fanatic philosophers dream.

"Russian diplomacy gains from the fact that Western statesmen fear it. The Russian bear can do whatever he likes if he knows that the other animals are afraid of him. Since Peter the Great opened his famous "window to the West", Russia's frontiers have come 700 miles nearer Berlin, Dresden and Vienna, 500 miles nearer Stockholm and 1000 miles nearer Teheran. The territory Russia took from Sweden is larger than what it had left. She cut almost as much off Poland as off Austria. In 60 years the Russians have conquered territory as large as what they had owned before in Europe.

"As far as Russian diplomacy is concerned, England is its worst victim. It is true that the French have allowed the Russians to make fun of them, but not to such an extent as the English have done. Both countries allow themselves to be intimidated, and do not take measures which might preserve peace, but which would not have permitted their influence to be encroached on. To the boldness of the Russian despot they replied with anxious cun-

ing. If they had dared from the beginning to use the bold language suited to their position in the world and the claims they are justified in making, if they had showed that they would not let themselves be bluffed, the despots would probably not have advanced to attack and would never have dared to treat England and France without respect.

"The only possibility of preserving peace would have been for both countries to declare clearly and unmistakably that they were ready to send their armies and their fleets to help Turkey.

Russian foreign policy is determined by geographical conditions, by the desire to own warm sea harbours and be able to play a leading part in Europe. As long as the pursuit of this policy meets with a weak policy on the part of Western states, stereotype Russian moves will always be repeated. Russian diplomacy is more dangerous than the Russian General Staff, because it creates tensions, and operates with threats, lies and hypocrisy."

This view of Marx's has meantime been confirmed often: the firmness displayed by England, France, Austria and Sardinia when Russia invaded Turkish territory on the Danube (Crimean War 1853/56) and the resistance of Turkey (Russo-Turkish War 1877-78) prevented Russian expansion on the Black Sea, while the attempt to open a gateway to the Pacific failed because of Japan's action (Russo-Japanese War 1904-05). The weak policy of the Western powers then allowed the Tsar's successors to extend the frontiers of the Russian sphere of power far beyond the wildest dreams of "fanatic philosophers".

creasing pressure that is carrying the day, will disintegrate any Russian Empire, put these ancient nations again on their feet, confine the Russians to their own ethnic territory, where they will have to begin to make an honest living.

Mr. Forrest, however, would appear (Allies We Don't Want) to arrogate to himself the right to pose as America. Those Russians of whom he approves, Kerensky, the futile Russian Premier for a few months in 1917, Chernov and Abramovich, have only in the last few weeks, owing to the change in American public opinion, been forced to amend their programme of "Holy Mother Russia, One and Indivisible", to allowing the non-Russian peoples to have a plebiscite. They don't need it and they don't trust either Kerensky

or anyone else. They are fighting and dying for their cause and the precious trio above are not and never did.

Kerensky's Campaign

Kerensky's latest move with the support of the trio, whose success in charming the dollars out of the pockets of generous but misguided Americans is stupendous, is to set up in Europe a powerful radio station to broadcast, to the peoples behind the iron curtains, appeals to them to rise against Stalin. The non-Russians repudiate him and all his works, while the Russians will only hear what the Kremlin permits them to hear, and that will not be much.

As to the trio's efforts, I have long held the opinion that the Russian masses will not rise against Stalin; for one thing, they have always submitted

A Black Day for the Bulgarian

On the occasion of the anniversary of Bulgaria's subjection by the Red Army, the well-known Bulgarian fighter against communism, Dr. Ivan Docheff wrote an article for the Ukrainian newspaper "Homin Ukrainy" (appearing in Canada) of August 8, 1951, which is noteworthy.

We are reporting the author's remarks here as they give a true picture of the aims and methods of Russian imperialism as seen from Bulgaria. Dr. Docheff is the founder of the Bulgarian generation of the thirties, and he is now a member of the committee of the National Bulgarian Front, an associated organization of Bulgarian emigrants and representative of the present resistance struggle in Bulgaria.

On September 9th this year it will be seven years since the Red Army appeared on Bulgarian territory and against the will of the Bulgarian people established the communist régime.

That régime had no support in the country, not even among the working classes. It was set up by means of terror and brute force, and by terror and brute force it holds its sway still.

Words fail to describe the conditions under which the people are living to-day. Distress and fear prevail everywhere, now the Russians are in the land. Hatred of the imposed régime is growing, and day by day resistance increases and the longing to get rid of the alien yoke becomes more intense.

Russia's imperialistic policy towards Bulgaria has not changed through the centuries. Only the means with which Moscow seeks to achieve its end, have changed. In order to understand Russia's great interest in Bulgaria, its strategic position in the Balkans must be considered.

In the last century when Russia gave as a motive for the declaration of war against Turkey, that orthodox Bulgaria

must be obliterated, the Tsarist government was really following an imperialist aim. To make sure of its influence in Bulgaria "instructors" were placed in all ministries and barracks. Even at that time there was talk of a "Danube Government", that was to be a bridge for further expansion to the south.

The methods employed then, too, made it impossible for the Bulgarians to free themselves from the Russian protectorate.

The new Russian conquerors who went to Bulgaria in 1944 as "liberators" used even more radical means. Moscow had not forgotten how the Bulgarians had reacted to the Russian attempts in the previous century to form a "Gouvernement" across the Danube and decided this time to set up a Bulgarian Soviet Republic, and good care was taken that this republic received a Russian avantguard.

For Moscow's purpose any means would do. The resistance of the Bulgarians is to be broken by brutal terrorization which is described as the "brotherly aid of the Russian people". But this time too, all the measures employed have failed to attain the

to their Governments and they have, like most people, a respect for a strong and able man, which Stalin undoubtedly is, and which Kerensky's best friend could not say he is. And my belief has been strikingly confirmed recently by two unquestioned authorities. One was a member of the staff in Moscow of the newspaper, British Ally, published by the British Embassy, but now closed. A trained observer, in his recent most arresting book, "Moscow Close Up", he confirms my view, and he is further confirmed by a letter in a recent number of Truth. It is from a member of the delegation of the Society of Friends who recently visited Moscow in the hope of forwarding the cause of peace. No one can impute partiality to them.

Russian Revolt, an Illusion

He says, "To count on the imminent revolt of oppressed multitudes in Russia is to cherish a dangerous illusion. I doubt very much if the Russians feel themselves oppressed, even if we judge them to be so."

Returning to "Ukrainian pro-Nazism", when the tide of battle began to roll the Germans to the west, and

defeat appeared possible, they released Bandera and Stetzko, recognising them as national leaders, if Forrest doesn't. Up to now they had described the Ukrainians as Ukrainian national bandits and brigands, now they were Ukrainian fighters for freedom! They urged Bandera and Stetzko to bring about an alliance on equal terms with Germany; had this been accomplished the war would have ended differently. The leaders, supported by the entire nation, declined even to listen to any proposals. With the result? That the Germans cooperated with the N.K.V.D. (Russian Secret Police), whose agents they brought in by parachute and otherwise, to attempt to destroy the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.)!

A Russian View of Russian Methods

"The Tsars of Moscow had the instinct of conquest from the reign of Ivan the Cruel; they employed violence and artifice by turns, and succeeded with rare ability in augmenting their territory at the expense of their neighbours. It was under Peter the Great, however, that Russian policy first assumed that decided and stable character which it has retained to this day.

promised success. Moscow has not been able to deceive the people. It is only the traitors who have long been the minions of Russian imperialism, who serve as members of the communist party and obediently carry out the plans for the destruction of Bulgarian independence.

This year again, as in the past, there will be "folk demonstrations" in Bulgaria on September 9th, in which the satisfaction of the Bulgarian people with the present situation will be manifested, to prove their "love" for the enforced régime and occupation army. The "loyal" press will sing hymns of praise to the "Russian liberators" and Stalin. But we know what all these expressions of the "people's will" are worth. We Bulgarians are not to be hoodwinked and the Bulgarian people have learnt the value of Russian declarations of "friendship" and "support" by bitter experience.

The 9th of September will always be a black day in the history of Bulgaria, even for those who are forced to march in line, because terrorization compels them to. They bear their hatred of the regime and the occupation in their hearts however.

To-day, the Bulgarian nation is subjected and has no means of speaking to the world, but in its name the national Bulgarian exiles appeal to the free world.

"The struggle against a regime that was forced upon us has begun and is going on. Nothing that happens in Bulgaria to-day is an expression of the real will of the people. In spite of terror and sacrifices our holy war for freedom and our own sovereign State will be continued till victory is gained."

All the objects which Russia pursues unceasingly, with indefatigable perseverance, amounting to nothing less than the subjugation of the greater part of Europe and Asia, were already conceived and designated to his successor by Peter I... The impulse which his iron will gave to the nation still continues, and by an extraordinary course of circumstances, Russia has come alarmingly near to the attainment of his object without Europe succeeding in stopping her. Internal difficulties may have from time to time retarded her progress, but the spirit of Peter still hovers over his Empire, and his pitiless ambition still lies at the bottom of every Russian heart."

I think I hear Mr. Forrest say "mere A.B.N. propaganda". No, the foregoing is a quotation from the Memoirs of Prince Adam Czartoryski a member of the Imperial Russian Court, an intimate friend of the Grand Duke Alexander, a confidant of the Tsar Paul, and a Russian Ambassador. He lived from 1770 to 1861, and his Memoirs were published in 1888.

I could go on indefinitely, but I hope I have said enough to expose Mr. Forrest's article as a complete travesty of historical and present day facts.

From behind the Iron Curtain

ASERBAIJAN

SHORTCOMINGS OF THE KOMSOMOL

In addition to alarming reports in the Soviet Press on deficiencies in the communist training of young people in Ukraine, there is similar news from Aserbaijan. On 12. 10. 1951, the Moscow "Komsomolskaya Pravda" reported as follows on work among the young in Baku, the largest town in the Republic:

"The committee of the Komsomol for the town and district of Baku does not take the pains necessary to train and discipline youth in the theory and practice of marxist-leninist doctrines. Many active members are not engaged in study and are slack in publicity work though, thanks to their training, they know enough to have a complete mastery of the theories of Marx and Lenin. The town and district committee are often weak in their efforts to educate active members in the ideas of bolshevism."

DEVIATIONIST COMMUNIST PRESS

At its last meeting, the Central Committee of the Communist party in Aserbaijan had to pass a special resolution to censure the "serious shortcomings of the newspaper, the "Pioneer", the organ of the young communists of Aserbaijan. At the same time, the "Komsomolskaya Pravda", in Moscow declared that the "Pioneer" was deviationist.

Such reproaches have been too frequent, particularly in recent times, to be a sensation. But it is interesting to ask why "ideological distortions" i. e. "nationalistic deviations" are the monopoly of non-Russian nations in the Soviet empire. The Politbureau in Moscow, perhaps against its will, therefore confirms that the resistance against Bolshevism expressed in literature, art and journalism as "a reaction to bourgeois nationalism" is actually also the antagonism of non-Russian peoples to the despotism of Russian imperialism.

Up till now no "ideological deviations" have been found officially in Russian literature and journalism.

BOHEMIA

MORE SPIES IN INDUSTRIAL CONCERNS

In the recently formed Ministry for State Control, a special department has been created to deal with reports on shortcomings in production plants. A public appeal was made to workers to report to this department in writing or orally all infringements of legal or plant regulations, in particular all cases of inadequate results, waste of material and money, and bureaucratic practices in running the concern.

According to an official commentary by the government, the new Ministry for State Control, which was only established after the latest purge and re-organization of higher party and administrative agencies, has the same powers as a state court of justice and can therefore issue executive measures, so this appeal to workers plainly indicates that the espionage carried on by secret police in factories is being extended.

BYELORUSSIA

MASS PRODUCTION AND POLITICAL TRAINING

The Soviet press reports that in the months of July and August 1951 alone, communist propagandists gave 25,000 lectures on one and the same subject, namely, "The Soviet Union, A Bulwark of Peace and Security for Nations". This uniform lecture had to be attended by 1,850,000 people.

CAUCASIA

CAUCASIAN TROOPS IN KOREA

American newspapers state that Allied reconnaissance reported a Caucasian unit of about 5,000 men and at least 70 armored cars, now on their way to the Western front in Korea. This is probably not the only non-Asiatic unit which the communists intend to put in the field in Korea. Much attention was given to this report in American circles. In the past, soviet propaganda mentioned merely the presence of "voluntary" units at the front in Korea, in which members of Eastern European nations were represented. The Caucasian armored unit, on the other hand, was identified as a type that did not belong to an international brigade.

CHINA

RUSSIFICATION OF CHINA

The "Pravda" reports that the membership of the "Society for Chinese-Soviet Friendship" is increasing daily. It is the Society's task to "enlighten the population of China" about life in the Soviet Union, which is just a psychological preparation of the country for the extension of Soviet Russian influence. In North East China alone, the Society is said to have more than 55 million members. It is also preparing the way for the spread of the Russian language among the Chinese people: "in order to meet the desire of working people who wish to learn the great Russian language, the

Society has arranged 157 evening courses for the study of Russian."

The "Pravda" would have us believe that the whole world wants to speak Russian only.

COSSACKIA

FRATERNAL ASSISTANCE

After grain was delivered and harvest work ended, many of those employed on tractors and threshing machines were sent from the Don areas to the central provinces of Russia "to help on the collective farms of the elder brother". Bolshevist exploitation of human labour is not over when the target is reached.

LACK OF SOVIET PATRIOTISM

On 19. 8. the "Pravda" published an attack on cultural and political training in Cossack areas, where workers were not "instructed in the spirit of Soviet patriotism, in the socialist attitude to work and in the proper relationship to the community". Lenin's and Stalin's ideas, it seems, are not sufficiently propagated among working people. The district round Stalin-grad was particularly criticized.

RECURRING COMPLAINTS

At a meeting of the party organizations of workers in the Cossackian oilfields a discussion took place of the causes of failure to fulfil the plan for the production of oil. Serious shortcomings were found in the work of the Achtirok Trust.

According to the Soviet newspapers, the plant is being fulfilled at the cost of the quality of the work, the costs of production being increased in consequence of excessive use of material and extraordinary waste.

The "Stalinskaya Pravda" reports that the housing target for the first half of 1951 has not been reached, and that living conditions are wretched.

In a lecture, I. Pyshkin, the secretary of the regional committee of the communist party, declared that the economic production of this important industrial centre in the Cossackian area had been unsatisfactory not only in 1949 and 1950, but also in 1951. According to the "Molot" (Rostov-Don) the political training provided by many party organizations is completely unsatisfactory they being infected by "nationalistic tendencies", "anti-patriotism" and "local sectarianism".

HUNGARY

KIDNAPPING CHILDREN

A refugee from Hungary reports that the communist government in Hungary is utilizing the deportations of undesirable persons that have been going on since May 1951 to forcibly separate children under 6 from their parents, if these are politically unreliable. The children are taken to special communist children's homes

where they receive new names; this will help to erase memory of their home-life and will make it difficult for parents to trace them. Such deportations of children have been carried out up till now not only in Budapest but in a number of large Hungarian towns.

MORE WOMEN AT WORK

The Hungarian government which has called unemployment "the greatest scourge in capitalist countries", a scourge unknown in Hungary, is issuing energetic measures in order to increase the number of women employed in factories and even in mines.

A statement published by the government runs: "The voluntary recruitment of workers — including females — by the government started in February 1951, when no fewer than 160,000 new hands were asked for industry alone. For the whole five-year plan (1950 to 1954), as Ernö Gerö, Minister of Economics declared, 650,000 new industrial workers are required, 62,100 additional workers, of whom 23,000 must be women, are required for the first half of this year. For 1951 the government put the number of women workers at 50%, 47% in the building industry, 80% in trade and state agencies for food, clothing etc., 40% on state farms. In addition, 10,000 women are to be employed in 1951 on railways.

According to an official order, the recruitment of women workers for industrial concerns is to be the result of personal conviction and no pressure is to be exercised. Seeing that there were relatively few women working for their living in Hungary in former times, and that they were exclusively employed in women's work, with the exception of agriculture, personal conviction will scarcely suffice to carry out the government's demands.

LITHUANIA

DIFFICULTIES OF CATTLE REARING

The "Tiesa", the official soviet Lithuanian newspaper, recently published targets for cattle-rearing up to the five-year plan that ends in 1955. A comparison of these figures with the number of cattle reared in Lithuania before the war gives us a sorry picture of economy in the once prosperous Baltic states.

	Target	Pre-war number
cattle	800,000	1,200,000
cows	390,000	800,000
pigs	500,000	1,500,000
sheep	260,000	1,300,000

And it is extremely doubtful whether this target, can be reached 10 years after the war, for the very high mortality among cattle has not been taken into account. Cattle are badly looked after: there is not sufficient fodder, nor, as "Tiesa" reports, enough veterinary surgeons, plagues are neither prevented nor recognized and combated in good time... As a result of in-

adequate care, calves often die at birth." Another reason for high mortality is the lack of warm, weather-proof sheds. Winter is too severe in Lithuania for animals to stay in the open. There are sheds for only 30% of all the cattle. Last winter alone, 60 percent of the cattle left outside froze to death.

POLAND

THE SOVIETIZATION OF LEARNING AND RESEARCH

The systematic sovietization of higher learning in Poland was introduced at the first congress of Polish Scientists in Warsaw in August. The most important action carried out by the congress was to dissolve the famous Academy of Science and Art in Cracow, founded in 1872, and to transfer its functions to a new communist organization which is to carry on its "work and educational experiments and activity and to take over its property". Thus an end has been put to all independent scientific research in Poland.

The congress was attended by more than 1500 delegates who included representatives of the educational world, members of the Polish government, the trade unions, Stakhanov workers and other invited guests. Delegations also appeared at the congress from France, the Soviet Union, China, Hungary, Rumania, Great Britain, Italy and the German Soviet zone.

The dissolution of the Cracow Academy is particularly noteworthy, but the resolutions of the Congress influenced practically all Polish scientific institutions and organizations. For from now on, there is only the new Polish Academy of Sciences which, according to "Poland Today", an official publication, is a "well organized body working a plan that coordinates all such institutes throughout the country".

It is obvious that the dissolution of the Cracow Academy is the last link in a chain with which the communist regime has bound all scientific and educational efforts. The congress was divided into sections corresponding to the various provinces of scientific and school life, and every section had to submit a plan for the scientific work in progress, emphasizing subjects and methods of study which will "help scientists to get to know marxism and historical and dialectical materialism".

Special training courses were held this year; they were compulsory for teachers, who had to show that they had made progress in their mastery of communist theory. Subjects of examination were: problems of marxism and leninism, criticism of capitalist imperialism, the Polish six-year plan, the fight for peace and methods of teaching socialism derived from soviet models. Examiners tested the professional qualifications of candidates, their knowledge of marxist literature and socialist theory, and their level of self-knowledge and criticism.

FRESH DEPORTATIONS

Fresh deportations have taken place in Cracow and Warsaw, against which the Polish Episcopate has protested. In spring it is expected that deportations will increase and will include not only people in towns, but also big peasants. The government in Warsaw is already drawing up lists of these peasants.

According to statistics quoted by Zambrowski in the Cominform paper, "For Lasting Peace, For The People's Democracy" (No. 37) there are about 170,000 so-called kulaks, or rich peasants, in Poland. If we add to these, the fairly rich peasants, we find that there are 378,000 peasants who are viewed with disfavour by the communists. 150 goods trains would be necessary to transport these people to Siberia and thus to solve the peasant problem in Poland in the communist sense.

DEVELOPMENT OF AIR FORCE

Brigade General A. Romeyko, formerly in command for the Polish air force has gone to Moscow as military attaché, his successor being the Soviet Russian General Ivan Turkiel. The appointment of a Soviet officer of this rank to the command of the Polish air force leads to the conclusion that Moscow has begun to pay attention to the development of a department that has been much neglected.

At the same time new air-fields, such as those at Malborg and Puzk have been built. The naval flotilla, hitherto stationed on Lake Leba, is to be transferred to Puzk.

SPEEDING UP COLLECTIVIZATION

According to official statistics there were 3,045 collective farms in Poland at the beginning of July, an increase of 856 for the first half of 1951.

RUSSIAN CONTROL OF INDUSTRY

Soviet Russian control of Polish industry is being developed. A number of Soviet Russian engineers have recently arrived to supervise the extension of heavy industry in Poland.

RUMANIA

ACTION AGAINST UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT

The Soviet press can no longer conceal the increasing activity of the underground movement in Rumania. But, in order to camouflage its true nature of national resistance against the Soviet Russian regime of force, Rumanian patriots are discredited in the public press as being agents of the Vatican and the U.S.A.

The "Pravda" of 11. 9. published a long article on the trial of members of the Rumanian underground movement which was opened on September 10 by a Bucharest military tribunal:

"The subversive group, to which George Sandulesku and Lasar Shtefanesko belonged, was appointed by representatives of the U.S.A. and the Vati-

can for the purpose of creating an underground organization called the "Christian Socialist Party". In the pamphlets they distributed, they appealed to the Rumanian people to overthrow the regime of the People's Democracy . . . Agents of the Vatican and Anglo-American imperialism formed terrorist and various so-called religious communities with the same revolutionary purpose."

The indictment emphasizes that "it is the criminal aim of the Vatican to prepare for a new world war on the territory of the Rumanian People's Republic, under the leadership of the accused, Pacha, Gatti, Shubert, Waltner and Geber".

The trial lasted for several days and concluded with long sentences of imprisonment with hard labour and solitary confinement for all the accused:

Bishop Augustin Pacha, 81 years old, condemned to 18 years solitary confinement and a fine of 1,200,000 lei,

Pietro Ernesto Gatti, 71 years old, 7 years solitary confinement,

Josef Shubert, a priest, 61 year old, solitary confinement for life,

Petri Tota, 62 years old, 10 years solitary confinement,

Eraldo Pintori, 56 years old, formerly an employee in the Italian embassy at Bucharest, hard labour for life,

Adalbert Borosh, 45 years old, hard labour for life,

Joseph Waltner, 59 years old, 15 years hard labour,

Lion Geber, 41 years old, 12 years hard labour,

Lasar Shtefanesku, 47 years old, hard labour for life,

George Sandulesko, 44 years old, hard labour for life.

The accused were not in court when the verdict was pronounced. Their sentences were communicated to them in their cells.

SLOVAKIA

THE ROAD OF FRIENDSHIP AND PEACE

In Slovakia the "road of friendship and peace" is being constructed. This is a strategic motor highway which will connect Slovakia with the Soviet Union. The "Pravda" reports that Slovakian peasants have to work on the road which, according to official statements, is "to unite Slovakia's culture and economy with those of the Soviet Union"

SABOTAGE ON RAILWAY

The "Pravda", the official organ of the Communist Party in Slovakia, published in Bratislava, admits that the railway accident near Tatranska Lomnica (area of High Tatra mountains), when many people lost their lives, was due to sabotage. The report accuses railway personnel of having behaved like common criminals and of having endangered the security of the train by carelessness. As "enemies of socialism and the state", they ought

therefore to be made to pay for their conduct.

Well-informed circles of Slovak emigrés connect this railway sabotage with the activity of Slovak White partisans, as it took place in the district where they are most active.

FOR SABOTAGING THE DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLIC FOOD

Mrs. Maria Dankova, head of the food office in Ruzomberok — a town in Central Slovakia — was sentenced to 9 years imprisonment in the middle of October. She was accused of causing losses to the state of 51,000 kilograms of sugar, 8,850 kg of lard and 9,850 kg of margarine. Her deputy Stefan Slachta was sentenced to 6 years for misappropriating 48,150 clothing coupons and soap coupons. Sentences were also pronounced on Jan Serafin, manager of the co-operative shops organisation in Ruzemberek, (9 years) and his assistant Ladislav Hatala (3 years).

TURKESTAN

MORE BAD MARKS

The conference of the central organization of Soviet writers of the Uzbekistan Republic ended in the last days of August. The lectures held then, and above all the criticism that was voiced were evidence of the continued internal resistance of intellectual circles in Turkestan to the russification of the people there. The Soviet official press was loud in its censure.

The "Literaturnaya Gazeta" of August 28 writes: "A discussion followed the speech held by Comrade Ujgun, the president of the Society of Soviet writers in Uzbekistan, who gave a report of the five years that had elapsed since the central committee of the Communist party in the Soviet Union published its decree on the reviews, "Svyesda" and "Leningrad" and on the tasks of Soviet literature in Uzbekistan.

According to the press, the speaker first referred as usual to the successes of those years and then went on to speak of shortcomings that are evidently numerous enough: the real life of the Republic "the enthusiastic development of industry, agriculture, science and culture" are not, it would appear, adequately reflected in the literature of Uzbekistan. There are no important books on "the working-classes of Uzbekistan". Many books are "unsatisfactory as regards ideology". Writings, for example, by M. Sheykhshade, Taruba Tula and others still "bear the stamp of bourgeois nationalism or are not political, and lacking in ideas."

The dramatists of Uzbekistan, who have not produced a single new play in the last 18 months were censured for not fulfilling their duty to the people. The theatres stage, it was said, inferior or perversive plays which

"idealise the feudalism of the past" (s. Abdula's "Alpamysh"). Literary critics and scholars in Uzbekistan must be blamed for not exercising more influence on the development of literature. The Institute for Language and Literature in the Uzbekistan S.S.R. was branded as a "refuge for bourgeois-nationalist elements", "who" deliberately ignore the successes of Uzbekistan literature and try in their scientific studies to propagate the pan-Turkish, pan-Islam ideal".

During the debate which followed this speech, other shortcomings were mentioned. Translators, for instance, were reproached with arbitrarily altering the contents of original texts that they did not approve of.

The reader who peruses this list of bad marks may well inquire in what the progress of "pupils" in Uzbekistan consists.

UKRAINE

INCREASING INDIFFERENCE IN KOMSOMOL

The "Komsomolskaya Pravda" of October 19, 1951 complains of growing indifference and a falling off in numbers in the Komsomol in the Soviet Union in general and in Ukraine in particular. A certain Comrade Krywolutsky wrote to the paper mentioned complaining of the inadequate support given him by the higher local and district secretaries of the Komsomol when he was organizing a local branch.

In replying, the paper tells tales out of school. In Ukraine during the first half of 1951, 224 secretaries were dismissed from the Komsomol altogether while 1,506 were dismissed from office. The reasons given are always the same, namely, carelessness, indifference, bureaucracy, lack of devotion to the cause, deviations.

Whatever efforts the Moscow powers make, communism simply will not take root in Ukraine, especially among young people. Mass purges will be of little avail.

LITTLE INTEREST IN THE KOMSOMOL

The soviet press continues its revelations of conditions within the Komsomol in Ukraine. It was reported, for instance, in the "Komsomolskaya Pravda" that an alarming state of affairs has been caused in Kyiv, the capital of the country, by the fact that the leading positions in the Komsomol have been vacant for some time, as no one wants to take them. This might at first sight sound incredible. But the same paper published on 28. 9. 1951 an article that reflected the indifference many members of the Komsomol feel for their organisation.

Hanna Konstantinenko, a Ukrainian girl, was sent to work on a stud farm in the Furmanow area (Kazakhstan) after she had graduated from the Veterinary College in Kyiv. As a loyal member of the Komsomol, it was her

duty to report at the local branch as soon as she had taken up her new work. The "Komsomolskaya Pravda" reports indignantly that she kept her membership of the Komsomol secret for eight months so as to avoid work in the organisation. When the local branch got to know of this, she was asked to give a written statement confirming her membership of the Komsomol. Instead of doing so, she declared: "I prefer to give you a written statement to the effect that I am no longer a member of the Komsomol."

The "Komsomolskaya Pravda" does not reveal the consequences this entailed for the young Ukrainian.

NEW PEACE CONFERENCE

The "All-Ukrainian Peace Conference" was opened in Kyiv on September 13. Its purpose is expressed in a sentence from a speech by M. A. Posmitny, the "hero of socialist labour": "By means of a mighty effort on the part of all nations, we intend to strike their weapons out of the hands of all warmongers".

The background of the eastern "peace campaign" could not be formulated more clearly and succinctly.

SABOTAGE EVEN IN MUSEUMS

An article in the "Pravda" of 13. 9. 1951 entitled "The Message of Museums in Lviv" states that the department in the Historical Museum in the capital of Western Ukraine devoted to the feudal period deliberately tries to deflect the visitor's attention from "the efforts of the Ukrainian people to unite with the great Russian people".

In the department dealing with the history of Ukraine in the Soviet period, a number of important historical events are missing. It is characteristic that these exhibits should have been accommodated in small, dark, quite inadequate rooms which contrast unfavourably with the space given to the pre-Soviet period.

"There are many museums in Lviv, and justice compels us to admit that things are no better, sometimes even worse, in them than in the Historical Museum. The State Museum for Ukrainian Art in Lviv is open to the public, but working-people would like to see changes there . . . While there are only 150 pictures in the Soviet department, there are hundreds of exhibits in the section devoted to old Ukrainian art . . ."

A Memorandum

of the Croatian National Committee

In a Memorandum dated September 15, 1951, the Croatian National Committee seizes the occasion provided by the support given by democratic powers of the West to Tito's regime to inform the free world about the situation of the Croatian people in Yugoslavia under its communist government. Beginning from the collapse of the Danube Monarchy in 1918 which forced the Croatian people, contrary to its right of self-determination, to live in the newly established state of "Serbs, Croats and Slovenes" this "unnatural concentration of nations, cultures and worlds" in an artificially constructed state is described as a danger for peace in South-East Europe which is now acute. The Memorandum refers to a remark by the late Franklin Roosevelt, President of the United States, which appears in the Memoirs published by R. E. Sherwood, his secretary: "The President expressed his often repeated opinion that Croats and Serbs had nothing in common and that it was ridiculous to attempt to force two such contrasting nations to live together under one government."

The feelings and political aspirations of the Croatian people were expressed by Dr. Aloisius Stepinac, Archbishop of Zagreb and head of the Catholic Church in Croatia, when he declared before his communist judges in 1946: "The Croatian people stated in a plebiscite that it wanted a state of its own and I should be unworthy if I did not feel the pulse-beat of my people which was a slave in Yugoslavia!"

The Memorandum concludes with the declaration that, if a European federation of free states should fail to materialize, the independent Croatian state would prefer, in accordance with the will of the people, to work with Danube states rather than to cooperate with Serbia.

ABN-Correspondence, P. O. Box 70, Munich 33, Germany/Bavaria. Published by the Press Bureau of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN).
Responsible: K. W. Orlecky.

For the Independence of Caucasia

Meeting of North Caucasians in Munich

The North Caucasian National Committee has sent us this Communiqué:

On 16. 9. 1951 a meeting of North Caucasians living in Western Germany was held in Munich, 200 people from all over Germany being present. A. Mahoma, president of the North Caucasian National Committee gave an address after which several of those present expressed their appreciation of the work the Committee had done up to date.

In the discussion afterwards of the general situation and of Kerensky's attempt to include representatives of non-Russian peoples, among them North Caucasians, in the Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia, the meeting was unanimous in its condemnation of such manoeuvres and in its determination to restore the independence of North Caucasia, a republic that has been occupied and destroyed by the Bolsheviks. These present withdrew their confidence from ex-General Bicherakhov, who has put his services at the disposal of the Council and has founded a North Caucasian representative body in Schwabach, Germany, for the purpose of misleading world opinion.

The meeting recommended close cooperation with representatives of the peoples of Aserbaijan, Armenia and Georgia and the formation of an independent federal Caucasian state in the common interest of all Caucasian peoples. The North Caucasian National Committee was asked to work together with representatives of all peoples subjugated by Bolshevism.

A. B. N. Press Conference

On 6. 11. 1951 Central Committee of the A.B.N. held a press conference in Munich which was attended by 25 representatives of prominent newspapers and press agencies. The A.B.N. was represented by the following office-bearers: Yaroslav Stetzko, president of the A.B.N., Dr. Ctibor Pokorny, general secretary, Dr. B. Balkansky, head of the information department (as chairman of the press conference) and General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak, head of the military Commission, Prince N. Nakashidse, member of the Georgian National Committee in Central Europe, and others.

In a statement to the press, the office-bearers of the A.B.N. demanded:

- 1) that diplomatic trade relations with the Soviet Union be broken off!
- 2) that representatives of the liberation movements of peoples behind the iron curtain be admitted to international

bodies as fully recognized delegates from their respective peoples;

- 3) that the underground armies behind the iron curtain be recognized as active fighting forces.

As regards Kerensky's campaign, the representatives of the press informed that in Wiesbaden between November 3 and 5, 1951 certain mercenary members of the non-Russian peoples formed "parties" willing to join the "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia". Such unworthy and venal methods are condemned by the non-Russian peoples united in the A.B.N.

The A.B.N. further demanded that an end be put to blackballing Hungarians, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Slovaks and Croats who, during the defence of the freedom of their peoples against bolshevism, were compelled to fight on the side of the axis powers.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

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What the Kremlin Fears Most

By Maj. Gen. J. F. C. Fuller, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O.

We are printing an extract from the great article of General J. F. C. Fuller in the "Saturday Evening Post" for October 27, 1951. We are glad of the opportunity to make our readers familiar with the views this eminent British military strategist, all the more, as we are gradually noticing the spread of truth about bolshevism and Russia throughout the Western World. By his courageous campaign for truth and liberty, General J. F. C. Fuller has stormed the hearts of numberless members of the nations subjugated by Russia.

All subtitles are ours. — Ed.

... In the World War II no sooner did the German armies enter the Baltic States, Byelorussia and Ukraine than they were acclaimed as liberators and vast numbers of Russian soldiers deserted to them. At that time, so encouraging was the German reception that Count Schulenburg, former German ambassador in Moscow, proposed that the invasion should be turned into a civil war in which the Russians themselves would help in overthrowing the bolsheviks. He suggested that Germany should announce that she had no territorial claims; that she would agree to each conquered territory setting up its own local government, and that she would recognize these government as her allies.

Hitler's Policy in Ukraine Fatal For Germany

But Hitler's suicidal policy of "the complete extermination of the Ukrainian and other East European peoples" prevailed. Instead of liberation, the destruction of the Ukrainian and other underground movements was ordered. The result was that for their self-

preservation the subjugated peoples turned against the Germans.

This was the beginning of the collapse of the Third Reich, which was hastened by Stalin's astuteness in adopting non-Bolshevik tactics, though, like Lenin, his intention was to discard them once the war was won. Had Hitler but offered the subjugated peoples freedom and self-determination, the high probability is that the U.S.S.R. would have collapsed before the end of 1941..

Reasons for the Cold War, and its Aims

Besides not being able in wartime to rely on the loyalty of its subjugated peoples, the Kremlin is fearful of invading Western countries, because, should it do so, its soldiers will discover that the U.S.S.R., instead of being, as they have been brought up to believe, the most advanced country in the world, is one of its most backward, and that they are the victims of a gigantic lie. For this reason alone — though there are others — Stalin has been compelled to substitute what is called "cold" war for "hot". Its aims are: (1) To confuse the thought of Russia's adversaries by turning every argument upside down and reaping a propaganda value out of the confusion. (2) To rot her opponents internally by means of fifth columns, and discredit their democratic principles should they resort to repressive measures. (3) To compel them, by constant military threat, to expend such large sums on armaments that they will cripple their finances and undermine their economies. (4) To distract their military forces by drawing them into distant regions, such as Malaya, Indo-China and Korea, in which only satellite troops are engaged.

For the Kremlin, cold war is the only type of aggressive warfare which fits Russian psychology. Its strategy is that of dissolution and not of destruction, — the attack on the mind of the enemy in order to gain control over his body,

and not on his body in order to influence his mind. It is not as with the Western powers, when they talk of psychological or political warfare, as an auxiliary of actual war, but instead the real war — the decisive conflict.

Cold War as an Instrument of Policy

In its outlook upon war the Kremlin is far more up to date than its antagonists. It realizes that in modern industrial and scientific conditions, physical warfare is increasingly becoming mutually too destructive to be a profitable instrument of policy. As the last two World Wars have clearly shown, the victor comes off almost as bad as the vanquished, and this, politically, does not make sense.

We simply cannot ignore the fact that today cold war is increasingly ousting hot war as an instrument of policy, and that unless we learn to wage it in all its forms — political, ideological, economic and military — so that in wartime we win over the allegiance of the enemy's masses instead of destroying them, the very means of destruction we employ will end in defeating us.

The Best Tactics For The West

Now that we have inspected the contents of the bolshevik shop, the question, "What is the problem?" becomes clearer. It is to frustrate the Kremlin's two-front strategy by adopting a two-front strategy of our own: (1) To be strong enough physically either to prevent the outbreak of war or, should war come, to be in a position to contain Russian military operations. And (2) under the cover of our physical forces, to be astute enough to wage a war of disintegration within the U.S.S.R. and its satellite countries, not only after the outbreak of war but from this very moment. Should this aim — successful counterrevolution within the U.S.S.R. — be attained without actual war, so much the better, but war or no war, it will remain unattainable unless the war of disintegration is ultraoffensive.

Our existing solution of the problem — if "solution it can be called — is ultradefensive because it is based on the conception of containing communism, (1) by military action on fire-brigade lines wherever an aggression may take place, (2) by economic betterment in the Western countries in order to prevent communism from spreading, and (3) by building up what is called

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the Atlantic Alliance as the progenitor of a defensive Atlantic or European army.

The Weakness of our Present Policy of Defense

Because it is a purely defensive policy, it leaves the initiative in the hands of the Kremlin. Worse still, it does not face up to realities. What is the use of a fire-brigade system as long as the fire-raiser is left at large? Further, this dispersion of force emasculates the building up of an Atlantic Alliance, which is equally unrealistic, for it is based on regional planning involving over fifty committees, and includes France and Italy, countries with large communist elements. As regards prevention of the spread of communism by economic improvement of the Western countries, it is excellent so far as it goes; yet it is frequently overlooked that economic betterment in itself can no more remove an ideology than filling an empty stomach can cure a deranged brain.

This confusion of defensive measures has fortified the policy of the knockout school — that the simplest way out of the tangle is to cut the Gordian knot. In other words, to rely on physical force alone. After all, have we not got the atomic bomb, and should the worst come to the worst, cannot we blow Russia to hell?

This, however, is a somewhat crude solution, for instead of curing the patient — the world crisis — it knocks him on the head.

The Importance of the Moral State of the Russian Peoples

Though a sufficiency of force is the first half of the solution, the amount needed will depend as much on the moral state of the Russian peoples as on the strength of the Russian army. The lower the first is, the weaker will the second be, and the weaker it is, the less will be the physical force required to vanquish it.

The second half of the solution centers in the unbearable Bolshevik rule, which has established a ready-made second front in every country behind the Iron Curtain. Wherever bolshevism is sown, anti-bolshevism can be reaped. For, though by terror a people can be compelled to obey their masters, they cannot be compelled to cease hating them.

The Kremlin Dreads Psychological Weapons

Hatred is the Uranium 235 of the second half, and without it, its physical prototype remains purely a weapon of material destruction. And of all explosives, psychological fission is the one the Kremlin dreads most, because it blows the bottom out of its ideology. Therefore to turn the U.S.S.R. into a gigantic psychological bomb is the second half of the solution.

Thus far, this half has been almost entirely neglected by the Western powers, yet it is by far the easier to arrive at, because the U.S.S.R., being ethnographically divided into Russians and non-Russians, is in consequence packed with psychological uranium.

The History of the A.B.N.

In 1943 the representatives of the resistance movements then springing up among the conquered and subjugated peoples banded themselves together into an Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.). Today it includes the following twenty-five countries — fourteen in the U.S.S.R. and eleven in Europe.

In the U.S.S.R.: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Cossackia, Estonia, Georgia, Idel-Ural — between the Volga and the Urals, —, Latvia, Lithuania, North Caucasia, Siberia (East and West), Tataria, Turkestan and Ukraine.

In Europe: Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czechia, Finland, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Serbia, Slovakia and Slovenia.

Its Aim

The aim of the A.B.N. is the complete dissolution of the Soviet Empire and the establishment of each part as a sovereign nation. The A.B.N. is, therefore, opposed to any form of Russian imperialism, whether czarist, socialist, democratic, republican or communist. Nor will it tolerate any form of Russian federation, because it fears that whatever form it may take, it will inevitably lead to the re-establishment of a Russian hegemony.

Because in the Atlantic Pact — however defective — is to be found the only potential first front against the Soviet Union, so in the A.B.N. — however lacking in organization it still is — is to be found the only potential second front. Together the two should constitute the grand strategical instrument of the Western powers, the one being as essential as the other, for neither without the other can achieve what should be the Western aim — not the containment of communism, but the complete elimination of bolshevism, without which there can be no peace in the world.

From the value of the A.B.N. as a disruptive instrument, I will next turn to its ability economically and strategically to strangle the U.S.S.R. in another war.

Economic and Strategic Value of Ukraine

Ukraine, with a population stated to be 42,000,000, is the economic hub of the Soviet Union — this is why Hitler's aim was to wrench it from Russia. It supplies over 50 per cent of the whole of Russian production and there is no possibility of destroying the Bolshevik empire without severing Ukraine from it. Still today a Ukrainian Insurgent Army, known as the U.P.A., is engaged in guerilla war against the Kremlin.

The following percentages show the importance of Ukraine and other subjugated countries to the over-all Soviet economy. Coal, 60 per cent from Ukraine and 9 per cent from Turkestan; iron ore, 60 per cent from Ukraine and 50 per cent from Idel-Ural; manganese, 100 per cent from Georgia and Ukraine; copper, 40 per cent from Turkestan and Caucasia; lead, 80 per cent from Turkestan; zinc, 80 per cent from Caucasia and Ukraine; mercury, 100

per cent from Turkestan and Ukraine; and sulphur, 80 per cent from Ukraine, Caucasia and Turkestan.

Almost the entire production of oil in the U.S.S.R. comes from non-Russian soil. Finally, as regards agricultural products, 33 per cent of Russian wheat comes from Ukraine and North Caucasia, 70 per cent of the sugar is produced in Ukraine, and 100 per cent of the cotton is grown in Turkestan and Caucasia.

Therefore the conclusion is, should in wartime organized guerilla war be fostered in the subjugated countries and adequately supplied by the Western powers, the high probability is that the whole economy of the U.S.S.R. would collapse.

Russia's Strength and Weakness

Historically Russia's strength has been based on two factors: the vast extent of her territory and her vast man power. This held good as long as weapon power remained simple and movements were governed by horse traction. But this is no longer the case, for weapon power has been industrialized and air power has reduced her expanse.

Communications in Russia have always been indifferent because expanse and movement are incompatibles. Even today there are no more than 57,487 miles of railroad in the U.S.S.R., whereas in Great Britain there are 19,863, and in the United States 227,000. Further, many of the Russian railroads are still single track, and because those linking the Baltic to the frontiers of Poland and Rumania pass through the subjugated Baltic States, Byelorussia and Ukraine, they are open to sabotage both in peace and wartime.

The Dangers of Dispersion

In order to secure her industries — her arsenals — against air attack, Russia has adopted a policy of dispersion, but, seemingly has overlooked that the remoteness of many of them from the more probable theaters of war permits present day aircraft to cut them off from the latter by destroying the interlinking communications. Actually there would be no need to destroy the industrial centers themselves, for if the few main rail junctions in the U.S.S.R. are put out of action, the fewness of the railroads in most cases will render the deflection of traffic impossible.

Further still, the greater the dispersion, the more difficult does it become for the Russian air force to prevent the systematic destruction of either the industrial centers or the railroads leading to and from them. Relative to this, it should not be overlooked that, on account of climatic conditions as well as the great distance to be traveled, the replacement of railroad traction by motor transport will generally be out of the question. Also that, unlike the United States, the U.S.S.R. possesses no extensive system of pipe lines for the distribution of oil and petrol.

The conclusions to be drawn from this strategical survey are: (1) that the

In Defense of Churches in U.S.S.R.

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

We publish an open letter from the Scottish League for European Freedom which was sent to all bishops in the British Commonwealth. — Ed.

My Lord Bishop.

We ask you to take up strongly and publicly the cause of the peoples of the Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, who are literally being deliberately exterminated by Russia. The Russians, characteristically and hypocritically agreed to the prohibition of genocide at the very time they were engaged in further extermination — loading the people into cattle trucks for the slave camps in Siberia and Arctic Russia. The evacuation of their countries and the restoration to their homelands of all who can be traced and are still alive must be enforced by the Powers of the civilised world, otherwise they are as guilty as the Russians of hypocrisy and genocide.

From the political point of view it is easy to prove that the occupation of the Baltic States by Russia is a pistol pointed at the heart of this country, and that as long as they are immensely strong fortified positions held by Russia, the security of Britain is not worth an hour's purchase. But politics can be left out. The Churches' action can surely be dictated by motives of Christianity and humanity — are we not our brothers' keeper? Surely.

The People of the Baltic States

The writer knew these countries between the two wars better than any-

technical equipment of Russia's fighting forces will be at its best at the opening of the war, and should her railroads be paralyzed, it will rapidly deteriorate. And (2) because of this, it may be expected that, as in the past, Russia will rely on mass manpower in order to make good her technical deficiencies.

The Role of the Subjugated Peoples

Clearly then, adding to the demands on the Russian army within the U.S.S.R. will lead to its numerical reduction in the areas of operations, and this can be effected by the assistance of the subjugated peoples. For them, the expanse of the U.S.S.R., when coupled with outside air supply and assistance, facilitates revolt which simultaneously will be difficult to suppress should rail communications be paralyzed. Also it should not be overlooked that a vast belt of labor and concentration camps, in which millions of slave workers are imprisoned, stretches across Northern Siberia and Manchuria. The first of these areas is within transpolar air range of the United States, and the second at no great distance from Korea and Japan. All these camps are potential centers of revolt. Therefore, the more the Kremlin can be compelled

one else in Britain, as his business lay with them and he made more or less prolonged visits each year. In all the world there were no more admirable or prosperous peoples; religious, educated, cultured, thrifty, hard-working and patriotic, happy and peaceful, threatening none, and devoting men and material to their own and world betterment; there were no peoples more worthy of emulation by others, and none who more should have been left in peace. What has happened?

How They Were Treated

The Russian violently seized their countries without even an attempt at excuse, by arrangement with Hitler, massacred their leaders and their peoples by thousands and deported to the slave camps hundreds of thousands — men, young women and old women, pregnant women and mothers with babies at the breast, and children, in cattle trucks under inhuman conditions in which possibly the greater part died. Parents were separated from their children and from each other, and these children remaining alive are bought up in complete atheism, haired of God and Christ, and worship of Stalin.

In cases where wives were left on the farms, and the Soviet Government have sent in semi-savages from the Far East, these cultured women have been forced to submit to these savages and to bear children to add to the manpower of Moscow in its centuries-old attempt at world conquest and the extension of Russian Imperialism.

We have confined ourselves mostly to the Baltic States, as their peoples

to garrison them the less numerous will be its troops in the areas of military operations.

When all these factors are considered, it will be seen that Russia's fighting man power, great though it is, can as a whole no more be concentrated than can that of her opponents. Though the latter are an association of autonomous nations tending to diverge rather than to unite, the U.S.S.R. is a despotism of subjugated nations, forcibly united by terror, and inhibited by disruption. That, in fact, Russia is a giant with feet of clay, and that the more her fighting forces are dissipated on internal security, the more formidable do those of her opponents become.

Faith More Necessary Than The Atom Bomb

I hope I have made it clear that, in order to overthrow the fireraising colossus, the technical superiority of the Western nations is not in itself enough. What they are lacking is not power to wage war, for though power may still be insufficient, there is no insuperable difficulty in rendering it sufficient. Instead, it is lack of faith in their way of life, and lack of courage in proclaiming it.

were, during their independence, from the first, close and intimate members of the Western family, and were well known in Britain. But the same conditions apply to all the non-Russian States in the U.S.S.R., and in some on a stupendous scale. In Ukraine alone, with a population of over 40 millions, devotedly Christian, the Russians have "liquidated" not less than 10 to 12 millions by massacre, deportation to the slave camps, planned starvation (the deliberately planned famine of 1943 killed at least 6 millions), or the introduction of filthy epidemic diseases and the prevention of medical aid.

The Failure of the Churches

With all respect it must be said that the Churches could have ascertained all this if they had wished, and they have failed in their duty to God and man in closing their eyes to this terrible tragedy, and we urge with all the emphasis at our command that they now take the load in a campaign to bring pressure on Moscow to restore complete independence and freedom to those non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. We can give assurance that none of these peoples has the slightest desire to interfere with Russia, they wish Russians and all other peoples to be confined to their own ethnic territories, and the peoples to be permitted to live their own lives in peace and security. We have no faith in politicians of any party; they must or should know the truth, but have shut their eyes to it and prevented the common people from knowing it. There must be some means of bringing pressure on the Russians to do justice to these peoples, and till they do, surely they should not be admitted to the group of civilised nations. We cannot believe

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They must understand that the sword of liberty is but dead metal as long as it is sheathed. It is because they fear to unsheathe it that they lack a positive policy concerning the nations forcibly and fraudulently incorporated into the Soviet Union. Yet without a positive policy they can never hope to exploit the seething discontent behind the Iron Curtain. Be it remembered that, without counting the subjugated peoples of the U.S.S.R., ten dependent states of Old Europe, inhabited by about 80,000,000 people are now under Soviet domination. Of these millions and the millions more in the U.S.S.R., the vast majority are potential allies. Until the Western nations openly proclaim them to be such, the sword of liberty will remain sheathed.

If the West is to gain the sympathies of the enslaved peoples, it must inspire them. To think in terms of the atomic bomb is autocratic; to think in terms of liberation is democratic, and though the atomic bomb has its uses, they must be weighed against the psychological effects they are likely to produce. To use this weapon indiscriminately is to repeat Hitler's blunder. The way in which it is used will determine whether the millions of enslaved peoples in Europe and the U.S.S.R. are to be the

Regrettable Distortions

By Dr. Ctibor Pokorny, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the A. B. N.

In its edition of 10. 9. 1951, the American periodical, *The New Leader*, publishes a number of falsehoods concerning the A. B. N. and some of its representatives. The tone of this regrettable article would ordinarily merit silence on our part; if we take notice of its polemics, it is only because we would prevent these distortions from influencing the readers of a paper that is widely circulated.

Fred Forrest, the writer of the article in question, who introduces himself as a former U.S. Intelligence agent and veteran student of Soviet affairs, maintains that the A. B. N. was founded in 1946 as a collection of remnants of various "national committees" that had operated under Alfred Rosenberg, the notorious Reich Minister for occupied areas in the East. In reality, the A. B. N. was formed in 1945 in an area of the so-called "Reichskommissariat Ukraine" that was at that time controlled by the U.P.A. (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) and that suffered particularly from the brutal measures employed by the occupying army to crush the Ukrainian people. It is not possible that there could have been movements of the peoples incorporated any understanding between liberation in the A. B. N. and the Nazi government.

Invention of Ukrainian Atrocities

Another gross falsehood on the author's part is his assertion that when Yaroslav Stetzko, President of the Central Committee of the A. B. N., was Prime Minister of the Ukrainian Re-

public in 1941, he caused a great many Poles, Jews, Russians and Ukrainian opponents to be murdered. The Ukrainian government referred to was permitted to exist for exactly ten days — in an area occupied by German troops — and had neither the possibility of carrying out such actions, nor any intention of doing so. Almost all the important members of the 1944 Ukrainian government were arrested by the Germans and put in concentration camps a few days after the independence of Ukraine had been proclaimed.

What German Support Looked Like

According to Mr. Forrest, the men who represent the A. B. N. today were supported and financed by the German government during the war. If we understand by this the free board and lodging and clothing enjoyed, for instance, for almost three years and a half in the German concentration camp at Sachsenhausen, by Yaroslav Stetzko, the president of the Central Committee of the A. B. N. and by Alfred Berzins, former Prime Minister of Latvia, now president of the Peoples' Council in the A. B. N., then it is true. The accusations brought against Veli Kajum-Chan, president of the Political Commission in the A. B. N. and other representatives of the Organization are on the same level. It is not worth refuting them here.

The A. B. N. Does Not Hate Peoples

To represent the existence of a Cossackian people striving for indepen-

dence as an "invention", as Mr. Forrest does, proves that he lacks a knowledge of history and that he discriminates invidiously between nations. It is a well-known fact that the Cossacks proclaimed their independence in 1918, and lost it only after bloody battles, and that they have not yet ceased to struggle for it. The same applied to the peoples of North Caucasia and the area between the Volga and the Urals.

It is a calumny to assert that the A. B. N. hates the Russian people and would welcome its destruction. Russian imperialism is for the A. B. N. the inveterate enemy of the liberty of nations. We wish the Russian people no less, but no more, than all the other peoples in the U.S.S.R. and its satellite states, namely, the right to lead a free life in its own independent, national state within its ethnic frontiers. The A. B. N. has never refused to cooperate with the Russians, provided that they recognize the rights of all peoples subjugated by Moscow, i. e. their independent national states within their ethnic frontiers.

Towards the Poles, the A. B. N. takes up the same position, and here a cooperation has already begun. As far as the Jews are concerned, it is a base lie to maintain that the A. B. N. is anti-semitic. Mr. Forrest has not even taken the trouble to provide his readers with any proof whatever, not even with an invented one. Facts give him the lie. It is well-known, for instance, that during the war, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) protected the Jewish population, and that many Jews owe their lives to it alone. For the A. B. N. there is no discrimination of religion, race, or nationality; it fights for the freedom of all peoples and the freedom of the individual without any exception whatever.

Ignorance or Prejudice?

It says little for Mr. Forrest's knowledge of history and his political insight that he holds the clear division between Slovaks and Czechs to be political propaganda on the part of the A. B. N. That Slovaks and Czechs are two distinct peoples is a fact both of general knowledge and history. Mr. Forrest must be aware that even the State Department recognized the right of the Slovak people to unlimited independence as a state.

The A. B. N. has never spoken of an alien Russian supremacy over the peoples of Yugoslavia. If the A. B. N. pleads for self-determination for these peoples, i. e. for the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, it is because Tito's dictatorship over these three peoples is a faithful copy of Stalin's. To refuse these peoples the right of self-determination is to refuse a natural law.

As regards the question of federation and confederation, the A. B. N. supports the democratic principle that the peo-

allies of the West or the unwilling defenders of Moscow. What they seek is liberation and not obliteration — let the Western nations remember this.

A Concrete Proposal

Lastly, I will end with a concrete proposal. Because from past history there is no reason to suppose that a change in regime in Moscow will call a halt to the age-old urge of Russian expansion, the aim of the Western powers should coincide with the aim of the A. B. N. This means that the Soviet Empire must be dealt with as was the Turkish — that is, split up into its component parts, each part becoming an independent country.

The first step toward achieving this end is the formation of all freedom-loving peoples on both sides of the Iron Curtain into a common anti-bolshevik front. The second is the creation of a psychological — warfare general staff which will give teeth to this union. It should comprise three main branches — operations, intelligence and supply.

The duties of the first should be to plan and organize partisan activities within all subjugated countries and train refugees and form them into the nuclei of national armies, around which

the enslaved peoples can build up their fighting forces on or after the outbreak of war.

The duties of the second should be to collect and coordinate information gathered by the underground movements; train intelligence agents for work not only behind the Iron Curtain but also in all countries which in wartime may be overrun by the Russians, so that guerilla war may be organized in their rear, and by intensive propaganda keep the spirit of counterrevolution alive.

The duties of the supply branch should be to make ready on a vast scale all the requirements of guerilla warfare: the provision of arms, ammunitions, explosives, medical stores, rations, radios and so on, as well as earmark the aircraft needed to carry them and also personnel to prearranged dropping points, so that when the flag falls, the psychological bomb may be detonated from the Arctic shores to the Mediterranean and from the Baltic to the Elbe.

If these things are done, the Western nations need have no fears. But if they are not done, though the West may win the next war, in its winning it will reap its own destruction and may well end in bolshevizing the world.

National Independence Comes First

By *Blaq Bashi / Turkestan*

It has become the fashion in recent years to form unions of states or nations by voluntary treaty and conditions that are equal for all participating states.

The Union of Europe, a project that has been discussed for decades, is now on the point of realization as the United Democratic States of Europe. Indonesia, comprising more than 3000 islands with a population of 70 millions, for 150 years a Dutch colony, has become an independent national state, known as the Indonesian Union, both partners having equal rights. Similarly, Indo-China, formerly a French colony, has become independent and is about to form a French-Indo-Chinese Union. India and Burma and Pakistan with its 70 million Mohammedan inhabitants, all for centuries colonies of Great Britain, have attained independence and have become independent members of the British Commonwealth with the same rights as the Motherland. Thus an end was put to the oppression and degradation of colonial peoples and to the constant and bitter strife between colonial powers and their dependencies. Independence and freedom have set these colonial peoples on the way to progress. The Jews, who lost their national state centuries ago, have now established Israel as a free state and are advancing to a life of liberty and progress.

According to the bolshevists it is impossible for nations not included in the communist system to achieve independence and to form free unions; they also aver that if nations are to live in peace and unity, they must belong to that regime.

Democracies Grant Colonies Independence

Now, the colonial system is crumbling away in the world outside of the encircling Soviet wall. Conquest and mutual strife is being replaced by international understanding and mutual respect. There are many indications in the world today that the imperialist system is rotting away.

The democratic states, designated imperialist by the bolshevist, have, not only by words, but also by deeds, given the lie to the bolshevist contention. As already mentioned, and in spite of destructive Soviet influences, a great number of states not included in the communist system have achieved independence — Israel, Burma, Pakistan, India, Indonesia, Indochina, and other small nations. These states are now living as free nations on terms of equality with the other free nations in the world. Disputes which might have occasioned wars, were settled by these states within their own union or by the U.N. by peaceful negotiation. The various unions that have been formed be-

tween democratic states are based on principles of equality, and national independence has been achieved in the form of complete and unlimited sovereignty. That is why wars cannot arise between powers and their former colonies and why there can be no hegemony of any one nation.

The Soviet Union is quite another kind of formation; from its birth, it has worn the disguise of a "voluntary" union of very different nations compelled by force to be members of a "Union of Republics". In addition, just before and after World War II the Soviet Union annexed by force a number of nationally independent states or compelled them to be satellites. By thus suppressing the independence of these states, Soviet Russia has greatly extended the frontiers of its "Union". Thus there are two totally different trends towards union which have split the world into opposite camps.

In the democratic part of the world, new national states have arisen which have formed voluntary unions on the basis of equal rights. Here real liberty and peace have been secured.

In the part of the world comprised in the Soviet socialist republics, national rights, history, traditions, languages and cultures in consequence of a vicious doctrine has strengthened the hegemony of one nation. This is why the nations fettered by Soviet Russia's chain of unions and deprived of their liberty are fighting unceasingly to recover their freedom and independence. There can, therefore, never be peace in this part of the world.

ples themselves must decide the matter. But a free decision presupposes the sovereignty of the states concerned. In the opinion of the A.B.N. no people has authorized any politician in exile to abandon any of its national sovereignty. Those who think and act as if they had this power, are contravening the democratic principle of the self-determination of peoples and thus display considerable prejudice.

What about "Russian Resistance"?

Mr. Forrest protests that the A.B.N. never mentions Russian resistance and its heroes in any of their publications. Here we must reply that Russian movements of resistance in the Soviet Union have up till now been no more than wishful thinking. Mr. Forrest must have noticed that the Western press constantly reports resistance in Turkestan, Caucasia, Ukraine, the Baltic states, Croatia, Bulgaria or Slovakia. From the territories of Russia proper, on the other hand, we hear no such reports, obviously because no anticommunist movement exists there. This fact is greatly regretted by the A.B.N., as it implies a gap in the front of the peoples who are fighting against Bolshevism.

Voluntary Common Front of Peoples

The A.B.N. is not controlled by the representatives of one people or party only. On the contrary, all its national delegations have equal rights and an

equal vote, no matter the size of the people they represent; the same rights and duties are recognized for all. The A.B.N. is no mere instrument of the "Bandera Movement" or of the national cause of Ukraine or any other single national organization. It is the voluntary union of subjugated nations, whose resistance movements are recognized as equal.

But Mr. Forrest goes further in his suspicions. He writes, believes it or not, of communist infiltration of the A.B.N.! But he gives no proof of his absurd contention. He would indeed find it difficult to produce any, for the A.B.N. is the strongest political bulwark against Bolshevism. It is to the interest of exiled Russian imperialists and the Bolsheviks themselves to spread such suspicion in the West. Mr. Forrest also deems it necessary to censure organization or personalities in the West, who sympathize or cooperate with the A.B.N., among them Mr. John F. Stewart, the chairman of the Scottish League for European Freedom. It remains to be seen whether the author will have the honesty to withdraw his malicious distortions after Mr. Stewart's recent statement.

That is the truth about the A.B.N. Whoever is against the A.B.N., is voluntarily or involuntarily a supporter of bolshevism and Russian imperialism. **Whoever is against the right of peoples to self determination is against democracy.**

Non-Russian Peoples Oppose Russian Imperialism

The constant fight for liberation and independence, waged by Turkestan, Ukraine, Caucasia and other non-Russian nations, aims at destroying not only the communist system but also the fetters of Russian imperialism. The present fight of Turkestanians for their national independence is not new; in 1898 there was a rising under Duktschi Eschan, in 1916, mass risings, and between 1917 and 1923 there were many bloody battles, all against Russian imperialism, with the aim of throwing off its fetters and regaining national liberty. The present struggle is only more intense than those of the past, but its aim is the same. Everyone has now grasped that the Soviet Union is not a voluntary union of nations or national states. It is, indeed, absurd to maintain that nations which have been deprived of every trace of liberty and sovereignty are voluntary members of a Union that is merely an association of communist party leaders working for Russian hegemony.

Twofold Aim of the Struggle for Liberation

It is clear, therefore, that non-Russian movements in the Soviet Unions pursue two aims. The first of these is the destruction of the bolshevist system of totalitarianism, and the second, the more important, the liquidation of Rus-

sian imperialism of every colour, and the establishment of national and independent states which will lead a free and peaceful life in the community of free nations. The liberation struggle of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union is based on these two fundamental and inseparable aims.

Sometimes the erroneous view is expressed that the sovereignty of nations violates world unity in the provinces of economics and politics, or that it is a danger to world peace. Equally wrong and unjust are assertions that the principles of the U.N. or the Atlantic Charter do not apply equally to all nations. While such opinions are unlikely to have much influence on real life today, there is always a danger that they may be utilized by bolshevist propaganda.

Bolshevist Imperialism in Disguise

Bolshevist imperialism is but a continuation of the notorious colonial policy of the Czars; it brutally suppresses small and weak nations and insolently utilizes the desire of small nations for independence in its propaganda against democratic states. To the world, Soviet Russia poses as the champion of the liberties of nations and, at the same time, endeavours to extend its authority over many nations, particularly in the Far East. The masses, dazzled by Soviet propaganda, are ready to allow themselves to be organized as a weapon of communist destruction.

Independence For Export Only

Soviet Russia demands from the non-Russian peoples it subjugates that they destroy all national feeling but it apparently furthers national independence beyond its frontiers. It is common knowledge that Soviet Russia does its best to destroy the United Nations from within and to form a "Union of Nations" under the supremacy of the Kremlin, Soviet Russia and every form of imperialism that is based on the destruction of national independence are dangerous enemies of international understanding, world peace and the union of nations and national freedoms. There will never be freedom in the real sense of the word as long as the conditions that guarantee it are absent. There can be no freedom without national independence.

It goes without saying that a nation that is not free and independent cannot be a member of a national union with equality of rights. Otherwise, such a union would, as in Soviet Russia, mean the hegemony of one nation and the destruction of the national sovereignty of others. This would lead to fresh unrest and wars.

There can be no just and free union of nations unless the independence of its member states is guaranteed. Democracy demands that there be no difference before the law between small and great nations, for the inhabitants of the former have the same status as those of larger nations. They, too, have a right to liberty and happiness. The recognition of the equal rights of all is

The Fiasco of Wiesbaden

About 30 men met early in November in a hotel in Wiesbaden, Germany — 20 Russians, 3 Aserbaijanians, 3 Armenians, 2 Georgians, 2 Turkestanians, 1 Byelorussian and 1 American. They wished to found a "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia", on which, for the first time, Russian politicians were to cooperate with representatives of non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R.

This step was prepared some eighteen months ago by Russian exiles in the United States. The notorious Kerensky, who played into the hands of the bolsheviks when he was the weak head of the state in 1917, was behind the plan. In spite of the great efforts made by his preliminary committee, things did not get moving until some rich Americans decided to join and help to realize the plan. What is now known as the "American Committee for the Liberation of the Russian People" was founded for this purpose.

Mr. Don Levine and Mr. Williams, members of the committee, came to Germany some months ago in order to conduct negotiations in what is the centre of Russian emigrés, and were often in New York, Paris, Frankfurt and Munich in pursuance of their object. They met with considerable difficulty. First, there was the question of selecting the most representative of the thirty odd Russian political organizations abroad, so as to draw up a common plan of action. Monarchist and totalitarian organizations were to be excluded, and this made things casier. After lengthy negotiation, the following five Russian parties were selected: League for the People's Freedom (L.B.N.S.), National Work Union (N.T.S.), Russian People's Movement (R.N.D.), Union of Fighters for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia (S.B.O.N.R.), and the Fighters for the Freedom of Russia (S.B.S.R.).

There is a certain irony in the fact that these parties comprised some

a foundation-stone in the edifice of international democracy.

Discrimination of race, destruction of this or that nation are characteristic of soviet Russian imperialism and medieval barbarism; they are utterly out of place in the democratic, civilized world of today.

In spite of terrorism, violence and persecution, the idea of national liberty and independence has gained much ground. It is as impossible to prevent the sun from rising as it is to suppress by force the idea of liberty. The enemies of independence would be wise to realize this fact.

There is only one condition that will ensure the destruction of totalitarianism and expansionist imperialism and the formation of a union of free nations with equal rights, and that is — **national independence.**

decided ex-fascists, and nazi supporters. The programme of the N.T.S. before 1945 for instance, contains the following: "Russia has no need of the comedy of parliamentary elections, but rather the choice of strong personalities. Foreigners may not belong to the Russian nation even if they have lived in Russia for years. The same applies to Jews who have the right to leave Russia if they leave their property behind. The government is not responsible to a parliament. The Prime Minister is appointed by the head of the state, to whom alone he is responsible." The same party (N.T.S.) also includes members of the Russian Kaminski SS-Division which had a share in quelling the Warsaw rising. The Union of Fighters for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia and the other organizations selected are composed mostly of followers of General Vlassov whose anti-semitic and antidemocratic views and hostility to the Allies have been historically proved.

For weeks these five chosen parties quarrelled about who was to lead them. One of the main arguments of the N.T.S. against the claims of the other parties to leadership was the undeniably true fact that not one of them had more than a dozen members. The S.B.O.N.R. in reply reproached the N.T.S. with being a fascist organization and therefore excluded from leadership. But differences in the question of nationalities were more serious than those internal disputes. The least progressive party was the N.T.S. with its programme of a centralised Russia, in which non-Russian peoples should have autonomy only in cultural affairs. To this the S.B.O.N.R. which is composed mainly of more recent exiles, replied that such a centralised programme of autonomy has been exceeded by the present Soviet government. Stalin, they pointed out, had been obliged to acknowledge the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. officially, even if he granted them nothing more than the form of independence as Soviet Republics. The N.T.S., whose members are mostly old emigrés, refused to accept such reasoning, and so the first meeting of the prospective Council, held in Füssen on July 20, 1951 dissolved without coming to any result. Thereupon the American sponsors became active and tried to compel obedience by stopping the money. They insisted on federalism as a basic principle in building up the new Russian imperium. This was the atmosphere of the second meeting of the parties concerned at Stuttgart on August 20, 1951. It "solved" the difficult question of nationalities by resolving that the future Russian imperium should be constructed on a basis of federalism. All agreed that the non-Russian peoples should not receive an independent status.

Meanwhile Mr. Don Levine had put out feelers to representatives of the non-Russian peoples, in order to win them for a federal Russian imperium. The results of these attempts were

Gaps in the Democratic Youth Front

By Yaroslav Z. Pelensky

In the summer of 1951 mass youth rallies were held on both sides of the iron curtain. A comparison of these simultaneous demonstrations discloses reasons for weaknesses in the youth policy pursued by the West.

The Berlin Youth Festival, an Event in the Cold War

The managers of the communist "Festival of Youth" in Berlin had two main reasons for focussing attention on this event: first, in order to weld communist youth closer and second, to win thereby a battle in the cold war. An enormous apparatus of organization was set in motion for the purpose of showing the West how strong, well-disciplined and idealistic youth in the East is. More than a million young people were brought to Berlin and marched through its streets in endless columns, thus demonstrating their readiness to fight for Stalin and communism.

This is not affected by the fact that individual members fled to the West, and that the Western press was forced to take notice of the demonstration; they actually published more commentaries than necessary and unconsciously gave good publicity to bolshevism.

"Free Europe Committee"

The counter-demonstration, organized by the Committee for Free Europe was inadequate both in conception and execution.

The combative spirit was absent; instead of attacking communism, and revealing the nature of the dictatorship of the Russian people in the Soviet Union, and supporting the other nations

in the U.S.S.R. and the satellite states, its message was federation, although organizers must have known how welcome such an idea is to Russia. This is where the interests of delegates from non-Russian peoples in the East should have been stressed, and, as this was not done, the whole affair became a fiasco.

The problem of youth became important for the West about the same time and the

"European Youth Meeting at the Lorelei Rock"

was organized. It was to be a proof to the East of Europe's vitality. The aim was to prove the solidarity of European youth and, if need be, its readiness to resist communism. The present writer who attended the meeting as a member of Ukrainian delegation, experienced there one of the worst disappointments of his life. The Youth Meeting at the Lorelei Rock developed into a veritable scandal.

The "Komsomolskaya Pravda" of 26. 9. 1951 stated with considerable satisfaction in its article on the "Lorelei Rock of Opposition" that the "Camp", the bulletin issued at the Meeting, bore the dove of peace on its frontispiece. The same article continued: "The camp was decorated with such bills as: 'Americans, get out! We don't want to be soldiers for the Yankees!' That such things could happen at all was not only the work of the many French communists there, it also proved the incapacity of the managers of the camp and the organizers of the Meeting. They failed to notice communist infiltration, and refused to allow delegates from Eastern Europe to cooperate. Their

deplorable. First there was the Ukrainian refusal: representatives of all seven Ukrainian parties active abroad gave Mr. Levine an unambiguous negative. All Ukrainians demanded complete independence from Russia and an independent Ukrainian state. And those of the peoples of Turkestan, Georgia, North Caucasia, Aserbaijan, Cossackia and Idel-Ural made it clear that they will certainly not subordinate themselves to Russians.

It is worth noting that this refusal of non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R. to form a federation with the Russians was energetically supported by representatives of the soviet satellite nations: Bulgarians, Rumanians, Slovaks, Czechs and Hungarians. They, as "burnt children" evidently dread the fire of federalism with Moscow.

There was, therefore, only one way left for the Russians and their American managers, viz., they would have to do without genuine representatives of the non-Russian nations and try to find substitutes. This they had no scruples in doing; within two weeks no fewer than five "Ukrainian parties" were hunted up and marshalled into action. These "parties" have a total member-

ship of less than thirty, who are mostly politically indifferent or men with a doubtful past. The expenses of this puppet show were borne by the American circles already referred to. The "artistes" thus hired for public performances received new coats, shoes, hats, etc.

Now the curtain could go up on the meeting planned for Wiesbaden early in November with the cooperation of "Aserbaijanians", "Turkestanians", "Armenians", "North Caucasiens", "Georgians" and "Byelorussians". The non-Russian peoples, however, were "represented" by private persons whom nobody had authorized to do so. Details about these "representatives" and the manoeuvres at the Wiesbaden meeting will be made public shortly in a declaration by the lawful representatives of the nations concerned. Mr. Akber, for instance, who was in Wiesbaden as a representative of Aserbaijan, declared that the Russians there played a trick on him by putting his name to the declaration and communiqué issued by the Wiesbaden meeting although they had no authority to do so.

We understand that the following demands were put to the Russians at

standpoint was: "We don't want any American, anti-Soviet propaganda", and every guest from the East was unwelcome. "Camp", the official bulletin issued by the management, openly published anti-American propaganda, and that with American money and American support. The third event which merits attention is

The First General Meeting of the World Assembly of Youth

in Ithaca, U.S.A. Here a club of elderly gentlemen (50-60 years old) discussed "youth problems" for 11 days. Apparently youth is not fit to discuss its own problems. Here again statements were made such as: "We want an understanding with the East! We are opposed to political activity! The U.S.S.R. must not be irritated and peace must be made!" We cannot understand how the West can desire to have any kind of peace with Stalin.

Lack of ideas was characteristic of this meeting. Although the World Assembly of Youth is based on the Charter of Human Rights, it hesitates to apply them wherever the Soviet Union is concerned. If the peoples of the U.S.S.R. were mentioned at all, it was only as "the dear, great Russian people".

When we review these meetings, we must ask what the West has done for the

Formation of the Democratic Youth Front?

We must try first to discover the reasons for the apathy of Western youth.

The first is lack of ideas. The youth of the Western World wants above all to be let alone, no matter at what cost. It flirts with the amenities of prosperity, for which it is willing to sacrifice almost everything, including patriotism

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the Wiesbaden meeting by non-Russians: 1) The automatic reconstruction of independence for all peoples who proclaimed their sovereignty as states between 1917 and 1920; 2) No Russian leadership in the proposed committee, Russia to have the same position as the other members. Needless to say, those conditions were not accepted by the Russians, so the meeting was not able to arrive at a satisfactory result after five days of difficult negotiation. In order to prevent the public from getting to know the real nature of the fiasco, the Russians persuaded the non-Russian "delegates" to sign a common bulletin which does indeed mention the right of peoples to "self-determination but carefully avoids any definition of this term and any indication of how this theoretical right is to be put into practice. We do not need to say that for the Russians it means only the federal construction of their imperium, while all non-Russian peoples long for complete separation from Moscow and continue to insist on their own national states. The Wiesbaden declaration, therefore, throws a very thin veil over a sharp division without contributing at all to bridging it.

A Statement by "National Bulgaria"

For the Information of the West

We reproduce here an article that appeared in "National Bulgaria" the official organ of the National Bulgarian Front, as it is of importance for the satellite states in general. It deals with the controversy between national politicians who have fought against bolshevism for years and are still its determined enemies, and Left radical politicians who helped communists to force their people under Moscow's yoke and then, when their hopes were disappointed, emigrated to the West, where strangely enough, they alone receive support and recognition as democratic champions in the fight against bolshevism. — Ed.

The article deals with two remarkable events in recent Bulgarian history — the mysterious death of King Boris on August 28, 1943 and the communist revolution of September 9, 1944, and draws certain conclusions from a comparison of conditions in the constitutional monarchy and those under the regime of the "Fatherland Front", an organization that was inspired by communism.

The king opposed Bulgaria's entry into the war and tried to lead his country unscathed out of the general catastrophe. One story is that his death was arranged by Himmler because King Boris had refused to obey Hitler's orders to take active part in the war. The other version is that the King was poisoned by order of Stalin because he was preparing to make terms with Washington and London to end the formal state of war in Bulgaria, which would have deprived Moscow from later extending its sphere of influence by invading Bulgaria with the Red Army. The people mourned for their king as for a martyr whose death presaged evil to come.

The article continues:

"Then came the coup of September 9. It turned out to be worse than the people's darkest forebodings. A company of irresponsible adventurers, paradoxically called the "Fatherland Front", usurped supreme power and began to "liberate the people's state". A handful of bandits, calling themselves the "partisans" of an alleged resistance movement, crept out of their hiding-places, got arms from the govern-

ment and, under the protection of the Red Army, the "two-fold liberator", transformed our happy country into a slaughter-house. Laws were no longer valid, conscience was stifled and the sense of right trampled under foot. Order was replaced by a regime of caprice whose supreme law was: "Down with fascism! Freedom for the people!" In the eyes of this government of bandits, everyone was a fascist who did not belong to the conspiracy of the "Fatherland Front", and who had remained loyal to the constitution and national interests. These, it may be said, were the intellectual, political and military elite of the country.

After a few months the "Fatherland Front" triumphed completely. Patriotism was declared to be treason, national duty high treason, while treason became the citizen's first duty. Courts pronounced sentences by order, the "enlighteners of the people" spread darkness, the army lost its leaders and its soldiers took an oath of loyalty to Moscow. Servants of law and justice filled the prisons, thieves were given state posts, and murderers became ministers.

And yet there are Bulgarians in exile today who dare to speak of a "people's rising on September 9"! The world, thank God, knows better and history will not be led astray by participants in the bloodshed of those days. In 1945 the "Reader's Digest", the well-known American periodical, published in its October number a striking report entitled "I saw the Russians take possession of Bulgaria". The American jour-

ity ought to be utilized. This means that an attempt should be made to realize those ideas everywhere in the world, but not that the idea of freedom should be a monopoly. We are thinking here in the first place of the young people of the nations represented in the A.B.N. who have been fighting for years for the realization of the ideal of freedom in their home countries.

Further, a scheme should be launched to form a united, anti-communist youth front in which Byelorussians, Hungarians, Baltic peoples, Ukrainians, etc. should be represented.

To discuss plans for federation and to ignore soviet manoeuvres at russification is to weaken the democratic ideal of peace in the West. There will be no democratic youth front until it includes the idea of freedom held by the youth of the peoples of the East.

alist ends his report with these significant words: "Every honest observer who saw the Fatherland Front in action can swear that it was not a democratic body representative of the broad mass of the people."

It certainly was not the Bulgarian people! The great majority of the people knew the fate that threatened it from the Soviet Union and the lot prepared for it by a communist government. That is why the people did not make common cause with the "Fatherland Front" and why it wept so bitterly when its king died. The only eyes that were dry then were those of supporters of the mob that rejoiced at the coup of September 9. For it was nothing but a mob of criminals, of undisciplined rowdies, of fools poisoned by propaganda. They alone could rejoice so irresponsibly on September 6 and welcome our oppressors.

Some of their leaders are once more in the capitals of Western democracies. Their comrades and functionaries during the days following September 9 are in various emigré camps throughout Western Europe, where they are once more using their fists and their knives in the best traditions of their party to terrorize rightful exiles from Bulgaria. Nor is this all.

They are considered worthy of serving as "the democratic vanguard in the crusade for freedom" which the American committee for Free Europe intends to launch in Bulgaria as well as in other countries. Poor crusade! Poor Bulgaria!

The author goes on to point out that the question at issue is not one between the monarchist and republican form of government. He expresses the alternative facing Bulgarian exiles and Western statesmen as follows:

"The question is really which ideal our Bulgarian exiles are prepared to stand for. Are they, in harmony with the longings of our oppressed people, for the restoration of its lost rights and its national dignity, which will guarantee a really "Free and independent Bulgaria"? Or do they use this phrase as a meaningless label for a new conspiracy formed in exile among those responsible for September 9, who intend to usurp supreme power in Bulgaria anew, to stifle democracy there again, sow discord among our people and cast over the future the gloomy shadow of death and dungeon?.. This is a question which must be faced by all responsible statesmen and institutions of Western powers, and above all in the United States, when they consider whom they are to trust and support, — those who keep step with the historical march of our small, but hardy and proud Bulgarian nation and who fight for the restoration of a genuine democracy in Bulgaria, followed by the great majority of the people; or will the Western democracies continue to support those who organized the fatal bomb of September 9, from the consequences of which the people is still suffering."

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and national traditions. The polished pacifism of the Twenties with all its weakness, is typical for these young people.

What could the West offer youth?

It could inspire it with the ideal of democracy, but it would also have to give it the chance to stand up for that ideal. It would have to defend not only its own freedom but that of nations deprived for it. There will be no united front of democratic youth as long as there are no bridges to the youth of peoples in the East and as long as they are not given wholehearted support in their fight for freedom.

What should be done?

The answer to this is short: As the ideas of the Western World are superior to those of bolshevism, this superior-

A Bad Bargain:**Alliances Between Russia and the West**

By Dr. D. Donzov

Peter I was the founder of Russia's European policy. Even then Russia found allies among the states of Western Europe (Denmark and Poland). Thanks to their help, she gained access to the Baltic Sea, an advance that was to cause these allies considerable trouble. The West requested and received help from Russia in its war against Frederick the Great. Russia took part in the "Three Ladies' War" (Maria Theresa of Austria, Elizabeth of Russia and the Marquise de Pompadour) against Prussia and was for the first time present as an arbiter in the settlement of disputes in Western Europe.

Russia and the French Revolution

As a result of the appeal for help by Western monarchies to Russia, Russian armies penetrated as far as Italy and Switzerland, and her annexation of Poland with its capital, Warsaw, gave Russia an excellent strategic position in the heart of Central Europe.

Soon the price for help against Napoleon seemed to the West too high, and England planned an Alliance of Western Europe against Russia. But it was too late.

Russia's Part in the World War

Russia paid for the help it received from its Western Allies in the war of 1914-18 by a treacherous separate peace that greatly imperilled the situation of the Allies. The West, however, was not slow to recognize these traitors as the lawful government of Russia who were immediately welcomed as members of the League of Nations. Russia's next step was to found the Third International in order to stir up domestic trouble for its generous patrons.

World War II the West hastened once more to form an alliance with the Kremlin gangsters. And the balance for Russia? — The half of Western Europe, the half of Asia and a seat in the United Nations. And what did the

West get out of its alliances with Russia? The Fifth Column, civil war in Europe, cold and hot war in Asia and the danger of falling itself under the yoke of Russia.

Pro-Russian Influences in the West

To weight the balance even more, obscure but influential circles in the West are aiming at removing all kinds of anti-Russian states and nations out of the way of the Russian imperium, such, for instance as National China,

Japan and Germany. The negative attitude to Spain, Ukraine and the Arab World is part of this policy. Is there no end to this suicidal policy on the part of the West? Will England in particular not revert to its policy in the 17th and 18th centuries, when its statesmen and representatives in Italy, Constantinople and Stockholm gave support to all European powers, including Ukraine, against Russian expansion.

Edmund Burke, England's leading politician and orator at the time of the French Revolution wrote with sorrow:

"The age of children is gone. That of sophists, economists and calculators has succeeded and the glory of Europe is extinguished for ever." ... Let us hope that such is not the case.

Azerbaijan Opposes Russian Imperialism

We publish parts of the "Declaration" of "MUSAVAT", the National Popular Party of Azerbaijan concerning the "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia". The "Declaration" has been issued by the Foreign Bureau of "MUSAVAT". — Ed.

1) The concept of "Nations of Russia" dates back to the Russian empire and is therefore an anachronism today. This terminology, which clings to the nominal frontiers of the late Russian empire, is essentially anti-democratic. The very concept of "Nations of Russia" lost all meaning with the collapse of the Russian Empire. In the Soviet Union, the successor of the Empire of the Tsars, there are no "Nations of Russia", but only a "Russian Nation" on the one hand, and "Non-Russian Nations" on the other. The nation of Azerbaijan is entirely different from the Russian nation.

2) Just as it is inadmissible today to talk of the "Nations of Russia", it is also absurd to talk of the "The National Minorities" in the Soviet Union". This term should be applied only to

ethnic elements deprived of a national territory and living scattered in the midst of a large mass. But the nations in question are ethnical entities living grouped on territories of their own, possessing formally the same rights as the Russians.

3) Upon the collapse of the Russian Empire, the people of Azerbaijan proclaimed its independence on May 28, 1918 and established a modern republic which was recognized by the Great Powers.

4) The present Soviet regime in Azerbaijan was created by military forces who invaded the country. The people of Azerbaijan put up a desperate resistance to this Russian invasion and lost tens of thousands of men. No member of this nation, whose sovereignty was generally acknowledged, will consent to having this sovereignty blurred and degraded; the nation of Azerbaijan made a final decision on this point when it proclaimed its independence in 1918, sealing it with its blood.

5) If all free nations are to be united against the danger of Bolshevist imperialism now threatening civilization, democracy and the rights of man, the principle of a "Federation of the Nations of Russia" which is but a disguise for "Russia one and indivisible", the slogan of Tsarist and bolshevist imperialism, must be discarded.

6) If the Russian parties are genuinely democratic, they should refrain from extending the concept of "Russia" to the territories of the so-called "minorities", whose population amounts to half of that of the entire Soviet Union, and should restrict this concept to the ethnological frontiers of Russia proper. In our opinion, only those Russians can be considered democrats who really respect the principles of national independence and democracy in other nations, and confine themselves to their own ethnical territory.

their God in their own way, to freedom of thought, speech and assembly, and to live in peace with all the world. The beginning must be the depriving of Russia for good of all its power for evil. All the 125 millions of non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. are prepared to help to this end. But they need a lead and they do not wish that lead to come either from politics or finance.

Again we urge that it is the Churches' duty to give that lead, and in no uncertain way, and to repudiate any idea of friendship with a nation which has been responsible for more torture, murder, misery and destruction than have ever existed in the world, until there has been the fullest expiation. For the Russian people must bear their share of responsibility.

In Defense of Churches . . .

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that the statesmanship of the despised Victorians would not have been able to rescue the world from the ruin inflicted on it by Russian Imperialism.

The Church Should Lead

If politicians and the Press will not lead the way to justice, we pray that the Churches will, and that it will mean not more talking and registering platitudinous protests, but a campaign such as has been fought in the past for, possibly, less worthy causes.

We would repeat, no one wishes to interfere with the Russians, but all these non-Russian peoples demand the right to rule themselves, to worship

From behind the Iron Curtain

ARMENIA

POLITICAL TRAINING IS WEAK

The "Pravda" of November 20 published the following report from its own correspondent in Erevan:

"At a general meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia a lecture was discussed which had been given by Comrade Martirosyan, the chief of the committee's section for problems connected with the party, trade unions, organizations of communist youth when he talked about improving conditions of entrance into the party and of training young communists.

Several party organizations in Erevan, and in the districts of Kirovakan, Srtik, Alaverd and Bassargedhar do not apply the principle of strict selection; they take members into the party without first examining them carefully.

In the course of the discussion, it was pointed out that in many party groups, the training of young communists and particularly of party candidates was badly organized. Candidates for membership are not sufficiently employed in party life, and too little attention is paid to the systematic improvement of their political level.

It is worth noting that, when articles in the Moscow press deal with inadequate political training, they are always devoted to non-Russian republics in the Soviet Union. Is there any better proof that the Russian people is not interested in the anti-bolshevist fight for freedom in the Soviet Union?

ASERBAIJAN

"NOT SOCIALISTIC"

The Soviet press continues to publish severe attacks on the writers of Azerbaijan. M. Dilbasi, S. Chalil, I. Ibragimov and A. Dzhamil, Azerbaijanian poets, are censured for "lauding, not socialist Azerbaijan, but Azerbaijan in general". Y. Shirvan, G. Akhundla, M. Mushtaga, S. Rustama, Azerbaijanian writers, are accused of having "distorted truth in their books". A number of Azerbaijanian writers and scientists are reproached with "entertaining anti-marxist, nationalistic views".

COSSACKIA

FRESH PURGE

Purging works by Cossackian poets and writers of what is called "bourgeois nationalism" and "terrible nationalism" in Cossackia continues. Men who not long ago received Stalin prizes for their books are also among the

"accused", for instance, V. Zakrutkin, the author of the novel "Swimming Stanitza", A. Koshevnikov, the author of "Living Water", Vasilenko, Petrov (Biriuk) and many more.

A long leading article in the recently published "Don", an almanach that appeared in Rostov on the Don, talks of the political importance of works by Cossackian writers and poets.

The "Pravda" and the "Isvestiya" contain severe criticism on the collected works of Cossackian poets that have been published recently. They censure particularly the works of I. Frolov and A. Gadatatl, as "greatly damaging political thinking". (The same applies to the work of the young Cossackian poet, Vl. Kostin. He is accused of giving too much thought to Cossackian patriotism and too little to "Soviet patriotism".

CZECHIA

STUDY OF THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE

In consequence of directives issued by the Prague government, the study of Russian in Czechoslovakia is increasing. New courses continue to be opened in many towns and villages and are much more numerous and better attended than last year. According to official statistics, there are 5200 courses in Russian in Czechoslovakia at present and the number of those attending them is 107,138.

HUNGARY

FORCED LABOUR

On November 18, 1951 the "Isvestiya" published the following report by its own correspondent in Budapest:

"Profiting from the rich experience of the Soviet Union, the young councils of the Hungarian Peoples' Republic try to keep in close touch with the electors. Thus, meetings are arranged at which representatives in the councils tell their electors about their work. Recently 226 members of district councils have given reports to a total of 15,000 electors.

At many meetings electors have decided to organize unpaid work to improve the town. Thus, for instance, the employees in the central office for statistics have undertaken to do part of the digging in certain building schemes. The workmen in the 16th District have promised to help with laying water-pipes in Aran Janosh Street."

This article shows that the Soviet Union is indeed experienced in making working people report voluntarily for forced labour. In every other country such work is paid.

LITHUANIA

THE FATE OF LITHUANIAN BISHOPS

No one knows what has become of the bishops in Lithuania, nor does anyone speak of their fate. The only one left is Bishop Paltaroska. Many parishes have no priest and even if they have one, the church is often closed because of high taxes.

Last year the Bishop sent a representative to Memel, where he preached and dispensed the Sacraments. When he was in the train on his return journey, he was arrested at Telsiai. Most churches and convents are closed. Where they are still open, the populace makes every sacrifice to keep them going, sharing their last penny with their priest. Terrorism has not been able to stamp religious life out, and the churches are overcrowded on Feast Days. The bolsheviks are trying to hammer into the people that the priests and the Catholic Church are parasites and rogues, but the people know themselves how much of that is true. Show trials of churchmen are rare, as the power of faith in the country is still too strong. This explains why priests simply disappear when they are arrested by M.G.B. agents during the night.

PARTISANS ACTIVE

Everybody in the country knows about the partisans, though nobody talks of them. They operate in small groups against ruthless opposition. Many a peasant has been sentenced to many year's imprisonment merely because a "partisan" has passed through his farm. And every stranger may be reckoned as a partisan. Many so-called "stribai" have been sentenced to 25 years' forced labour because they have allegedly been in communication with partisans. The bodies of partisans who have been killed are no longer left lying in public squares or in front of the Militia's quarters, but are buried on the quiet.

"Stribai" is what the people call the Russian "Istryebiteli", M.V.D. troops. They, too, are well-known throughout the country. The members of such troops must sign a declaration, saying that they are the most loyal of the loyal disciples of Lenin and Stalin, that they obey their superiors blindly, ready, if need be, to arrest and destroy their own parents. Cases are known when these "stribai" have actually taken their parents to the trucks standing ready to transport them to exile in Siberia.

They are recruited from adventurers who have managed to avoid military service and who hope to make money. In the past, it is true, they did make a lot by robbing their victims. But now that everybody is poor, and they have no longer this source of aggrandisement, they must depend on their monthly wage of 400 roubles. They are despised by all; they are poorly equipped and have to do hard work. Now they try to desert though imprisonment is the penalty.

The district towns are full of these "sribai", and of the M.G.B.-M.V.D. and Militia. The latter are hated by Russians as bitterly as the "sribai" by Lithuanians, because they also punish Russians who, as is well-known, expect to "have a good time" in foreign countries. There are also decent men in the Militia who really try to protect their countrymen from robbery and maltreatment.

POLAND

EXPLOITATION

The Soviet press reports that Poland is being industrialized at a great rate. The number of workers employed in industry is twice as high as before the war. In the last two years alone, the number employed otherwise than in agriculture has increased to 1,200,000.

The "Nowa Huta", the largest metallurgical plant in the country, now being erected, will produce as much as the whole country did in pre-war days. It is obvious that the Kremlin has already engaged the potential of Poland in its war machine.

RUSSIAN TEACHERS

Many Russians came to Poland for the "Month of Polish-Soviet Friendship" in order to give the Poles the benefit of Soviet experience. Russian directors of factories and Stakhanov workers are teaching Poles how to work. The introduction of Soviet methods of working in Polish industry and business is another step towards the russification of Poland and the transformation of the country into a Russian province.

PRIESTS ARRESTED

Many Roman Catholic priests have been arrested in recent weeks. Most of them were released after a few days. These measures are obviously intended to frighten churchmen. Some of the priests were kept in prison, for instance, Pater W. Sygmunt, Leszno, Pater Dominic, Jelenia Gora and Pater Milewski, Sprottau.

RUMANIA

RESISTANCE AND REPRESSION

The region round the Horezu monastery, in the district known formerly as Balcea, is one of the centers of active armed resistance in the mountainous regions (Carpathians) of Wallachia and Oltenia. In spite of all the extraordinary security measures taken by the militia formation stationed in Ramicul-Valcu, Targu-Juc, and Craiova, the group operating in the mountain fastnesses round Horezu has not yet been liquidated.

Special security troops have been stationed in the neighbouring villages, notably at Barbatesti and Novaci, and the local peasantry has come to take rounds of pitched battles as a matter of course. Rifle and machine gun fire, the explosion of hand grenades and

mortar shells punctuate uneasy nights. In spite of recurrent house to-house searches, sudden forays, and arrests, the villagers continue to sympathize with the outlaw groups, and give them what assistance they can.

SOVIET TRAIN DERAILED

A Soviet military train was derailed last July, near Fetesti, where the Bukarest—Constanza and Galizi—Constanza lines meet. About 180 people were killed, most of them Soviet army personnel and Rumanian railroad workers. The investigations pointed to sabotage, and numerous arrests were made.

SABOTAGE

We have heard that the huge furnace recently completed at the Medgidia (Dobrudja) cement works, built at the cost of some four million lei and stated to have been the most modern in existence, went up in flames a few hours after being put in operation. In spite of the presence of foreign specialists, Rumanian workmen had succeeded in sabotaging the construction. The new furnace is a total loss.

At the "Fenix" vegetable oil plant in Bukarest, two cisterns, holding some 5,000 liters of oil, were recently found completely empty. The bottoms had been punctured, and the oil had drained out overnight, as the investigation revealed. A number of workers were arrested immediately.

TURKESTAN

NATIONALISM AGAIN

The "Literaturnaya Gaseta", a Moscow paper, published in its number for October 27, 1951 a long article entitled "Korkut Ata, an epic alien to the Turkmenian people. The writer deals with expressions of "bourgeois nationalism" in the Soviet Republic of Turkmenistan, east of the Caspian Sea, a section of Turkestan. We reproduce extracts from the article:

"At its Tenth Congress, the Communist party of Turkmenistan appealed to party organizations in the Republic and workers on the ideological front to increase their opposition to all expressions of other ideologies and to barrenness and indifference in the province of politics."

"Some experts in the field of literature and philology are idealizing deleterious foreign books which tend to infect our people with the poison of bourgeois nationalism.

In recent years, experts in Turkmenian literature have been extolling the book, "Korkut Ata" as the heroic epic of the Turkmenian people.

What is heroic about this book?

Nothing whatever. It makes no mention of the heroic past of the Turkmenian people, of its brave deeds in its fight against oppressors. It contains nothing about the noble and lasting qualities of the Turkmenian people, of its love for its native land, its hatred of oppressors, its readiness to make sacrifices, its courage and generosity

and its desire to live at peace with other peoples.

There are twelve songs in the book which are ascribed to Korkut Ata. This is not the name of a popular minstrel but of the bard of the Ogusian feudal lords of the 11th century, and a representative of nationalist ideology.

"Korkut Ata" has nothing in common with the Turkmenian people and is quite unknown to them; it is alien to the spirit and character of the people and to its endeavours, traditions and customs.

"A summary of the contents of "Korkut Ata" was published for the first time in 1945 and 1946 in the review, "Sowjet Edebijaty" (the organ of the Union of Soviet writers of Turkmenistan).

Mr. Kossayev, formerly the editor of that paper, gave space in its pages for a eulogy of this epic which he printed under the title of "Extracts from Old Literary Monuments of the Turkmenian People". In his article Mr. Kossayev wrote: "'Korkut Ata' had a great influence on Turkmenian poets and writers; it was a source of heroism to which we owe a number of fine novels dealing with the defence and love of our country. It played a great part in the production of patriots." "O. Abdalov, editor-in-chief of the state publishing concern is also to blame for the publicity that has been given to 'Korkut Ata'. In the textbook on contemporary Turkmenian literature, published under the supervision of Abdalov for use in the ten grades of secondary schools, it is maintained that the rich literary heritage of the Turkmenian people contains masterpieces like 'Korkut Ata', one of the treasure of world literature.

Literature experts and philosophers in the Republic have supported these views and made zealous propaganda for the work. Fragments were published in literary reviews and almanachs, while extracts were included in most anthologies and textbooks."

UKRAINE

CRITICISM OF ARTISTS

Moscow's attack on the national culture of non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union continues. At the moment, it is the turn of Ukrainian painters to be criticized.

Towards the end of September a general meeting of the officebearers in the Union of Soviet Painters in Ukraine was summoned for the purpose of considering the implications for their field of art of the article in the "Pravda" on ideological distortions in Ukrainian literature and of registering admissions of shortcomings. On 2. 10. 1951, a special correspondent published the following report in the "Pravda" dealing with Ukrainian Painters: "The life and work of the heroic working-classes in towns and on collective farms is poorly represented. The reason for this deficiency is that political work in the Union of Soviet Artists in

Byelorussian National Council

Against Russian Imperialism

At its plenary meeting on October 28, 1951, in New York, the Byelorussian National Council (B.N.R.) unanimously rejected the programme of the five Russian exile parties as represented by the "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia (S.O.N.R.)", regarding it as a great danger for the common fight against bolshevism.

The Right of the Czech und Slovak Peoples to Self-determination

The following is an extract from a Resolution submitted to the House of Representatives by Mr. Kersten of Winsconsin on July 4, 1951.

To direct our representatives in the United Nations — "... To demand that free elections be held for the Czech and Slovak peoples under police supervision of the United Nations in order that they may freely decide without outside their own government founded on such principles as to them shall seem most pressure, whether to establish a common or separate states, and to organize likely to effect their safety and happiness and to secure to themselves the blessings of liberty.

Foolish Imperialist Dreams

We regret that various imperialist tendencies have recently appeared in certain publications of Hungarian exiles. There have been foolish suggestions from time to time that Croatia, Slovakia or Carpatho-Ukraine are parts of Hungary, suggestions that are too absurd to call for comment. We should only like to state that responsible Hungarians in exile repudiate such illusions. In accordance with the principles of the A.B., all national delegations of the A.B.N., including the Hungarian, support the independence of Croatia and Slovakia and regard Carpatho-Ukraine as an integral part of the State of Ukraine.

C. P.

Poles Members of the A.B.N.

The Polish National Committee in Venezuela has applied for membership

Ukraine is insufficiently organized... The organizational work accomplished by the leaders of this Union is not equal to the creative tasks set before it."

ADMISSIONS BY FUNCTIONARIES

At the meeting of party functionaries in Kyiv on September 17, it was stated that the fight against bureaucracy and slack discipline towards the state was not yet being waged with sufficient energy. Criticism and self-criticism, it seems, are weak, and political work among the masses badly organized.

These facts are taken from the "Pravda" of 18. 9. 51. As the minutes of meetings of party functionaries are written in the central office of the communist party in Moscow, the "Pravda" report may be regarded as confirming the disapproval which the central office entertains for the work of the communist party in Ukraine.

of the Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.).

A Polish priest, the chairman of this Committee, declared that he could not support the politics of the Polish Exile Government in London while he fully approved of the program of the A.B.N., especially the points dealing with the claims of Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Lithuanians to their territories, formerly occupied by Poland.

By joining the anti-Imperialist A.B.N., the Polish Committee in Venezuela condemns all imperialist greed for foreign territory and supports the re-construction of political relations in countries behind the Iron Curtain on the principles of liberty and equality for all nations.

A.B.N. Stamps



November 1, 1951, First Edition, issued by the Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) Symbolic figures, letter press, on paper with honeycomb watermark, 10 perforations,

1. 15 dark red
2. 15 dark blue-green
3. 35 purple
4. 35 blue

Issue: 12 276 complete sets, of which 1080 sets are unperforated.

Supplied by: A.B.N. Correspondence, P. O. Box 70, Munich 33, Germany.

The Slovak Republic Insists on Independence

The Slovak Liberation Committee sent a note to the General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris begging it to settle the present problem of Slovakia which is still at war with the U.S.S.R. We quote:

"The Slovak Republic was proclaimed and Slovakia became independent on March 14, 1939 by the unanimous vote of the Slovak Diet elected on December 18, 1939 by universal, secret and equal suffrage.

"This decision fulfilled the centuries old efforts of the Slovak nation and the will of the Slovak people. By this act Slovakia realized her right to self-determination arising from the principles of democracy.

"The Slovak Republic was created in a time of peace and in accordance with the principles of international law and without violating international peace.

"Therefore, in a short time, the Slovak Republic was recognized de jure or de facto by many States, and became a member of the international community of free nations. Of the States which recognized the Slovak Republic, several are members of the United Nations: Poland (March 16, 1939), Great Britain (May 4, 1939), Liberia (May 12, 1939), Ecuador (May 17, 1939), Costa Rica (May 24, 1939), Yugoslavia (June 8, 1939), France (July 14, 1939), Belgium (July 14, 1939), Sweden (July 26, 1939), Soviet Union (September 16, 1939), The Netherlands (April 15, 1940).

"During the Second World War, Slovakia was at war only with the Soviet Union."

The letter then states that although peace treaties were signed and decisions made in regard to Italy, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Finland and even Japan, no peace treaty has been signed with the Slovak Republic, nor have the United Nations taken any decision about her fate. In 1945 Slovakia was occupied by the Red Army and incorporated into Czechoslovakia by a unilateral act. This happened in contradiction to the established practice of democracy, according to which one does not proceed to the destruction of the adversary even in the case of a lost war, but only imposes certain conditions.

"As the aim of the United Nations is the respect of the self-determination of nations and the establishment of friendly relations among nations, the respect of human rights, the fundamental liberties and progress of humanity, the maintenance of international peace and the solution of situations which might endanger it", the Slovak Liberation Committee, acting on behalf of the Slovak Republic in accordance with Article 37, para 2 of her Constitution, asks the General Assembly of the U.N. to convoke an international conference for the purpose of putting an end to the state of war between the Slovak Republic and the Soviet Union and deciding about the fate of Slovakia in the spirit of law, justice and democracy."

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Editorial

We and the Others

Our Annual Balance

The Antibolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) had long been no secret for those behind the Iron Curtain. For the subjugated nations, the A.B.N. is cherished as a promise of freedom, by the despots in Moscow, it is feared as the most powerful hostile force directed against their tyranny; it is a political reality which cannot be overlooked and which causes the bolshevist regime constant anxiety. But, strange to say, the free Western world tries to ignore the A.B.N. There have even been some unconscious tools of the Kremlin who have put obstacles in our way. This can be the only explanation for the fact that an active united resistance of the nations that have been tortured by bolshevism, a community consecrated by blood and tears and supported by millions of human beings who have been driven west out of their homes, should up till recently have been neglected and even regarded with suspicion. If today, when we are entering the second half of our century, public opinion in the West is slowly beginning to recognize the importance of the A.B.N. and to take an interest in it, it is due above all to the lessons of the past year. Such lessons have forced the West to admit the historical significance of our ideals, the value of our potential powers and the rightness of our methods. It is true that the West is still far removed from a proper recognition of our potential, but we may state with a certain satisfaction at the beginning of this new year that the A.B.N. has

acquired meaning for western opinion and that more and more Western statesmen are acknowledging the truth of our ideas.

We were the first to maintain that freedom and peace are indivisible. It was we who first drew the attention of the West to the fact that it will never know peace or security as long as the monster of Russian bolshevism is allowed to continue destroying the subjugated nations unpunished, thus being enabled to advance to further aggression. When we proclaimed this truth, others shouted us down as disturbers of the peace and war-mongers who threaten "peace-loving" Russia. But now, after the lesson of Korea, even such pacific, trusting statesmen as Truman and Acheson have spoken frequently of the "indivisibility of freedom" and the "persistence of Soviet aggression". And not only that: John Foster Dulles, Adviser to the American State Department, stated clearly in a speech he held at the close of the year that the danger

for the world today is due to an "unholy alliance between marxist communism and Russian imperialism" and that, in the present situation of the world, the American people can help itself only by helping other nations who are threatened by bolshevist aggression.

But all these statements and declarations tally with what we have been long trying to hammer into the world. It gives us a certain satisfaction to see that Western politicians have at long last decided to touch the core spot. And yet we are astonished that they do not seem to draw the logical conclusions from this fact. Instead of openly declaring war on the tyranny of Moscow and immediately mobilizing all powers in the service of a total and implacable war of liberation, they allow the Kremlin to push them into the defensive. "Appeasement", it is true has officially been abandoned; but in actual practice this policy is being continued.

(Continued on Page 12)

The West Facing Inexorable Alternatives

What we want and have to do

The freedom- and peace-loving world is gradually recognizing that war with Moscow is inevitable. The intensity of Russia's preparation for aggression is increasing. Whether it likes or not, the Western world must draw conclusions from this fact. The present question is how to win the war and not how it can be avoided. All conditions for victory are present. In the first place, it was an error to believe that the nations subjugated by Russia are against war. They are against a war of plunder, but for a war of liberation. It is unwise of the West to spread pacifist propaganda in the East and to emphasize constantly that war means only horror, ruins, and catastrophe. The subjugated nations know this quite well, but their longing for freedom is still stronger and war gives them the opportunity to launch the national revolution of liberation within the Soviet Union. These nations are aware of the curse of war, but faced with the choice between slow death in slavery or the horrors of war,

which nevertheless might bring freedom, they choose the war of liberation.

This brings the western world the duty of solving the problem in such a way that it will be possible for subjugated nations to annihilate Bolshevism and the Russian Imperium with the minimum of loss. We must bear in mind that these nations desire war; they do not want to avoid it as the West does. The Western peoples are, of course, free, so they have everything to lose. But we subjugated nations can only shake off the fetters of slavery. That is why quite a different attitude is demanded towards subjugated nations as compared with free peoples, living in prosperity. Today it is a fact that both the bolshevist clique in the Kremlin and the nations it subjugates desire war, with the difference, however, that while the Kremlin wishes to subjugate the rest of the free world by means of war, the subjugated nations regard it as an opportunity for getting rid of their yoke, i. e. war is

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for them a weapon against Moscow's imperialists. It is therefore necessary to support movements among subjugated nations aiming at the destruction of the Russian Imperium, if there is to be any serious effort to frustrate the schemes of Bolshevik imperialists; for this is the only way by which such peoples can recover freedom. General W. Bedell Smith the outstanding expert on Russia, is absolutely right when he says in his book "My Three Years in Moscow": "When we study Soviet aims and intentions we must remember that communists today are nothing but All-Russians and Pan-Slavs."

It would however be an error to believe that the subjugated nations seek to recover their freedom by means of a foreign war. To the question whether subjugated nations would be able to liberate themselves; we reply, "Yes." But that would only happen if the whole of Europe were subjugated by Russia and were in the same position as we are today. Even before national revolutions were ready to break out, bolshevism, in consequence of the West's attitude to subjugated nations, would stretch out its hand for the Atlantic. Therefore it would be a mistake if the West were to throw the whole burden of battle on the subjugated nations in the hope that they would be able to deal successfully with bolshevism without any support from the West. The Russian danger is universal in extent, so the fight against it must also be world-wide. We must therefore win public opinion in the West for our cause, for the subjugated nation's fight for freedom; and we must coordinate the actions of the West with those of our resistance movements so that our ideas and aims be recognized. A united front of all the peace-loving nations in the world against the realm of slavery which already includes a third of the world must be formed.

How is this to happen? If the leaders of the West do not understand us and our ideas, we shall have to appeal to all uncompromising circles in the West who acknowledge nationality as one of the ruling principles in a well-ordered world and who champion social justice and a healthy, creative democracy, who see in religion a powerful factor for the regeneration of mankind and the counter-weight to godless materialism. We must appeal to men of the future, seeing that those of the present refuse to understand us. We must constantly raise the alarm. It is of no use to tackle this problem by halves, for this must stand out clear before us; who is not for us is against us. In the present struggle of the universe there is no middle way. For whoever is not with God, is with the devil!

But if the Western world wishes to be successful, in its fight against communism in its own ranks, it must do away once and for all with all social injustice. It is not right that many working people should regard communists as the protectors of their social interests. National circles in the West must attack with decision and energy social problems that have long awaited their solution. Communism must be opposed

by another faith which promises the alleviation of daily hardship. It must be opposed by a philosophy which has a clear answer to all burning national and social questions. All who imagine that they can stand between the two opposing forces will be crushed. In the present struggle not even the individual can stand aloof; a new conception of life is at stake, values which will make man once more a god-like being, or introduce a system which reduces him to being a wheel in the machine of totalitarianism and degrade him to being a slave without will and faith, a slave in a system of terror. In our native countries this alternative is obvious, for daily life shows what bolshevism is.

We do not believe that the West, in as far as it is attempting to overcome communism, seeks to avoid the solution of these problems. But this solution can only be attained in a spirit of social justice and national and religious idealism; for communism has become the belief of masses today and it can only be successfully combated by a new belief for the masses. In periods of doubt it is difficult even to overcome false belief. Belief alone is not sufficient. Belief in freedom is not everything. We must have faith in a higher truth, a higher justice, and a deeper meaning of life. Freedom is only a frame for realizing truth and justice. In France for instance there is almost unlimited freedom but it is not sufficient to eradicate bolshevism. On the contrary, bolshevism exploits this freedom for its own ends.

Freedom is only a frame for the realization of values, and the question to which we demand an answer is: what

values does the West claim as its own? Our duty must still be to show the West clearly what ideas inspire the East and to emphasize the necessity of a renewal of the West's ideas; for this alone will enable it to oppose communism successfully. But this enlightenment should not come only through publications. It should follow from the words of every political exile, in all circles and social classes in the West. Political mass action and demonstrations against bolshevism and Russian imperialism of every form and color must be organized. The mass of exiles must also participate actively in fighting bolshevism.

The most important problem is that of proving to the West that it is a false policy to underrate the front of the oppressed nations. We must create a center of coordination between the West and the oppressed nations in the fields of politics, military strategy and propaganda. Military formations of the various suppressed nations in exile must be set up, as soon as the Allies have acknowledged their aims. Nations that are fighting for their freedom, their underground movements and groups of political resistance must be supported. On the eve of war, agreement must finally be reached between the aims of the West and those of the oppressed nations; otherwise the victory of the West will be doubtful. If the Allies find no basis for common action with the oppressed this year, it will be too late.

Ceterum censeo: victory is only possible if the entire oppressed and peace-loving world forms a common front.

Z. K.

Draconic Laws in Bulgaria

The active and passive resistance of Bulgarians to the bolshevist system is causing the present regime much trouble. In particular, the absolute failure of the "harvest campaign" was a severe blow for the leaders of the People's Democracy; as was to be expected, they immediately took counter-measures to wipe the defeat out. The anti-sabotage law which has just been promulgated is to be the instrument for the population to obey.

The preliminary articles emphasize that this law is directed against enemies of the people.

The following will be punished:

1. Thefts of property belonging to the State or to cooperatives, up to 10 year's hard labour.
2. Theft of agricultural produce, machinery, stock etc. by "organized groups" who apply "force and threats" — up to 15 years hard labour (minimum, 10 years).
3. Officials who abuse their position as opportunity of stealing property belonging to the state or to cooperatives — up to 15 years hard labour.
4. Officials who attempt to conceal a crime — 5—15 years hard labour, in serious cases, death.

5. Destruction, damage or waste of property belonging to the state or cooperatives, up to 15 years hard labour.

6. Setting fire to buildings belonging to the state or to cooperatives or to agricultural produce, or machines, forests, bridges, mines, etc., — 5—15 years hard labour — in serious cases, death.

7. The property of anyone who has been found guilty may be totally or partially confiscated for the state. All previous laws, paragraphs etc. which guaranteed the inviolability of private property are declared invalid.

*

Even before the promulgation of the new "anti-sabotage law", the law courts in the whole country had their hands more than full with proceedings against "agricultural sabotage". The prisons and concentration camps are crowded with "Kulaks", "saboteurs" and "enemies of the people", guilty of all kinds of "lapses" concerning the Kolchos system, or the cultivation of the ground, or harvest, especially of failing in their compulsory deliveries.

The bitterness has grown immeasurably all over the country and the newly decreed "anti-sabotage law" is a sign of the increasing resistance offered by the peasants.

"We Can Win the Cold War — in Russia"

Yes, but how, and against which "Russia"?

(An answer to the article on that subject by Constantin W. Boldyreff in "Reader's Digest", November 1950 number).

We were much interested to read an article in the "Reader's Digest" (November, 1950), entitled "We Can Win the Cold War in Russia". It reminded us of similar articles by American, English, German, Ukrainian and other writers, but particularly of "The Coming Defeat of Communism", by James Burnham, an American sociologist and of the article in "Life" in December 1949 by Carroll, an excellent review of possibilities of strategy in psychological warfare.

We should like to point out similar and different ideas in those three authors.

In the first place, their aims are alike. Burnham and Carroll, both Americans, and Boldyreff, a Russian, all investigate ways and means of how the threatened Third World War is to be avoided without the abandonment by the West of its fundamental spiritual values and its political supremacy.

Our three writers also agree to a great extent that this high aim can be attained only by a firm, courageous policy, willing to take risks. Neither "containment" nor "appeasement" will bring the West any nearer its goal.

"All that remains for us is to pass from the defensive to attack. It is obvious how policy must be shaped if it is to be right and adequate... First comes the proper appreciation of the enemy's position, of his strength, his weakness and his aims. We know the enemy — world communism, sponsored by the Soviet Union. We know its aim, complete world mastery. If we analyze the material at our disposal, we find this situation: a constant war of a new type, a political, underground, ideological war of resistance, which is also to a limited extent an armed conflict and which may develop into an unlimited, shooting war.

That being the situation, our first need is for a proper plan of war, but not a plan according to military traditions (although that is included), but a plan for this new type of war. If a war is in progress, in which we participate, whether we want to or not, then, unless we capitulate, we must be ready for the effort to fight it to a victorious end.

The first essential step in this warfare is to recognize that it is war. The next is to define our own aim. If this definition is to be a useful guide, it must be short and accurate. It is dictated by the situation, by the nature of our enemy and his aims and it can only be — the destruction of communism sponsored by the Soviet Union... In the new type of war in which we are involved, the military aim must be subordinate to the dominating political aim. For once the political aim was attained, it would follow automatically that the Red Army, too, must be destroyed as the instrument of the Soviet Union or communism. If, on the contrary, we should regard the military aim as the chief aim of our strategy, we should conceal the fact that we should perhaps at the same time be able to destroy the Red Army by largely non-military means if we succeeded in destroying the political power of communism. In addition, we might put little weight on those non — or half-military means by which we could achieve our aim and which might at least simplify the usual military problem... If we do not destroy the power of the communists, we shall cease to exist as a state and a nation. A young man may regard it as the crown of his desires to become a natural science researcher; but if he has typhoid fever, he must first get better. Whatever the world that we desire for ourselves and our children may look like, we must first see

that we or they have the possibility of living in it." (Translation from German — Ed.; Thus it is that Prof. J. Burnham sizes up the situation.

Carroll, too, demands a similar determination from American statesmen.

"Many well-meaning people presume, as did Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations, that if leaders of both sides will sit down together their differences can be settled by discussion and compromise. That is not true. Marxist Communism is a militant, proselyting doctrine, based upon struggle. It carries inspiring promises, it creates zealots. But it cannot permit liberty of thought or action, it cannot tolerate opposition. Therefore it can never be appeased. It must be defeated."

It is also interesting to learn the ways and means these men suggest for vanquishing communism, being largely the same in all three cases.

Prof. J. Burnham thinks that it is certainly not sufficient to apply usual, traditional methods. The new situation demands new methods that have not hitherto been tried. He writes:

"Many of these untraditional methods cost little, many even much money and they will not greatly appeal to the public. On the other hand, they demand much imagination, steadfastness, intelligence, and sometimes, courage. We have already shown that measures taken in the battle against world communism can only be evaluated according to their influence on the balance of power in the world. This balance of power will perhaps be less influenced by an action which has been launched with the help of millions of dollars and thousands of speeches and leading articles, than by another action undertaken by a handful of men with a few thousand dollars, not a line appearing about it in the press. Nay, where the grand action serves to support a false political decision, its consequences may be the more negative, the greater its extent.

Take an example: no matter whether we agree or not with the judgement of the State Department in its White Book on China in 1949, it is a fact that several milliard dollars were spent on Chinese affairs from 1945 to 1949. It is also a fact that these milliards were not only wasted, but that they contributed to the Chinese débâcle as a result of the way in which they were wasted. Take the following example as a contrast: In the early twenties, Moscow sent a number of agents with very little money to Albania. There they succeeded after much trouble in gathering a few native Albanians together, mostly discontented intellectuals from the towns. After 1940 the group under Moscow's leadership could be counted only by the dozen. At the end of 1944, although the material support they received from their lords and masters was still very small, they were able to take control of this strategically important country... To put it more plainly: it is more important for us to win one single member of the communist party to our side than to make a complicated treaty with a Great Power and spend milliards on it, if we cannot trust that power. If we support the French Atom Commission under the leadership of communist Juliet Curie, would it mean defeat and not victory. If we should succeed in keeping only one small unit of the Ukrainian Army of Insurgents alive, this an unqualified victory, whose effect on the final outcome cannot be foreseen. Traditional methods (armaments, diplomacy, trade policy) cannot bring about a decision. Recent history has proved that untraditional methods can produce a decision, while traditional methods may be able to do so only at the expense of total warfare." (Translation from German. — Ed.)

Carroll arrives at practically the same conclusions:

"If war came, we would seek simply to frustrate Soviet power outside its borders and release the forces within the country which

could destroy or cripple the regime. Then, having established safeguards against future aggression, we would leave the Soviet peoples to work out their future in their own way.

What do we need for such a war of limited objectives?

1. We must have an air force ready to deliver to any part of the Soviet Union any message which the American government may choose to send to the Soviet people. We must have an air force which will be ready at the very start of a war — and not two years later — to plaster the Soviet Union with leaflets bearing the pledges and promises of the American government and people. We must have an air force which will be able to deliver not only atomic bombs but anti-Soviet agents and guerrilla leaders to any Soviet hamlet.

2. We must be prepared at the very start, if war should come, to answer the prayers of the peasant millions. We must have a message to those millions — a slogan as simple as "Land for the Peasants" — which will set the steppes aflame.

3. We must have clear in our minds at the very start, and not after months of bungling, a way to meet the conflicting aspirations of the Great Russians and the minorities. Our proposals should be flexible, yet sufficiently concrete to carry evidence of our sincerity.

4. We must prepare to support guerilla warfare on such a scale as the world has never seen before. We must develop weapons such as guerrillas have never used before. We must train men to think guerilla warfare and to plan guerilla warfare.

5. We must set up a joint staff of civilian and military leaders to devise the plans and techniques which enable this nation — should the need arise — to bring to bear upon the Soviet Union all of the power of psychological fission."

We have given more consideration to the arguments of Burnham and Carroll because they coincide to a large extent with the views of politicians in the subjugated nations. These ideas are common property among free journalists living in exile.

C. W. Boldyreff offers us little that is new and original when he says:

"The masters of the Kremlin dread most a movement that will show their victims how to shake off Communist control. The Achilles' heel of Soviet rule has always been in Russia. Between 1922 and 1942 there were more than 50 revolts, rebellions and active plots against the Bolshevik regime. Most of these, spontaneous and disorganized, were doomed from the start. But they indicated unmistakably the hatred of the people for their oppressors.

When Hitler's armies invaded in 1941, the people greeted them as liberators. In less than five months millions of Russians surrendered to the Germans. By 1942 an organized anti-Bolshevik revolution under the leadership of Gen. Andrej Vlassov was on its way. But Nazi atrocities were more than even desperate anti-Communists could stomach, and the powerful force of Russian patriotism switched from combating the regime to defending the homeland. After the war, hundreds of thousands of Russian prisoners of war and displaced persons refused to return to the Soviet Union."

Boldyreff, therefore, like Burnham and Carroll, also demands "untraditional" methods for the conquest of communism. But there the similarity between the arguments of the three writers comes to an end. We on our part feel impelled to state that C. W. Boldyreff quotes facts that are historically false in order to prove that the area that is best prepared for such "untraditional" methods is in Russia proper. This is not so. On the contrary. The present situation in the U.S.S.R. proves

that ethnographic Russia is least prepared for such action.

As we shall see later, Prof. Burnham and Carroll judge the present situation in the Soviet Union in the light of historical facts and of an objective view of the present. They are Americans. C. W. Boldyreff, as a Russian, has only the interests of an All-Russian policy in mind, a policy that ignores historical developments within the Russian imperium. It is quite clear to Prof. Burnham and Carroll that Russia today is not inhabited by Russians alone. They therefore base their plans for the application of "untraditional" methods on the fact that all constructive policy in the East of Europe must take into consideration the natural desire for freedom and political independence that is cherished by the many nations comprised by the U.S.S.R.

In discussing the minimum demands which the U.S.A. must make of Soviet Russia as the basis of American foreign policy, he adds:

"The conditions of this bargain with Russia are nothing like what we desire, what we ought to desire in respect of Russia. This is true above all of the demand for internal changes. Should, for instance, measures be included in our bargain which guarantee a minimum of political freedom within Russia — i. e. the right to political opposition, to freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, to inviolability of person etc.? Should provisions be included that refer not only to former vassal states, but to other areas within the Soviet Union, that would make them free to choose their own sovereignty, — areas, that is, which are inhabited by "subjugated peoples" — who up to the present day have preserved their national character and their efforts for independence, as Ukraine, in particular? Should we demand the cessation of all forced labour? Surely we desire that such things should come to pass. But the question is whether to include them in a contract that we should submit as an alternative to war. (It is fairly certain that, in the case of a total war, these points would count among the war aims of the United States both for reasons of expediency and of ethics and psychology.)

It may be added that the realization of the five points (constituting the minimum demands) would lead indirectly to many other changes within Russia, including probably a certain democratization, and the possibility of liberating the Ukraine and convict labourers. These demands, therefore, do not mean that the Ukraine and convict labourers, would be left in the lurch; on the contrary, they are thus offered a far better chance of liberation than in the case of a total war." (Translation from German. — Ed.)

Thus, Prof. Burnham whose arguments are obviously based on an objective view of the situation in the U.S.S.R.

Mr. Carroll also sees things clearly, when he writes:

"In Ukraine the spirit of nationalism further heightened the antipathy to Stalin's regime, though the nature of the regime itself remained always the greatest source of discontent".

In contrast to them, Boldyreff, to the regret of all anti-communists, wishes to create the impression that this basic problem of the nations within the Soviet Union does not exist at all. He attempts to strengthen Western public opinion in the error that the U.S.S.R. is inhabited by a uniform Russian people, or what is worse, that the non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R. are content with the plan of reconstructing the Russian empire as it was before 1917. And that is an error with grave consequences. He would like at least to conceal the fact that Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, North Cau-

casians, Armenians, Aserbeidschani, Cossacks, Turekstani and other peoples in the Soviet Union are endeavouring with all their strength to get free for ever from the Russian imperium, whether it be despotic, Czarist, democratic or communist, and to form independent states of their own. Here, Boldyreff has also concealed the fact that the revolution of 1917 was inspired by strong national, centrifugal powers which gave it its original impetus and aim. This is supported by the following historical facts: the Ukrainian declaration of independence in January, 1918, the formation of the Byelorussian republic in March 1919, of the Cossack state in December 1917, of a free Georgia in May 1918, the declaration of the independence of Turkestan in 1918 etc. It was only after years of a bitter so-called civil war that these areas were reconquered and their people once more forced under the yoke of Moscow. But this has not destroyed these nations' desire for freedom and independence, as is proved by the resistance movements which have never ceased to fight under the surface behind the Iron Curtain.

Boldyreff also forges history when he says that in

"Russia there were 50 revolts, rebellions and conspiracies against the bolshevist system in the last 20 years."

In answer to this statement, it must be emphasized that the centre of anti-communism is not in Russia proper but in the countries of non-Russian nations.

Of the "50 revolts" mentioned, all that were clearly directed against bolshevism and Russian imperialism took place in non-Russian countries.

There were, of course, also in Russia sham trials of "imperialist spies and traitors to the fatherland", but we must state with some regret that none of these trials were concerned with anti-communist movements among the Russian people. On the contrary, these trials were just ordinary party fights between various bolshevist leaders that were carried out in law courts. To put it more plainly, Stalin was getting rid of rivals or candidates for his position in the Kremlin. If instead of Stalin, Sinowjew or Bucharin were ruling as dictator today, it would make little difference to the despotic and imperialist nature of the Soviet regime. It is definitely a disadvantage for the non-Russian nations that they should have no allies in the Russian people to support them in their fight against the bolshevist, imperialist regime in Moscow. Stalin has repeatedly paid due tribute to the Russian people's fatal loyalty to the present regime. This is one of the chief reasons why his entire policy is based almost entirely on this people, which he sets up as a model to all non-Russian peoples. Everything that is Russian is praised as the best, the most worthy of imitation.

Such a development gives no pleasure to non-Russian peoples; on the contrary, they would be glad to have the Russians as allies in their bitter struggle against totalitarianism, dictatorship and imperialism. As long as this is not the case, we consider it not only wrong,

but politically fatal, to represent the Russian people as the central point of anti-communist resistance, as Boldyreff does.

The NTS, which Boldyreff praises so highly is a mere organisation of exiled Russians, and if it really is active in the U.S.S.R., then it is taking the first tentative steps there, which do not justify such advertisement. Although we are well informed about underground movements in the U.S.S.R. we have as yet heard nothing about the activity of the NTS in the Soviet Union.

However that may be, the decision of the leaders of the NTS to arouse the Russian people, too, to revolutionary activity must be heartily welcomed.

Meantime, we cannot but repudiate decisively one of the points in the program of this political party, namely, the presentation of the U.S.S.R. today as a unit, a political whole and the aim of restoring the Russian imperium as it was in 1917. Such a program is a tragic challenge to all antibolshevist powers, a call to all non-Russian peoples in the present U.S.S.R. to rise against the Russian people. We doubt therefore whether responsible Russian politicians in exile can present such a policy to their people and the whole world. Their decision to swim against the current of progress in the world is a risk that might ruin others as well as themselves.

But at present, the NTS plays no part among the anti-bolshevist powers active in the U.S.S.R. The Ukrainian Army of Insurgents (U.P.A.) is the most important of such powers and it has made a name for itself throughout the world.

Carroll sizes the U.P.A. up in these words:

"The Ukrainian underground which had existed before the war was given a great impetus by German brutality in 1941 and 1942. This underground however, did not become pro-Soviet, nor was it entirely anti-German. Its motto was, "We fight every oppression regardless of its source." During the German occupation the underground forces concentrated their attacks on the German police and SS (Elite Guard) units. In general they spared other German troops because they felt that the army leaders sympathized with them.

The principal underground organizations were the Union of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.) and its striking force, the Ukrainian Insurrection Army (U.P.A.). Members of this army joined the Germans to get military experience, then slipped away as the Germans retreated and took up the fight against the Russians behind the lines of the advancing Soviet troops.

German intelligence officers who secretly returned to the Ukraine behind the Russian lines reported that in Galicia (the Western Ukraine) the Red army could retain control only of the principal towns, highways and rail lines. The rest of the region was dominated by the U.P.A. and O.U.N. Galicia was the cradle of Ukrainian nationalism, and it was somewhere in this area late in 1944 that a congress of separatists was convened. It was attended by representatives of most of the minorities. To the Germans they sent word that if the German army succeeded in returning to Ukraine, the O.U.N. and U.P.A. would not fight against it if Germany guaranteed Ukrainian independence after Stalin's defeat.

Long after the final defeat of Hitler in May 1945, these Ukrainian forces were active. They probably were partly responsible for bringing on the Soviet purges in Ukraine in 1947. And as late as last summer there were unconfirmed reports that several Russian divisions were being kept busy by Ukrainian guerrilla forces."

C. W. Boldyreff's comments on the Vlassow movement and Russian D.P.s also call for rectification.

Turkestan and the Peoples of Islam

By V. Yurtci

Turkestan, which since olden times has been the cradle of Turko-Islamic culture, occupies an important place in the Soviet Union, because of its geographical position and its political structure, as well as because of its natural resources.

Moscow is making use of the position of Turkestan in its propaganda among the peoples of all Islamic countries. In Eastern Turkestan, China and among the peoples of all Islamic countries. In various towns of Turkestan propaganda schools have been opened for the purpose of spreading propaganda in Moslem and non-Moslem countries.

The propaganda apparatus organised in Turkestan for the Turkestanians continues its work. The radio station, the press and agitators are obliged to carry out their daily duties. For example the political cultural organisations in Uzbekistan prepared 3,500 reports in the course of a year. Whilst engaged on bringing in the harvest and cotton crop in Kazakhstan, 12,000 people were engaged on agitation work ("Prawda" of 25. 2. 49).

In these reports it is said that there are outlawry, starvation, poverty and unemployment both in the Western Democracies as well as in the West. The Soviet Union is compared with "paradise". Some people, particularly youth, may perhaps believe in this as they have no idea of life in the West. No news from abroad is ever received.

It is a historical fact that the Vlassow movement was a purely German experiment and that it was a complete failure. Vlassow did not develop any underground activity in Russia; he recruited his force exclusively from Russian P.O.Ws in Germany. After the German armies had suffered severe defeats in the East, German leaders decided to cause a split between the Soviet government and the people, or rather to widen and exploit the difference already existing. This political decision, like many others, was taken too late and badly executed. The campaign was initiated where these differences were most insignificant, namely in the Russian section of the Soviet Union.

Professor von Mende, a German, characterised this policy in a interview which he granted the writer of these lines, saying:

"There never was actually a Vlassow army, there were only two Vlassow divisions. He did indeed demand to be put in charge of all units of volunteers from the East, but this was never carried out. Politically, this attempt should be judged in the same light as the Committee for the Liberation of the Russian Peoples (the organisation under Vlassow). As the SS headquarters and the German Foreign Office thought that they had discovered a magic weapon in Vlassow, the latter's German advisers did all they could to compel non-Russian national committees and organizations to subordinate themselves to Vlassow. This war turned down by all national committees who alleged that Vlassow as a Russian was merely fighting against a

domestic regime, while the non-Russian peoples were fighting against both bolshevism and Russian imperialism. They justly considered that they could never identify a Russian with the aims of their fight for freedom. The Committee to liberate the Russian peoples was at bottom a belated German attempt to play the All-Russian card. Vlassow's attempt came too late, but it is doubtful if it was expedient in the form it took, as it aroused the opposition of all non-Russian peoples."

That is how a leading German politician in the Second World War sums up the Vlassow movement, a statesman who was in charge of the political department in Alfred Rosenberg's Ministry of the East. The Germans made one of their many great mistakes by playing the all-Russian card, which could win nothing, as the Russians were loyal to the government in the Kremlin. At the same time, they thus forfeited the chance of winning over the subjugated nations, the great majority of whom were hostile to the bolshevist regime. It seems interesting in this connection to point out that at the beginning of the 1941 campaign, it was mostly non-Russian soldiers who surrendered in masses to the Germans. Even then, the Russians showed that they were loyal to the Government. Carroll writes in his article in Life:

It is forbidden to listen to the wireless from abroad. It is dangerous tourists are immediately arrested and are punished under the pretext of being agents.

It will be seen from the above that Turkestanians cannot know anything about life in the West or in the countries of the Near-East and conversely the West and Near-East does not know anything about life and conditions in Turkestan.

Fugitives from Turkestan to Europe and to the East between the years 1941-1948 were surprised when they saw with their own eyes conditions and life in these countries and realised that they had been misinformed by the Soviets.

Turkestan even to-day is the centre which unites the Moslem Turks residing in the Soviet Union. 95% of the population of Turkestan consists of Moslem Turks. Centres of Islam, like the Caucasus, the Crimea and Kazan have lost their influence, but Turkestan is even to-day an important centre of Islam. Bukhara and Samarkand were in ancient times the centre of Islam, to which students from all over the East came to acquire their religious education. Many high schools were built.

To-day the Soviet Union is trying to make use of this fact. In Tashkent and Samarkand, Soviet authorities have opened religious colleges and appointed Red Muftis. Freedom of religion

was proclaimed after the Second World War and thereby permission was granted for pilgrimages to Mecca. But the Soviet Union had ulterior motives for taking these measures. The Turkestanians who went to Mecca were not able to tell their co-religionists anything about conditions in Turkestan, as their families at home were held as hostages.

The real facts about conditions in Turkestan could therefore not be made known and people outside the Soviet Union are consequently of opinion that there is liberty, freedom of religion and independence in Turkestan.

In its propaganda towards the East, Moscow lays stress on the construction of factories, schools, houses, and streets in the large towns of Turkestan and points out how advanced the latter is in comparison with the East. The reason for the East being so far behind Turkestan, is attributed by the Soviet propaganda machine to the lack of freedom there, foreign influence and out-of-date rule. Turkestan is being praised as being a "paradise". In this propaganda the Soviets make use of the fact that both countries are separated from each other by the Iron Curtain.

It is a fact that middle and high schools have been opened in Turkestan. A few factories and houses have also been built. But it is not known abroad who learns in these schools and how very hard the conditions of work are in the factories. At the same time, Tur-

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— figures taken not from propaganda sources but from the secret files of the Foreign Armies (East) Department: June 29 — July 7, pocket of Bialystok and Minsk, 320 000 prisoners; July 16, battle of Smolensk, 500 000; Aug. 5—8, battle of Uman, 105 000; Sept. 24, battle of Kiev, 665,000; Oct. 18, double battle of Bryansk and Vyazma, 665 000. It should be noted that these mass surrenders of more than two million men took place at a moment when the Soviet forces were fighting on their own soil against a nation which they knew to be the aggressor.

As the Germans advanced on Smolensk at the rate of 40 miles a day, the found to their amazement that the people welcomed them as liberators and offered their cooperation. In the Baltic states and the Ukraine and even in White Russia, the peasants greeted the field gray columns with the traditional offering of bread and salt."

And finally — what happened to Russian labourers in Germany? Did hundreds of them prefer to stay in exile, as Boldyreff says? Statistics are interesting. The following refused to return to the Soviet Union:

Ukrainians	220 000
Latvians	85 000
Russians	60 000
Lithuanians	49 000
Cossacks	45 000
Estonians	35 000

If we remember the size of the nations concerned, it is clear how few Russians protested against the Soviet regime by preferring to remain in exile. In France, loyalty to the present regime spread even to those who had

"Yet when the Germans struck on the morning of June 22, 1941, their early success exceeded even the hopes of the psychological warfare planners. Here are figures on Soviet prisoners

OPEN LETTER

To Her Grace Katherine, Duchess of Atholl President,
The British League for European Freedom

Madam,

In a Ukrainian newspaper I read your letter defending Mr. George Knupfer who made himself known by his provoking assault upon the leaders of liberation movements assembled at the Conference in Edinburgh. In this letter you recommended Mr. Knupfer as an anti-Stalinist and a virtual foe of bolshevism.

I do not know how to apologize enough for my heedless breach of good manners, but I consider it to be none the less my duty to tell you that it is far from being true. Of course I am not meaning to say anything against the intention of your letter to the Ukrainian editor.

As for Mr. Knupfer himself, he is in virtual accord with the Kremlin's thesis of the indivisibility and unity of the Russian empire. Like all White Russian emigres, he refuses to recognize the right of self determination to the non-Russian nationalities and believes that "it is better to have a bad dictator than to cut the life body of Russia" (Alexander Kerensky). Like all Red and White Russians alike, he confesses to the ideal of preserving the Russian empire which is a conglomeration of peoples representing diverse cultures and civilizations. By his "democratic" attitude he is playing directly into Stalin's hands.

Moreover, the chief task of many Knupfers in the West is to spread ignorance and misinformation about Russia in order to conceal the true nature of

the force which now endangers the world. They are succeeding in doing that as the people in the West place immense confidence in Knupfers who pose as irreconcilable foes of bolshevism.

Yet, at the close of World War II when it became apparent that Russia would emerge as a power of the first rank, hundreds of thousands of Knupfers raced to Soviet consulates in order to apply for Soviet citizenship. They had suddenly discovered that Stalin, after all, was a great Russian patriot, an empire builder with an impressive record of conquests and aggressions far surpassing that of the inefficient and corrupt Czars.

For Knupfers and stalinists are not antithetical groups as many think in the West. There can be no enmity between them as both serve "Holy and Eternal Russia". They can only rival in their endeavors to establish Russian supremacy all over the world. The fact that stalinists march under a red star and Knupfers under a black eagle with two heads must not bring about a confusion. For, though their methods may be different and sometimes diametrically opposed, their aim is identical, namely to preserve Russia as an empire, to continue Russian expansion and to realize Russian dreams for world hegemony.

Both Knupfers and stalinists have been educated to admire the Russian empire as a great power with mystical conceptions to save the world and to

be its teacher. Russian dreams for centuries have been to make Moscow a Third and Last Rome. And, therefore, both Knupfers and stalinists are ardent advocates of the indivisibility of "Holy Mother Russia" being the source for Russian imperialism and expansion. And Knupfers are succeeding in spreading their mythology in the West as many people do not realize that the core of evil in Russia lies in the dynamism of Russian imperialism and not in "international communism" which practically does not exist (in Russia).

Both Knupfers and stalinists are attempting to conceal the truth about Russia and about enslaved non-Russian nationalities. In fighting the liberation movements of the enslaved peoples they often use slander as a very effective weapon. In their written and oral propaganda against e. g. the Ukrainian liberation movement, the Knupfers and stalinists speak of an "independent" Ukraine as of a "Polish", "German" or an "Austrian" intrigue to divide "indivisible" Russia. They speak of "Ukrainian-German" nationalists, as of Nazi-German "collaborators" and "traitors" who sold Ukraine to the Germans. They maintain that the Ukrainian surgent Army (U.P.A.) is composed of "armed terrorist gangs which raid and pillage villages and murder their population", or that they are "fascists", "Red army deserters" or other "criminal elements". They follow the principle: "calumniare audacter semper aliquid haeret".

In his letter to Mr. John Stewart, Mr. George Knupfer uses the same method. He speaks of "quislings" and "collaborators", though he knows that the le-

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settled there after the First World War and who now returned in great numbers voluntarily to the U.S.S.R.

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However much we agree with Boldyreff's view that it is right and politically necessary for the West to support opponents of the bolshevist regime in Russia in every possible way, we believe that the comments we have made on his article prove how dangerous it would be to stake everything on a policy of Russia, as Boldyreff recommends the West to do.

When even Berdiajew, the well-known Russian author in his book "The Meaning and Fate of Russian Communism" which was published in 1937, proclaims that "bolshevism is the third form of Russian imperialism or of the Great Russian Empire" and when more recently, John Forster Dulles, one of America's leading politicians, agreed with all acute thinkers in the modern world of politics that the danger for the world was an "alliance between Marxist communism and Russian imperialism", it is obvious that bolshevism cannot be conquered by its other self, by Russian imperialism, and its representatives. If Dulles has recognized the present danger to the world to consist of two components — communism and Russian imperialism — the West would

be very ill-advised if, in order to combat this danger to the world, it should ally itself with those who appear as the representatives of its second component part. That would be setting the fox to keep watch over the geese.

The centre of resistance in the cold war against Moscow cannot therefore be in the Russia that is infected by Russian imperialism, no matter its colour, but first and foremost among the nations subjugated by the U.S.S.R. who confront the present threat to the world, in its double form, with equal hostility. This alone guarantees that they are genuine, reliable allies of the West in the fight against Moscow and that they will remain so for all time.

All the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. which constitute the main potential of the cold war against Moscow claim nothing for themselves except the realization of the principle proclaimed by President Truman in his New Year address when he said: "We believe that all nations have the right to independence." These peoples pursue the same ideal that the American President expressed in the words: "We believe that free and independent nations can be united in a world order based on right... We believe that such a world can and ought to extend throughout the world the blessings of modern science and industry, with

better health and education, more food and a higher standard of living." Surely nothing could be more damaging to the realization of this ideal than the readiness to accept the preservation of the monster of Greater Russia in the future. The collaboration of Russian imperialists thus bought would weigh light against the dangers that would emerge from such an alliance for outcome of the Third World War.

Of course, the nations subjugated by Moscow do not claim any monopolies in the cold war against Moscow; nor do they cherish feelings of intolerance towards Russians. They ask for nothing better than to stand side by side with the Russian nation in fighting the imperialism of Moscow. But the Russians would first have to give proof not only of their hostility to bolshevism but also of having abandoned every thought of continuing the slavery of Greater Russia. Only then would Russian programmes in the cold war against Moscow seem genuine, to the subjugated nations as well as to the West and only then would their collaboration fit into President Truman's conception of a new world. It is only on such a basis, then, that Boldreff's ideas of arousing and utilizing any Russian resistance there may be against Russia could be of benefit.

Roman Ihnytzkyj

The only Way out

The difference between the two camps into which the world is divided is continually increasing. On the one hand, there is Russia and aggression, and on the other the Western world on the defensive. Far-reaching conclusions must be drawn from the events in Korea. Bolshevism has succeeded in involving the United Nations in a war with Asiatic peoples, and with China in particular. The power of the U.S.A. is being used up in unimportant campaigns. The Soviet Union would thus like to draw, the U.S.A. in particular into a disastrous war, while keeping Moscow, the center, free from all war-like operations. If the Western world will not see that there is no point in waging war with Korea or China while enemy No. 1, Russia, is standing on the side-lines, the war can last for decades without any prospect of final victory.

It is not necessary to throw atom bombs on Korea but rather on Moscow. **If Bolshevism, i. e. Russian imperialism in communist garb, is destroyed at the center, it is ruined automatically throughout the world.** In Asia, Russia is playing a clever game; it pretends to be the representative of the national idea, of national and social liberation, by fighting the imperialism of Western colonial powers. In reality, this is merely because the idea of the national liberation of Asiatic nations is a very convenient item in the present imperial policy of Russia towards Western powers. But it is not the nationalism of colonial nations but rather the policy of Western powers that is to blame for the absence in Asia of a united, determined front of Asiatic peoples against Bolshevism.

Bolshevism can be vanquished if the Western powers declare clearly and unambiguously that they are pursuing a national and not an imperial policy, and if they would put these words into action. The characteristic feature of our epoch is the decay and not the consolidation of empires. The British have realized this and have wisely transformed their empire into a Commonwealth of equal and free nations. The process of decay in empires cannot be held up and still less the decay of the Russian empire, which is one hundred times worse than any Western empire. For Russia is attempting to assimilate every subjected nation. It forces such a nation to adopt the Russian language and Russian customs; it oppresses its intellectual life and violates its soul. In Poland today, for instance, there are hundreds of Russian schools; Russian is compulsory in various teacher training colleges and it is easy to see that attempts are being made to make it the official language in communications. Leading agencies in Moscow decree that Russian is the language of Western socialism. Western colonial powers have done much to raise the culture and improve the well-being of their colonial peoples, and they have never tried to make Indians, Malaysians, or others into Europeans.

In spite of the cruelty and the deception of Russian imperialist methods, it

is no wonder that Russia nevertheless succeed in hypnotizing the colonial peoples of Asia and many nations outside of the U.S.S.R. and in giving the impression that they are helping them to national liberty. **For Russia's success in Asia is won not only by means of social but above all by means of national ideas and catch-words; it is also successful in kindling civil war in Indo-China and other Asiatic territory.** It is obvious today that Bolshevism, with the help of its fifth columns, and above all with the aid of communist parties throughout the world, is attempting to cause civil war in all the countries of the world. **Russia has a second front throughout the world.**

As long as the Western powers pursue a policy of imperialism towards colored peoples they will have no success in their struggle against Bolshevism. That is why the West must now abandon imperialist ideas and replace them frankly with national aims. National freedom and not imperialism is the trade-mark of our epoch.

The latter, like national socialism, fascism and all other abortions of nationalism, is already a thing of the past; these are a mere distortion of the idea of national liberation. Nationalism with the aim of freedom and not plunder and oppression, with the motto of "freedom for nations, freedom for the individual" is spreading throughout the world. Freedom for nations means sovereign national states, and freedom for the individual means securing all liberties and rights for citizens in a free state, the right to private property and the guarantee of social justice.

Whoever is of opinion that nationalism is out of date and that a new epoch is dawning is much mistaken. Let us look at what is happening in the world. What activated the biggest continent in the world solely the **idea of national freedom of nations**, the ideas of struggle for a national state, the foundation of national freedom. The great social movements are merely concomitants and results of the birth of nationalism among colonial peoples who are **bound together today by national social ideals**; after attaining national freedom, they will also establish a regime of social justice.

While Bolshevism is exploiting the idea of a free nationalism in Asia, it is at the same time endeavoring in the Soviet Union and the satellite states to eradicate by force every expression of free nationalism. This contradiction between the home and foreign policy of the Soviet dictators is bound to lead to the decay of the Russian imperium sooner or later. For the world today is marching towards the national freedom of all nations to the brotherhood of all free and equal nations in national sovereign states and to the decline of empires. This process cannot be retarded either by atom bombs or by the terrorism of the Soviet regime. **Empires fall asunder, they are being blown up by the dynamite of the national idea.** All free nations, including

those who yesterday were still colonial nations, are now emerging on the stage of history. It was only yesterday that the world was laughing at Gandhi's goat; today the voice of India is just as important as that of any European power. Yesterday, Indonesia was still an object of political bargaining; today it is a member of the United Nations. And what awaits, for instance, Ukraine? - the land of immortal heroes, the ancient culture land of Europe, the representative of the national idea of liberation of which Voltaire said, "The Ukraine always demanded freedom."

Thus the subjugated peoples, particularly in the Soviet Union, appear today as a third power beside the West and the Soviet empire. They form a second front within the Soviet Union, and there can be no victory without this front. Where is the second front of the West? The West today does not even want to have one because it does not understand. On December 28th 1950 Mr. Barrett, Assistant Secretary of State in the U.S.A., Chief of the Office of Psychological Warfare, was in Munich. He declared to the press that the U.S.A. did not intend to support underground movements, but to instruct the population about the truth of events in the world. In the same number of the "Neue Zeitung", dated 29. 12. 50, MacArthur's tenth report to the United Nations on the war situation in Korea was published; he stated that more than 30% of all the troops of the United Nations in Korea had been used to fight against partisans, whose number was estimated to be 35,000. This means that the **Allies in Korea had to fight on two fronts and therefore lost.** And what conclusions are drawn therefrom? Mr. Barrett declared that the U.S.A. had no intention of supporting underground movements, which means that defeat is being prepared. For today there can be no victory over Bolshevism without Union, without national revolutions. We the second front within the Soviet are of opinion that anti-Bolshevist strategy must assume that there is a second front behind the iron curtain, which must be consolidated and developed and adapted to the first front. Perhaps the second front, on account of the ideas behind it is more decisive in the present great struggle of ideas than the first.

This strategy would have to attack the seat of evil, namely the **ethnographic area of Russia.** This area must first be disarmed, in order to paralyze Bolshevik aggression in the "hinterland". At the same time, if tactics are coordinated with those of the West, the oppressed nations will manage to defeat Russian troops on their own ground. Russia must be attacked from all sides; the Soviet Union must be caught in the pincers of our campaigns. There are also Soviet soldiers in Siberia and on other Asiatic fronts. Could they not be won for the West as the result of a wise policy on the part of the Allies? What is there to prevent a great propaganda campaign among them? Why does the West not support a campaign of political ideas? Why don't

(Continued on Page 16)

The Past and the Future

We should like to seize the opportunity offered by the beginning of another year to summarize briefly the most important events in the 1950 record of the A.B.N.

We should like first to state that the impressive conference of the A.B.N. in Edinburgh this year marked a certain peak in its seven-year old existence. It was obvious there that the A.B.N., which represents millions of members of 22 nations, is the only organisation which has an active underground movement today behind the Iron Curtain. This activity behind the Iron Curtain has been significantly confirmed by the dictators in the Kremlin for their official press agency, "TASS" announced on 23. 11. 1950, that the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. had found it necessary to create a special Order of Merit for services in fighting "political banditry".

Almost at the same time we received the tragic news that General Taras Chuprynka, Chief in Command of the Ukrainian Insurgents Army, and one of the founders of the A.B.N., met a hero's death in battle against the oppressor. Col. Wasyl Kowal, who had long served with him, was nominated his successor.

The struggle, therefore, continues, regardless of the enemy's increased efforts, though no longer in mass actions but in smaller groups who operate in accordance with a fixed plan and who are in constant connection with one another. It was only recently that the Soviet Press reported "sabotage on the part of bandits hostile to the state" in the districts of Proskuriw and Winica.

Couriers of the U.P.A. have been able to maintain connection, not only between different groups in their own organization, but also with underground movements of other nations oppressed by the bolsheviks thus preserving unity in the A.B.N. struggle for liberty beyond the Iron Curtain.

Couriers from the U.P.A. have also managed to reach countries on this side of the Iron Curtain, in order to keep up contact with the competent A.B.N. offices. In the November and December numbers of our Correspondence we published copies of pamphlets of underground movements behind the Iron Curtain which were brought to us by such couriers.

We also received reports of underground activity by fighters for freedom in other countries under the bolsheviks who are likewise in contact with the centre of the A.B.N. In Bulgaria, for instance the "National Bulgarian Antibolshevik Legion" has recently been very active. There were clashes with communist militia in the Balkan mountains. "Basmachi" Movement in Turkestan; Chief in Command Gen. Osman Batur, in Slovakia, too, the so-called White Slovak Partisans who were in close connection with the Ukrainian Insurgents Army in 1951, continued their activity.

In the course of 1950 new partisan groups have been formed in Hungary, as we reported in our December number; their activity kept the Hungarian Security Police busy.

In the course of the year under review, many agencies and branches of the A.B.N. were founded in various countries in Western Europe and abroad. Their activity, at first, is mostly publicity.

The A.B.N. also conducted a successful campaign to found a "Liberation Fund for Subjugated Nations". This financial action was carried out chiefly with the help of coupons issued by the financial commission of the A.B.N. which were then exchanged for foreign currency. The finances of the A.B.N. come largely from donations from members of A.B.N. peoples living in exile.

Lithuania Ready to Fight

We received some appeals from the Lithuanian Underground Movement, of which we reproduce one in translation:

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

Lithuanians!

The decisive battle for the freedom and independence of Lithuania is at hand.

The free, democratic, Christian world of the West is uniting and preparing for the great crusade of the free world against bolshevism and Russian imperialism!

Let us be prepared, too! Let us do our sacred duty! Let us unite for the decisive battle for the freedom of our beloved country! Let us strengthen our relations with the underground movements of Ukrainians, Latvians, Estonians and other nations!

While we are bravely ready to make sacrifices, we must be doubly watchful and cautious. Let us be on our guard against bolshevik agents and provocateurs.

Long live the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations!

Long live a free, independent Lithuania and its glorious old capital Vilnius!

The Lithuanian Underground Movement

Two Opinions — Two Worlds

"The American State Department does not intend to support underground movements in eastern states but only to instruct their inhabitants about what is really happening in the world."

These words, which we quote, from a report in the "Neue Zeitung" of 29. 12. 50, are taken from a longer statement given by Mr. Edward W. Barrett, Assistant Secretary in the American State Department to the press in Munich. In the same edition of the "Neue Zeitung" General Mac Arthur's tenth

As we already said, the A.B.N. Congress held in Edinburgh from June 12—14 is one of the high-lights in our record. It was a great success and was followed by demonstrations in all centres of exiled A.B.N. nations in which the Resolutions passed in Edinburgh were welcomed and approved.

In the course of 1950, the leading representatives of the A.B.N. repeatedly received delegates from the Press and spoke to them of the aims and ideas of the A.B.N. These press conferences found a due echo in international public opinion. Delegates from the A.B.N. were enthusiastically welcomed at the World Conference for Moral Rearmament in Caux, where they had frequent opportunity of speaking on behalf of the oppressed nations.

The successes of the past year are a spur for us to be still more active on both sides of the Iron Curtain in the service of our great idea: Freedom for Nations, Freedom for the Individuals!

K. A.

report to the UN, on the position in Korea was published. We quote the following from this report:

"Up to Nov. 30, five well organized communist armies with a total strength of about 250,000 had already crossed the Korean frontier. Partisan activity is so lively that about 30% of the UN troops must be diverted to fight against 30—35,000 guerillas."

We leave it to our readers to form their own opinion of those two facts which indicate a suicidal or at least an incomprehensible policy. Unfortunately, men like MacArthur do not seem to have much influence on the policy of the West.

West and East

An Old Anecdote

A Frenchman and a Russian once were praising their respective countries. The former talked of the progress of French science and culture and life, without, however, creating a great impression. At last, the Russian interrupted his French comrade, saying: "Rubbish! What is there in France? Look at us, at Russia! All is huge there. Our bees, for instance, are as big as sheep!"

The Frenchman, somewhat astonished asked: "How is that possible? Are Russian beehives, then, as big as houses?"

"No, no. They are no bigger than elsewhere."

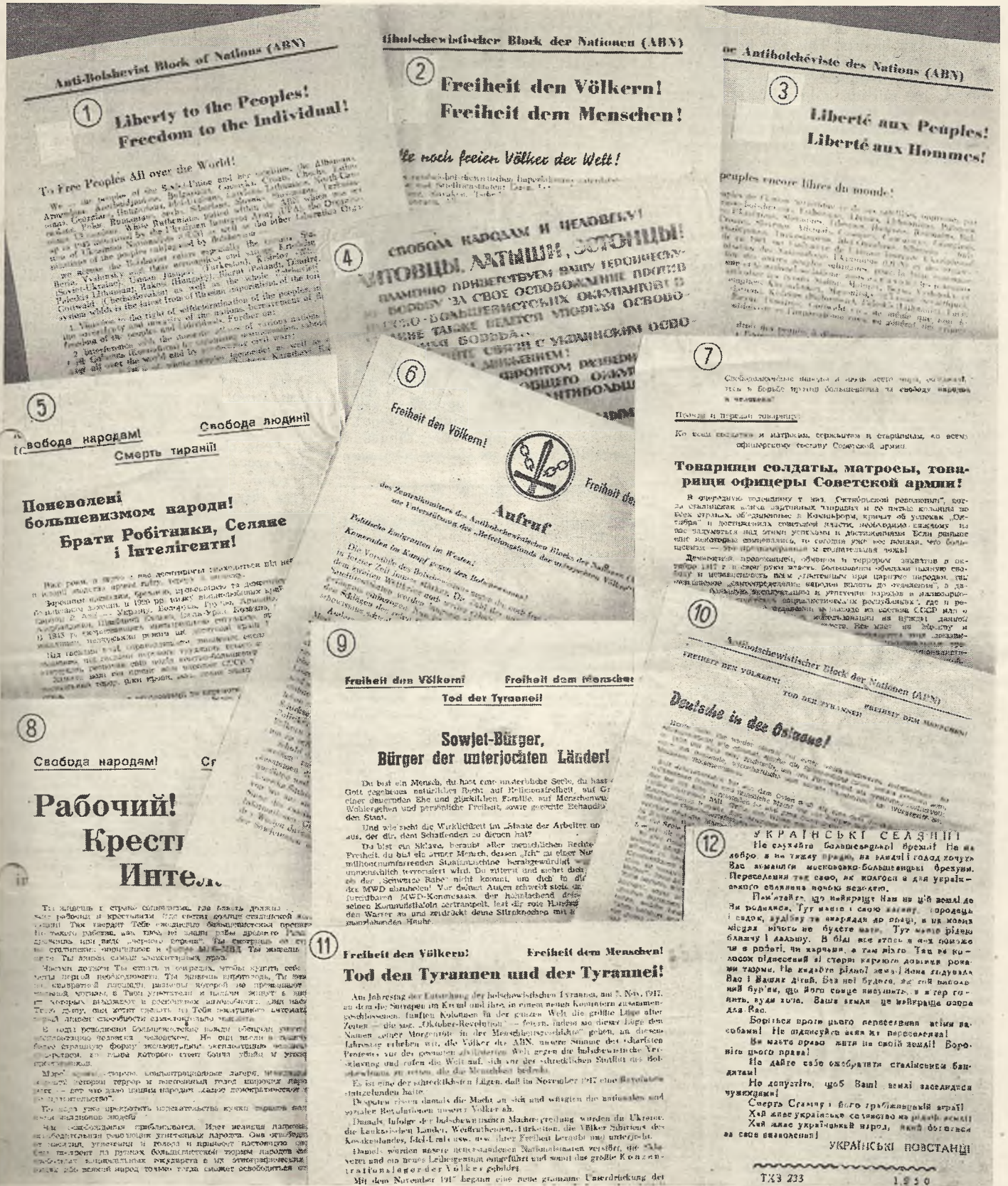
"But how do such big bees get into such small hives?" the Frenchman asked.

"Oh, just as usual — they have to", retorted the Russian emphatically and with icy disdain.

The picture that accompanied this anecdote depicted a Russian hitting unfortunate big bees with a long whip, in order to force them to enter a small beehive.

(In Memory of M. Threecross)

The A.B.N. Sends Challenges to Resist and Fight



In Pamphlets 1-5 Central Committee of the A.B.N. appeals to the still free peoples of the world, warning them against the Russian bolshevik danger and calling for a common campaign; Pamphlet No. 4, in Russian, shows the national liberation movements of Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians the importance of coordination of their resistance movements with those of other nations subjugated by bolshevism. Pamphlet 5 appeals to Ukrainian working people, peasants and intellectuals to resist Stalin's dictatorship. No. 6 appeals for the formation of a liberation

fund for peoples oppressed by bolshevism. No. 7 is a pamphlet in Russian appealing to soldiers, sailors and officers in the Soviet forces to support the underground movements of the subjugated nations. The two next pamphlets, both in Russian, appeal to workers, peasants and intellectuals in the Soviet Union and the satellite states. No. 10 is an appeal to Germans in the Eastern zone; No. 11 is a pamphlet to commemorate the October revolution and No. 12 is an appeal to Ukrainian peasants. These pamphlets are an evidence of a wide-spread campaign of publicity.

Byelorussia's Desperate Fight

Byelorussia is a rich country. The main sources of its wealth are agriculture and forests. This can be proved by statistics from the time of the Czars. In 1915, for instance, Byelorussia produced: 100 million gold roubles' worth of grain and tobacco, 75 gold roubles' worth of flax, construction timber for 500 million roubles, and cattle for about 75 million. Those are only the main products. We could extend this list by many millions of gold roubles, if we mentioned only the 3 thousand tons of honey and wax.

Nor does this exhaust Byelorussia's wealth. It is also rich in various minerals — for instance, coal, iron-ores, salt, oil, the best kinds of kaolin, phosphates, copper, aluminum, lead etc. And yet, even under the Czars, the population of Byelorussia was very poor; for it was simply a colony of the Russian empire. As such, it was mercilessly exploited and plundered.

As far as bolshevism, the modern form of imperialism, is concerned, the whole world knows that it is also the

most brutal system of exploiting and plundering subjugated nations. The regime of the Politbureaux has increased the need and misery of the Byelorussian population by introducing slavery in collective farms and factories and by the murderous methods of the M.G.B. (bolshevist security service). Those are no mere empty words. They represent millions of victims and a sea of blood...

Formerly we have already reported that M. Abramchyk, the President of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic (B.N.R.) in exile has in his possession original documents on the grand-scale liquidations of many thousands of innocent Byelorussians. He has published these documents in Canada, in a pamphlet "I accuse the Kremlin of my people".

These documents prove that the N.K.V. D. ambitious to give evidence of its industry to superior agencies, killed thousands of Byelorussians without a trial, say, for "spying". Other thousands were sent to work as slaves in concen-

tration camps, where certain death awaits them.

It is therefore not astonishing that there should have been repeated risings in Byelorussia even under the Czars, in the attempt to recover freedom and independence. This fight for freedom continues under the bolsheviks and has assumed still more desperate proportions. The press of the democratic world has more than once described the heroic antibolshevist fight of Byelorussian partisans, in particular of the unit known as "The Black Cat", under the leadership of General Witushka.

We should like to mention here a report in the paper, "Neues Tageblatt", No. 156 which gives a description of a four hours' battle between the Byelorussian partisans known as "The Black Cat" and units of the bolshevist Security troops in Wilno. According to the report, the partisans were not driven out of the town, until armored cars were brought into action.

We derive a certain moral satisfaction from the reports of the severe, heroic struggle of Byelorussians for their liberation from the bolshevist dungeon of nations that appear in Western press. But in their fight for freedom and democracy, our heroes were supported only by subjugated nations. Nevertheless, the Byelorussian people, in spite of terrorism and bloodshed, will continue to fight with other nations oppressed by Moscow until the restoration of freedom and independence to the Byelorussian Democratic Republik (B.N.R.). In his book, "Life and Death in Soviet Russia", the well-known Spanish general El. Kampesino writes as follows about the sufferings of Byelorussia:

"The Byelorussian people has been hardest hit of all. It has suffered three purges. The first was carried out in 1944 on the pretext of stamping out espionage. Russian troops under the N.K.V.D. carried out the shootings; there were children of 15 and 14 among the victims. In the second purge in 1945, the "Traitors to the Fatherland" were seized. This purge accounted for about 1 million people. All the property, including the better clothing, of every victim was taken away. The central camp for these unhappy people was still in Smolensk in 1948, its permanent population being 62,000. Other camps were in Witebsk (53,000) and Wiasna (18,000). Besides, there were 90,000 prisoners in Minsk, Rohachow, Baranowichi and Hlybokoje etc. All these prisoners were actually condemned to death; for they could not survive the hard labour they had to perform on a daily bread ration of 100 gr."

Nevertheless, in spite of all this, and in spite of the opportunism of the West with its errors and lack of sympathy, the Byelorussian people continues its fight against its tyrants in the Kremlin. For we are living at a time when it is only the ideals of subjugated nations — freedom for individuals and freedom for nations — that can produce the courage, the sacrifices and the hope necessary for a victory over the slavery of Russian bolshevism.

A. Sorkin

Open letter

(Continued from Page 6)

ders of anti-bolshevist liberation movements had nothing in common with Nazi-Germany, etc. For example: Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, President of the A.B.N. was prisoner in the Nazi concentration camp in Sachsenhausen for more than three years.

He speaks of "separatists", though he knows that they are not "separatists", because they are not Russians who would like to separate part of Russia from Russia. They are not Russians, and Russia is not their state, but rather is a prison for their peoples. Their struggle against the Russians (red or white) does not constitute any separatism, but a liberation movement of enslaved peoples.

An honest man writes honestly, Mr. Knufer writes dishonestly. But vain are his efforts to save his "matushka Rossiya". Inevitably, history will pronounce its verdict. In 1917, the Russian empire was dismembered by the enslaved peoples and only the Allied powers, by aiding the White Guards of Gen. Denikin and Adm. Kolchak with arms and ammunition, helped to create the modern Frankenstein which is now engulfing nation after wrong nation. But betting on a horse will not prevent the course of events in the East. The future catalysm in Eastern Europe will inevitably bring about the division of Russia whether Britain or the U.S.A. wish it or not. In 1917, when the national consciousness of the enslaved peoples was far less, Russia split into parts. In a new catalysm it will happen ten times as quickly. There is too much evidence in the West that the struggle of the enslaved people against Stalin's Indivisible Russia continues relentlessly in every country enslaved by Russia and

includes all forms from passive resistance to armed rebellions by the underground armies. For the last five years, the M.V.D. and all the security forces of the Soviet-Union have been trying to cope with this force, hunting and searching, but unsuccessfully.

Mr. George Knufer has his motives for concealing this truth and, thus, playing into Stalin's hands. It is necessary for him and for Stalin that the West bet this time on a wrong horse. But he and his compatriots red and white alike, must begin to wake up to the fact that in an increasing degree educated people the world over are becoming conscious of the motives inspiring knupfers to play openly into Stalin's hand.

Deeply regretting the necessity of writing this letter, I remain.

Madam.

Yours respectfully
Lew Shankowsky
4641 Stiles Street
Philadelphia 37, Pa
U.S.A.

The Press Fund of the A.B.N.

In recent weeks the press fund of the A.B.N. has received donations from various countries, particularly from England, Belgium and Germany. A sum of £ 7.17 was sent from England, while the Ukrainian Cooperative in Mittenwald sent 200 DM. Space does not permit us to list every donor by name, but we should like here to thank all most heartily. At the same time, we should like donors abroad to send in specifications with their gifts, so that we may be able to meet their wishes in the material we publish.

Turkestan and the Peoples of Islam

(Continued from Page 5)

Turkestanians do not know of the excellent conditions in the West and in Eastern countries.

The foreigner who comes to Turkestan is led through the best streets which are clean and wide and where you meet the best dressed people. But nobody is shown the true state of affairs and condition in the rest of the town. The interpreters who are attached to these foreign representatives are appointed by the Soviet authorities and know the Turki and Arab Languages.

To the question "Is there any independence in these Soviet Republics" a reply is given in "Miliy Turkistan" No. 63 under the heading of "colonial questions".

Between the years 1945-1947 a few thousand political emigrés and before this time more than one hundred thousand emigrés have come to us and we have spoken to them. In reply to our questions regarding the situation in Turkestan we are told "There is everything to be had in Turkestan as in Europe. There are also long and wide roads, and as an example the tarred road called Navai between Orda and Khadra in Tashkent, is cited as well as the houses built on this road which are of European type.

When asked whether there are many wide roads of this type and how many houses are built during the 30 years of Soviet regime and who is residing in these houses there is no answer. In their laudatory accounts they state that the Navai road is 4-5 kms. long. But when asked whether there are other roads as wide as the above-mentioned and the distance between the new and the old town being 25 kms. why only 4-5 kms of this way are a regularly tarred road, they remain silent.

It is clear that the number of European houses is small and they are occupied by Soviet dignitaries. The local population lives in very old and damp houses, the streets are very narrow; in the winter they are muddy and in the summer very dusty. Those are real facts.

The foreign visitor is not allowed to see these streets and is only shown the wide. So the foreign visitor does not see the real conditions in the old cities and the historical buildings destroyed by the Soviets.

This policy is not a surprise to Turkestanians, as they are used to it. The Czarist Government applied the same methods. Foreigners were not allowed to visit Turkestan by the Czarist Government.

These authorities tried to suppress our national and religious customs and to annihilate our art. For instance, in 1915 the question of safeguarding historical buildings was raised and the Governor of Czarist Russia, General Samson replied that it was in the interest of Czarist Russia to destroy historical art in Turkestan.

The policy of Soviet Russia does not differ in any way from the policy of Czarism. On the one hand Moscow declares "freedom of religion" and on the other hand it suppresses it.

Religious dignitaries are subjected to reprisals. For example the trial of the religious dignitaries Nasikhan Tora, Abdumutal Damla in 1935 is known to all Turkestanians. These people were accused of anti-communist agitation, with the slogan "Komsomol in this world, but Murid for the other world".

All our mosques and religious schools were turned into cafes, clubs and storage houses. Some mosques have been converted into anti-religious museums. The paper "Kizil Uzbekistan" the propaganda newspaper of the central Committee of the Communist party in Uzbekistan, of, 19. 4. 36 writes that the ancient great medresse in the town of Bukhara in Zarganan district is being demolished and the bricks are being carted away. The most prominent medresses Minara, Michet-Kalan and Divanbegi are destroyed. A road has been

**A.B.N. fights against
Bolshevism and every form
of Russian Imperialism!**

built through the Minare medresse. The Kalan mosque has been turned into a warehouse. The medresse "Shaikhan Tahur" has been turned into cinema.

The large mosque in Kokand has been turned into a chocolate factory. The medresse (church) Kokaltsch has been converted into a reading room. In Namangan the medresse "Mulla bazar Akhun" and Kambar Baivaca have been destroyed. The large medresse on the Vadil "Mazar-Tagi" has been destroyed. These are only a few examples of many horrible facts.

Over 80,000 scientific and religious books dating from the XVth-XVIIIth century are rotting in cellars. Objects of art like carpets, silks, musical instruments, ancient money are also rotting in the cellars ("Kizil Uzbekistan" of 11. 5. 36).

Turkestanians who object to these measures on the part of the Soviet authorities are subjected to reprisals and accused of being, class-enemies and "nationalists". Turkestanians are not permitted to keep their historical, scientific and religious inheritance, but they are forced by the Russians to keep and secure all Russian historical works. Some of them are brought from Russia to Turkestan for propaganda purposes to demonstrate the preponderance of Russian culture to all the young Turkestanians, who do not know their own forbidden inheritance. Amongst them there are portraits of some generals of the 19th century (Czarist times). These Czarist generals however do not seem to be typical "class-enemies".

In spite of the declaration of "freedom of religion" made during the Second World War, it was not safe to visit mosques. People who worship God easily fall under suspicion. Religious services are therefore held mostly secretly in private houses. The opening of religious schools by the Soviets has been done for propaganda purposes and in order to gain the sympathy of Eastern countries.

The Turkestanians people have from time immemorial regarded the whole Islam people as their brethren and have always held them in high esteem.

Turkestanians have always upheld the Islam religion. Their clandestine organisation carried on religious agitation. When visiting anti-religious museums they secretly conducted religious services in the anti-religious museums. (Journal "under the banner of Marxism" Moscow No. 12 1958.) Mention was made of the collaboration of the clergy with the Nationalists at trials between 1935-38. Are our Moslem brethren aware of these facts, particularly of the measures adopted by the Soviets in 1949 against the clergy and the nationalists?

At the beginning of the Second World War the Soviets mobilised the Turkestanian population between the ages of 14-60. Of these 1/2 million have gone over to the West. We have talked to them. They are found in camps, hungry, and naked, and lived in very difficult circumstances. No outside help was forthcoming. Thousands died daily of hunger, cold and illness. We were asked "Where are our brethren, the Moslem Turks. Why don't they help us?" We could not give a reply to these questions. The Turkestanian National Committee quickly adopted measures and liberated them from the camps and saved their lives.

People between the ages of 16-30, i. e. who had grown up during the Soviet regime and who had even been members of the komsomol youth had hidden under their shirts little bits of paper given them by the their mothers with quotations from the Koran. The young people, however, declared that in spite of being educated in Soviet schools and belonging to the party, they had still remained faithful to Turkestan and the Islam religion.

These are not isolated cases. These examples are a proof of the faith and spirit of our people.

These young emigrants created the Turkestan national army and wore on their right sleeve a band with the slogan "God is with us".

In spite of the hard conditions Turkestanians stuck to their religion and national ideas; what demands can they put to the Eastern Moslem peoples? Do they know the conditions under which the 25-30 million Turkestanians live?

The Soviet Union is stretching its tentacles in all directions. In order to safeguard ourselves from our enemy and for our defence we need strength and friends.

The Turkestanian people are faithful to their tradition and friendship towards their Islam brethren.

We and the Others

(Continued from Page 1)

laxation" of tension in the world situation, "stabilization" of the status quo and the "blocking" of Soviet aggression are still proclaimed to be the aims of Western politics. Even Mr. Dulles, greatly as we respect him, (he is otherwise a gifted practical politician) thinks it sufficient to assure the world at the New Year that the Soviets will not be allowed to continue their old methods in the coming year and to bring at least two nations more under the domination of Moscow.

What scant consolation for humanity! How weak the foundation of its freedom is, as long as the West takes up this position of defence, and is quite ready to be deceived by every hypocritical "gesture of peace" that Stalin chooses to make, when hundreds of millions of human beings must continue to live in slavery and lose their life-blood in an invisible war! What then is the practical value of having recognized the persistence of Soviet aggression and the chronic danger to the world of Russian imperialism, if it is to go scot-free now? Finally, where does Russian imperialism actually start for the West, and where does it end? Does it start, perhaps, only with the subjugation of the Baltic states, to end with Korea and Eastern Germany? Why do they shut their eyes to all the cruel oppression of the past, all the subjugation that must inevitably come in the future? Why are people still afraid to speak officially of Ukrainians, Byelorussians, North Caucasians, Cossacks, Georgians, Armenians, Aserbayani, Turkestani, Ideluralians, Crimean Tartars, etc. Are they perhaps afraid that by so doing they will destroy the illusory "understanding" with the slave-drivers in Moscow, or are they too considerate of loud "antibolsheviks" who, with Kerenski at their head, are spreading a new form of Russian imperialism in exile not hesitating to slander the sacred cause of the Antibolshevist Bloc of Nations as "fascism".

The problem is very serious. It tolerates no half-measures. If freedom in the world is indivisible and if Russian imperialism is a fundamental evil, and if all the powers in the world — on both sides of the Iron Curtain — are to be mobilized against Moscow's tyranny, then there is only **one single common denominator** and that is: a fight for liberation which will bring freedom to **all nations**, no matter when they were subjugated by Moscow's despots. Whoever does not accept this standpoint, is working directly or indirectly into Moscow's hands.

When we spoke of the inevitability of a coming war with militant bolshev-

ism and urgently warned the West against laying their hands in their laps, we were maligned as "fascist war-mongers" by certain smart circles in the West, who are ready to make compromises and to promote understanding and who like to think of themselves as "progressive". Now, however, things have reached a point where the inevitability of another war is the leading political topic of the day and can no longer be banned from the columns of the Western press. But this somewhat late "discovery" finds the Western World unprepared; it is confused and apathetic, and is still unable to muster the energy which is the fundamental factor of our fighting community and which the A.B.N. has always insisted on.

Moscow is unpleasantly surprised by this recognition of the inevitability of a war caused by bolshevism. How greatly it is concerned in lulling the West into illusory dreams so as to keep it unprepared, may be seen from a recent article by Ilija Ehrenburg on the occasion of the Prague "peace conference". In it, the poet laureate of bolshevism demands that an end should be made to all "talk" of the inevitability of a new world war, as this alone can guarantee "peace". It ought not to be difficult for the West to decide who is on the right path: we, who from the very beginning have recognized the inevitability of the war and have constantly appealed to the world to get ready, or the others who have stigmatized us as disturbers of the peace and war-mongers, and who have thus unconsciously paved the way for Stalin and bolshevist aggression.

It is worth noting that even the idea of a preventive war has cropped up during the last year's political discussions, causing a lot of dust, while it has occurred to nobody to talk of a "crusade for liberty". It seems as if the freedom and liberation of hundreds of millions of subjugated people is not in this century of ours an ethical value that is worth defending.

* * *

Meantime our ideals and the confirmation of our prophesies have increased the interest of the world in the A.B.N. The reaction of the "others" who have a bad conscience and in whose flesh we are a thorn, was bound to come. Not knowing what to do, they resorted to maligning the A.B.N. as "fascist". In their methods even, they are at one with Stalin, revealing their kinship with him unconsciously and spontaneously. Some of them, until recently, were collaborators with communism; they helped the bolsheviks to power and are therefore inculpated in the destruction of their own nations.

They could not, therefore, be our friends, and have remained our enemies. Others, again, tried to win the confidence of the West by constructing an artificial difference between our national ideals and democracy. In so doing they deprive the anti-bolshevist war of liberation of its force and thus work directly into Stalin's hands. Others, again, abuse democracy to conceal imperialist plans and to catch political emigrés from countries enslaved by Russia in the net of a doubtful and fantastic federalism. They feel no shame, in the 20th century, in denying highly cultivated subjugated nations the right to national freedom and political independence; they belittle the fight of such nations for liberation and "graciously" allow them to exercise passive resistance only, in the manner of Gandhi. All such types are political bankrupts from the world of yesterday, who curiously enough are always received in high places in Western capitals, and even play the part of "advisers".

This paradoxical state of affairs may be due to accidental connections in the past, political or personal. But if Western statesmen wish to prove that they are equal to the demands of the moment, they must not look back, but forwards, to the future. The advancing danger to the world that bolshevism is, cannot be met by spectres from the past, but above all by revolutionary ideas, constructive plans for the future. The democratic ideal, which we acknowledged without reserve, is not in itself sufficient to liberate and mobilise all the revolutionary forces in the world. The steam roller of bolshevism cannot be held up by mere defence. It can be met by the superior ideas of **national freedom and social justice** and by the **defensive force of the struggle for liberation**. And those are the principles of the A.B.N.: freedom for nations, freedom for individuals. They are written, not only on our standards, but in the hearts of millions of us.

It is no accident that the men supporting the A.B.N. principles are men who always acknowledged the same ideas consistently and uncompromisingly in times of decision whenever their national interests demanded. The fate that overtook a number of countries and nations as a result of the resolutions of Jalta and Potsdam at any rate exonerates their politicians and soldiers of all blame for not having stood on the side of the Allies; they were forced by the general situation of the war to seek security from bolshevist aggression on the other side. These suffering nations have long in their hearts written the tragedy of the past off; today, they frankly offer the West their hands. Why cannot the Western Allies do the same, seeing that they desire to win Germany as a partner in the fight

Resolutions of the Mass Meeting

Massey Hall, Toronto, November 26., 1950, regarding the Russians policy of endangering the world peace and liberty of nations and individuals.

Assembled at the above mentioned mass meeting, we inhabitants of the City of Toronto, originated from the countries conquered by Russia i. e., Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Cossackia, Croatia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Rumania, Slovakia, and Ukraine submit the following resolutions to the public opinion of the free world:

1. The present world crisis is a consequence of Russian imperialism. Disguised by slogans of proletarian revolution, it is to-day striving for world hegemony in form of Bolshevism which is hostile to Western and Christian principles of civilization founded mainly upon the freedom of individuals.

2. The spread of the U.S.S.R. over the greater part of two continents is merely the logical continuation of the four centuries-old Russian expansion to which a number of small and large nations in Eastern Europe and Asia have been sacrificed.

3. This new and dangerous expansion of the U.S.S.R. was only possible because the world cast away the idea that the old despotic Russian Empire was the dungeon of many nations and because Moscow had been permitted for

decades and centuries to exploit and abuse the natural resources of enslaved countries and nations in the service of Russian imperialism.

4. The defeat of those independent states which had won their freedom in battle in 1914-1918 was a preparatory step to later Soviet aggression for which the West was partly responsible.

5. The direct aims of the imperialism of Moscow to-day — and it has not altered a whit — is to destroy the national substance of the oppressed nations and to undermine the rest of the world.

6. At the same time, Moscow's Fifth Column, recruited from the ranks of duped or bribed adherents, are working in all the countries of the world to make them ripe for conquest and to force the majority of people under the yoke of a Moscow-dominated minority. The Canadian sector of the Communist Fifth Column is represented by the Labour Progressive Party.

7. The U.S.S.R. is counting for the realization of its plans on the lack of unity, but above all on the tolerance of the Western World which had made it possible for Russia to develop into a colossus that threatens the world.

against bolshevist aggression. The term "collaborator with the Germans" might possibly be out-of-date already, but collaboration with communism is as real today as ever it was...

A militant — liberation nationalism and an uncompromising opposition to bolshevism are not in contradiction to democracy; on the contrary, they are what Western democrats require if they really wish to put an end to the Kremlin's conspiracy against the world. Otherwise democracy and a conservative and capitalist social order are an ideal state for the infiltration of communism.

Why should it occur to anyone, for instance, to call the members of the Ukrainian Insurgents Army "fascists" merely because they took up arms and risked their lives against Hitler just as they are still doing against Stalin, while others only talked of freedom and even dreamed that something would result from compromises with Berlin or Moscow. Anyone who looks at the matter seriously must see that either the fighting Ukrainian nationalists will succeed in gaining freedom and then there will be a democracy in Ukraine, or there will never be a Ukrainian democracy. And what holds for Ukrainians, holds just the same for all other nations subjugated by Moscow, whether Byelorussia, Turkestan, Hungary, the

Serbs, Croats, Rumanians or Bulgarians. The future belongs to a genuine holy alliance between the national idea, social justice and democracy on the basis of equality and international solidarity.

What a hostile world of self-satisfied drawingroom politicians imagined it could reproach A.B.N. with, is for us inexhaustible moral strength, of which we are justly proud, namely that we unite all uncompromising and militant powers against bolshevism under the leadership of our people's loyal sons and tested soldiers. The masses of our nations stand behind them and will stand in the ranks of battle tomorrow — not the quislings who serve foreign powers, against their own national interests. The experiences of the nazi era are too fresh in our memory, for them to be repeated now by the other side.

The A.B.N. thus starts another year firmly conscious of its moral and political superiority. We were the first to raise a banner against bolshevism, by a long time the first. Our nations surround this banner, for our struggle is their only hope for the future. The West has still the choice between us and "the others". The sooner it decides to follow us on the path we have tested, and to learn from our experiences, the better it will be for them.

8. Understanding and co-operation with U.S.S.R. are a mere illusion and no peace with Moscow can be lasting, even if the Western World were prepared to purchase such a peace at the price of the life, freedom and culture of the present and future oppressed nations.

9. The nations, enslaved and oppressed by U.S.S.R., are firmly determined to continue their desperate fight for liberty against the tyranny of Bolshevism no matter what sacrifices they must make or what attitude the Western World will take towards the Soviet Union.

10. The driving power behind these conquered nations' fight is not only their resistance to the Bolshevist regime as a system of government, but also their repudiation of an alien Moscow supremacy as well as their ideals of national freedom and state independence.

11. The proclamation of programmes which are antagonistic to these aims as for instance, the re-establishment, on so-called "democratic" principles of the Russian imperium or the formation of federations as a cloak for the despotic claims of certain allegedly "superior" nations to rule over others, will paralyze the struggle for freedom and weaken the anti-Bolshevist front decisively.

12. An international world order can only be built on the principle of complete equality of free and independent nations and on a foundation of mutual respect and recognition of their initial rights.

The present struggle for freedom in which all nations oppressed by the U.S.S.R. are engaged, has created between them a bond of brotherhood. This bond will constitute a solid foundation for their friendly and harmonious co-operation also after they have attained their freedom.

13. The present world peace campaign lead by the Russian and Communist dominated World Peace Committee is designed to weaken the morale and vigilance of Western World to the danger of Russian aggression.

14. Besides the atom bomb, Russian rulers are most afraid of liberation and resistance movements of the oppressed nations. These movements within the U.S.S.R. and satellite countries organized to-day in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) are the most powerful potential allies of a free world in the present and coming, struggle against Russian imperialism, provided they are supported morally, politically and materially.

15. Peace is indivisible! There will be no world peace without freedom for all nations and individuals. The world can't remain divided into two camps — one camp of communist slavery, terror and murder, and another one of freedom.

Founded on the above stated findings this mass meeting submits to the Canadian Government, United Nations, and to the public opinion of a free world the following request:

Rumania's Fight Against Communism

By H. Matei Hojbota, President of Rumanian Committee of Canada
(Resume)

Rumania is subjugated today by a great force which is the communist party called the "Marxist-Leninist" or "United Workers Party".

All opposition has been extirpated and the Secret Police holds the main power and becomes more absolute every day.

The Rumanian Nation to-day as a whole is deprived of all religion forms, her educational and social standards have been completely destroyed and her independence and human rights radically suppressed.

Being a very rich country, Rumania is obliged at present to deliver unlimited supplies of minerals and agricultural oil and products to Soviet Union.

Her national wealth has been plundered by the communists now in power.

The people are the victims of terror and are suffering indescribable punishment, hardship and privation. The only hope of destroying this evil which has befallen the Rumanian nation is a third world war. Rumanians still believe and

have faith in the "U.S.A." and their Allies who they believe will liberate them.

Today the U. Nations troops are fighting for the same cause in Korea and at the same time thousands of Rumanian partisans are fighting in the Carpathian mountains under the command of General Cornelin Dragolina to free their country and they die a heroic death to liberate Rumania from the terror of a red Russian Communist regime.

In conclusion I do hope that every-one of us should be prepared to fight for the freedom of our nations.

Long live King Michael!

May Free Rumania live forever!

New "Elections" in the Soviet Union

The Soviet press announces that the office-bearers of the Supreme Soviet (the parliament) of the Russian Soviet Republic and those in the Georgian, Kirgish, Kasachish, Moldau, Latvian, Tadschikish and Carelian-Finnish Soviet-Republics have decided to carry out elections for the Supreme Soviets of their republics on February 18, 1951.

The office-bearers of the Supreme Soviets in the Soviet Republics of Ukraine and Turkmenia have decided to carry out their elections on February 25.

By means of such a trick (different election days in different republics) bolsheviks at home and abroad wish to create the impression that the longing of non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union for independence from Russia has already been realized and that all parliaments in nations within the Soviet Union are free to make their own resolutions.

1. The re-organization of the United Nations, excluding Russia and her satellites as guilty of aggression against democratic countries.

2. The breaking off of diplomatic relations with communist countries.

3. The recognition of Insurgent Armies and fighting groups within the U.S.S.R. and satellite countries as regular fighting forces in accordance with the provisions of the Hague Convention of 1899 and 1907, the recognition of their representatives and the granting to them of admission to the United Nations.

4. The proclamation of Soviet Russia as a prison of nations, which must be disbanded for the sake of world peace. The necessity of partition of the Soviet Russian Slave Empire into independent national states on ethnic principles must be recognized. This would deprive Russia of huge natural resources and manpower which would make her unable for future aggressions against the democratic countries. This is the best and the only warrant of preservation of the everlasting peace in the future.

5. The outlawing of the Communist Party in Canada, its affiliations like Labour Progressive Party, Canadian Peace Congress and others, because they are tools of Russian imperialism.

We endorse the action of the United Nations in Korea and especially the part played by Canada in this action.

We express our loyalty and full support for Canada in the long-termed moves of the Canadian Government toward preserving peace, justice and freedom for all nations.

Adopted at the mass meeting
"No peace without freedom for all nations and individuals",

Massey Hall, Toronto, November 26, 50.



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Pamphlet, spread by the Ukrainian Underground Movement behind the Iron Curtain.

From the Soviet Press:

Moscow Wants to Found a New U.N.

On November 23, 1950, the "Prawda" published interesting information about the last meetings of the "Peace Congress in Warsaw. These comments throw significant light on Bolshevik plans. D. Saslawskij, the correspondent of the paper, wrote the following report from the hall where the meetings took place:

"All resolutions and projects have been resumed in two documents. Pietro Nenni, who was interrupted by loud applause, read out the manifesto and the appeal to the United Nations.

The proposals are simple, clear and concrete. The unanimous applause in the hall before the voting showed that the Congress approved of the proposals for peace. Delegates rose spontaneously from their seats and applauded heartily. A proposal was brought forward to examine the crimes of the aggressors in Korea and to put responsibility on General MacArthur.

"Nenni solemnly announced the motion to found a world peace council, a permanent body representing all the peoples in the world, a body of high international authority whose function would be to preserve peace and to give constant expression to the desire of nations for peace.

The ovation he received from the meeting was convincing confirmation of the great Charter of peace...

The last point in the agenda was the appointment of the world peace council. The list of candidates had already been drawn up by the different delegates."

Up till a short time ago it was the function only of the United Nations to preserve peace. Now we learn that a new international organization has

been founded by Moscow which will deal with the same problems as the U.N. Who is to represent the nations of the world in this organization? We find the answer to this question in the same report:

"I listened attentively to the speeches and tried to determine to which political parties the various speakers belonged. Who were they — communists? — democrats? — Catholics? But it was impossible to guess the party membership unless the speaker himself referred to it."

If a debate takes place in a parliament and if the representatives of different parties agree, on any question, their arguments and approach always make it possible to guess the party they belong to. But at the Warsaw "Peace Congress" it could not be deduced from the arguments or the approach to the matter under discussion that the speakers belonged to different parties. It follows therefore that all the delegates belonged to one and the same party. And if many of them had membership cards of non-communist parties, it proves that in addition to open agents there were many disguised agents of Moscow present who had joined non-communist parties by secret orders from Moscow. If we read the article by the "Prawda" correspondent we understand immediately what kind of peace was intended at Warsaw — a peace organization in which, as in the Soviet Union, members of one party only may voice their opinions, and in which all nations would be represented by traitors, i. e. by agents of Moscow a peace, that is to say, when the entire world would dance to the piping of Russian Bolsheviks.

The "Freedom" of the Intellectuals in U.S.S.R.

The "Weeks of Art and Literature" arranged in Moscow, particularly for non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union, aim not so much at showing the achievements of the various national cultures, as at revealing and stigmatizing national peculiarities in the art of the nation in question as "nationalism" and "bourgeois error". It is not the art of these nations subjugated and exploited by Moscow that must keep alive the national tradition — they must rather fall into line ordered by the Bolshevik party clique in Moscow, i. e. everything must be subservient to the bolshevist idea of socialism, of Muscovite imperialism, of world revolution.

The "Week of Azerbaijan Art and Literature" held in Moscow early in December" is an interesting example of this policy — or rather, the bolshevist criticism of the week. On this occasion, too, the healthy patriotism of a non-Russian people in the Soviet Union was branded and condemned as super-

fluous nationalism. The "Iswestija" published a long article severely criticizing Azerbaijan literature. It repeats the statements made by the Russian controlled communist party of Azerbaijan, that Azerbaijan critics of literature and experts are inefficient, because they cannot unite the problems of literature with those of the bolshevist party, and because they are not sufficiently active in their opposition to "formalism" or to echoes of bourgeois nationalism in the literature of their country...

In particular, the "Prawda" stigmatizes works by Azerbaijan writers, like Osman Sariveli, Mehti Said-sade, A. Azulfas and H. Hussein because they cling to ancient and petrified forms and themes, and from a "pseudonationalism" sing the praises of their country with its mountains, rivers and valleys, and do homage to dead ideals of the past.

In the "Bolshevik", a Moscow paper, M. D. Bogixow is most severe with H.

Hussein whom he accuses of grave, nationalist fallacies. "Critics and scientists have failed to discover the vices of Hussein's harmful book, and its political ideas. They have not managed to appropriate the experiences of Soviet literature and have not been energetic in their support of the effort to study the methods of socialist realism. And the two books published in the last ten years about the history of Soviet literature in Azerbaijan are full of political and mythological mistakes"...

Moscow fears the mountains of the Caucasus, and demands from the poets of Azerbaijan that they must not allow themselves to be inspired by these mountains — but that they should pay homage to the realism of Baku oil-fields and be enthusiastic about the oilwells of Mossul...

It is Moscow's aim to make of the literature of Azerbaijan and every other subjugated nation an instrument of intellectual oppression in its own interest.

The Russian People as a People of Rulers

By means of force, cunning and the violation of the right of nations to self-determination, Russians in the course of centuries have created an empire, in which they themselves are less than half of the population and which non-Russian nations, the victims of Russian imperialism, rightly call the "dungeon of nations". It is true that this dungeon of nations altered its sign after the First World war from "The Russian Empire" to "The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics", without, however, changing the aim and nature of the oppression it exercises. The oppressors are still Russians and the oppressed are still the non-Russian peoples in this dungeon of nations. A striking article in the "Iswestija", a Moscow paper, on December 3, 1950, on the nations in the Soviet Union is a reflexion of this fact.

There we read:

"During the war years, the eminent characteristics of the Russian people stood out clearly — their intelligence, their steadfastness, their patience... The great, Russian people played the main part in welding the many nations in Russia into one Soviet state." In the same article we read that "the Russian is the most eminent of all nations living in the Soviet Union".

The leading article in the edition of December 10, 1950 of the same paper calls the "Russian people the leading nation among all nations in the Soviet Union".

With such cynical sincerity Russians have been endeavouring for centuries to make clear to the nations subjugated by them that they, the Russians are specially fitted by their eminent qualities to dominate a whole world of foreign nations.

Their Seed is Sprouting all over the World

The "Prawda" of December 29, 1950 gives an account of the unveiling of a monument to Lenin and Stalin in Szegedin, an industrial town in Hungary. Atonal Papai, a Szegedin sculptor, has presented the two heroes of the bolshevik revolution "at the historical moment of their meeting in Gorki in 1922". The granite pediment bears the following inscription: "Their seed is sprouting all over the world". Janos Sombarly, the secretary of the administration in Szegedin, held a speech to the 15,000 workers and peasants who witnessed the unveiling of the monument. Among other things, he stated that "the workers of Szegedin have set up a monument of their love, gratitude and devotion towards the Soviet nation and its great leader, Stalin".

We cannot avoid being impressed by the ambiguity of the inscription and should like to relate a little story about Budapest.

An old peasant from the same Szegedin was there lately and inquired of the policeman at the station where the Andrassystrasse was. He was informed that the name of that street had been altered and that it now bore the name of Stalin, the great hero. When he got there, the peasant asked another policeman — in Budapest the policemen fall

over each other — where the Kossuth Square was. This policeman, too, informed the Szegedin peasant, who did not seem to know the "new" Budapest, that the old hero of Hungarian liberation had been replaced by Molotov, an incomparably greater man. The peasant then asked for the present name of the Paris Boulevard and was told that it was now the Stalingrad Boulevard in honour of the heroic Soviet town. Completely dazed by all these changes, the peasant went to the banks of the blue Danube, leant over the bridge and sought to find consolation in the sight of the quickly flowing river. He realized that his own national heroes were no longer held in honour in this once magnificent capital and that they had all been replaced by Soviet victors.

The policeman, whose suspicions were aroused, followed the peasant and asked him, half in threat, half in pity, if he intended to commit suicide. But the peasant had regained his self-control and answered quietly: "Oh no, Comrade Policeman, I only wanted to watch the good old Volga flowing past..."

The Bolshevist Paradise

In its No. 33, 1950, the "Krokodil", a Moscow magazine, published an article by an inhabitant of the town of Baku (the largest centre of the oil industry in the Soviet Union). He complains that a window-pane in his flat was broken and that he could not get it repaired in the whole town. The article runs:

"There is the 'Baku Repairs Concern' with 5 branch offices, but they are all too big!

— 'I am sorry —' they tell one — 'but we repair only objects that cost more than 50 thousands roubles. That is our standard. And your standard is a broken window-pane.

There are other offices in Baku, but they repair only things that are brought to them."

Is it astonishing, we should like to ask the Moscow paper, that the individual citizen in the Soviet Union should not be able to get a window-pane mended? Can anything else be expected in a state where everything is directed towards preparing a new war of aggression, where even the smallest business has been nationalized, and where private initiative has been completely eliminated?

"National in Form and Socialist in Content"

Soviet papers report that the State Publishing Concern of the Esthonian Soviet Republic has published the fourth volume of Lenin's works in Esthonian. Single books by Lenin have also appeared in the national languages of Ukraine, Armenia, Georgia and Byelorussia (all Soviet Republics), having been published by the respective State Publishing Houses.

Russian bolsheviks call this a sign of flourishing culture that is national in form and socialist in content. These books which are being published in non-Russian countries of the Soviet Union and in national languages are mostly translations from Russian and, as they do not contain only the ideas of Karl Marx, but also propagate Russian ideas, the idea of Russia as a "Messiah", these tactics of Russian bolsheviks are merely a cunning method of gradually undermining the national feeling of non-Russian nations by means of Russian literature published by the state in different languages. It would therefore be more correct to describe the culture that is being transplanted from Russia to non-Russian regions as **national in form (language) and Russian in content.**

Poles are Turned into Russians

On December 5, 1950, the newspaper "Iswestija" published a long article on the relations between Poland and Russia, saying: "In Poland today there is not a factory, not a school where lectures about the Soviet Union are given... Besides lectures, enlightenment is provided by other means, e. g. in club entertainments, Soviet films, Soviet plays, dances, songs etc. The large circulation of Soviet newspapers and magazines must be mentioned, as for instance, the "Nowy Chas" and the "Literatura radzjecka", published both in Polish and in Russian, both of which support the Society for the Promotion of Friendship between Poland and Russia. The study of Russian in Poland has become general."

There is no doubt that the Bolsheviks are purposing a policy of intense russification in Poland particularly. From the highest army headquarters right down to the courses for Russian, arranged for industrial workers, it is obvious that an attempt is being made to turn the Poles into a new "branch" of the great, Russian people. Thanks to the lies spread by Russian imperialists during the last centuries, Ukrainians figure in the scientific literature of Europe as "Little Russians" and the Byelorussians as "White Russians". We may therefore be prepared for an announcement from Russia declaring that the Poles are not different from the Russians, but a branch of the Russian nation, and that the scientists of Western Europe who for centuries have swallowed all the lies served up by Russia, will call the Poles "Red Russians" or "Black Russians". If this goes on, the whole world will consist only of "branches" of the Russian nation.

The only Way out

(Continued from Page 7)

proper representatives of the subjugated nations broadcast from America, Great Britain, Japan, Australia, Pakistan, India, etc.? Where is the West's great campaign of ideas? Why does the Soviet Union not defend itself against Western propaganda? Where are the pamphlets of the West which are being dropped over the Soviet Union? Where and when in Siberia does this happen? And Korea is Siberia's next neighbor. Where is the message of the West to subjugated nations? For the Bolsheviks, it is enough to print and distribute Barret's statements, as they did Mr. Koller's message in the "Voice of America", when he said the United States were not interested in the liberation of the Ukraine and other nations within the Soviet Union.

Where and when have Allied aeroplanes dropped pamphlets with messages of encouragement for oppressed nations? When and where has President Truman declared his support for the division of the Russian empire into national states? What is the West really fighting for? If it is fighting for an allocation of "spheres of influence", its efforts will be in vain; for the oppressed nations will oppose them. The belief of these nations in the final victory of the national idea, of a free anti-imperialist and anti-chauvenist nationalism is unshakable. History teaches that slavery, injustice, and lies never last long, and that finally freedom and justice will triumph.

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Editorials

Harold E. Stassen Shows the Way!

After a tour through the capitals of the world including a visit to Stalin in the Kremlin, Harold E. Stassen, the well-known American statesman, the Republican Party's candidate for presidency, broadcast a remarkable speech on January 1951. In it he proclaimed the program of what he called a "counter-revolutionary" policy which must be pursued by the U.S.A. and which would incite nations beyond the Iron Curtain to revolt against their tyrants. The seven main points of this program are:

1. The independance of Ukraine, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary;
2. The release of the millions of political prisoners condemned to hard labour as convicts in Soviet concentration camps;
3. The restoration of land to peasants for private management;
4. The right of the workers of the world to organize and to make collective treaties with employers;
5. The right of religious liberty for all people in the world;
6. The reconstruction of a free, democratic and united Germany with a responsible government and humane laws for the entire people in east and west;
7. The restitution of Manchuria to a democratic China.

It is a welcome sign of the recovery of world opinion that more and more eminent politicians and publicists are finding the courage to present the situation of the world in all its seriousness and to point the way to a proper and just solution of its problems. The A.B.N. may claim credit for having contributed to the increasing enlightenment of public opinion in the West, as a result of its difficult and indefatigable information services.

Among the voices that have been heard lately in the West, we would draw particular attention to Harold Stassen's words. As a leading representative of the Republican Party, a former, Governor of the State of Minnesota, at present

President of Pennsylvania University, Stassen belongs to the political élite of the U.S.A. His voice has always carried weight and commanded attention and respect both in Washington and abroad. The seven points of the program he announced, the brevity and clarity of which testify to political acumen and vast experience, will be received with great satisfaction and gratitude especially by all oppressed nations behind the Iron Curtain. We are grateful to Mr. Stassen for the determination he here proclaims to go to the bottom of the problems that cause the present world crisis, and we hope that he speaks for the great majority of the American people. (Continued on Page 11

Stalin Ante Portas . . .

To be, or not to be, the Choice of the Civilized World
Offensive, not Defensive Strategy Demanded

When the Belgian Marshall Ligne was discussing the French Revolution with the Duke of Windischgraetz at the Congress of Vienna 135 years ago, he made the following significant remark which applies to our situation today:

"The battle of the Revolution was not fought against the Bourbons or the aristocracy of France, but against the 'Zeitgeist' of absolutism. The Revolution aimed at undermining and destroying the entire ancient structure of Europe. And it knew that its achievements could be secured for all time only if it managed to inspire the souls of all Europeans. A revolution always wants to upset everything. If ever one nation abolished private property, it would compel all the nations in the world to do likewise. A revolution expects islands to be swallowed up by the sea. That is why it wants to flood the globe; sometimes it succeeds in so doing."

Could anyone today doubt the truth of those words uttered by Marshall Ligne, one of the outstanding figures of the Congress of Vienna? The aptness of the prophecy becomes evident when we think of bolshevist world aggression which is but another form of Russian power politics and All-Russian imperialism.

But the western World is slow to draw obvious conclusions. Mediocre politicians are still considering illusory possi-

bilities of choosing between war and peace. And yet the existence of whole countries and cultures is at stake. The question is whether Europe and the rest of the free world is ready to defend the heritage of its ancestors and the future of its children, or whether they intend to abandon them without a struggle. For no compromise is possible.

It is true that the historical life of peoples and nations is determined by human reason and free will; it is, however, at the same time influenced by higher natural laws. We deceive ourselves if we arrogantly assume that the decision between war and peace is in our hands alone. The national forces that lie deep-rooted in nations refuse to be suppressed and they suffer no compromise. To deny the will for self-preservation in the life of the individual means death, just as it does in the life of nations. The continuance of Europe's life and the fate of the world that is still free depend on the intelligence and the self-sacrifice of their inhabitants.

It is of the utmost importance today to be quite clear about the extent of the coming world war in space and time (the strategical position) and also about the belligerents' intentions (political and military aims). The countries be-

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longing to the western system of alliances which are in the continent of Europe are most exposed to the danger of Russian imperialism. As often before in its history, Western Europe and Christian culture are threatened by advancing barbarism. The key to the defence of Europe against attack from the East still lies in the basin of the Danube. If the tide of attack can be held here, the peace and security of the West would be assured; if not, Europe will certainly become a war-theatre. In the intoxication of victory after World War II, this natural bulwark of the strategic unity of Europe was destroyed by the eastern Allies themselves and its ruins handed over thoughtlessly to the red imperialism of Moscow. A very curious prologue to this process may be found in the minutes of the Peace Conference at Trianon in 1919 when certain "scientists" made the suggestion to "re-settle" in Asia the Hungarian nation which had controlled the Carpathians for thousands of years, as it would disturb the "liberation" of Europe.

One does not require any particular training in strategy to recognize after a glance at the map of Europe, that the first natural, solid line of defence in Western Europe now lies in the Pyrenees, and that the hundred odd armored cars and four hundred infantry divisions could easily advance to that line whenever Stalin gives the signal.

That is the reason for our title, Stalin ante portas!

The continued existence of Europe, as we already said, depends on its intelligence, its will to fight and its readiness to bring sacrifices voluntarily. Intelligence, however, says that all available forces must be mobilized, but also that all strategic advantages on the side of the West and the weaknesses of the Soviet Union must be utilized to the full.

A military decision can only be realized by an offensive campaign. But the problem of all offensives is above all the problem of supplies and transport. If we compare the possibilities of transport of the two sides, it is obvious that the West is strategically superior and that the enormous numerical superiority of the combined forces of Russia and China is not decisive, at least for the present. A really effective cooperation between those two teeming nations cannot be realized as long as means of transport are so inadequate.

As long as the communist giant cannot reach the main arteries of the West, namely the economic and industrial resources of the U.S.A. it could only disturb, but not destroy American production. But the road to the heart of the Russian empire is open to the Western Allies who have sufficient supplies of the necessary means of transport.

It is true that practically all Europe could be overrun, but there is the possibility of saving its fighting forces from destruction by the enemy by withdrawing them to North Africa, where they could be organized without disturbance.

The position of the Balkans, however, is decisive. In consequence of Tito's attitude there are chances for both opponents here. The present situation is

partly unfavourable for the Russians. Railway communications for the Soviets to Bulgaria are inadequate. Only one bridge, at Cernavoda, spans the Danube. There is a tendency to attribute undue importance to Tito. Serbia cannot be defended on the north. By using the valley of the Morava and the railway line Belgrade-Nisch-Sofia, the superior armored forces stationed in Hungary could reach the Bulgarian frontier in a few days. Tito would then retreat to the hills and would scarcely be prepared to die for "capitalists". The railway line just mentioned would therefore be the main artery of operations in this campaign.

Geographical, or ethnic-national conditions mean for the Soviets a loss of no fewer than a hundred fighting divisions. Communism, it is true has swallowed many nations, but it cannot digest them. The very existence of underground movements and liberation fronts in the A.B.N. nations is a great danger for the Kremlin. If all those oppressed nations were to rise at once, they would secure the West decisive superiority.

The Kremlin is well aware of the inevitability of the final settling of accounts between the two sides with their opposing ideals; that is why it is already resorting to preventive war by launching attacks with limited aims.

It is hardly possible that the main attack of the Soviets should be directed towards Central Europe. Moscow's pri-

Thomas E. Dewey Prophesies the Day of Liberation

In the course of an important speech celebrating the 142nd anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's birthday, Thomas Dewey, leader of the Republican Party and Governor of New York State, said:

"Even now I see the day coming when slaves of Soviet Russia in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria, Rumania and China and also in Soviet Russia itself will be freed from their fetters by a new proclamation of emancipation from slavery. When this day dawns, the Kremlin will no longer be able to offer its dictators any security."

"New York Herald Tribune" published the following comment on Dewey's speech: "Last night Dewey described not only the great difficulties of our present age, but also the great possibilities it holds, and that in such clear language that no one could misunderstand. If words and ideas have any influence at all on the soul of man, the United States must draw from this speech a fund of fresh decision, fresh courage and fresh readiness for defence."



The First Anniversary of a Hero's Death

March 5, is the first anniversary of the death of Lt. General Taras Chuprynka the commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.). He fell fighting against Russian bolshevist tyranny and for the freedom of his native land and all other peoples oppressed by Moscow.

Not only does Chuprynka belong to those fortunate heroes who will live in the history of their own people, but is one of whom posterity can justly say that they have not lived or died in vain.

Supported solely by his faithful Ukrainians, quite without help from outside, he stirred up revolution for the liberation of Ukraine for years, in spite of bitter persecution and terrorism on the part of Russian bolshevists; invisible, elusive, he commanded the heroic resistance of his invincible U.P.A. which won legendary fame throughout the world under his leadership.

And yet Chuprynka will live not only as a hero of national Ukrainian history. By founding the Anti-bolshevist Bloc of Nation (A.B.N.) which was called to



(From the archives of the U.H.V.R.)

life on Soviet territory as early as 1943 on his initiative and consolidated as the union of all armed fighters for liberty, members of several nations oppressed by Moscow, Taras Chuprynka has become the symbol of an idea which will be realized in the future when the world becomes fully conscious of it.

The news of the heroic death of the great Ukrainian leader of liberty was scarcely noticed by the free world, entangled as it is in the confusion of these tense, anxious days. The same fate may await this tribute to his memory in the noise of world politics and news of ominous events. But we see the day coming when the blessed task will be ended for which Chuprynka and innumerable fighters have fallen and will

continue to fall. For only when the clouds of tyranny flee before the light of freedom for all nations and individuals in the world will Chuprynka's name appear in its full radiance, to be held in grateful honour by posterity.

mary military task is surely to occupy the Bosphorus, the Dardanelles and the Suez Canal, or at least to destroy them and put them out of use for a long time. If it were to succeed in doing this, the decisive battle for world hegemony would be won for Moscow. The first victim to fall would certainly be Tito, the second, Turkey. To prevent this would demand the lives of very many soldiers in the free world. The turn of Western Europe would probably come later: or it might be attacked simultaneously, but as a side-line. The bolshevisation of India would then have priority as one of the Kremlin's aims. "The power that controls India also controls Europe", as Peter the Great said 250 years ago. The Soviets reckon that, when things have reached this stage, America will no longer have sufficient reserves at its disposal to master these enormous tasks its huge expenditure will have pushed it to economic ruin and with it, the entire free world left will be dragged into the abyss, and the way cleared for the long looked-for bolshevist world revolution.

It is true that the strategical position is more favourable for the free nations

of the world, but it demands that they should seize the initiative. The success of a bombardment is doubtful in the long run. The rocket fighter "Yak-21" is an excellent weapon of defence and so cheap that it can be produced in unlimited numbers.

The West can only achieve victory by means of an invasion with the following primary aims: 1. the liberation of Ukraine as the most important oppressed nation, from the point of view both of strategy and economy. 2. the neutralization of the oil-fields on the Caspian, 3. the liquidation of the industrial area in the Donetz basin.

THE WESTERN ALLIES WOULD HAVE TO LAND ON THE NORTHERN SHORE OF THE BLACK SEA, REGARDLESS OF WHAT IT COST THEM. This is the only way that makes final victory certain at the minimum cost for Europe and that would probably save that continent from being occupied by Russia.

The plan should be something like this:

I. The main force must advance towards Moscow from Berdjansk, Mariupol and Tangaroy. But the condition for

this operation is the control of the road from Kertsch which means that the Russian fleet would have to be defeated first and the eastern section of Crimea occupied.

II. This operation by the main force must be preceded by the landing of the right wing at Tuaspe, Noworosijsk and Anapa, the aim being to conquer the oil area and neutralize it.

III. The third group of armies would have to advance from Odessa and Nikolajew and liberate Ukraine and Poland and so cut off oil supplies from Rumania and Poland.

It is not right to regard bolshevism merely as the instrument of Russian world imperialism. In spite of its deceptiveness and terrorism it is merely an ally. The unfathomable nature of bolshevist world revolution, which has allied itself with Russian despotism, pursues the same aim as Peter the Great's lust for conquest.

Stalin ante portas! The only way open to the West is — a preventive strategic offensive.

Ltn. A. Nagy
(Hungary)

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King Philipp an Athenians of our Day

By Dr. Dmytro Donzow

At the moment of the greatest danger to Athens, Demosthenes spoke to his countrymen: "Philipp always in movement, doing everything for himself, never letting slip an opportunity, prevailed over you, who merely talk, inquire, and vote without action. It would be wonderful, if under such circumstances he had not been the conqueror."

Demosthenes spoke to the Athenian Democracy. Would he speak otherwise, if he had to speak to our Western Democracy at the time of her conflict with "Philipp" of Moscow

Demosthenes urged his fellow — citizens to provide active encouragement and material assistance to neighbour states, conquered by the King or those about to become so. The final result was the collapse of the independent Hellenic world. Were the methods inefficient? No, only those who applied them, the Athenian politicians of his time.

Philipp's foreign policy had a clear purpose namely the domination Greece. Did the Athenians possess such a clear purpose in their policy towards the aggressor? Certainly not.

Philipp had an ardent, fanatical wish to realize his plan by all means. On the other hand, the Athenians had an unconquerable repugnance to every effort required to counteract the blows of the aggressor.

Philipp knew what he wanted: to prepare a strong army for war against the Hellenic world and to support philomacedon party in the different states of Greece, to attack each of them separately. The Athenians did not know what they wanted, peace or war. If even they accepted an alliance, they took no active step to cooperate with their allies against a common enemy. They "could not see events in their beginning, to discern tendencies beforehand" (Demosthenes); gazing inactive on the fall of Chalkidikes, of Olynte, of the Phokions who watched over Thermophyles), until they were forced into the defensive for their own security at home... Is not this the case of Western democracies between the two wars and after? The blow has of Russian Philipp constrain them sometimes to counteract the far-reaching fancies of the Kremlin, but they do it like the Athenians against Philipp. Their resistance, said Demosthenes — "Like awkward pugilists, wanted Philipp to strike and then put up their hands to follow his blow": yesterday in Persia or in Greece, to-day in Korea, to-morrow in Turkey, always in the defensive.

The repugnance to the efforts, personal and pecuniary, required for prosecuting a hearty war against Philipp, aversion to a strenuous foreign policy, the incapacity to look forward to the consequences of inaction, lack of preventive vigilance in the citizens, absorbed in their property, family, and recreation, the comfort and all the peaceful refinement of the Athenian life, all that Demosthenes reproached

his careless countrymen with, did not allow them to look the aggressor in the face nor to anticipate him in offensive operation. This practice of waiting for Philipp to act offensively and then sending aid to the point attacked, was ruinous in the time of the Macedonian aggression, as much as at the time of Russian Imperialism.

And then the 5th Column of Philipp in Thessalian and other cities, always, did its work by laxity of public morality. Philipp always attained his aims by purchasing corrupt partisans among the leaders of his enemies such as Isokrates, Phokion, who sold their country to the enemy, or under the mask of peace-lovers discouraged public effort, forcing the Greeks to await passively the preponderance of the Macedonian arms, deceiving them with a tissue of false assurances as to the purpose of Philipp; the philippising factions were everywhere rising in arms or conspiring to seize the government for their own account under Philipp's auspices... Is it all not the true picture of our day in our conflict with the Russian Philipp?

The Athenians accepted the Olympian alliance, but took no active step to co-operate with Olympians in the war against Philipp. Demosthenes complained of the lukewarmness of his countrymen in a crisis which called aloud for instant action; reproached them with lack of apprehending the terrible consequences of this Olympian war, while as yet distant, unobserved by others; admonished them: "the aggressor" has aggrandised himself through your negligence and improvidence, by taking into pay corrupt partisans at Athens, by cheating successively Olympians, Thessalians and all his or her allies... If only you Athenians will do your duty! Yet here you are sitting still, doing nothing... The prophetic prediction of Demosthenes — if the Athenians refused to carry on a strenuous war against Philip on his coasts, they would bring upon themselves the graver, evil of having to resist him on or near their own frontiers — fulfilled. Inactivity, lack of foresight, of courage, of idealism and great ideas corruptibility of the Athenian leaders led the great nation into slavery, to the downfall of a great civilization.

Is this picture of the irresolute Athenian Democracy of that time and of its inexorable enemy, not similar to the picture of Western Democracy and its enemy today?

Leading their war the, disciples of the Prophet Marx do not think in categories of "lebensraum", security, peace, prosperity, of being fed and housed, but in the faith which they will impose by the sword upon unbelievers. The essential conflict of our time is not the conflict between Right and Left, "Reaction" and "Progress", but between the adherents of positive Christian ideals of life and adherents of the devilish doctrine of materialism. The

"Freedom for all the Nations of the World"

The Voice of the American People.

According to a report of USIS, a message was broadcast on February 13 by the "Common Cause Society", an American union of citizens representing all professions and classes, which gave the assurance that the United States and the entire free world are in close association with the nations in the Soviet Union, in their fight for human liberty and against the tyranny of dictatorship. It declared that the American people has only one aim, namely:

"FREEDOM FOR ALL THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD, THE RIGHT TO ELECT THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT FREELY AND THE RIGHT TO PERSONAL AND NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION."

Our commentary: at last the ice has been broken! The tissue of lies spread for imperialist purposes about the "indivisibility" of Russia has been torn. It is not only politicians and respectable statesmen in the West who begin to understand the basic problem of the present world crisis. Objective public opinion of all classes of the American people, as represented in the "Common Cause Society" mentioned above, also acknowledges the principle of the liberation of all peoples from the Russian dungeon of nations and bolshevist slavery, and supports the realization of the lofty aims and ideals for which the nations of the A.B.N. have been fighting and dying for years.

Freedom for nations! Freedom for individuals!

winners in this war will be those, who possess the strongest faith, wisdom, courage and fighting spirit of proselitism; whose ideology will appear sufficiently clear, attractive and firm to inflame the subjugated peoples as the spirit of newborn nationalism inflamed the peoples of Italy against Austria in the past, or the peoples of Greece and Balkan Slavs against the despotism of the Sultan or as the spirit of the Spanish people against Napoleon in the XIX century, and against Moscow in the XX century. Or as the spirit of those under Russian domination, which, — Ukraine leading — do not lay down their arms in their fight against the monstrous Empire.

Europe and the West in general need a New leadership, not the modern Isocrates and Aeschine, not lukewarm calculators, but men like Pitt and Burke, Cardinal Mercier, Clemenceau of Charles Martel and Aetius, the West needs Saints and Heroes.

Without such men, a new leadership, the West, will receive peace too, but that will be a new Pax Philippiana. Either all nations will be free or none. And the new Philipp seems to be great only for those who kneel down before him.

"He were no lion, were not Romans hinds" — said Shakespeare in "Julius Caesar".

A Worth-While Task for Russian Political Emigrés

By Dr. Oskar Loorits

... It is not enough to get rid of the aggressive ideology of imperialism. This must be accompanied by a genuine desire to cooperate with the "enemies" of yesterday. The problems existing between France and Germany, Germany and Poland, Poland and Ukraine, Ukraine and Russia can only find a peaceful and friendly solution under certain conditions.

Conditions for a peaceful solution of differences

Aggressive nations must finally recognize the errors of their military leaders and do their best to eradicate them. Their nationalist ideology must be thoroughly revised. Their relations with other nations must be based, not on destructive egoism, on the lust for expansion and exploitation, but on a constructive, stable foundation of par-

tolerance and mutual respect. Ideals of life and culture must attract the mass of the people to this new attitude, ideals which do not underrate the value of each individual member of the mass, but which at the same time aim at securing the happiness of all masses and nations by peaceful and friendly cooperation.

Dangerous Poisons

In Germany there are so many healthy cultural forces that we may hope for a speedy recovery of the people's soul. This psychic recovery seems much more hopeless and difficult in the case of the Russian people. Their soul has been poisoned, not only by a fanatic communism, but also by a romantic Pan Slavism and mystic illusion of their mission, till they have fallen a victim to the fixed idea of their duty to conquer the world.

Political Exiles and a New Ideology

It would surely be a noble duty for many Russian politicians in exile to work out a new ideology to take the place of this pseudopatriotic, hypnotized Russian spirit, an ideology that would be no longer directed to the open or disguised aim of russifying the "dungeon of nations" that has been proclaimed as "indivisible"; this new ideology should acknowledge and support the right of other peoples to self-determination. By adopting such ideals and spreading them, Russian exiles would render the cause of world peace a far greater service than by formulating empty phrases about the union of communism and democracy, or with Catholicism, à la Berdiajew, not to mention ancient and ever recurring Utopias based on the mystic mission of the Russian soul to ennoble or "redeem" humanity.

The Spiritual Re-education of Russia Essential

The spiritual re-education of Russia, particularly in regard to relations with foreign countries, is the minimum condition for genuine cooperation between

Russian fighters for freedom and other nations. As long as Russians regard other peoples as nations to be influenced, or as "minorities", to whom they are inclined at best to grant a purely theoretical autonomy in cultural matters, their policy will be regarded as a manoeuvre that guarantees nothing at all and that never can win any other people to fight for a federal Great Russia. *Mutatis mutandis* the same thing holds for the Poles, the Czechs, the Serbs etc. The solution of the problem of minorities or federations must not be to the interest of one single "ruling" people.

No Room for Expansionism

If a people is inclined to expand at the cost of others, if it is infected by the idea of a great empire and regards it as its mission to make other peoples happy by assimilating or liquidating them, such ideas must be evaluated as psychic diseases demanding careful treatment by re-educating the masses. The soul of the German people is not so much concerned with abstract considerations as the Russian which inclines to metaphysics more than to real politics; it is more apt to seek what is known as the "meaning of life" in castles in the air rather than in positive, creative work. It is therefore easier to treat the soul of the German people and that not by controlling it from without but by initiative from within.

The Importance of Personality

... In order to rob the after effects of communism in the Russian people's soul of their poison, it is of the greatest importance to reform the lifeless masses living in the chaos of a Russia that is only kept in order by force, to be self-confident, independent personalities which would realize the cultural, social, political and economical independence of the Russian people and assure it for all time. If no educated personalities with a higher sense of values can be produced among the people, new leaders will soon appear who will first parody the democracy they pretend to represent by inducing anarchy, and ultimately replace it by terrorism and dictatorship. Just as impersonal mass mentality is enslaved by the cult of a leader, the spirit of the masses can and must be ennobled till they become solid and faithful supports of democracy. If the western world wishes to save itself, it must take up and carry out the spiritual transformation of the Russian people as part of its fight against world communism. This task is also the duty of Russians in exile and a condition for the avoidance of future conflicts.

Editor's note: Lack of space has compelled us to shorten this interesting article. We beg the author's pardon and thank him for his valuable contribution.

The "Committee for a Free Europe"

New Tasks

Recent changes in the leadership of the "Committee for a Free Europe" would seem to indicate that its program is to be more energetically pursued. Charles Douglas Jackson has been elected president. Jackson is 48 years old and is an important American publisher and publicist. He is the publisher of the wellknown magazine, "Fortune", and vice-president of the publishing society, "Time", which publishes the weeklies "Time" and "Life", with a circulation of millions. During the war, Jackson was the real chief of the division for psychological warfare in 1944 in General Eisenhower's Atlantic general staff. He had the entire propaganda of the Allies under him and was the chief figure in the huge workshop that shaped public opinion, rumours, hush-hush propaganda, broadcasts, films, pamphlets, papers and the policy of the press.

Jackson's appointment as president of the "Committee for a Free Europe" is generally regarded as a deliberate intensification of the psychological war between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. It seems that from now on, America is going to wage psychological warfare against the U.S.S.R. with the same energy as it did in 1944 against the Dritte Reich. Jackson is said to have demanded 145 million dollars for his operative budget for the current year.

Radio broadcasts by "Radio Free Europe" are known to be the most important feature of this Committee. In the spring of this year, a broadcasting station with a strength of about 300 kilowatts is to be established at Holzkirchen, near Munich. It will broadcast over the European part of the Soviet Union, including the Urals and the Caucasus, the Near East and the whole of North-East Africa. Broadcasts will be given in the languages of the inhabitants of the so-called satellite states. It is strange that broadcasts have not yet been planned in the languages of the subjugated peoples in the U.S.S.R. whose countries are in the area served by this station. It is to be hoped that this omission will be made good in the future, and that the new chief of the R.F.E. will utilize the enormous possibilities offered here for an efficient, energetic support of resistance in all our countries.

It is also to be hoped that the "Committee for a Free Europe", being in such a favourable position, will develop to be a decisive factor in the psychological war against the danger to the world from Russian bolshevism and will cooperate with political emigrés from countries beyond the Iron Curtain, including representatives of subjugated nations. It is essential that

Hitler's Fatal Policy in the East

In the five years that have passed since the collapse of the Nazi regime, a self-scrutiny has set in throughout Germany which is neither a concomitant nor a result of the process of "democratic re-education" imposed on the German people by their Anglo-American victors. It is only natural that a power which fell from dizzy heights — its expansion after the conquest and occupation of the entire continent, from North Africa to the Arctic Circle, from the Atlantic to the Volga seemed, even in 1942, to hold new and undreamt of possibilities — to depths lower than following the Thirty Years' War, should voluntarily study the causes of such a fall much more intensely than, say, after the German defeat in World War I.

The self-scrutiny which occupies Germans now has led to conclusions that will influence not only the future existence of the German people but the entire development of Europe. Cautious though we must be in forming judgments, we can nevertheless sum things up as follows:

The realization that Hitler came a cropper in the East is no longer confined to a small group of experts in Eastern questions. During the years that separated the glory of the German advance from the misery of retreat, hundreds of thousands of German soldiers became familiar not only with the country between the Warthe and the Volga, but with the far wider areas affected by Hitler's policy in the East, and these men are now trying to derive some conclusions from their experiences. They attribute a certain significance to their experience of the East because Nazi doctrines taught them that in the East lay Germany's and Europe's destiny and future, though the words were used in another sense. The conflict between Germany, which assumed the rôle of the champion of Europe, seeking to support this assumption by engaging troops from all European states in the Russian campaign, and bolshevism is for them a genuine conflict of the present, more, the inevitable conflict of Europe and our epoch. The great majority of these German soldiers were quite ready to leave the solution of this problem to their political leaders who

stricter to particular groups of exiles with one-sided interests, but that it should be extended to those organizations of political exiles who represent the fight of resistance against Russian bolshevist tyranny in their countries. It cannot be a matter of indifference for our subjugated peoples, and therefore, also for the success of the program of the "Committee for a Free Europe" whom this powerful organization supports — exiled politicians who are ready to compromise and who are partly to blame for the present state of our peoples, of fighters against Russian imperialism and bolshevism who know no compromise and who are regarded today as the core of underground resistance.

Z. P. W.

were to decide on what principles the "New Europe" was to be constructed after bolshevism was destroyed. Many of them were not surprised when Germany collapsed; the catastrophe merely confirmed their own vague feelings, their observation and fears; they could not avoid noting the great change in the attitude of the population in the East that occurred when German civilian administration took over, nor could they escape reflecting on the reasons for the change.

A review of the past shows that the wider the gap grew between German military and political leaders, above all in the East, the more rapidly was Europe plunged into a chaos that threatened to make it an easy prey for bolsheviks.

If we sum up the results up-to-date of German efforts to clarify the past, we find a few basic conclusions which are of importance for world opinion, especially now that the general situation calls for German participation in the defence of Europe against bolshevism. These conclusions are frequently expressed in the German press.

The first of these is the realization — also increasingly proclaimed by Sudeten German expellees — that the Bolshevist advance in Central Europe was greatly furthered by Masaryk's and Benesh's policy in Czecho-Slovakia, that in itself being ultimately due to errors in Hitler's policy of placing the interests of a powerful Germany above obligations to Europe as a whole. It became clear that, in spite of its fantastic expansion, the Nazi party had not extended its political horizon, and felt no wider responsibility than at its foundation.

There is no doubt that the mass of the German people, dazzled by the victory of Nazi policy over the democracies of the West at Munich completely overlooked the seriousness and the importance of the hour — namely the duty of Germany, once it had extended beyond its political frontiers, to establish a European order based on the self-determination of peoples, a duty that has been equally neglected by all post-war conferences, especially in Central and Eastern Europe.

It remains for us to examine more closely the reasons why Hitler and his leaders, who owed their own position to political struggle, should have neglected political processes in the East after having furthered them; they even tried to crush them by armed force in the Russian campaign, whenever they came in contact with the revolutionary anti-bolshevist underground movements of individual nations.

Intoxicated by their early victories, the Germans forgot their own aims and lost sight of the intellectual, religious and national interests of the population in Eastern Europe. They did not realize that the first great victories of military strategy were perhaps for an equal degree political triumphs. For

the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, the German attack was a war of liberation from bolshevist tyranny which released powerful forces against the centralisation of Moscow that had long been restrained, thus seriously threatening the entire Soviet structure. This process of disintegration spread to the Red Army; tens of thousands of Soviet soldiers rushed into the "pocket" to prove their unwillingness to fight for Stalin any longer. But the moral powers which alone might have helped German arms to win a righteous victory were soon prostrated by the merciless treatment meted out to prisoners of war, the indignities suffered by civilian workers from the East, and the Hiwi units that were set up without any sense of responsibility. The German soldier, meanwhile, was far quicker to comprehend the consequences of such courses than his leaders, intoxicated by success as they were.

For the consequences of this policy of brute force, of the disregard for, the opposition to the desire of these non-Russian peoples for a national, independent life of their own were felt long after the events themselves, as is undisputably recognized in Germany today; for it was due to this policy only that Stalin was able to proclaim a patriotic war of defence against an alien occupying power and to attract even those who were hostile to bolshevism. We must give Hitler the credit for paving the way for this war for the Fatherland and for Soviet patriotism. To put it briefly, with the help of his blind policy of terrorism in the East, he weakened national, revolutionary forces in the oppressed nations in a costly war on two fronts against bolshevism and national socialism, and thereby strengthened the national, anti-cultural forces of bolshevist imperialism which constitute today a grave danger to the entire world.

Peter Shwarz

The Resistance Movement in Turkestan

According to the "Ukrainian Word" published in Buenos Aires (Argentina) on 24. 12. 50, the "Basmachi", a revolutionary, anti-communist organisation is active in Turkestan. From 1935—41 thousands of young Turkestanis who had been called up for active service in the Soviet army, fled to the hills and joined the "Basmachi".

During the Second World War the "Basmachi" in Turkestan caused the Soviets much trouble. Cases were reported of political Commissars and M.V.D. functionaries being stoned to death.

According to most recent reports from Turkestan, large units of the "Basmachi" are heroically continuing their bold fight for independence. A deep and extensive underground movement against Moscow's bolshevist oppressors is going on behind the apparent peace that prevails in Turkestan.

Malicious Attempts at Calumny

The more imperialist Russian propaganda in the West to preserve the dungeon of nations loses ground, and the more convincingly the ideas of the A.B.N. for the reconstruction of independent states for the subjugated nations are propagated, the more unscrupulous the campaign which organizations of imperialist Russian exiles have long been directing against us and our just cause. In their calumny of historical truth, Russian emigrés in America resort to the meanest lies. Their last invention, with which they hope to deal a blow to resistance movements and liberation organizations united in the A.B.N. is to maintain that the latter are antisemitic and should therefore not be supported by the U.S.A. In reply we should like to recall the following facts.

When the A.B.N. was founded in 1943 in Wolhynia and the armed delegates of the congress of 13 subjugated nations decided unanimously to wage war on two fronts, against both Russian and German imperialism, one of the main motives was Hitler's racial theory. Quite apart from this, the struggle for independence of the non-Russian peoples in the Russian empire has never been anti-semitic. The notorious pogroms were started in Ukrainian towns, they were intended to besmirch the cause of Ukraine in the eyes of the public and to sow hatred of the Ukrainian people. These pogroms, moreover, took place in towns only, where a large percentage of the inhabitants were Russians. In the country, where the population was almost purely Ukrainian, there were never any pogroms. On the contrary, when Jews fled in masses from these pogroms, they went to Ukrainian villages where they found protection and help. A pamphlet called "The Independence of the Ukraine as the Only Salvation from the Danger of Russia" published in 1915 by Dr. Karl Götzl, a German scientist, contains the following facts: "We see, therefore that, in spite of all its trials through the centuries, the much-tried Ukrainian people has never ceased to resist the Russian evil, nor has its readiness diminished to make sacrifices for everything that serves the cause of humanity as a whole. We are filled with amazed admiration when we see that all the devilish machinations of Imperial Russia — and there was no lack of these here — failed to incite this marvellous people against the Jews. Ukrainians are always in the van of the fight for liberty; in thousands they eat their souls out in Russia's prisons, in thousands they have died on the frozen steppes of Siberia. We need never fear that a people that has preserved such liberty of soul, such courage for the right in the face of intolerable tyranny, will ever abuse the freedom it wins to subjugate other peoples" (pp 26—27).

We take the following comments on the spirit and attitude of the Ukrainian fight for liberty from a book published

in 1946 by M. Lebidj, a leader in the Ukrainian underground movement, under the title of "The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.)":



An ambulance "pill-box" of the U.P.A.
(From the archives of the U.H.V.R.)

"The Ukrainian Insurgent Army is the only armed power in Europe to be established and maintained solely by the efforts of the people. Throughout its long struggle, the Ukrainian people has never received a single cartridge

from anyone. It had to take everything off the enemy, either during military operations on Ukrainian territory when the front was on the move, or in open battle against the occupiers. No aeroplanes flew over areas where the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was active, to drop food and munitions (thanks to the Allies, Polish, Russian-bolshevist and Tito's partisans were supported from the air-Ed.); the only aeroplanes that flew over the Ukrainian Insurgents brought death and destruction. Resistance groups from other nations subjugated by Moscow were allowed to fight in the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgents, and actually did so. The banner, "Freedom for nations, freedom for individuals" united them in a common battle. The majority of the doctors in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army were Jews who had been saved from Hitler's mass destruction by the U.P.A. Jewish doctors were treated as fully privileged citizens of Ukraine and as officers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. We should like to emphasize here that they did their duty honestly and helped not only the Insurgents but also the people in general, organising field medical stations and hospitals. They did not leave their posts when situations became serious, not even when they had the opportunity of deserting to the enemy. Many of them fell as heroes in the defence of the ideals for which the entire Ukrainian people fights (M. Lebidj "U.P.A." pp 30, 32, 35, 36).

In all the illegal political literature published by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in the years from 1943 to 1950, in all the publications of the Antiboldshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) there is not a single antisemitic passage. This is proof that the revolutionary fight for liberation waged by the subjugated peoples of the A.B.N. and their military organizations has nothing to do with anti-semitism, a fact which no amount of calumny on the part of imperialist Russian emigrés alter.

Legalized Slave-Labour in Bulgaria

"The old bourgeois legal system is no longer applicable today, as it is out-of-date and no longer corresponds to contemporary conditions in our era when socialism is being constructed", is the comment of the "Otechestwen Front", Sofia on the new labour law which is founded on Soviet law.

Article 1 reads: "The new labour law regulates labour contracts and duties, with the aim of constructing socialism, assuring the realization of state-planned economy and guaranteeing for every individual the citizen's right to work."

The right to work to the point of exhaustion is the only right the Bulgarians enjoy under this law. In many individual provisions for "the construction of socialism", people are forced

to work like slaves. Death, alone, releases them from the duty of working. No one forfeits the "right to work" by illness and incapacity; sick leave is granted only in the most urgent cases.

The law gives the state an entirely free hand to dispose of every citizen as if he were an inanimate object. At the discretion of the state, work is allocated to individuals or groups, regardless of personal interests and desires; workmen can be arbitrarily transferred from one place of work to another. Anything in the way of refusal is severely punished, from fines to hard labour for life. The right to change one's place of work according to the worker's wishes or plans is "out-of-date" and cannot be granted in a "progressive, socialist" state.

The Political Aspirations of Lithuania

By P. V. Gytis

Lithuania has an important strategic position, lying as it does right across the path between Russia and Germany. It bars Russia's access to the Baltic and holds up Germany's drive to the East; it even hampers Poland's advance to the Baltic. It has, therefore, always provided a barrier against imperialism, whether Slavonic or German. The strategic role of Lithuania is brought out by Mr. C. A. Manning, professor at Columbia University in his preface to the History of the Lithuanian Nation by C. R. Jurgela (New York, 1948), from which we quote:

"The Lithuanians had established a powerful and independent state in Europe during the Middle Ages. They were able to check the German drive to the east for centuries. They protected Europe against the Mongols and the Tatars. They furnished a power and a government behind which the Eastern Slavs could live in peace and safety with a freedom that was unknown in Muscovite Russia. They blessed their subjects with more freedom than in the neighbouring countries. They encouraged education and toleration, and they played their part in the general development of European civilisation."

Lithuania's Only Weapon Against Russia Today

Lithuanians today are aware that historical traditions cannot compete with modern weapons of warfare. Their only chance of attacking occupying Bolsheviks is to foster the idea of liberty and give active demonstrations that, however enslaved the nation may be, its spirit of independence is still alive.

This spirit is particularly strong in a country like Lithuania whose inhabitants, being mainly engaged in agriculture, have the peasant's fervent love of his native soil and traditional individualism. Class distinctions have practically never existed in Lithuania and the Communist Party there from 1918 to 1940 never was more than 1% of the population, and these were mainly Jews.

Russia's Annexation Of Lithuania

The Soviet-German Pact of 1939 meant annexation of Lithuania by Russia. A revealing sentence in that remarkable document runs: "Now the people (of Lithuania), helped by the mighty Red Army, have established Soviet government in their own country". This occupation, here blantly stated to be the work of the Soviets, was not recognised by the great powers — the U.S.A., Great Britain etc. It is therefore a violation of international law.

Bolshevist Terrorism

During the year of the First Bolshevist Occupation (15. VI. 40—22. VI. 41) the state, with its administration, army, finances, economy and agriculture, was systematically ruined. In a short time, leaders of intellectual life in Lithuania were imprisoned, while thousands of

labourers and peasants were sent to labour camps in Siberia. During the last six years, when Lithuania has again been occupied by Soviet Russia, the majority of the people has been massacred, and their property plundered. Many have been deported to labour camps or obliged to work as slaves on colchoses. Refugees who have escaped report that life in Lithuania today is appalling.

The Russification of Lithuania

The Bolsheviks are carrying out the old plan of the Czars who always strove to make Lithuania a colony of Russia. Russian is the main language in the schools and Russian plays have a monopoly of the theatres. Russian workmen have been sent to replace Lithuanians in the towns and in the colchoses. There are pessimists who say that there will be no Lithuanians left in Lithuania if the Bolshevik occupation continues for five more years. Others point out that, if the Czars could not destroy the Lithuanian nation in 120 years, the Bolsheviks will not manage to do so in 10 years, especially as it is but one of 20 enslaved nations who are fighting for their freedom.

Lithuanian Fight For Freedom

Terrible though their fate has been, Lithuanians have not lost hope and faith in the restoration of the Lithuanian state. The various organizations of Lithuanians in exile are not idle. The Supreme Committee of Lithuanian Liberation, the Lithuanian A.B.N. orga-

nization, the Committee of Lithuania Minor and other bodies and more than a million Lithuanians are confident in the successful outcome of their struggle. Their aim is a separate and independent Lithuanian state within its ethnographic frontiers.

An End To All Imperialism

The Lithuanian nation knows that after Bolshevism has been defeated and the country freed from Soviet occupation, their struggle will not be over. A new Russian or other imperialism may emerge. Like their fellow members of the A.B.N., the Lithuanians are utterly against any imperialist aims and in favour of freedom for all European nations on a basis of democracy. As they wish this freedom for themselves, so they will fight that others get it. They are proud to count themselves members of the universal front against Bolshevism.

For Baltic nations, June is a month of mourning, as it recalls the deportation of thousands of their people to Siberia ten years ago. In Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, Ukraine and other occupied nations, every day is a day of mourning as long as the occupation lasts.

The Menace Ahead

We Lithuanians know from bitter experience what a terrible menace Red totalitarianism is for the whole world. We appeal to all men and women to join the members of the A.B.N. in their fight against Bolshevism. We have heard speeches enough about genocide and terrorism; it takes more than words to prevent nations from being exterminated. All who love freedom and who wish others to have it must unite to combat the common foe.

Slovak day of Independence

(March, 14th 1939)

(SIS) National independence is universally considered as one of the fundamental rights of ethnical groups conscious of their specific individuality among the other peoples of the world.

Just as the idea of personal freedom triumphed over the enslavement of human individuals so the idea of the national freedom of single ethnical groups is progressing to complete victory. After the 19th century, full of struggles for national freedom, the 20th century, is more prone to recognize the right to national independence even of former colonies.

After long struggles the Slovaks too proclaimed their national independence on March 14th, 1939. This day became a true milestone in Slovak modern history and it cannot be deprived of its profound historical significance by any endeavour to blame the Slovaks for having made use of the international situation as it was in Europe in the spring of 1939. On this day the Slovaks only took what was their inalienable right. No Czech or other interests could prevail over the natural right of the Slovaks to self-government and by no means can the destruction of Slovak national independence after the last war be justified. According to universal

conviction and international documents, such as the Atlantic and United Nations Charters, only the people concerned may decide their own destiny. Thus, only the Slovaks ultimately can decide the destiny of Slovakia. Any suppression of the Slovak will be a violation of Natural Law and Democracy.

Even if the Slovak national independence has been destroyed by the tacit assistance of the victorious Powers, the Slovaks have not ceased to celebrate March 14th as their greatest historical day. Six years of brutal Communist oppression have taught the Slovaks to love their national independence more than ever. Blood is being shed by the occupators, but the Slovaks do not cease to manifest their desire for a Slovak Republic.

This year once again all Slovaks will celebrate the Day of Independence, even if secretly, because there is no force which could tear out of their hearts the love of freedom and national self-government. But the celebrations of this year will take place in the full belief that Slovak national independence will at last reward the free Slovakian liberated from Communist tyranny.

Moscow's Ambition to be the Rome of the Orthodox Church

Religion as a Weapon of Propaganda

According to a broadcast from the Vatican Radio, the Russian Orthodox Church by order of the Kremlin transformed 40,000 members of the secret police into "priests" last year. The 75 bishops of the Orthodox Church are said to be in reality employes of the Soviet Ministry of the Interior. The Orthodox Church, it seems, has become the tool of communists atheism (DAP).

For centuries the Russian church has been bound to the state; the rulers of the Church, in particular, suffered from this subordination to the state, a condition which promoted the growth of religious and philosophical movements and social currents outside of the church.

The Fetters of a State Church

Because it was bound so closely to the state, the Russian church has always been unable to assume any objective position towards the different political parties with their very different theories of social reform. As it was not free to teach itself, it had to leave the solution of social problems entirely to secular authorities, and to renounce all its natural rights of proclaiming principles. Socialists demanded the separation of church and state, anarchists, the destruction of the church.

Separation of Church and State

The fall of the monarchy in 1917 widened the gap between all non-monarchical parties from the official Russian church. After the Revolution, the church was separated entirely from the state and the schools. Religious instruction in schools was prohibited, all attempts to preserve it being severely punished. The official proclamation is based on an atheist and proletarian philosophy which regards every ecclesiastical organization as handicapping what is known as freedom of conscience, championed by bolsheviks. All open participation in church life was regarded as a violation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. All employes who were members of the church were removed from town and village soviets and from all educational institutions. Church marriages were no longer valid. The word "family" was removed from the codex. Although the Russian church was progressive in outlook, it was at first reactionary in political matters, as it failed to grasp the social message of the revolution.

Result of Bolshevik Decrees

The execution by force of the bolshevik decrees cost the leaders of the church, priests and people many lives. When the church jewels and sacred vessels were taken away, allegedly to relieve the famine of 1923, the tension between church and state reached a climax. 1400 trials were carried out with all the brutality of a proletarian revolution. This did not alter the legal position of the faithful. The church had no right to acquire or own property, all churches having become the property of the state. They had no schools, no press, no means of defending themselves;

more than the half of all churches were closed; thousands of priests, monks, and church members were executed or sent to concentration camps. Moscow tried with all the means at its disposal to uproot religious feeling and thought everywhere. For this purpose, for instance, a large printing press was established to publish anti-religious, scurrilous pamphlets to be used as propaganda in the Soviet Union and throughout the world.

Stalin's Need of the Church

In 1937, the zealous members of the Party wished to liquidate the church completely. But Stalin had still need of the church. In the new constitution he proclaimed liberty of conscience and gave priests the vote. It seemed as if the bolsheviks were going to retard religious prosecution. But this was not the case. Earlier Russian constitutions also contained a clause about liberty of conscience, even the Decree of 1918, which separated church and state, guaranteed liberty of conscience. The earlier constitution of the Soviet Union even granted liberty to make religious propaganda; its Article 4 runs: "Freedom of religious and anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens." In 1929 this was significantly amended. The Congress of Soviets of May 18, determined the following: "Freedom of religious creed and anti-religious propaganda is granted to all citizens." Atheists, therefore, could make propaganda of their views, while church members could not; they are allowed to practice their religious rites and ceremonies, but not to oppose atheism.

Atheism Guaranteed by Stalin's Constitution

Stalin, therefore, understood something quite different by liberty of conscience; for him it is not freedom of religion, but freedom from religion. Jaroslowski, the president of the atheist movement in the Soviet Union, commented on May 19, 1937 concerning the Papal encyclical message on atheist communism, that Stalin's constitution was the best guarantee of atheism. Stalin gave priests the vote, because he knew that they had no political importance whatsoever, and that they could not be a danger to him. The few priests still at liberty had to serve Stalin as dummies and help him to convince the world of the genuineness of the "most democratic" of all constitutions.

The Church's Role in War

Then the war came and the Soviet Union had great need of an appeal to the religious instincts and forces that slumbered deep in the Russians people's soul, in order to be "morally" armed, too, for the imminent conflict with the Western World. So the Orthodox Church, or rather its leaders, were granted certain concessions. These concessions were given solely for reasons of foreign policy — it was hoped that

by creating the legend of the renaissance of the church in the Soviet Union, people, might believe that bolshevism was developing.

What was the real object of these concessions? We must first point out that they were intended to be merely a measure of tactics, which was mainly for the purpose of winning over the leaders of the Russian Orthodox Church, men who were docile creatures of the regime. It was thus possible to include the church in the mobilization of all powers against the enemy. The success of this measure was complete. Sergius, the Metropolitan appointed by the bolsheviks, in 1942 designated Stalin as the "leader appointed by God", and an apostolic letter issued by the convocation of Russian bishops in 1945 appealed to all the faithful "to serve obediently the soviet power appointed by God". Meantime, the Church Council in the Soviet government which had been newly created, organized a second convocation of bishops in 1945 who renewed the patriarchate and elected Alexei as Patriarch.

Plans for a Universal Orthodox Church

Encouraged by this success, Moscow seems to be planning the creation of a universal orthodox church — i. e. to assume the role of a third Rome — for the millions of adherents scattered throughout the world, above all in the Balkans, the Near East, the U.S.A., Canada, etc., and to put this church under the influence and control of a supreme head, the Patriarch in the Kremlin. But this Patriarch remains under the influence and control of the Kremlin, or of the Church Council which is under the leadership of Karpov, a tested Stalinist. . . . These imperialist church plans, as we said already, do not alter the general line of Soviet church policy.

Anti-religious Propaganda Continues

Anti-religious propaganda remains as before. The property of the church has not altered nor can religious life develop. Without the knowledge and the permission of the Church Council, neither Patriarch nor bishops can do anything at all independently. Schools continue to be operated as they were — without religious influence. According to the "Iswestija", the official organ of Moscow, "materialism and empirical criticism trains soviet citizens and all fighters for socialism and democracy in the spirit of active and decisive struggle against all the foes of marxism, whatever form they may assume. Lenin's deed acquires peculiar significance in these days when imperialist reaction is utilizing all the poisoned weapons at its disposal, such as cosmopolitanism, ideal philosophy and the clergy. Along with their God, they press the most varied reactionary philosophical movements into their service". The Soviets are, therefore, not only anti-Catholic and anti-Christian they are definitely anti-religious. **Dr. G. P. v. Brody**

From Reports of the U.P.A.

Bolshevists Create Janissaries

The more intensely Russia prepares for war, the more intolerable terrorism becomes. The power of the police has also taken possession of the people in the country, so that practically everyone is now under the control of some agency of bolshevism. Youth, in particular is exposed to Bolshevist propaganda. A further sinking of the general standard of life is obvious. Constant fear of the authority of the state produces a state of depression which, in turn causes ever-growing hatred of the bolshevists. There are two irreconcilable camps — on the one hand the bolshevists with their whole apparatus of oppression, and on the other, the people with their natural desire for freedom and prosperity. This contrast increases as time goes on.

The severity of sentences pronounced by what are known as People's Courts contribute much to the schism. Peasants on collective farms are sentenced because they are found gleaning stubble fields or because they hide a few sheaves from fear of famine, or because they are not punctual in delivering the required quantities of grain, or because their noses displease bolshevist overseers. Here are some examples: the thirty-year-old Wasylyna Jaroschuk in the village of K. in the district O., a widow with a boy of 8, was condemned by such a People's Court to 7 year's imprisonment, because she had refused to deliver up grain out of her own portion; the collective peasant, Semen Festschuk, in the village of J. in the same district, 40 years old, married, 3 children, was condemned to 5 years imprisonment because unthreshed corn was found in his barn in harvest time. Anton Wyschnywatzky was sentenced to 3 years imprisonment because he hadn't delivered the required amount of wood in time etc. This list could be prolonged to infinity.

Meantime, bolshevist functionaries go scot-free, even if they are guilty of severe abuses and maltreatment of peasants. There are sufficient examples of this, too.

Many young peasants are forced to go to the mines in Dombas and are accompanied thither by police. Many flee and join the underground movement. If any one is caught, he must be prepared for severe punishment. School boys and girls are told that it is their duty to join the communist Komsomol. In this organisation they are trained in accordance with the laws and requirements of the communist party, i. e. against God, religion and family, for Stalin, the Party and world revolution. Bolshevist education aims at producing janissaries, blind, fanatic fighters for bolshevism. Bolshevist training begins in the lowest classes of the elementary school, in kindergartens even.

In the course of these ceaseless efforts to impose bolshevism on the peoples of the subjugated nations, and of Ukraine in particular, the dictators in the Kremlin constantly try to crush, the

people's desire for freedom and independence, it would even seem as if they were determined to achieve their aim over and beyond the physical death of



"Freedom" of science in the U.S.S.R.

national consciousness. One of the chief means of stamping out the people's life is to transport masses of them to other areas. They believe that if the people are transported to other districts in the immense empire, they will lose their power of resistance and their national consciousness. Western Ukraine, in particular, has suffered from

these mass transportations. Hardly a month passes without a transport of Ukrainian peasants to the East. Such transports are generally arranged to start in the night; they are carried out with the help of a strong police force. To mention only one of many examples, about 80 policemen were necessary to catch 67 people in the village of Oriv in the district of Dohobytsch who were transported in the night. It is not necessary to add that this was accompanied by brutality and bloodshed. In place of these displaced Ukrainians, Russians or Mongols are brought to the Ukraine. It is not difficult to see the purpose of such a policy of transportation.

How Bulgaria is Being Looted

The "Basler Nationalzeitung" (No. 178, 1950) published an informative article on present conditions in Bulgaria, under the title of "The agents of Moscow rule in Sofia". We take the following extracts from it:

... Ministerpräsident Cherwenkoff declared in the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party that the government's chief task was no longer to industrialize Bulgaria and provide electricity, but above all to adjust Bulgarian economy to the needs of the Soviet Union. The construction of power works which was begun in 1947/48 in order to increase electric current threefold has actually been halted. The enormous orders for machinery that were placed in Czechoslovakia have not been fulfilled. . . . People in Bulgaria today realize that all the bombastic plans for Bulgarian factories for steel, machinery, cement, textiles and canned goods, which were to make the country independent of imports from abroad, have ended in the waste-paper basket.

This would be no great misfortune for Bulgaria if the country was free to export its natural products and agricultural produce as it used to, and thus be able to import essential industrial goods that cannot be made in the country. But the country is forbidden to do this by its Russian "protectors" and their Bulgarian tools. All Bulgarian exports are directed to the Soviet Union which floods the world market with the Bulgarian exports which it does not itself require.

Bulgarian iron, lead and zinc ores

are exploited to a great extent by the Russians and the entire produce of these industries goes to Soviet Russia and their produce is also transported to the port of Varna in sealed trucks, guarded by M.V.D. agents, whence they are shipped once a week to Odessa. The lion's share of the coal that is mined is also transported to the Soviet Union. The cloth manufactured by Bulgarian textile factories is made almost exclusively of Russian wool and cotton and must be sent back to Russia. It is intended to introduce the same procedure for agricultural produce.

Two-thirds of the tobacco harvest are put at the disposal of the Soviet export trade, and Bulgaria has difficulty in disposing of the remaining third, as the Russians cut prices on the world market by flooding it with quantities of Bulgarian tobacco which they have looted. The Russians also buy up the greater part of the produce of the Bulgarian attar industry at ridiculous prices which they themselves fix. When the Bulgarians try to sell what attar of roses they have left, to the United States, they find that the Russians have knocked the bottom out of the market there by their offers of Bulgarian attar.

It is obvious that the Soviet Union has a complete monopoly of Bulgarian foreign trade. While it has good use for all Bulgarian exports and sells them on world markets for hard currency, Bulgaria only gets articles which it cannot always use and at enormous prices. The Bulgarian people is thus condemned to slavery and to work for foreign masters.

A New Staged Trial

A new trial has been staged in Slovakia against three Slovakian bishops who are charged with the stereotyped Soviet "crimes" of high treason and espionage, for western powers, as well as the Vatican. This trial too has been broadcast for propaganda purposes. After three days the sentence was announced by the State Court in Pressburg (Bratislava) on January 15. Bishop, Hojdych of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and Bishop Buzalka were condemned to imprisonment for life and Bishop Wojteschak to twenty years dungeon.

Bishop Hojdych was also accused of being in connection with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Prague groups of Ukrainian Nationalists which were only recently condemned.

This trial of the three dignitaries of the Catholic Church is fresh proof of Communism's merciless fight against the Church and religion.

The Coast of Esthonia Now a Soviet Naval Base

The construction of Soviet naval bases in Baltic waters, which was started in the three Baltic states immediately after their occupation, was practically finished in 1950. Leningrad, before the war the most important naval base, has made way for Tallinn (Reval); Leningrad itself is an auxiliary base and still the largest centre of ship-building in the Baltic.

As a naval base, Tallinn is responsible for delivering current supplies and for smaller repairs, including the repair and exchange of naval guns. Big repairs cannot be executed here, as the dry docks of the Kopli Wharf can only take ships up to 2000 t. The Kopli Wharf has also a floating dock for ships of 5000—6000 t. But extensive repairs must still be taken to Leningrad.

The harbour of Tallinn was considerably increased by the addition of the Island of Plojessaar and the Kopli Peninsula.

Paldiski (Balticport) is now the most important naval base in the Baltic. Its limestone soil has proved a great asset. Storage cellars, electricity plant, repairs workshops and living quarters for employees were built below the surface; U-boats are also accommodated here in subterranean tunnels. The entrance to these tunnels is about 2 kilometers north-west of the old harbour. Paldiski is the headquarters of the permanent staff of the so-called operations division (*operatiwnaja chastij*) of the Red Fleet. Naval parades are held here.

Deportation of the Jews

In the "New Leader" a former member of the Hungarian parliament, Dr. Bela Fabian, declares that the cominform has declared war on Zionism. According to information at his disposal 35 000 Jews were deported to Siberia from Lemberg alone. Almost the whole Jewish population of Ukraine, White Ruthenia, and the Crimea met with the same fate. The anti-Jewish campaign began in Hungary in 1949.

Harold E. Stassen Shows the Way!

(Continued from Page 1)

The first point in his programme is of great historical significance. Here he demands that freedom and independence be restored to the nations behind the Iron Curtain, and not only to those who have recently come under the yoke of Soviet imperialism, but also to nations who have been subjugated by Moscow in the course of history. Stassen, therefore, sees through the fraud, the lies of the Russian slogan of the "unity and indivisibility of Russia" and has drawn the logical consequence therefrom and pointed to what could render immeasurable service in the coming world struggle for liberation from Moscow's bolshevist imperialism.

We are convinced that Stassen did not intend to restrict this freedom to Ukraine, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Turkestan, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary and to deny it to the other nations in the Soviet Russian imperium — to the Aserbeidschani, the Georgians, the North Caucasians, the people of Idel-Ural etc. Nor do we suppose that Stassen intends to preserve for all time artificial formations like Czecho-Slovakia and to ignore the claim of the Slovaks to freedom and independence. For the Slovakian nation, in particular, has proclaimed its desire for national liberty and independence, not only in words and before the whole world, but with the sacrifices of the White Slovak partisans who have been fighting up to the present day, side by side with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and with the underground movements of all other nations oppressed by bolshevism; they struggle, not only against the

foreign yoke of bolshevism but for a free, Slovakian national state. This Slovakian ideal is acknowledged even by Czechs, and circles of national Czech emigrés round General Prchala are constantly and clearly pointing out that what is known as Czecho-Slovakia is an artificial creation, founded on a lie and upheld by force only. The so-called "Jugoslavian" state presents a similar problem, as it was constructed at the cost of the freedom and independence of Croats, Slovenes and Macedonian Bulgarians. Croatian resisters and martyrs round Stepinac collected in the underground movement known as the "Crusade", hope, like the Slovaks, that their heavy sacrifices will not only liberate them from the terrorism of communism but will also procure the reconstruction of a free, historically founded Croatia. If we cannot dwell here on a detailed consideration of the program proclaimed by Stassen, it is because the problems involved will be solved as a logical consequence of the principles he has enunciated and cannot be separated from the ideals for which we shall never cease to fight.

Finally, we should like to express our particular gratification that men like Stassen show such determination in the present world crisis. We should like to thank him for his sympathy with our long struggle for truth and justice, with the entire problems of the East which for centuries have been fatally interlinked with Russian imperialism and which have been fully comprehended by very few. Our peoples stand in constant readiness, prepared to make every sacrifice to realize the principles and ideals proclaimed by Stassen.

From the Soviet Press:

The National Policy of Russian Bolsheviks

The following extracts from the Soviet press throw significant light on the policy of Russian bolsheviks towards non-Russian peoples.

On February 1, 1951 the "Prawda" published an article by I. Rassakow the secretary of the central committee of the communist party of Kirghiz. He says:

"There has been a cultural revolution in Kirghiz in the years of Soviet supremacy. A nation that used to be alphabetic has learned to read and write, and has created a national literature ... Our people now reads in its own tongue great works by the classical writers of Marxism and Leninism, and the best monuments of Russian and world literature."

On February 3, 1951, the "Prawda" wrote as follows:

"The brotherly help of the great Russian people — the first among the equal members of the soviet family of peoples — has been invaluable for the econo-

mic and intellectual life of the people of Aserbaidjan."

On February 1951, the "Iswestija" published an article by the president of the Supreme Soviet of the Tadshik Soviet Republic, from which we take the following sentences:

"Before the victory of the great socialist October revolution, the Tadshik people had no state of their own. It owes its state to the Leninist and Stalinist policy of the bolshevist party."

On January 28, 1951 "Iswestija" published an article by the president of the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian Soviet Republic, where we read the following:

"Our people will always be grateful to the great Russian people for having helped to establish Soviet supremacy in Georgia, thus making it possible for the Georgian people to have a state of their own."

Contrary to their better knowledge, therefore, the Russian bolshevist press

maintains that the demand of all non-Russian peoples for national independence has been fulfilled, and that the various Soviet Republics are independent states.

We should like to add to these statements by Moscow the following extract from the leading article in the "Prawda" for February 1, 1951 which is particularly illuminating for the bolshevists's "love of truth":

"For almost 200 years India, one of the largest countries in the world has been under the supremacy of English colonisers. Thanks to their constant plundering and shameless exploitation, English imperialists have reduced India, a country with enormous natural resources, to a ruined, impoverished country where millions of workers die every year of famine."

Every child knows that the British have given India her freedom and that is now an independent state. But Moscow maintains that even today India is under the yoke of England.

The Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, and Turkestanian peoples, the peoples of the Caucasus and many others have been subjugated by the Russian, some of them for centuries, by means of barbaric measures. Voltaire, in his "Histoire de Charles XII" wrote that the Muscovites (Russians) had enslaved the Ukraine as far as they could. This unspeakably heavy national yoke still exists today. But Moscow maintains that the bolshevism which was brought to all these countries from Russia has brought national and political independence to all the victims of Russian imperialism.

The most interesting thing is, however, that the English say nothing at all as they watch Moscow spreading abroad the lie that India is still under the yoke of Britain. The English do nothing at all to inform the world of the past and present sufferings of the victims of Russian imperialism, although it would not be at all difficult, seeing that there are about 2 million members of non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union living in exile.

Strange things happen in this world!

All who are interested in the fight for liberation being waged by subjugated nations behind the Iron Curtain should read the new publications in English, of the Scottish League for European Freedom. They have had a favourable reception and are full of authentic information:

- 1) "Convention of Delegates of the Resistance Movements of the Anti-Bolshevik Nations" By John F. Stewart — price 6 d.;
- 2) "Red Russia and the Independence Movements in the U.S.S.R." By John F. Stewart — price 1 s.;
- 3) "The Russian Danger — Europe's Only Defence" By Yaroslav Stetzko — price 6 d.;
- 4) "The Workers in Soviet Russia" By John F. Stewart;
- 5) "The Strength and Weakness of Red Russia" (Congress of Delegates of Independence Movements within the U.S.S.R. Held in Edinburgh), Introduction By John F. Stewart;

145 pp.

These may be ordered either from the Office of the A.B.N. Correspondence or directly from Mr. Bohdan Tarnawsky, 6 Mansion House, Edinburgh 9, Great Britain.



A good friend of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations idea,
the President of the Estonian Parliament,

OTTO PUKK

died suddenly the age of 50, on February 14, 1951 in Stockholm,

We wish to express our deep sympathy to his family, the fighters in the Estonian Resistance Movement and the whole Estonian people on the death of their great son.

The Independence of the Byelorussian Nation

While Western public opinion, influenced by imperialist Russian and Polish propaganda, is sometimes apt to deny the right of the Byelorussian people to political independence, the "Iswestija", the official organ of the Kremlin, published an article on Byelorussia on February 2, 1951, from which we take the following extract:

"On February 25 there will be elections for the Supreme Soviet of the Byelorussian Soviet Republic. This significant event in the life of the Republic finds the Byelorussian people enjoying new and great triumphs in all provinces of economic and cultural reconstruction. ... All the peoples of our socialist native country, and above all, the great Russian people, have generously supported the Byelorussian Republic..."

It certainly cannot be disputed that the Byelorussian nation has really very much to "thank" the bolshevist regime in Moscow for. But not for the advantages which the "Iswestija" hypocritically pretends to find. White Ruthenians have to thank the "great" Russian people for "gifts" like the following:

1. The subjugation of the independent Byelorussian Republic (B.N.R.) in 1920;
2. the complete destruction of independent Byelorussian peasantry and the transformation of free peasants, firmly rooted in the soil, into slaves of the soviet colchoso system;
3. million loyal Byelorussian peasants, workers and members of the intelligentsia, sacrificed to the bolshevist regime;
4. slavery, misery and convict camps.

But the most significant thing about this publication of the official soviet newspaper is the fact that it here expressly admits that the Byelorussian nation is an independent people and quite different from the Russian people. So it is time that Western opinion realized that between the Polish and the Russian peoples there is another large, independent people with its own language and culture that has never renounced its right to independence. Although the Byelorussian state, which proclaimed its independence in 1918, was attacked in the years following by Russians and Poles and occupied by them, it has never ceased its fight for independence and it will renew this independence again.

Apology

In the last number of "A.B.N. Correspondence" 1/2, two errors unfortunately crept into the text of the article on "Byelorussia's Deperate Fight" which distorted the sense. We apologize to the author and our readers.

Page 10, line 5 should read "Byelorussia exported 100 million gold roubles worth of grain and tobacco", and not "Byelorussia produced" etc.

In col. 2 of the same page, line 20, a word was omitted from the title of the pamphlet mentioned which should run "I accuse the Kremlin of the Genocide of my nation".

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Editorials

Washington's Blunder

in Psychological Warfare

The Ukrainian newspaper "Ukrainez Chas", published in Paris, reports that of late there have been several official statements concerning the fundamental problems of our peoples, which appear very strange and which may be regarded as real errors of judgement in the psychological war against Moscow. Below we give a short summary of the facts leading up to this regrettable occurrence as well as our comments thereto.

On the occasion of the traditional memorial ceremonies in Moscow on the 27th anniversary of Lenin's death, the official speaker, Peter Pospyelow, head of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, in his address before the leading personages of the Politbureau, with Stalin at their head, made a sharp attack against America, President Truman and the U.S. Government.

Alluding to the intervention of the Western Allies during the so-called civil war in Russia, the speaker declared: "The Russian people will never forget that American hands are stained with Russian blood". Pospyelow threatened further that, should the U.S.A. provoke a third world war against Soviet Russia it would end for America with the same catastrophe with which World War II ended for Hitler. Finally with an allusion to President Wilson's policy towards Russia in 1919, the speaker accused the Truman government of holding to-day the same conception of destroying and dividing the Soviet Union.

This well-thought out and prepared speech of intimidation did not miss its

mark. A perfect storm of indignation and violent opposition arose in Washington. It was not enough to reject Pospyelow's attack and threats as provocation against the U.S.A., but beyond that, people went so far in their efforts at appeasement as to declare that the U.S.A. today, as before, upheld the indivisibility of the historical territory of the old Russian Empire. Thus the American reaction to this Pospyelow speech shot far wide of the mark and smashed, — as was intended by the

speaker, — much precious porcelain needed in the psychological war against Moscow.

The upshot of this American reaction was an over-zealous speech by Senator McMahon (Democrat) on January 22nd i. e. the very next day after Pospyelow's address, at the plenary meeting of the Senate introducing a motion to assure the great Russian people of America's sincere friendship. At the same time an exhaustive "positive programme for a peace with Russia" was submitted, which may perhaps not seem so very extraordinary. What does strike one as most unusual, however, was that Senator McMahon went still further: writing to State Secretary Acheson he suggested an "authoritative official in-

(Continued on Page 8)

Marching Orders against Tito Imminent?

By Major-General Hinko Alabanda (Croatia)

The eventuality of marching orders against Tito being given by Stalin to his vassals in the south-east, is an ever more frequently discussed subject in the western press of late.

The whole question, which is of no less significance for the politicians than for the army, is illuminated in the following two questions

1. What motives could move Stalin to take such a step, or in how far does this seem probable?
2. Could Tito's thirty-two divisions withstand an attack by the Soviet satellite states?

Even to the uninitiated it must be perfectly clear to-day that Bolshevism is only a means for the realization of Russian imperialistic plans. In Europe it follows the identical plans laid down in the testament of Peter the Great, viz. control of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, conquest of Constantinople and the Dardanelles. The outcome of Constantinople and the Dardanelles being in the hands of Russia would be control of the sea-route Gibraltar-Suez, and then, a firm hold of North Africa would menace all the other Mediterranean countries. Before long the Continent of Europe would be in Russian

pincers and become a colony at the mercy of Russia.

Keeping in mind the present expansion of the Soviet Russian sphere of influence in south-east Europe, one cannot fail to realize that Stalin's diplomacy has systematically and consistently worked for the execution of just this plan. Western statesmen and diplomats, until recently, still saw in Stalin the "ally", let him go his own way and even sacrificed, in good faith, the vital interests of their own countries and peoples. It is true, the great statesman Churchill was one of the few who saw in time, and rather clearly, through Stalin's intentions. His well-meant warnings, however, were disregarded and met with little understanding. Thus Stalin succeeded through his then exponent Tito, who was being actively supported by the Western Powers, in getting Croatia, with its ideally articulated Adriatic coast from Trieste to Spizza, its excellent commercial and naval ports, temporarily into his hands. In this way Stalin had procured for himself a maritime base, and the only proper one for his far-reaching aims, for the control of the Mediterranean. By its geopolitical and strategic position Croatia was be-

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sides, a key position for the domination of the whole hinterland in the basin of the Danube. The way to Constantinople, the Dardanelles, and the Mediterranean Sea, would thus be open by land and sea. Had Tito not deserted Stalin, the Croatian Adriatic coast would have been built by now into an impregnable Russian maritime base.

But Tito has allegedly deserted Stalin. The Croatian Adriatic coast has not been turned into a Russian base, the sea-route to the Mediterranean is not open for Russian plans. Tito with his thirty-two divisions stands in the way. But Stalin's policy is going its way consistently and ruthlessly by all conceivable means to realize his plans.

For the time Stalin has to put up with the narrow strip of coast belonging to his Albanian satellite, which is most inadequate for Moscow's maritime plans in the Mediterranean basin. Besides there is no direct overland connection with Albania. Since Tito's defection cut it off from the eastern bloc, it stands more or less forlorn. For all these reasons Stalin will probably seek access to the Albanian Adriatic coast via Sofia-Skoplje-Tirana; which would necessitate a "liberation action", after the Korean sample, from Bulgaria against Tito's "Macedonian People's Republic", taking possession of the Croatian Adriatic coast at the same time (in the "war of liberation" against Tito), with the help of Hungarian and Rumanian satellite troops. Should, however, Tito's defection from Moscow prove to be merely a manoeuvre, or become one, this prognosis would of course not hold good.

The issue of marching orders to the vassal states, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania, to achieve this cardinal goal is thus only a question of the most favourable moment. There is no shadow of doubt but that Stalin will give them.

As to the second question mentioned at the beginning of this article, the resistance Tito could offer against an assault by his neighbours, we must consider that the present Yugoslavia, like its monarchist predecessor, is a conglomeration of peoples with different standards, different religions and ideals, which, against their will, have been forced into an unnatural political state and held there by brute force and terrorism.

6,5 million Croats, 5 million Serbs, 1,5 million Slovenians, 1 million Montenegrins, 1 million Macedonian Bulgarians or more, all completely different peoples. The Croats with their tradition of state independence, of over a thousand years, all are held together by the despotic regime of Communism, their countries resemble huge concentration camps, their men are pressed into compulsory military service for their communist masters.

National liberty movements operate in the various countries, in Croatia the "Crusaders", and the "Young Musselmans" under the command of Croatia's great national hero, General Ritter Boban, in Slovenia, the "White Guards", in Serbia, the "Chetniks".

Each country is striving for freedom, for a national sovereign State of its own within its ethnic borders, and insists on its right of self-determination, laid down in Wilson's fourteen points, the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the fundamental basis upon which the U.N. has been built up.

The question then arises, can Tito rely on his thirty-two divisions under these circumstances? Recruited, as they are, from different parts of Yugoslavia, would these soldiers, who, for the greater part, are anticommunist, be ready to die, so that Tito and his communist government is preserved and a handful of despots may continue to terrorize and enslave the country?

Is it not more likely that these troops will take the first opportunity of joining their comrades in the national liberation movements, taking their arms and equipment with them, and fighting everyone standing between them and national independence?

Do people really underestimate the strength and importance of the existing resistance movements? Do they really believe that nations can be forced to fight and die for their oppressors?

Are the examples from Finland, Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Far East and even from pre-war Yugoslavia not clear enough? In the war, the Yugoslav army in which the West had invested enormous sums, and of which so much was expected, disintegrated after 6 days in 1941, chiefly because the Croats would not fight and die for Yugoslavia: they would do it, however for a free, independent Croatia as they proved in 1941 up to 1945, with heroic self-sacrifice with no less than 20 mountain divisions. The Croatian Legion under their own com-

mander refused to surrender at Stalin-grad even when the situation was hopeless. In the fight against bolshevism the Croat volunteers died to the last man with the words "let Croatia be free" on their lips.

It would be unwise to ignore the teaching of history; for what happened in 1941 will happen again with the communist-Yugoslavian army; at the first attack on Tito, it will break up in a few days. National units will be formed of Croats, Slovenians, Serbs, Macedonian Bulgarians, Montenegrins; they will join existing resistance movements to fight on their own soil against national oppression and for liberation from the communist yoke.

Thus Tito's thirty-two divisions will melt away. Stalin will try to play one national group against the other and then, in the general chaos, take possession of Yugoslavia and the Adriatic coast. The West ought to look at things as they really are, and not give way to wishful thinking. The only sensible thing for the Western Powers, considering the conflict looming in the south-east, would be to support national liberty movements, prevent fights among the peoples of Yugoslavia by determining their borders, — first and foremost the Drina as a frontier between Serbia and Croatia, within which the national units would have to operate.

But they must act before it is too late. To-day Tito seeks the support of the West and the West is ready to help.

Now is the time to undertake proper preparations and see that the support is not given in vain and that the peoples of Yugoslavia become active, reliable allies of the West.

State of Alarm among the Despots in Moscow's Vassal States

"Makedonska Tribuna", the paper of the Macedonian political organization in U.S.A. and Canada, published an interesting article in its number of February 15, 1951, on the above subject, from which we take the following:

"The few travellers from the West who succeed in visiting Prague, Budapest, Bukarest, Sofia, or any other town behind the Iron Curtain, soon discover that a real state of war prevails, even though it is camouflaged. On all large squares, streets or crossroads heavily-armed militia sentries are met with, while behind many an out-of-the-way corner, rifles, pistols, hand-grenades and often light machine-guns peep out from concealment. All commissars, militiamen and communist agents carry revolvers or automatic pistols about with them. The question involuntarily arises, against whom do the powers that be want to defend themselves?

Is not all that a proof that the enemy is to be found in the country itself. How does this alarm tally with the election results when allegedly 99% of the population in all the so-called "people's democratic republics"

voted for their respective Communist governments? Why this exaggerated vigilance, why this militia, armed to the teeth, and how is this permanent fear of attack to be explained? . . .

In short, in all the countries behind the Iron Curtain an everlasting state of war prevails. No one trusts anybody. Each feels himself menaced and persecuted by the other. The Communists fear not only the future development of the international situation, but, above all, in their own countries. The conditions obtaining there which are marked by insecurity, restlessness and nervousness can hardly be imagined. By despicable judicial intrigues, even esteemed Communist functionaries are done away with whenever they fail in servility to Moscow, to say nothing of enemies of Communism . . .

. . . Finally it becomes clear that the subjected peoples in the east and south-east of Europe, despite terrorism and despotism, have not grown in the least reconciled to their present lot, but bear in their hearts the belief in a resuscitation of freedom. They are on the alert and their eyes are turned to the West."

Peter "the Great" and "the Great" Stalin

An Insane Testament and its Execution

It appears appropriate and instructive in our times to recall the last will of Peter "the Great", which, according to authentic documents ran as follows:

"In the name of the Holy Trinity We, Peter, Imperator and Autocrat of all the Russias, leave this testament to all Our successors to the Throne and power in the Russian Empire.

We stand under the protection of the Almighty, to Whom We owed Our existence and by Whom We were enlightened. God has made known to Us that the Russian people is called to rule over the whole of Europe in the future. Our conclusion is based on the fact that the European people are senile and rapidly approaching utter ruin. The European nations must therefore be easy to conquer by a new, young nation, if the latter improves in development and strength.

We see the future invasion of the Western and eastern countries from the north, from whence a decisive operation with all the signs of divine Providence will start, and by which Europe will be as refreshed as Rome was by the invasion of the barbarians. This stream of people from the north is to be compared with the flooding of the Nile which fructifies the barren soil of Egypt.

I found Russia like a small brook and have left it as a mighty river, and my successors will make of it a sea to strengthen impoverished Europe. The waves of that sea will pour forth, if my successors know how to direct their way, in spite of obstacles and dams and in spite of weary hands trying to resist their flow. For this reason I leave you the following directives and recommend them to your constant attention.

1. Keep the Russian nation in a continuous state of war, so that the soldier remains ever on the alert and ready to fight. Only allow a respite in order to improve State economy. The troops must always be armed, ready to attack at the proper moment. Thereby in the interest of Russia's enlargement and development war shall serve peace and peace war.

2. By every possible means the military men are to be drawn upon in war and the scholars in peace, so that Russia may adopt all the useful things emanating from foreign lands, without losing any of her own.

3. Every occasion for negotiation and all unrest, especially in Germany which lies nearest us and is therefore of the utmost interest for us, must be made use of.

4. Poland is to be divided by stirring up dissension and disturbances. Power is to be acquired by the power of gold, corruption is to be practised in order to assure our own liberty of action in the choice of kings, our friends are to be set up as candidates

and their election enforced by our troops marching in and staying there, until the time arrives to leave them there for ever. Should neighbour states make trouble, Poland must be divided up immediately, to make up our losses.

5. Everything possible is to be taken from Sweden, under the pretext that we have been attacked, which provides us with a reason for its subjection. In order to achieve that, Denmark must be separated from Sweden and the enmity between them stirred up.

6. German princesses have always to be taken in marriage to strengthen family ties. Our interests in Germany must be stabilized and through our increased influence the Germans must be won for our purposes.

7. Trade relations must be sought with England, as she needs us for her fleet which again is of importance for the development of ours. Our wood and our products must be exchanged for English gold and good relations kept up with English merchants and seamen in shipping and trade.

8. Expansion to the north along the Baltic Sea, and in the south along the Black Sea is to be steadily continued.

9. Constantinople and India must be approached as close as possible for he who rules India is the real ruler of the world. For that reason wars must be continually fomented, once in Turkey then in Persia. The Black Sea and the Baltic Sea must be conquered step by step. Persia's fall must be accelerated. The Persian Gulf must be reached and, if possible, the traditional trade with the Far East via Syria is to be revived, and pushed on to India — the latter possessing the greatest gold reserves in the world. If we succeed in that we can do without England's gold.

10. An alliance is to be sought and carefully maintained with Austria. The Austrian idea of dominating Germany is to be apparently supported, but in reality some German princes are to be incited against Austria. The matter must be handled in such a way that both parties call upon us for help, so that we can establish a protectorate in these countries as a preliminary to our future sovereign government.

11. Interest in driving the Turks out of Europe is to be roused in the Austrian Royal House, but its wish to conquer Constantinople must be neutralized.

12. Great attention is to be given to those members of the Greek Orthodox Church, living scattered through Turkey and south Poland. They must be brought together wherever they may be. We must be their central point and support and proclaim a universal Primate of the Orthodox Church. These people would then be our friends in the house of our enemies.

13. A dismembered Sweden, a defeated Persia and a subjected Poland, to-

gether with a conquered Turkey, our concentrated army and the protection of our fleet in the Black and Baltic Seas would put us in a position to propose, first to the Court of Versailles and then Vienna the sharing of the world. Should, these powers, however, be blinded by ambition, or led by political aims to reject our proposals, a conflict must be provoked between them and the surviving State overthrown. Our success would be assured if Russia were in possession of the whole East and part of Europe. Should our plans miscarry, Russia, at a suitable moment would go against Germany. Simultaneously, two large fleets, carrying Asiatic hordes, one from the Sea of Asov, the other from Archangelsk, convoyed by the Black Sea and Baltic Sea fleets, would cross the ocean and the Mediterranean to attack France while, at the same time, our land troops would conquer Germany. The overthrow of these two powers would very soon mean the subjection of the remaining countries in Europe. Europe can and must be dominated in this way."

Thus centuries ago the notorious apostle of Russian messiahship and teacher of boundless Russian expansion, thought and spoke. With this memorable testament, which is so amazing to-day, he bequeathed to his descendants that manomania and insatiable greed for conquest lying at the root of Russian despotism, — nor have the crowned heads alone been seized by this obsession.

The craze for power and conquest, as the genuine driving force, has but been transferred in the last three decades to the Bolshevik despots in the Kremlin: for to-day through Stalin and a sham "proletarian" World Revolution, they menace not only Europe but the whole earth. Out of the different clauses of this testament all the motives, aims and methods of the brutal aggression guiding and inspiring Moscow's policy of world conquest, shoot forth in detail. Moreover, as the present Russian imperialism, in the garb of world-embracing Bolshevism, is not to be satisfied with Europe and Asia alone, but is stretching its tentacles towards the whole globe, it must be admitted that Stalin has outdone even his great teacher.

If ruthless domination and the extermination of alien people, the maintenance of an imperium by torrents of blood and tears, means "greatness" even in our century, then the author of this testament has honestly earned this title and his successor, Stalin, "the greater" can be sure of his distinction in history, as well.

The mask of the Boshevist world renewers seated in the Kremlin has at least been torn off. They can no longer make the "workers of the world" believe that the Soviet Union is fighting

A Frank Message to the Russian People

The A.B.N. is a common fighting front comprising all nations that have been robbed of their independence by Moscow, recently and in the past. From the end of the 15th century, the principality of Moscow, originally small, has expanded at the expense of peaceable independent nations on a higher level of culture. These nations defended their independence with much courage and with their life-blood, but the aggressor in Moscow, with the help of traitors from other nations, succeeded in subjugating these free peoples. This was the origin of the Russian imperium, in which some 50 nations are imprisoned. And it is still spreading today over Central Europe and to the shores of the Pacific. Yet it is not content . . .

Such is the position. That the bolsheviks are masters in the Kremlin today is of little account. From the very beginning, bolshevism took possession of the heritage of the Czars and has tried ruthlessly to realize their plans of conquest. From the point of view of our national independence, it does not matter whether it fell a prey to the Czar or the Politbureau. We believe that the still free nations of the earth are beginning to grasp this truth; that is why we emphasize that bolshevism is identical with Russian imperialism.

But what is Russia? We repeat that it is the prisonhouse of nations, who were driven into it by force. And who forced them? Firstly, the Russian people alone. Later various traitors from other nations helped. Non-Russian peoples have tried repeatedly to escape from this prison at enormous sacrifice of life and property. Every twenty years there was a rising in Russia. And today it is the same. While all non-Russian peoples are fighting courageously against bolshevism, the Russian people is praised by Stalin as being the sole, the most reliable support of his power.

In the fight waged by the A.B.N. against bolshevist tyranny, one people is absent from the community of na-

tions — the Russian. So it is of interest to point out here that bolshevist propaganda against the A.B.N. is identical with the propaganda of Russian organizations abroad. What is the reason of this touching harmony? Because they are, all of them, Russian imperialists, because all of them, whether communists, monarchists, socialists or whatever they like to call themselves, are opposed to the freedom and independence of the nations "united" by force in the Russian empire, the maintenance of which they hold to be their most sacred national duty. The chief reason for this is the Russian's strong feeling of superiority, which is developed in a man like Stalin to megalomania. The supremacy of Russia is also a result of history, as the bureaucracy that administered the subjugated nations was recruited almost exclusively from members of the Russian intelligentsia. This mass of officials and employes, of policemen and priests was the real basis of the Czar's power. They all felt themselves to be "representatives of culture", masters over the life and death of the non-Russian peoples whom they considered and treated as inferior. This "protective power" made it quite impossible to get any appeal through to authoritative persons. This explains the proverb: "God is too high, the Czar too far away." This feeling of superiority, this desire to rule, is still the main-spring of Russian imperialism, whether of Czars, democrats or bolsheviks. It is difficult to find an intelligent Russian without this feeling, no matter whether he is a monarchist, a socialist, a communist or a priest. It was and still is, therefore, for Kerenski and his like, more important to preserve the Russian imperium than the freedom of the peoples who have been subjugated by Moscow.

Once this has been understood, it is easy to grasp why the most radical Russian socialists have always been imperialists, why they refuse to join the subjugated nations in their fight against

for peace, "progressive democracy" and "social justice". The experience of the last thirty years of domination by the Bolshevik system which has brought human society under the barbarous law "homo homini lupus est" must have opened the eyes of everyone. The machine of the old Russian imperialism, provided with a new engine, — bolshevist terrorism, — has written a whole chapter of history peppered with crime, oppression and violence.

Woe to the western politicians who still hope to be able to work with the Kremlin and to solve the problem of world peace with Russia! The unchanged tendency of Great-Russian policy as laid down in the above testament and manifested in history, shows that collaboration with a great Russian imperium, whether red or white, is bound to fail.

The idea of an orthodox "third Rome", as well as the idea of Pan-Slavism, let alone that of a Marxist World Re-

volution are, at bottom, only external adjustments of Russia's traditional imperialism, determined by the ambitious aims of Peter I. But while the Europe of the 19th century was politically alert and resolutely opposed Russian imperialism and expansion, by the Crimean war, forcing the Czar to give up Pan-Slavism, to-day, unfortunately, the necessary energy and determination is lacking. Although Soviet Russia, since the October Revolution, has changed Pan-Slavism for the Communist Manifesto, Russian imperialism exists to-day, faithful to the tradition of Peter I.

That is why the Ukrainians, like all the other nations subjugated by Moscow, as a geopolitical and cultural part of Europe, appeal to the Western Powers to be on the alert and to see Russian politics aright in their historical course. Peter I's political testament must be a warning to the whole world.

Mgr. A. L.

bolshevism. For those little despots, freedom is a hundred times worse than bolshevism! They can be nothing but Russian imperialists, and that is why their "socialism", like Stalin's democracy, is only a lie. It is perhaps the tragedy of Russian history that the Russian people has never been able to evolve what the West considers to be an order of society worthy of human beings. We should like to point out here that we understand by the Russian people, only the Russians proper, of whom there are about 90 millions, and who, therefore, constitute a minority in the Russian imperium.

We should like also to point out the regrettable fact that wherever the Russians brought "liberation", they brought misery, famine and slavery, and that not only since 1944! But we have no intention of making the Russian people responsible for this, or even of laying the blame on them. It is in the nature of things and in the nature of leadership: the Russian Czars were rulers who thought only of the expansion and consolidation of their power, but not of the welfare of the people. And now? Misery, famine, slavery and fear are the instruments the Kremlin use to make men blind, automatic tools for the execution of its plans. The Bolshevists intend not only to carry out the plans of the Czars, but to extend them — to conquer the world. That is why they need hungry animals always ready to plunder, to murder and to rape. In order to hang a mocking cloak of humanity round their intentions, they speak constantly of peace, freedom and democracy; the services of a willing church are engaged, and other such manoeuvres. But this does not help the individual. The Russian people must also suffer. Moscow's anti-Christian church cannot help. We alone can help the Russian people, we nations of the A.B.N., by means of our national liberation. And how is this to happen? Our liberation will destroy the layer of Russian imperialists who are hungry for power and bent on loot. Russian intellectuals will be forced to recognize that it is possible to live without conquest, slavery, lies and deception. That means that they will have to find possibilities of living a peaceful, really cultured life, worthy of human beings, and there are many such possibilities! The Church will reflect on Christ's teaching of grace, and the Russian people will have to learn that intellectual and material prosperity, blessed by God, can only be secured by peaceful relations with all neighbours.

That is why we send this message to the Russian people: You can and must be friends with us! You can and must join us! Your may be assured that we alone are your genuine friends! Throw your imperialists aside, for they bring you only disaster! We should like you, too, to be able to enjoy the honour of human dignity, that with your creative work, you may be a good neighbour and a worthy member of the community of nations. Put no faith in your imperialist seducers who proclaim that we wish to lay hands on your Russia! No, we want to leave Russia to you, we want, moreover, that you at long last

Competent Criticism of the "Voice of America"

We publish a comment by the head of the Information Office of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.) behind the Iron Curtain, Major P. P o l t a w a, of the U.P.A., on the "Voice of America".

As these most instructive remarks by a leading member of the Ukrainian Underground Movement are an important contribution to the justified criticism of the transmission, we should like to mention their chief points. The author's view is all the more significant, considering the recent regrettable incident when the "Voice of America" in broadcasting the statement by H a r o l d E. S t a s s e n on the necessity of granting the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union their independence, omitted the word Ukraine, and, as we feel, not accidentally. Thereby the obvious trend of these transmissions once more comes to the fore, arousing surprise and indignation among Ukrainian circles, and not among them alone; which would seem anything else but appropriate for achieving the object aimed at by the "Voice of America".

An important means in this battle against Bolshevist tyrants is the "Voice of America" with its broadcasts for the Soviet Union. As soldiers in the fight for liberation behind the Iron Curtain, we know very well of what tremendous importance information which is true and free, is for the Soviet masses.

To assure the effect of such information it is essential that the psychology, the way of looking at things and the feelings of the Soviet masses are duly taken into account. That is a perfectly comprehensible and indispensable condition for every kind of informative propaganda.

In the case of the transmissions by the "Voice of America" for the Soviet Union, I am bound to say that the conditions above mentioned are not always fulfilled and for that reason the desired success is not forthcoming. As an active member of the armed forces in the Ukrainian fight for liberation, I regard it as my duty to put down some remarks, in order to show how these broadcasts should be han-

should be the sole rulers of Russia, as we should like to be our own masters in Ukraine, in Byelorussia, in the Baltic States, in Cossackia, in Poland, in Czechia, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Rumania, Hungary, Turkestan, Caucasus and elsewhere!

We should then all take up our work like brothers and the Almighty will bless us. There will then be no more bloodshed, no hatred, no destruction, no more war. Then there will be peaceful, creative work, prosperity, democracy, freedom, happiness and joy!

If we worked together in peaceful brotherhood, we should not need an Iron Curtain to isolate our countries. With God's help we should really "conquer" the world, i. e. it would be open to all of us, for we should all be free to go wherever we liked. Everyone would be treated as a brother wherever he came with peaceable intentions. Join us then, and help to realize this blessed dream; You will be welcomed as our dearest brother, our comrade-in-arms.

A. Skalsky (Byelorussia)

dled, so that both in form as well as contents they might answer the requirements of those fighting behind the Iron Curtain and express the feelings of the Soviet people.

I. The Soviet masses must be roused from their apathy, from the thought that they stand isolated in the world, and the consciousness of their defenceless position in face of Bolshevist tyranny. The most characteristic feature met with in the Soviet masses is a kind of psychical paralysis caused by the utter terror of the all-embracing police supervision of the M.G.B.—M.V.D. and their horrible, inhuman and everlasting oppression. This state is also due, in no small part, to the success the regime has had in crushing all anti-bolshevist resistance, for the terrorism of the M.G.B.—M.V.D. has broken the heart of the Soviet citizen; he has lost all hope of any change, has gained the conviction that there is no use fighting against the regime, that the evil must be put up with and that he will have to end his days in that Bolshevist hell.

There are also other, outside reasons for this depression; for what reaches his ears through the broadcasts from the West? What impression must he get from the continual assurances given by the Western World in its propaganda for the Soviet Union, that Bolshevist order in the Soviet Union is an internal matter for its peoples and that the Western Powers, above all U.S.A., have no intention of interfering in internal affairs? Such an attitude deprives the Soviet citizen of his last tiny hope of an improvement in his lot and increases his feeling of isolation and defencelessness. No wonder that his apathy grows. His will to resist his oppressors, and his courage is undermined, for he cannot understand the Western attitude, nor the policy of the U.S.A. Her asks himself why Western propaganda takes that line, a question which, in our opinion, is only too justified, considering the contrary tactics of the bolsheviks. It is true, they declare the principle of non-interference, but in reality they exercise scathing criticism on the internal conditions in U.S.A., openly calling the masses to rise and fight against their government.

The first and most important step to set the fight for freedom in motion behind the Iron Curtain, is to shake the Soviet masses out of their apathy, their feeling of isolation and hopelessness, which can only be accomplished if the American people are able to convince Soviet peoples that they sympathize with them and wish to be active allies and friends. It is a question of making the Soviet peoples realize that the Americans are against the Bolshevist rule of terrorism, wherever it may be, even in the Soviet Union itself, and that they are on the side of the Soviet peoples in their just, national and social struggle for liberation.

The theme of American propaganda must not be emphasis on the principle of non-interference in inner Soviet affairs, but, on the contrary, it must show active interest and the will to support these peoples in their struggle for freedom. As soon as the Soviet peoples feel that America is on their side, they will lose their feeling of isolation which is engulfing them, and that will be the first important step on the way to rousing the Soviet masses to fight Bolshevist tyranny.

II. It is inexpedient, from the capitalist point of view, to criticize the Bolshevist regime. The Soviet masses hate the Bolshevist regime and Bolshevist "socialism", but they have no yearning for capitalism, which was abolished in the whole territory of the present Soviet Union in the period from 1917 to 1920. The Soviet Masses are, for the most part, decidedly against the return of capitalism, due to the outcome of the 1917—1920 revolution, which it would be a mistake to belittle. Reality demands real political expediency too. Every wise policy must look real facts in the face. American propaganda directed to the peoples in the Soviet Union must take that into account. Bolshevist rule must, above all, be criticized from the view point of the progressive elements among the peoples of the Soviet Union who do not wish to re-establish the old order when bolshevism is overthrown, but a new, just and progressive social order.

The Ukrainian Underground Movement in which U.P.A. is incorporated, is a part of the progressive element in the fight against Bolshevism. The Ukrainian liberation movement upholds national independence, co-operative property in industry and trade, the principle of private ownership for the peasant, and democratic government, in the real sense of the word.

III. Criticism of Bolshevism must therefore be based on the point of view of each individual non-Russian nation subjugated by Moscow, and must proclaim a re-organization of the Bolshevist imperium according to the principles of national independence for all peoples in the Soviet Union. The watchword must be the liberation of non-

Russian people. The importance and the actuality of the national impetus in the Soviet-Union of today is decidedly underestimated by the West, and that is a pity. The national sensibility within the individual Soviet peoples, and their struggle for independence represent a power which ought under no circumstances to be undervalued, much less disregarded. The policy of denationalization and russification, practised by Czarist and Bolshevik Moscow, — always with terrorism, — has perhaps swamped or suppressed the aspiration for freedom and independence in one nation or the other, but when the time comes, its tremendous power will be shown. The moment the Soviet Union begins to disintegrate, this aspiration will be one of the most important political factors; for the longing for nationhood is strong among the Soviet peoples, especially in Ukraine. It has merely been suppressed and therefore kept concealed, but it is alive and will have irresistible force once it is set in motion.

During the 1917—1920 revolution the non-Russian peoples were in a much more backward state in the question of nationalism than to-day and yet the revolutionary spark kindled the national idea, giving the whole movement a positively national sentiment and anti-bolshevik character. That is a generally known historical fact. To-day the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union are much more awake to their national and cultural possibilities and more alive to their subjection and exploitation, in spite of all the terrorization and the mendacity of Bolshevik national policy.

The American broadcasts must appeal directly to the individual non-Russian peoples, strengthen their national consciousness and make full use of the fact of their political and cultural history. In a word appeal to their patriotism.

IV. The "Voice of America" should make the most of the fact of an internal anti-Bolshevik struggle within the Soviet Union, and the Ukrainian Liberation Movement.

It is hard for us all to understand why, though the Bolsheviks never miss an opportunity of reporting the least dissatisfaction, disturbance or fight in any workers' organization in the U.S.A., the Philippines or anywhere else, American propaganda almost entirely overlooks the anti-bolshevik struggle in Ukraine and in other non-Russian territories. This attitude makes it extremely easy for the Bolsheviks; for it allows them to convince the world that a national political unity, hitherto never experienced, prevails between the regime and the public.

In democratic countries a campaign against the government can be carried on by legal and peaceful means, whereas in the Soviet Union that is an impossibility. There the most suitable and only possible means is guerilla warfare. It is wrong of the West to criticize the fight of the underground movements by the standards recognized in democratic countries. Information about the Ukrainian struggle for liberation, for

Connections, Strange but True

A Byelorussian on the Events of the Day

Two events of the greatest importance are taking place in Korea and in Czechoslovakia. In Korea thousands of the best men in the democratic world are giving their lives for freedom and justice, in the conflict against Russian-Bolshevik imperialism. We stress the words Russian-Bolshevik especially, because it is clear to every thinking person that the supreme command of the Communist troops in Korea is neither there, nor in Peking, but in Moscow, and that the organizers of this war are to be found in the Politburo with Stalin at its head.

It appears that the free democratic world is now beginning to realize that fact and we are glad that it is so, although our pleasure is shadowed by

**A.B.N. fights against
Bolshevism and every form
of Russian Imperialism!**

the thought of the millions of Byelorussian martyrs who have perished in the struggle against the same imperialism.

The Byelorussians were the first victims in 1918—20 in this struggle for freedom and independence, especially in the great revolution in the Slukz area in November 1920, then in Welischki 1925, and later during the great purges in 1933, 1937—38—41. Even official Bolshevik statistics give the losses as some three million. For a people of 18 millions that is almost 20% of the whole population. Besides, we know very well that Soviet statistics have no claim to veracity.

And in spite of that, the Byelorussian people are fighting shoulder to shoulder with all the other subjugated peoples. The European press has often reported about the Byelorussian partisans under the lead of General Witushka. These partisans with the Ukrainian, Baltic, Cossack, Caucasian, Turkestanian and those of the satellite states are the second front in the Korean War. The Moscow High Command in working out further plans for aggression, must take this second front into account.

All our partisans are glad to know that they are no longer alone in their struggle against this, the worst tyranny the world has ever experienced, and that they may even count on allies. Our peoples, too, are hayyp in the

instance, given by "the Voice of America", would be of value for the rest of the world, by exposing the real conditions prevailing in Soviet Russia and revealing the true face of bolshevism. Such information, too, would not remain without influence on the resistance offered by the masses in Russia against the despotism and terrorism of the Moscow regime" . . .

knowledge that nations in the free world are fighting likewise against tyranny. In this sense the freedom-loving Byelorussians have a part, also in the Korean war.

The latest events in Czechoslovakia have aroused a good deal of attention. Hundreds of more or less prominent stars and starlets are disappearing from the Soviet Czechoslovakian sky. For us that is nothing new; stars and starlets disappeared from the Byelorussian Soviet sky in 1928—35—37. Among them there were even naive scientists, academicians, professors, writers, artists and theatre people, who believed that it was possible to work with the Bolsheviks, to say nothing of the real Communists of Byelorussian nationality as, for instance, "President" Cherwyakov, Prime Minister Haladsied, the president of the Academy of Science, Prof. Ihnatousky, or other leaders. They have all been sacrificed by the tyrants, so that there is not one single Byelorussian in a leading position in the Byelorussian Soviet Republic. Russian imperialism in its present form of Bolshevism, does not tolerate anyone with any other thought but that of world revolution and conquest. Millions can die of starvation and perish as slaves if they only cry morning and evening "long live the Kremlin, our great leader and the great Russian people!" Everyone must forget his own language and adopt that of the Kremlin, not only in political life but also in the literal sense of the word. Everyone must learn Russian, and if the great stars in the Communist sky of the subjected peoples will not adapt themselves, then they are simply put away. That has been happening with us and other enslaved peoples for years. In their place only faithful Kremlin robots are set. Now it is the turn of the peoples who were later enslaved. Clementis and Co. are only the beginning. The others will come; the Czech Cherwyakov — Gottwald and Haladsied and Zapototzki, as well as the Slovak Bortnyansky, and all the others who are doing away with their own predecessors at the moment. Russian imperialism has no heart, no mercy, practises no indulgence and follows only one aim which is to Bolshevize and Russianize the world at any cost . . .

It is beginning to dawn on the world that it is facing a maniac. Like all maniacs he is crafty and powerful and it will take strength and courage to lock him up. Cowardice and folly only further his aggressiveness. Heaven be thanked that the free world is beginning to mobilize its strength and there is some hope that this terrible monster will soon be under control.

Then, at last, every people, the Byelorussian too, even the Russians themselves, might live in its own state, go quietly about its work and live in peace with the rest of the world.

A. Sorkin (Byelorussia)

American Friends of A.B.N.

Extract from their Aims

The American Friends of Antibolshevist Bloc of Nations, Inc. was newly established, with the City of New-York as its center. The principal aim of this Organization is to fight Russian Communism — Bolshevism and its fifth columns in the U. S. A.

The free democratic world is uniting and preparing for the great crusade against Bolshevist Russian imperialism. It becomes an obligation of the U. S. A. to do its utmost in leading the free and good forces of the world to liberation from evil forces of Bolshevism. We must devote our full energy to strengthening our own forces in the country and making the freedom loving peoples behind the Iron Curtain our faithful and reliable friends. Winning their confidence means to the A. B. N. and its peoples coming as a PARTNER, with a clear and just idea of mutual UNDERSTANDING, which is often more effective than arms. This is the purpose of the American Friends of A. B. N.:

The earlier this sympathy and confidence are won, the sooner these two partners, — the Western World and the A. B. N. forces — will come into closer collaboration; such policy will bring better results for both sides and less sacrifice; the quicker Bolshevist imperialism is annihilated, the sooner real freedom and real peace will be established.

Believing in the principles of freedom, human rights, protected by the Constitution of the U. S. A.;

supporting religious efforts in the psychological offensive against Communism Bolshevism; the Organization of the American Friends of ABN. will endeavour: to unmask the real aims of Communism — Bolshevism and point at its immediate danger for the free world;

to reveal the savage inhumanity of the Russian Communist system and propagate a true democratic order for all the peoples behind the Iron Curtain;

to enlighten the American people on the danger of the infiltration of Communism into the United States,

to aid all forces fighting against Communist — Bolshevist aggression and infiltration in the U. S. A.;

to enlist support for the Antibolshevist Bloc of Nations on the religious, social, political and economic fronts.

The Antibolshevist Bloc of Nations (A. B. N.), created in 1943, is an alliance of the national liberation centres and organizations of the nations of Central and Eastern Europe and Asia, enslaved by Russian Bolshevism. The purpose of the A. B. N. is the establishment of just order in Central and Eastern Europe as well as in Asia, based on the principle of self-determination of nations; on the idea of independence — sovereignty of national states within ethnic borders and on the idea of social justice and prosperity. This is possible — in the opinion of the A. B. N. — only by annihilating Russian Bolshevism and overcoming Muscovite imperialism by revolutionary uprisings of the peoples within the U. S. S. R. The longest external blows, resulting from a war against the Soviet Russian imperialists, without simultaneous cooperation of A. B. N. forces, cannot be sufficient or decisive for the liberation of the world from the threat of Russian aggression.

We — the American Friends of A. B. N. — are of the opinion that the war, which is inevitable can only be won with the help of the A. B. N., this Third Power, the peoples who are fighting for freedom against Russia. The A. B. N. is the only organization which doesn't forget any nation or people in its struggle for freedom against Bolshevist Russian domination, holding that every one has the same God-given right to be free. That is the highest merit of the A. B. N. and that is why we deem it just and wise to create our organization, the American Friends of A. B. N.; We are firmly convinced that ONLY A. B. N. is capable, in case of war, to form and organize the SECOND FRONT; ONLY A. B. N. is capable of bringing ALL SUBJUGATED NATIONS into this Second Front; ONLY A. B. N. is capable of assisting the United States and the Western World effectively in the "global struggle for freedom's eternal survival."

We feel that through our efforts we shall help preserve our democracy and secure for all nations and individuals the freedom that we so dearly cherish. The American Friends of A. B. N. are confident to find full understanding by all, for their noble task and firmly believe that Almighty God will grant His abundant support.

For the Executiv Council of A. F. A. B. N.:

Chairman: Géza Erényi

Secretary General: Dr. Nestor Procyk

Girdle of Security, or the Heel of Achilles?

Moscow and its Satellites

The arrest of the Czech Foreign Minister, Vladimir Clementis, and the new purge in Czechoslovakia, have brought the problem of Moscow's satellites into the news again. As we know, the West looked on, almost appreciatively, after World War II, while Russia set to work to draw a girdle of security from Poland to Bulgaria around the Soviet Union. It goes without saying that Russia hoped greatly to strengthen her power by a close bond with east European satellite states.

During the first years, the satellite system appeared to function as desired, as the peoples in the east were hard hit by the war and its economic aftermath, and they grasped at help where it was to be had quickly.

As realists the Russians were well aware that, in the long run, a Communist regime in the satellite states was only to be maintained by ruthless terrorism. And indeed without Moscow's intervention the Communist regime in these states would probably have been swept away in the first days after the war. The repeated purges prove that the Communist regime, subject to Moscow's beck and call, has not been able to conquer the hearts of the people.

This girdle of countries created by the Soviet Union for the sake of security is now proving a fatal burden.

Politically the Satellite States are anything but reliable. A well known European newspaper reports that the Hungarian government, to show its sympathy, fitted out an ambulance train, complete with doctors and nurses, and sent it to North Korea. At the very first opportunity the whole personnel went over to the Americans. That kind of thing would be a common occurrence should a European conflict break out. It may be presumed, without exaggeration, that whole detachments, with flags flying would go over to the West when opportunity offered. There is no shadow of doubt that such occurrences would have a demoralizing effect on their Russian comrades.

Economically the Satellite States were very soon exploited Moscow's refusal to permit them to have a part in the Marshall plan — as originally proposed — the partial loss of their western markets, and the utterly inadequate supply of raw materials and industrial products by the Russians, have produced an economic situation in Eastern Europe which make pre-war conditions look like the "golden age".

What is Russia to do in case of war? Either she must place weapons in the hands of unreliable satellite soldiers who will one day turn them against their oppressors, or she must send millions of able-bodied men to the interior, thereby increasing the number of her slaves and take over the defence of the Satellite States herself. It is easy to imagine the attitude of the civilian population towards Russian soldiers

Appeal to the Free World

The Association of the Free Press of Central and Eastern Europe, the Baltic and the Balkans, in Germany, resolved unanimously at the general meeting held in Munich, March 3, this year, to address the free world in a proclamation which we give below verbatim, though slightly abridged.

This proclamation, in the name of the press representatives living in freedom, of Byelorussia, Esthonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Ukraine, Czecho-Slovakia and Serbia, is an impressive document of public responsibility and is a warning which cannot easily be overheard by the world.

The document runs:

"As the few representatives living in freedom we voice the public opinion of our subjected peoples.

With dismay we realize that after thirty—three years of Bolshevik terrorism, the free world has not seen through this system and does not seem to care to.

We state that although the political errors are admitted to-day which made it possible for the Soviet government to enslave, first of all, the peoples of the old Russian empire and after World War II to occupy new states and deprive their people of freedom, the free world still refuses to draw the logical consequences for future policy towards the Soviet Union. The free world declares itself ready to-day to sit around a table with the Soviet despots, in order to reach some understanding.

We ask:

When has the Soviet government ever respected an international agreement?

What agreement entered upon have the Kremlin tyrants ever kept?

What does the free world expect in trying to make a compromise with its own enemy?

It is a fatal mistake to suppose that freedom and tyranny can live side by side . . .

. . . Freedom can only be preserved if tyranny is annihilated wherever it is met with.

The free world is deceiving itself in relying only on its material strength.

after their own men had been deported. However one looks at things, and whatever solution the Kremlin is thinking of, if the worst should come to the worst, a solution favourable to the Bolsheviks is hardly possible.

Therein lie invaluable chances for the West, a far-sighted, wise policy followed by the West in those countries, and, beyond that, co-operation with the anti-Moscow elements there and in Russia itself, might change Moscow's security girdle into a security belt for West Europe, and, if things took a serious turn, be the means of building up a second front behind the Iron Curtain.

S—on

Material potential has no value, unless it is used to realize an ideal.

By pretending that the present war is only "a cold war" it is hoped that peace will be maintained.

The attempt is made to preserve freedom while it has actually long been given up, for **freedom is indivisible.**

The Kremlin tyrants have long pronounced the death sentence for the whole world. Now the western world seeks to postpone the execution. What price will be asked and paid? Who is the next victim?

Have the many nations which were sacrificed been forgotten? Does the still free world believe that it still has a right to live when it keeps silence about and tolerates the fate of countless millions languishing under Communist tyranny?

In the name of all these people and our enslaved nations we raise our voices.

If we are to remain slaves, you too will have the same fate!

If we regain peace and freedom you and your children will never become slaves!

There is only one goal: Human dignity, as Christianity teaches, is to be respected where it exists and to be brought back to the world where it has been lost through any kind of tyranny, — Stalinism, Leninism, Titoism etc. Freedom for nations must be upheld where it exists and re-instated where it has been abolished.

There is only one way: To make no compromise with the Soviet government, to cherish no suicidal idea of neutrality.

Our peoples are fighting alone. They are ready to fight with the free world, for in spite of all disappointment, they have not lost faith in justice or the hope of freedom.

Make the liberation of our peoples your objective.

Destroy the enemy from within.

We appeal to the press of the free world and emphasize the tremendous responsibility which will rest upon those who have the task of keeping public opinion on the right path.

Proclaim the truth. Show the danger of world-wide Bolshevik conspiracy.

Proclaim the fight for **freedom, peace and justice** for all oppressed people and nations."

Washington's Blunder...

(Continued from Page 1)

terpretation" by the State Department expressed in the following terms: "The U.S.A. has always cherished the greatest friendship, respect and sympathy for the great Russian people. The U.S.A. has always opposed and still opposes the dividing up the Russian Imperium, or the separation of certain territories from it!"

Simultaneously, the Deputy State Secretary, Jack K. McFall, indulged in loud protestations, saying, among other things, "In President Wilson's biography in the Soviet encyclopaedia of 1932 there is not a word to support Pospyelov's reproach that the Versailles Peace Treaty aimed at annihilating the Soviet Republic and cutting up Russia. Facts prove the exact opposite. The Germans were forced to quash the "disgraceful" treaty of Brest Litovsk and to recognize the **inviolability of all territory belonging to Russia.** We must give the misled Russian peoples our friendship, our respect and our sympathy."

In face of this most surprising intermezzo in America's present political attitude towards this highly important problem we can only say that we cannot see what "friendship, respect and sympathy (which after all is due to every people, and to which every people has a certain right) for Russia," has to do with the indivisibility of the great Russian autocratic Empire. We cannot and will not believe that the freedom — loving, progressive democracy of the United States of America feels bound, out of love and sympathy for the Russian people, to grant a charter to-day and in future to the governing men in Moscow to hold over 100 million alien people under their brutal domination and go on exterminating them. We believe rather that the Russian people can only gain the "respect" of the world, and dignity, turning away from the greed for power and conquest, from its boundless imperialism and by forming its future state according to the principles of the Atlantic Charter, with due regard to the sacred and immutable right of its neighbour nations.

Now what is the object at the present moment, of the official declaration, on the part of America, of the "inviolability" of all territory belonging to the Soviet Union? Appeasement of Moscow, the stirring up of Russian imperialistic elements against the Bolshevik regime, or both together?

We can assure the official American departments that they were ill-advised. Any "success" that they may have expected would be too ephemeral and would in no way counter-balance the devastating effect of such statements on the hearts of the 160 millions of ensla-

Nations Await the Signal

It is easy to imagine the hopes and desires with which the subjugated nations behind the Iron Curtain accompanied Eisenhower's tour of Europe. From the Baltic to the shores of the Black Sea and the peaks of the Caucasus, throughout the entire Russian empire, held together by force, everyone listened, putting the anxious question: "When shall we be free again? And when will we be called to arms to win our freedom back?"

The second front behind the Iron Curtain is ready to throw off the yoke of the oppressors whenever the first front of the West is set up.

Everywhere in the Russian empire there are enemies of the regime, even in the offices of bolshevist terrorist administration and even in the Red Army. The future will show the importance of this second front of internal resistance.

Napoleon's and Hitler's campaigns against Russia demonstrated that she could not be conquered for good without the help of the subjugated nations, and these nations desire their freedom today, as they have always done; when the West advances, the second front will rise in the country and Stalin will not be able to proclaim a national war of liberation. The West will conquer only by means of strategic and political cooperation with this front. The West has not at its disposal as many armies as are necessary to occupy the entire extent of the gigantic Russian empire. But the second front will break the power of the Russian colossus. The Second World War showed what partisans could do in the East; the most glorious name in the history of guerilla warfare is that of the U.P.A. The desire of the subjugated nations behind the Iron Curtain is invincible and the Russian lust for power will be checked by this desire for freedom, once the West gives the signal to start.

In his report to Washington, Eisenhower said that he would like to fight only with soldiers who joined the army of their own free will. Well, hundreds of thousands of members of subjugated nations who have the good fortune to live in the West, agree joyfully with General Eisenhower and millions behind the Iron Curtain are waiting only for the battle signal.

These millions and millions, it is true, would fight for the liberation of their country and their independence. They would never fight and bleed for a restoration of a "Great" Russia under

ved people, whose power of resistance and readiness to fight against bolshevism will lose incentive if the only prospect before them is to be left in the clutches of the Moscow despots.

From the standpoint of psychological warfare it is in truth a serious mistake, the consequences of which will certainly be no less regretted in the future by the Americans than the fact itself is to-day by our peoples.

Kerenski or for any other imperialist Russian aim. And these nations behind the Iron Curtain declare that they claim the realization of the principles of the Atlantic Charter. If the West is clear about this, nothing can separate us; our union is perfect in our common love of freedom and justice.

But cooperation must come quickly. Invaluable services can be rendered to the cause of Freedom by members of our nations in the West, with their great political, geographical and ethnic knowledge. Their couriers bring news of living conditions and events behind the Iron Curtain. In the U.S.S.R. and the satellite states, organizations of resistance seek to maintain close contact with important Western agencies. Eminent military leaders are to be found among those anti-communist organizations.

United Workers in Exile

There will be a conference in Paris of delegates of the emigrant workers from the subjugated peoples of East and South-East Europe who are members of Christian Trade Unions. The conference will begin on March 31st, and is the first of its kind.

This unusual event is to demonstrate the unity of the workers from subjugated countries with those of the free world, and, at the same time, the inauguration of a mutual labour front is proposed. Steps will be taken to further the idea of Christian Trade Unions among workers in exile and to prepare, for the future, directives for spreading the programme and ideological aims of Christian Trade Unions in countries now under subjection.

The free delegates in Paris will not only speak for the workers in exile, but for millions in subjugated countries who are deprived of any possibility of organizing and leading a free life, owing to conditions prevailing in those countries and the inhuman treatment meted out to the workers. These delegates will be fulfilling a sacred duty towards their comrades at home, in stating their case. They will uphold the interests of their countrymen before the free world and do everything in their power for their liberation.

Under the patronage of the International Federation of Christian Syndicates, the representatives of Bulgarians, Rumanians, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Croats, Czechs and others, will meet the delegates of the free world and proclaim the aspiration of their peoples for national freedom, a state of their own and social justice.

The Reverse Side of a Calumny

The staged trial of the Slovak Bishops Jan Vojtassak and Michael Buzalka and the Ukrainian Bishop Pavlo Hojdych, held recently at Pressburg, has caused the Bolshevist press

If we have understood the signs of the times aright, the period of appeasement, of trying to reach an understanding with Moscow, is over. Korea has shown the entire free world what the Kremlin's desire for peace is worth! No understanding can be reached with bolshevism and Russian imperialism, for Moscow's first principle is brute force. This, in our opinion, does away with all considerations and diplomatic practices.

The hour calls for UNITY, unity in battle against Russian bolshevist aggression.

When it is attacked from without and combated from within, the Russian despotic system will collapse. A Russia that is divided into its separate independent states within the ethnic frontiers of the nations now subjugated, will never be a danger for the rest of the world.

The subjugated nations await the signal!!!

to acknowledged officially and confirm again, that behind the Iron Curtain an armed anti-Bolshevist fight for freedom is going on.

The Bishops, as the prosecution, stated among other things, were in close connection with the Ukrainian Resistance and had assisted Ukrainian Insurgent couriers to reach West Europe.

That respected and influential Fathers of the Church in the Soviet sphere of influence behind the Iron Curtain, are systematically prosecuted in order to silence them, is one of the old, approved methods of Russian-Bolshevist terrorism in all subjected countries, and in this respect the trial at Pressburg was nothing out of the way, but what was remarkable was the admission that is stamped on the reverse side of this slanderous accusation, namely the official confirmation by the Soviets of the existence of an underground organization which is in a position to get its couriers through to west Europe and keep in constant touch with the exiles and their organizations there.

It is, however, not the imprisoned Bishops alone who support the underground movement and help to maintain communications, but here in Slovakia, as well as in all other areas where the U.P.A. operates, the resistance meets with the active support of the broad masses in our subjugated countries.

Ukrainian Insurgents in Upper Silesia

Through the failure of the Polish police in their conflict with Ukrainian Independents who are operating in groups in Upper Silesia, the Polish government has been compelled to organize fighting detachments in Upper Silesia. Hitherto fighting against the well-armed Insurgents has ended with the defeat of the Poles, as recent eyewitnesses report. Polish losses have been considerable.

U.P.A. Expeditions in Rumania

Editor's note: This report is taken from "Oseredok Propahandy i Informaciyi" (Centre for Propaganda and Information), No. 4, 3rd year, May 1950. These sheets appear illegally in Ukraine and are published by the Ukrainian Underground Movement. The report below is an extract from notes made by Captain Khmara, Commandant of a U.P.A. detachment.

U.P.A. expeditions outside the frontiers of the Soviet-Union, through the territory of the so-called People's Democratic Republics, occupy a special place in the history of the Ukrainian Underground Movement. The inhabitants of these Republics, who are actually under the domination of the Kremlin, are to-day the natural allies of the Ukrainian people, also subjugated by Moscow.

Between 1945 and 47, detachments of the U.P.A. went on expeditions outside the Soviet Union, through Czechoslovakian and Polish, as well as through Byelorussian territory. These expeditions strengthened the friendship with other subjugated peoples and awakened their interest and sympathy for the Ukrainian revolutionary struggle for liberation. They also spread the idea that revolutionary underground methods were indispensable in the fight against Bolshevik oppressors.

In 1949, in summer, a U.P.A. detachment, under the command of Captain Khmara was sent by General Taras Chuprynka, C.-I.-C. of the U.P.A., on a propaganda expedition through some areas of the so-called Rumanian Democratic Republic. The glorious tradition of U.P.A. was to be upheld by these expeditions.

The object was to enlighten the Rumanian population as to the aims and methods of the Ukrainian fight for freedom, and the spoliatory character of bolshevist despotism, and finally to call up the Rumanian and Ukrainian populations beyond the frontiers for a revolutionary fight against Bolshevik imperialists and their agents.

Before they marched off, the U.P.A. detachment was supplied with the necessary number of leaflets and revolutionary literature in the Rumanian and Ukrainian languages. Lieutenant Perebyjnis was attached to the expedition as Captain Khmara's political adviser.

On June 17, 1949, the detachment set off from their headquarters for the Rumanian frontier. In the Zhabje area, the other side of mount Pip Iwan, they halted to reconnoitre. Up on an alpine pasture, a U.P.A. patrol encountered a Bolshevik frontier unit, which they dispersed after a short engagement. Two frontier guards were killed, the insurgents captured arms and equipment.

At noon the same day the detachment crossed over into Rumanian territory. At the alpine hamlet of Herscht, the detachment halted again and got into contact with the Rumanian peasants. The insurgents were well received and aroused much interest; the necessary information was readily volunteered and food supplies given. Soon afterwards, they left the mountains and continued their march

through Rumanian-Ukrainian villages. They passed through the district around the towns of Vidjev and Siget. In some villages a halt of two or three days was made. The Rumanian mili-



A district commander of the U.P.A. with his staff in the woods of the subjected native country.

tia was afraid to leave the towns, while guards at the bridges retreated without resisting. Everywhere the detachment was made welcome. Thousands of leaflets were distributed in villages and

towns. Innumerable discussions were held to enlighten the people on political subjects, some meetings were also arranged. Lieutenant Perebyjnis, who speaks Rumanian, was able to answer the numerous questions put to him by the Rumanian people. Efforts were also made to get into touch with the Rumanian underground. The insurgent remained on Rumanian territory for two weeks.

When the Rumanian government heard of the presence of the U.P.A. detachment, they sent troops armed with guns and mine-throwers against them. Thanks to information received through the population, the insurgents were able to withdraw to the mountains in time. The shells sent after them into the woods missed their target.

Although the frontier guard had been reintroduced on both sides, Captain Khmara was able to lead his men by devious paths back to their quarters. They were in safety on July 27, 1949.

The news of this expedition spread like wild fire through the whole of Rumanian and contributed in no small measure to strengthening the anti-Soviet attitude there.

The Fate of the Turko-Tartar Peoples

What is the social political life of the Turko-Tatar peoples in the Idel-Ural area like, under bolshevist rule? Before answering this question it must be said that the Turko-Tatars have been deprived of all rights as masters in their own country, under the Bolshevist system. In the Idel-Ural area Russian Bolsheviks rule just as they like. After subjecting these Tatar areas, Moscow divided up the territory of Idel-Ural into separate autonomous puppet republics and special governmental districts, in spite of the desperate resistance of the Turko-Tatars and Ugro-Finns. Their number and borders have been changed from year to year. To-day in the Idel-Ural area there are the following autonomous republics: Tatar A.S.S., Bashkir A.S.S.R., Chuwash A.S.S.R., Mari A.S.S.R., Udmud A.S.S.R., Mordwin A.S.S.R. The A.S.S.R. of the Volga-Germans was liquidated in 1941.

It must not be forgotten, however, that Moscow included only one third of the Idel-Ural territory in these autonomous republics, the rest was formed into different governmental districts having no political or administrative connection with the autonomous republics. The districts of Astrakhan,

Kujbyshev, Orenburg, Swerdlowsk, Chelabinsk and others are among these. In dividing up this area the bolshevists followed the principle of divide et impera. It is true, the Turko-Tatar autonomous republics possess their "own national governments", on paper. The puppet governments, however, are merely the executive organs for Moscow's instructions. In no case in the Bolshevist imperium, have either the autonomous governments or their people any right of decision; vital problems, such as the construction of new industrial plants, the economic exploitation of important natural resources of the countries in question, or the choice of certain economic forms of development, lie no longer within the competency of the peoples, but alone with Moscow. In the Bolshevist system of administration the national governments have a minimum of importance. In each republic Moscow has a sleuth whose official title sounds quite innocent: Secretary of the District Committee of the K.P. A European, not knowing the secrets of Bolshevist tactics, could never imagine that a man with such a title had anything else to do but write party reports or propa-

Resistance in Slovakia

"Die Neue Wiener Tageszeitung", a paper which is said to have good connections with Slovak nationalists, writes on February 24, 1951, of sharp fighting between Czechoslovakian government troops and the Slovakian partisans in the Tatra mountains. The paper has also learned that the Czechoslovakian Minister of the Interior, Nosek, has been ordered by the Soviets to put a stop to partisan activity and sabotage by the middle of March.

* * *

The Vice-President of the Slovak Liberation Committee, Igor Bazovsky, who is just now in London, addressed the following letter to the editor of the "Daily Telegraph":

"Sir — May I comment on your report of the fighting by partisans in Slovakia? Slovak Partisans are by no means "national Communists"; they are anti-Communist nationalists. Their activity goes back as far as 1946 and 1947, when the closest ties were established with Ukrainian Insurgents.

This Slovak National Insurgent Movement has been organised and led by the Slovak Liberation Committee in collaboration with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the anti-Bolshevik group of nations."

* * *

In the last few weeks Slovakian Resistance has received a new impetus. Armed groups are carrying on a real guerilla war against Communist police units. Most of the leaders and numerous fighters in these groups belonged to former partisan units operating during the war in the Banská Bystrica area. Today again they have their hiding-places in the Tatra and Fatra mountains.

ganda circulars. In reality he has quite other tasks, to fulfil he actually has all the power; for all the orders from Moscow to the autonomous republics go through his hands. The "heads" of these "governments" tremble before him. For example; in the Tatar autonomous republic, up to World war II, the Russian Bolshevik, Alemasoff, was secretary of the district committee of the K.P. He lived in Kazan with his family, in a castle surrounded by a stonewall and guarded day and night by N.K.V.D. units, while the head of the government with his family had to put up with two rooms in an old house belonging to the municipal housing office. Although the Moscow Bolsheviks have the power, still they fear the subjugated Turko-Tatars and for this reason will not allow them to establish their own national army units or their own police and administrative offices. Strong detachments of the Soviet army, mostly N.K.V.D. troops, are posted in this area, on which Moscow builds its hopes of "re-educating" the Turko-Tatar population.

Ing. A. Batu (Idel-Ural)

As the London "Daily Telegraph" learns the various detachments are armed with light automatic weapons and portable radio transmitters. According to some accounts their number is about 5,000.

The chief operations are against the strategically important east-west com-



From enslaved Slovakia

Inscription on a wall:
„Long live Dr. F. Durcansky“ / We want an independent Slovakia!

munications, for instance, the railway line between Ruzomberok and Poprad in the valley of the Waag, along which the Czechoslovakian goods for the Soviet Union are conveyed. At least three attacks are said to have been made inside a week on this line. Moreover, the partisans undertake reprisals against villages with notorious Communistic mayors, where the population has been cruelly treated. In one or two villages the mayors responsible for such happenings have been killed or dragged off to the mountains.

Partisan groups are being continually reinforced, generally by deserters from the army or evicted landowners and peasants. Some of these deserters are said to have brought with them the only existing map with the minefields marked.

The Anniversary of Byelorussian's Independence

On March 25, the Byelorussian people are celebrating the 33rd anniversary of the day, — in 1918, — they declared the independence of their republic, after a national revolution.

The free Byelorussian state was but short-lived, for the West at that time had not comprehended the historical moment which had come with the dissolution of the old Russian Empire. The importance of the newly arisen national republics in the territory of the Russian prison of nations was not recognized, and so the opportunity was lost to stop the continuation of Russian imperialism which was beginning to show its head under the Soviet System.

Since then thirty-three years have passed, but the freedom-loving Byelorussians have never ceased struggling for their freedom and independence, in spite of the blood and tears of Bolshevik terrorism. On the occasion of this 33rd. anniversary of Byelorussia's declaration of independence, we of the common front of the A.B.N. greet our Byelorussian comrades and the whole people, confident that Eastertide in which this day falls will be a promise for the resuscitation of Byelorussia's liberty, in the near future.

For the Anniversary of the Independence of the Croatia

April 10, will be the 10th anniversary of the day on which Croatia restored its independent national State. A State which can look back on a thousand-year-old tradition.

For this occasion we have received an article specially written by Prof. Andrija Ilić, who is at present in London. We much regret that lack of space prevents us from publishing the article in this issue.

We reserve the right, however, of publishing the article in our next number in view of the importance of Croatia's great day.

From the Ukrainian Representatives in the A. B. N. we have received the following dementi:

According to Reuter, part of the world press reported that discussions had taken place between leading Ukrainian, Polish, Turkestanian, Aserbaijanian, Georgian, Cossack, Czech, Croat, Slovak politicians and British anti-Communists.

Among other things, the report alleges that an agreement has been concluded between the Ukrainians and the Poles, by which a joint administration is to be set up in West Ukraine ("Polish Ukraine"? — Ed.) and a plebiscite held on the question of a local government . . .

- 1) The Ukrainian delegates have had no discussions with Poles on the question of West Ukraine, thus no agreement could have been concluded.
- 2) The Poles did not take part in this conference.
- 3) There is no question of the integrity of West Ukraine. West Ukraine was, is and will remain an inseparable part of Ukraine.
- 4) There is no foundation either, for the statement about the possibility of a plebiscite.

Ukrainian Representatives
in the A.B.N.

From the Soviet Press:

It would be nice if...

The Right Words in the Wrong Place

The Kiev newspaper, "Radvanska Ukrayina", a paper of the Central committee of the Communist-Party and the government of Soviet Ukraine, published a noteworthy article January 30, 1951, from which we quote the following:

"The great Russian people has helped the Ukrainian people to rid itself of the yoke of social and national oppression, to acquire its sovereignty and defend it in heavy fighting against its enemies.

Thanks alone to the indestructible friendship and ready help of the great Russian people and other brother nations, the dreams and hopes of the Ukrainian people for a free life, its own State and independence, for the reuniting of all Ukrainian territory in a single State, have been realized. Under the Soviet star, re-united Ukraine blossoms in the family of Soviet peoples for ever and ever."

Attempted Revolution in Prague

The Soviet press acknowledges that an attempt has been made in the Czechoslovakian "People's Republic". An article on the subject in the Moscow paper "Isvestija", of March 1, 1951, runs as follows.

"In his communication, Kopetsky has revealed the contents of documents which illustrate the espionage of Otto Shling, the old agent of western imperialists. From these documents, too, the pernicious activity of M. Shvermova is made evident. She was the head of a widespread conspiracy aiming at overthrowing the Party and State, detaching Czechoslovakia from the peace group directed by the Soviet Union, and re-introducing capitalism...

Stefan Bashtowanskij revealed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia the espionage carried out by Vlado Clementis and the hostile policy of the bourgeois-nationalist wing of the Communist Party in Slovakia. The Central Committee unanimously accepted a motion to expel V. Clementis, G. Guskak and L. Novomesky from the Central Committee and the Party, and to deprive them of their seats in parliament."

Russian Messiahship

For centuries the Russians have been making inroads upon one country after the other; for centuries they have enslaved one people after the other, and always they have tried to persuade the victims of their imperialism that they are fortunate in being allowed to live under Russian rule, for Russia alone is in a position to bring them the "light of civilization". What Russian messiahship looks like in its modern form, may be gathered from a leading article in

the Moscow paper "Isvestija" of January 18, 1950.

At first the paper declares that the cry "We want to learn from the collective peasants and workers" has become the motto for the peasants in all the People's Democracies in Europe, then continues word for word:

"There is no sphere in the People's Democracy in which the application of Soviet experience has not led to excellent results; has not opened new perspectives and brought forth hero-workers... In Czechoslovakia, and Poland, in Hungary and Rumania, in Bulgaria and Albania, in the Chinese People's Republic and in the German Democratic Republic more and more workers are fighting to improve the quality of their production after the methods of Alexander Tschutkin; take over the rapid working of metals after Pawel Bykow's method; organize their collective work after the Nikolai Rosijskij method; save raw and other materials by the Lidija Korabelnikowa method etc... The best workers, men and women, of science and art, come to the Soviet Union from these lands, as to a great university of modern life. They come to learn how to build, how to overcome difficulties and make the splendid, illustrious edifice of the new world, and they return to their homes rich in experience and knowledge."

Anyone with some knowledge of Russian history knows that Russian messianic propaganda was the same in the 18th and 19th centuries, when lousy Russian conquerors enslaved cultural countries like Ukraine, Georgia etc. and brought the "light of civilization and culture" from Russia.

Welfare of the Population

A fortnight ago the Statistical Board of the Latvian S.S.R. published its report on the realization of the economic plan in 1950. To stress the "great achievements of the Soviet Regime" the report maintains that "as regards total output in 1950 the plan has been accomplished 108 per cent."

Even admitting that the report is truthful, it is amazing to observe how little the Soviet government cares for the needs of the local inhabitants.

Since the turnover for 1950 only reached 96% of the amount estimated in the plan, the population has not even received the small quantity of goods which was not to be shipped to the U.S.S.R., but was reserved for local consumers. It is not only chance that "Sovietskaia Latvia" of January "published the complimentary letter of a Muscovite, on the quality of Latvian goods. This letter says, inter alia: "The Muscovite knows that textiles from Riga are attractive, wear well and do not bleach."

The picture is more gloomy still when one sees that the transport of firewood in 1950 was only 81%. Firewood is the principal fuel in Latvia today, for the cost of importing coal from Ukraine is exorbitant. Falling short of the target here means that the urban population of Latvia was cold this winter and is so still, for industry and the innumerable

Soviet institutions have first priority. The report also shows that domestic building only reached 52% of the plan for the year. Most of the Latvian workers have lived in crowded barracks since the war — 1950 did not bring them any relief.

The health of the population is not among the things that worry the Soviet regime: the Ministry for Public Health has fulfilled only 75% of its plan. Every fourth hospital, polyclinic, sanatorium etc. of those promised for 1950, failed to be built. Solicitude for invalids and the aged is feebler still: the Ministry for Social Insurance has fulfilled only 38 per cent of its plan for "capital investments". The population of the occupied countries is fed with planned figures, and sees none of the benefits which the Soviet regime promised them. At the same time they are daily made to curse the time of their independence, when they lived happily and prosperously, and to thank Stalin for favours which exist only on paper.

The Burden of Collective Farming in Estonia

The "Rahawa Hääl", the official communist paper of Soviet Esthonia, published the following report recently.

Unheard-of cases of peasants secretly leaving Soviet collective farms have occurred more than once. Most of such cases are reported from Abja, in the district of Viljandi where, for instance, members of the Raja colchese tried to run away in a body. The peasant J. Hail, was made responsible for this "monstrous crime", as he was alleged to have been the ringleader and incited the others to rebel.

The paper is proud to report that, on investigation by the authorities, he was proved to be a "Kulak" and "removed". Nothing is said about what happened to the others. The paper merely points out that "it is not permissible to leave a collective farm on a member's own initiative".

The same bad management in other places has led to hostility towards collective farming, for instance in the case of "Koit" the colchese in Lohsüu. There, most of the field-work was left undone and the peasants were reduced to abject poverty. Party inspectors maintained that L. Kiik, the leader of the field-workers and his son, Meinhard Kiik, were to blame for all shortcomings. But when M. Sild, the Party's Commissar mentioned this in a members' meeting, he was much surprised when the peasants contradicted saying that it was not the two Kiiks, but the system that was to blame. They even threatened him, shouting: "Don't you dare come here again!"

J. Kiik and his son are reported to have been "removed".

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