ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

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Dr. D. Donzov

"Easing The Cold War" – Another Step Towards Ruin

"Easing the cold war" is a slogan which is frequently used by leading politicians of the West and also of the East as a solid basis for an understanding.

In our opinion this is no such basis for the West, but, on the contrary, a fatal misunderstanding. The West is conducting neither a "hot" nor a "cold" war against Russian tyranny. A few lukewarm manifestations of sympathy for the victims of this tyranny, or advertisements for American automobiles or refrigerators on the radio or television cannot be regarded as a "cold" war. Whenever the representatives of the peoples massacred by the Russians venture to raise their voice on this side of the Iron Curtain against the murderers, they are promptly branded by some "prominent" person or other (as for instance by Mr. W. Lippmann) as "professional agitators"

The Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations sends all its friends and readers of "ABN Correspondence" the compliments of the season and sincere wishes for a Bright and Prosperous New Year

and are warned not to interfere in the business of important politics and not to obstruct the efforts of the sincere peacemakers of the West. — If all this is "cold" war, then it is most certainly not likely to worry Mr. Khrushchov in the least.

But if in reality the situation is such that one side does not even venture to begin a "cold" war, whilst the other side has been carrying on such a war constantly and to an ever-increasing extent since 1917 and, in addition, has been waging a "hot" war on all continents, then one can but ask what is the sense of the policy of "easing the cold war" as a basis for negotiations?

And yet, like much in the mad world of today, the policy of "easing the cold war" has a purpose! For whom? *For the gangsters in the Kremlin and for certain influential circles in the West.* The Muscovite gangsters would be prepared to sign any agreement for the easing of the "cold" war, and why not? They know quite well that they will continue to inundate the West, as has been the case so far, with their Roses, Rosenbergs, Fuchses and Kaplars. And even if the latter should be harassed too strongly, they will find their advocates — even in the West — who in the name of humanity or for "good conduct" in prison will demand their release or acquittal. At the same time, the gangsters in the Kremlin know that the (Communist) parties acting under the instructions of Moscow in the West will continue to undermine the morale, the patriotism and the defensive strength of the West undisturbed. Yes, the gangsters in the Kremlin could safely agree to every "easing of the cold war". They

would be quite prepared to sign a mutual non-aggression pact and a pact of non-intervention in the internal affairs of each of the contracting parties. Moscow would then leave the aggression and intervention to its henchmen and hirelings in the West. By means of an "easing the cold war" agreement, it would attain the division of the world into two parts (the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.) and also the recognition of all Russian conquests since 1945. And, last but not least, Moscow, on the strength of such a pact, could demand of the West that it forbid all Ukrainian, Hungarian, Polish, Baltic and Balkan patriots in exile to carry on any activity that might be unfavourable to the U.S.S.R.

In this respect the Russians are encouraged and aided by certain very influential circles in the West, who are full of admiration for such "heroes of freedom" as Castro, Mao Tse-tung or even Khrushchov, but disapprove of Franco, Adenauer or Chiang Kai-shek. And, incidentally, these circles are not Communists (God forbid!), but "democrats"!

Mr. W. Lippmann even tries to enlighten the victims of Bolshevism who are now living in the West that such an "appeasement" would be in the interests of the subjugated peoples, since it is a well-known fact that freedom can be attained more easily in an atmosphere of peace than in an atmosphere of war! But those who ask what the said circles in the West can hope to achieve by their attitude, should think about what these "democrats" wanted to achieve when they opposed Franco in Spain, General Michailovitch in Yugoslavia, Chiang Kai-shek in China, and when they took action against Poland, Ukraine, the Balkan peoples and Germany in favour of Russia (sapienti sat!).

But what would the peoples of the West achieve by the policy of "easing the cold war" and by its consequences? They would achieve the following:

1) A disastrous loss of prestige for the West on all continents.

2) Encouragement to the Kremlin to intensify still further the "cold" war and, here and there, the "hot" war, too.

3) The relinquishment of the only effective weapon with which to overthrow Russian tyranny and the anti-Christian imperium of slavery, Russia, and this weapon is the sympathy and help of the nations enslaved by this imperium.

The decisive conflict between the U.S.S.R. and the West, however, would of course not be evaded in this way. But it would be fought under conditions and at a time favourable, not to the West, but to the Moscow gangsters. The history of King Philip of Macedonia and of the careless Athenian democracy would be repeated.

In spite of all this, however, *we* are sure of our cause and of its victory. *We* refuse to bow down before genocidal tyranny. *We* know that *its days are numbered*, just as are those of the cliques in the West who are well-disposed towards it. But if the pro-Russian "democrats" and "peacemakers" there do not realize this or refuse to realize it, then so much the worse for them! In any case, the West will be obliged to inscribe on its banners the watchwords of the A.B.N., — though late in the day! "Volontem fata ducunt, nolentem trahunt."

Canada

Thank you very much for sending me several back issues of your authoritative and immensely interesting publication the "A.B.N. Correspondence."

The section entitled "From Behind the Iron Curtain" was stimulating reading and provides a reader with the terrifying truth of the present-day conditions prevailing in the Communist-dominated countries.

Donald J. Prodanyk

Australia

Please convey to the Ukrainian people my best wishes and my hopes that,very soon, they obtain freedom from those who enslave them.

F. P. McManus
Senator for Victoria

E. Orlowskyj

The Danger of World War

The Ethical Basis and the Immediate Tasks of a Liberation Policy

In discussing the danger of a new world war, one must in the first place refute certain mythical ideas about the alleged incompatibility of a just defensive war with the Christian doctrine. War as such is by no means to be condemned as immoral, in so far as one does not completely reject the idea of defending one's justified rights against a wanton aggressor. Nor is the use of atomic weapons to be condemned as absolutely immoral: it all depends on the motives and the aim. Otherwise the free world would be obliged to let its aggressors use these atomic weapons, namely for the purpose of overthrowing in a most criminal way all the foundations of ethics and law and of destroying every kind of legal order. The defenders of law and order and of truth must not substitute for their task the idealization of defenselessness or passive waiting for criminal acts of murder. The defense of law and order and of truth must take precedence over the personal instinct of self-preservation.

The Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs *Pella* recently said in Washington: "Italy would be better able to bear destruction by atomic war than by Communism". By which a victory of the forces of evil without Italy putting up any defense, is meant. Mr. Dulles, too, when he resigned from office, wrote: "The American nation does not merely constitute a self-satisfied community, but it has been created with the mission of building up a world in which freedom and justice are to rule". And elsewhere he said: "It is difficult for us to stand up for our national idealism and our national mission unswervingly and, at the same time, prevent a terrible world catastrophe", for "nowadays this our ideal confronts the alarming and relentless provocation of Communism". Thus, no capitulation to the forces of evil at any price, but a fight against them, even in the face of catastrophe!

A number of Western statesmen are well aware of the danger which threatens from Moscow and also of the fact that one must sometimes sacrifice temporal things for the defense of eternal truth and for the defense of the good. Gustav Gundlach, S. J., interprets the address of Pope Pius XII to the 6th International Congress for Penal Law as meaning that even the downfall of an entire people in manifesting their loyalty to God against an unjust aggressor can constitute such an important factor that it would justify a terrible defensive war.

We must not regard material values as being of such paramount importance that we fail to attach the right amount of importance to immaterial values. In defending truth and our rights, we must not be guided by a utilitarian point of view, but, above all, by ethical principles. Right and truth are worth more than life. In any case, the world will probably not last for ever, and the "responsibility for the end of mankind" by no means rests with us, as all the pacifists and defeatists would have us believe. Should Providence decree that the just are forced to prove their loyalty to the principles of the divine order in the world with the aid of atomic weapons, namely by defending their freedom and their rights against the aggressor, then God will take the responsibility, and not we.

The West should thus put a stop to its pacifist propaganda, anti-atom hysteria and its demands for a one-sided disarmament; for all this is only likely to prompt the Moscow aggressor to launch an attack. Fear of atomic war as a form of universal destruction is not justified, inasmuch as we — provided that we fulfil our ethical duties towards God and our native country — cannot possibly become the object

of destruction. One should not ascribe to the criminal Khrushchov an all-destructive power, as if the key to the existence or non-existence of the human race rests solely in the hands of atheist Moscow.

There is, however, a way to achieve a clear victory without having to resort to the use of atomic weapons, — namely, by means of the national liberation movements of the peoples subjugated by Moscow, co-ordinated as a simultaneous revolution and supported by a joint anti-Bolshevist world front. The essential point is not so much to seek to surpass the war-potential of the so-called Communist bloc solely by technical means or by the number of soldiers, but, rather, to undermine to a decisive extent the *human* potential of the armies that Moscow has at its disposal; and not merely because the West cannot hope to exceed the human reserves of the Moscow-Peking bloc, which amount to astronomical figures, but, above all, because this bloc constitutes the last and most ruthless imperium in the history of the world, and, moreover, like every imperium inevitably suffers from the same vulnerable spot, — the subjugation of other nations and individuals. For this reason, the decisive and most important task is to win over the souls of these other nations and individuals. They possess weapons, — the weapons that have been placed in their hands by their subjugators; the important point is that these weapons should be used against the subjugators at the right moment. Moscow is forging weapons against itself; and this is the vicious circle from which Moscow will never be able to escape, provided that the West sets its hopes on the said decisive forces by adopting the ideas of the liberation revolutions of these nations and actively supporting the national revolution processes behind the Iron Curtain. The competition between the rivals must, in the first place, be carried on for human souls, and then, secondly, for human bodies. The superiority of the West as regards atomic weapons by no means guarantees its security for any length of time, since it would disarm itself ethically if it were forced to use its atomic weapons without taking into consideration other factors, — *ideological* and really decisive factors: namely to win anew the sympathy of the subjugated nations by actively supporting their anti-Bolshevist fight and its aim, — the disintegration of the Russian imperium into national, independent and sovereign states (within their ethnical territories) and the final liquidation of every type of Communism; and in this respect it is to be left to the peoples themselves to choose their own political and social regime, in keeping with the fundamental principles of their religion and their internal national solidarity and the principle of respecting the *individual* as a being created in the likeness of the Divine.

This would be the essential ideological and ethical action to be adopted by the West; the practical and technical action, however, would consist in allowing the so-called conventional or classical fighting forces of the West (all the services) to remain at least proportionately equal in strength to those of the Moscow bloc.

And in this respect the West can set its hopes on the national revolutionary action of the peoples subjugated by Moscow; but, of course, this does not mean that only these peoples would wage war whilst the free world looked on passively. No, the free world will have to support the liberation action behind the Iron Curtain actively and, if necessary, with armed force, for its cause, too, and not only the cause of the subjugated peoples is at stake. The latter are not dependent on anyone's favour and do not beg for favours. They appeal to the free world in its own interests to support their revolutionary fight for freedom, since in doing so, it will be rendering itself a service. If the leading statesmen of the West do not want an atomic war — and quite rightly so — and, in fact, no world war at all, and if, at the same time, they fail to support the national revolutions behind the Iron Curtain, what other way to bring about the destruction of Bolshevism and of the Russian peoples' prison do they visualize at all? Neither war, nor revolution — as the passive attitude of the

West during the Hungarian revolution clearly showed, — so what other way is there? A miracle, although none of the said leading statesmen believe in miracles! Indeed, no miracle is likely to happen, unless some person, who is conscious of his noble aims, takes part as an active fellow-fighter in the fight for truth and opposes all the obstacles of life and even takes the risk upon himself of having to sacrifice his prosperity and his life.

Conscious of these principles and facts, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) has always considered not utilitarian motives, but ideological and ethical values, which must be defended, as the most important principle in determining its foreign policy, — that is to say absolute values, which the common effort of freedom-loving mankind should set up against the materialist attitude to life on this side of and beyond the Iron Curtain.

An anti-materialist spiritual revolution is also the precondition for a victorious passage of arms against Moscow, which is evil personified.

Thus, the foreign policy of the ABN has always been determined by the following principles:

Consistent defense of the national idea as a motive power of our historical epoch, against every form of totalitarianism and imperialism; it has taken decades for the world to realize that nationalist liberation movements cannot be evaded and that even the major powers are powerless in the face of such movements. At a press conference on August 5, 1958, President Eisenhower stated that he believed in nationalism and supported it for the good of all peoples. It is, however, imperative that this theoretical attitude should become a guiding principle for the practical policy of the State Department.

Former U.S. President Harry S. Truman, on August 26, 1959, wrote in an article that in this age of the abolition of the old colonialism and of transition to the independence and the nationalism of the peoples, we must not overlook the dangerous growth of a colonialism of a new type, — red, exploitation colonialism.

The resolution recently adopted by the U.S. Congress — both by the Senate and by the House of Representatives — regarding the introduction of a "Captive Nations' Week" is, in any case, highly commendable, especially as this "Week" is to be proclaimed every year by the President of the USA as a declaration of solidarity with the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism and in honour of their national fight for freedom; in a special statement President Eisenhower has already proclaimed that this "Week" shall begin as from July 20th. American solidarity with the fight for independence of Ukraine and other subjugated nations within the Soviet Union is expressed without any discrimination, without any mention of so-called "non-predetermination". This resolution on the part of the U.S. Congress, together with the decree issued by the President of the USA, is of far-reaching ideological and ethical significance; it will remain a high light in the history of the USA, in so far as its government gradually adopts the right course of a genuine liberation policy, that is to say one that is directed against the "indivisibility" of the Russian imperium. Unfortunately, this is at present only being done on the ethical level, but not on the practical and political one; for the so-called American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism is still conducting a policy which is opposed to our demands. And yet, the steps recently taken by the U.S. Congress and the President give us certain grounds to hope that the USA in the course of time will change its policy towards Russia, — a policy which has so far not been formally determined and is vague in content.

For the U.S. government is gradually beginning to realize that in practice the foreign policy of the Soviet government is, above all, determined by the indomitable pressure of the national anti-Russian liberation movements in the Russian imperium

and also by the increasing military strength of the free world. The aim of the Soviet game of speculation with the Western sector of Berlin is to obtain from the major powers of the West a joint guarantee for the status quo of subjugation, in order to shatter the hopes of support from the West which are entertained by the subjugated peoples. The fact that everyone's attention is concentrated on West Berlin enables Moscow, by means of local complications there, to prevent the by no means out-of-date problem of the nations subjugated during World War II and subsequently — as well as at the beginning of the 1920's — from developing. The least concession regarding West Berlin would automatically compromise the possibility of any Western liberation policy, namely as regards all the subjugated nations. On the other hand, however, resolute measures on the part of the Allies to effect the inclusion — on the basis of international law — of West Berlin in the German Federal Republic as a whole, together with the necessary retention of the same number of allied troops round Berlin, as well as the annulment of the Potsdam Agreement, would destroy all Khrushchov's lying arguments based on the pseudo-sovereignty of the so-called German Democratic Republic, without the danger of war; for Moscow, for the time being at least, is not likely to want to risk a war, since it knows that it would be threatened by internal paralysis in that case. The Berlin conflict is actually diverting the attention of the West from other sore spots and Communist Russian aggressions, as for instance Iraq or Laos. The Berlin Blockade in 1947 and its failure, incidentally, was also intended to make the West indifferent to the loss of the Chinese mainland, which at that time was finally "liberated" by Moscow. Perhaps the present Berlin manoeuvre is a similar one and the actual attack will be carried out somewhere else.

Moscow's offensives are always global, both as regards the "external" and, particularly at present, the "internal" fronts; for "internal" fronts occasionally enable Moscow — as the recent example of Vietnam proved — to extend the external boundaries of its domination without any very great risk. Moscow's global offensive must be repulsed with an equally global counter-offensive. There is a front against Moscow, against Communism and against the present form of Russian imperialism everywhere; and the counter-offensive must be carried out in various territories in order to encircle Moscow's spheres of dominion on all sides by our counter-action.

In occupying the Eurasian continent, Russia left numerous positions open, which can easily be attacked. And in this connection Khrushchov introduced his well-known policy of economic decentralization which aims to transfer the important centres of the war industry to various regions in order to lessen the danger of their being destroyed by American atomic weapons from the widely distributed American air bases — or, possibly, by American submarines, too, which recently crossed the Arctic Ocean at record speed and thus now represent a deadly danger to Russia's war-industry bases in the north.

Not only the Ukrainians — though predominantly the Ukrainians — have been scattered throughout Siberia, Central Asia and the Far East by the Soviet regime; and this fact dictates that we should take anti-Russian action accordingly. Hence, too, our co-operation with the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL), — that is to say, with Free China (Taiwan), with Free Korea, which practically borders on the regions of the Far East which are populated by Ukrainians, with Pakistan, which is so close to Turkestan (where, incidentally, there are at present millions of Ukrainians living in the so-called "virgin regions"), with Vietnam and, of course, with Turkey, too. The distribution of the concentration camps in Siberia and Kazakhstan is an established fact. For this reason, one must not underestimate the importance of the ABN broadcast programmes transmitted from Taiwan (Formosa) and of programmes transmitted from any of the other above-mentioned countries of Asia. An insurrection in the territory of Siberia, Kazakhstan or the Far East (it

would, of course, have to be initiated at a suitable opportunity) is by no means entirely out of the question. Hence, our co-operation with Free China, South Korea or Pakistan has an added significance.

The problem of Ukrainian independence is not a local problem, and, accordingly, the Ukrainian liberation action must neither be planned nor assessed from a local point of view. If there were no Russia across the Black Sea, there would be no Russian pressure in the Near and Middle East, for Russia would then also be evicted from the Caucasus and from Turkestan. Russia's absence from the Carpathians would liberate the whole of Central Europe from pressure.

The Ukrainian problem in the complex of the nations subjugated by Russia constitutes a world problem; for with the liberation of Ukraine — which would inevitably lead to the liberation of all the other nations subjugated by Russia — the political map both of the European as well as of the Asian continent would have to be completely changed. The assumption that the Russian imperium will bring the future offensive on the part of China against Europe, the offensive of the yellow race against the white, to a standstill, is not justified, for it is precisely Russia and none other that has provided China with an ideology of destruction and a false belief (this belief is, incidentally, already beginning to waver). In any case, history shows us that no colossus with feet of clay has ever been able to hold up an invasion by new conquerors, but has always fallen apart; for the peoples subjugated by it have always used the first opportunity possible to shake off their fetters. Neither the Ukrainians, the Georgians nor the Turkestanians would ever think of defending the Russian imperium against a Chinese invasion; but, once they have become independent, the Ukrainians, the Georgians and the Turkestanians will defend their own independence on a common front against anyone who attempts to attack them, — even China. Incidentally, the Chinese have for centuries — apart from the lust of conquest of foreign occupants — been a peaceful people, and their famous Great Wall was erected as a defence; and it is highly improbable that — once they have recovered from the Communist pestilence — they will seek to conquer or annex foreign countries. At present, Peking is, in any case, actually dependent on Moscow, and it is Moscow that dictates its conduct in the Communist bloc.

A big conflict is at present being enacted in Asia between Russia, its direct and indirect satellites, on the one hand, and the freedom-loving nations of Asia, on the other hand, and neither the Ukrainians nor other peoples subjugated by Moscow can afford to stand aloof in this case.

In keeping with our principle of a global fight against our common enemy, we have also established our co-operation with the Inter-American Confederation for Defense of the Continent, which is comprised of the representatives of the anti-Communist organizations of twenty-two nations of America. In the USA — which is at present the most powerful country of the free world — we also have sincere friends, who recently made it possible for the first time for a Ukrainian to testify officially before two committees of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress — before the Foreign Affairs Committee and the Un-American Activities Committee. Our view of the future inevitable disintegration of the Russian imperium is gradually gaining more and more supporters. The fact that at the Preparatory Conference for the Anti-Communist World Congress (in Mexico City, in March, 1959), at which the delegates of the anti-Communist organizations of 65 nations were present, the political platform of the ABN was adopted by an overwhelming majority as the basis for convening the said Congress, is still yet another proof of the strength and compelling force of our ideas.

The 6th Inter-American Congress in Guatemala in October, 1958, likewise adopted our conception of the national and social liberation policy in its programme for the

anti-Communist fight. And our participation in the Anti-Communist Conference of the Asian Continent in Saigon, in the year 1957, also brought us success, for it was not the ideas of the "White Russian" so-called solidarists — the NTS — but our ideas which gained the approval of those present. In view of the success with which we have disseminated our ideas, the advocates of the NTS persuaded certain financially powerful Western circles to debar us from the recent Anti-Communist Conference in Korea (in June, 1959). But precisely these efforts to prevent us, against the wish of the Asian nations, from attending this year's Conference, are proof of the power of our ideas: certain "private" Russophil American circles are afraid to have their views confronted by ours, since they know that the unprejudiced delegates of the countries of Asia and Latin America who are present at such conferences, though they may sometimes not be particularly well-informed, would not be able to resist the strength of our arguments and the justness of our principles. The fact that the Russophil circles in the free world seek to avoid a free exchange of ideas in the presence of delegates of other nations is clear proof of the ideological weakness of these circles. But no one is any longer in a position to exclude us from the freedom-loving communities of the free world; we have already entered the world arena and no one can hurl us out of it into non-existence or oblivion!

In view of all these facts, our tasks abroad are constantly increasing. Our great emigration from our native countries will be justified when we, those who took part in this emigration, are inspired by the thought that we did not leave our native countries merely to save ourselves from being physically destroyed, but, above all, to help our peoples to attain freedom and independence and to further the disintegration of the Russian imperium by also winning over active friends for our just cause in the free world.

Stefan Bandera's Fight for Ukraine's Freedom

Stefan *Bandera*, the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was assassinated in Munich, Germany, on October 15, 1959, by the Russian MVD.

His whole life was devoted to the liberation cause of the Ukrainian nation subjugated by Moscow. Born in Ukraine in 1909, his political career already began in his youth when he took part in the activity of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in Western Ukraine, which at that time was under Polish occupation.

Within a short time Stefan Bandera had proved himself to be a very capable revolutionist and, consequently, in 1940 he was elected leader of the OUN. Under his leadership the OUN started to organize anti-Nazi resistance and, later on, when Soviet Russia again occupied Ukraine, the resistance against the Russian invaders.

The name of Stefan Bandera became the symbol of the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation; indeed, the Nazis and the Bolsheviks called the Ukrainian Resistance Movement the "Bandera Movement" and its supporters the "Banderivci".

In 1941 the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, under the leadership of Stefan Bandera, proclaimed Ukraine an independent nation, thus drawing the attention of the world to the true aspirations of the Ukrainian people and, at the same time, dealing Nazi propaganda among the Ukrainians and other peoples under Nazi occupation a deadly blow.

Shortly after the independence of Ukraine was proclaimed, Stefan Bandera was arrested by the Gestapo and sent to the German concentration camp in Sachsenhausen. Since he had refused to collaborate with the Nazis in Ukraine, he was imprisoned there for several years.

In spite of the fact that its leader was imprisoned, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) continued its fight for liberation against the Nazis and the Russians.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was formed, with General Taras Chuprynka as its Commander-in-Chief, and the co-ordination of the national movements of various nations enslaved by Russia was established, — known today as the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and now under the leadership of Jaroslaw Stetzko.

Stefan Bandera with the Canadian Delegation of NATO

After World War II, when Stefan Bandera was free once more, he took over the leadership of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement again and remained the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) until his death.

Under Bandera's leadership the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists gained fame as the champion of national justice and the fighter for freedom and independence not only of the Ukrainian people, but also of all the other peoples enslaved by Russia and Communism.

Stefan Bandera's life was that of a man who fights. Though he lived abroad, he was constantly in contact with the underground movement in Ukraine; he avoided personal popularity and public appearance and devoted his whole life to the liberation cause of all the nations enslaved by the Soviet Russian oppressors.

The death of Stefan Bandera has indeed been a serious blow to the Ukrainian nation, for he was a leader who enjoyed great prestige and prominence among the Ukrainian people and who possessed the ability and authority to represent and lead the Ukrainian nation in the fight for fredom and independence.

Messages of Sympathy on the Death of Stefan Bandera

Below we publish extracts from the many messages of condolence received from foreign friends of Ukraine on the death of Stefan Bandera. Countless messages were also sent by Ukrainian friends, but they are too numerous to reprint here. They have been published in the Ukrainian press.

The Editor.

My sincere condolences on the sudden death of your President and leader of the Ukrainian liberation movement, Stefan Bandera. His memory will always be honoured as an indomitable fighter for the freedom of his country.

The Federal German Bundestag,
Vice-President Dr. R. Jaeger.

I wish to express my sincerest sympathy to you on the death of the Ukrainian freedom fighter, Mr. Stefan Bandera. May the task to which this great patriot devoted his life — to restore the freedom of his native country — soon be achieved.

On behalf of the Bavarian State Minister of Labour and Social Welfare,
Dr. Friedrich Priller.

With the death of the freedom fighter Stefan Bandera, not only Ukraine, but also the free world has lost a man who was in every way exemplary. May his sacrifice bring the Ukrainian people nearer to freedom.

The Sudeten-German Council,
The Secretary-General, Dr. Walter Becher.

His fight for the freedom and the right of self-determination of Ukraine is an example to all the subjugated and exiled peoples.

The Sudeten-German Witikobund,
The President, Dr. Heinz Lange.

We wish to convey our deepest sympathy to you on the tragic loss to you and your movement through the sudden death of the champion of the cause of freedom and justice of the Ukrainian nation. In the same spirit as the deceased we, too, shall continue to pursue our aim to liberate mankind from Bolshevist terrorism.

The Eichendorff-Guild and East European Study Group.

In sorrowing thought with you on the death of your President and leader of the Ukrainian liberation movement, Mr. Stefan Bandera.

The "Save Freedom Committee".

Deepest sympathy on the death of your President.

The "Union of the Victims of Stalinism".

In the spirit of the ideas of freedom championed by the deceased, your organization and all your allies will continue the fight against the Soviet imperialists and colonialists. Our sincerest sympathy.

Marienburg-Verlag, Würzburg.

As a Ukrainian freedom fighter, Stefan Bandera was the symbol of the Ukrainian will to freedom and of the entire Ukrainian people. We shall remain loyal to his political testament and shall follow his example.

The German-Ukrainian Society, Munich,
The President, Dr. Röder.

We are convinced that the sudden death of Mr. Stefan Bandera, who devoted his life to the noble and sacred cause of liberation of his countrymen, will consolidate the fight for the restoration of the freedom and independence of the Ukrainian people.

The Union of Georgian Compatriots in Germany,
The President, Prince Johannes Andronikaschwili.

It was with deep sorrow that I learnt of the death of Mr. Stefan Bandera. I know what a tragic loss this must be to the valiant Ukrainian Nationalists and to all fighters for freedom. On behalf of all the members of our organization I wish to express our sincere sympathy to you. Stefan Bandera will always be an outstanding example to us all as an indomitable champion of the cause of liberation of the peoples subjugated by Bolshevism and Russian imperialism and of the independence of Ukraine.

Hungarian Defence Council,
General F. v. Farkas.

He was a brave and indomitable freedom fighter and leader of all the courageous "Banderovici" in his native country, and he still preserved this spirit in exile and continued to fight for the freedom of his people. He only lived for his people and loyally laid down his life for them.

The Society of United Croatians.

It was with deep sorrow that we learnt of the sudden death of our greatly esteemed and dear friend, Mr. Stefan Bandera. His death has robbed the Ukrainian people of one of their noblest sons and freedom fighters, and the Turkestanian people of their most loyal friend. I personally feel his loss very deeply, as that of a faithful comrade.

On behalf of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee, I wish to convey our sincerest sympathy to you.

May the great, noble and sacred aim, to which Mr. Stefan Bandera devoted his whole life, soon be fulfilled with the help of God.

National Turkestanian Unity Committee,
The President, Veli Kajum-Khan.

With his death we Slovakians have lost a sincere friend, and the world has lost an indomitable champion of freedom and of the right of self-determination.

The Slovak National Council in the Federal Republic of Germany,
Dr. Franz Tiso and Kristof Greiner.

Your President, Mr. Stefan Bandera, was a great patriot and an outstanding fighter against our mutual enemy, Bolshevism, the enslaver of peoples. His death, which we deeply mourn, is a great loss for our common fight.

The Union of Hungarian Veterans,
The Secretary-General, Andreas Aposthagy.

Stefan Bandera died not only for his beloved Ukraine, but also for all the oppressed nations. He died bodily only, and his spirit will live for ever and remain with us as our dearest ideal which will give us strength in continuing our sacred struggle for freedom and independence of our oppressed homelands.

The Central Committee of the Croatian Associations of Europe,
The President, Prof. Dr. Andrija Ilic.

We are deeply grieved to learn of the death of Stefan Bandera, the leader of the national fight for freedom of the Ukrainian people and the President of the OUN. We wish to express our sincerest sympathy to you.

The Czech National Committee,
The President, General Lev Prchala.

We are aware that in his death, the Ukrainian people have lost a great patriot and friend. His death brings to the fore, once again, the great struggle that is still going on for FREEDOM by the Ukrainian people and the sacrifice that so many have made in this cause. Although the fire has been extinguished in ONE great man, we know the fight will go on with even more vigour.

Anglo-Ukrainian Society, Rochdale & District Branch,
John R. Brown, Hon. Secretary.

Ukrainians and English alike mourn the passing of a great patriot and champion of freedom. May his soul rest in peace.

Anglo-Ukrainian Society, Bolton Branch,
The Chairman, R. W. Vanston.

We feel that in his death the Ukrainian community has lost not only a leader, but also a very symbol of the age-long struggle of Ukraine for liberty and independence. We pray that God will send to you another such leader, who will carry on his work, and in his spirit may finally achieve the realization of all his work and hopes — the establishment of a free and independent Ukrainian State. We are proud to be associated in our Anglo-Ukrainian Society with the brave and heroic Ukrainian nation, and we feel that in the life and character of the late Stefan Bandera was exemplified the very spirit of the love of country and fervent defence of liberty that is so dear to both our nations. *The Anglo-Ukrainian Society, London,*
Hon. General Secretary, Vera Rich. Patron: Lady Violet Bonham Carter.

I was profoundly grieved to hear of the tragic death of Stefan Bandera. I had the honour to be acquainted with him and the noble activity which he carried on during his lifetime. His name will always be linked up with the cause of the Ukrainians and of freedom.

Istituto Internazionale per lo Studio dei Problemi Etnici e delle Minoranze,
The Secretary-General, Leo Magnino.

Stefan Bandera died like a soldier in the struggle with the mortal enemy of all mankind. But his spirit is not dead. It will live on in the coming generations of your magnificent people, whose struggle and sacrifices for national freedom will be acclaimed in hymns of glory. *Horia Sima,*
The President of the Roumanian "Iron Guard".

However painful this loss of such a great patriot and champion of justice and freedom may be to you, I, like you, am convinced that all the sacrifices which we here in Europe are called upon to make for peace and freedom will be justified in the future. *Minister of the Federal German Republic, Prof. Dr. Oberländer.*

I wish to convey my sincerest sympathy to you and your friends on the death of Stefan Bandera. *August Hoppe,*
Cologne Broadcasting Station.

I can well understand what a loss the death of Stefan Bandera must be to the Ukrainian Nationalists in the present troubled times. But I am convinced that in the end your and our sacred cause will be victorious.

Prof. Dr. Rudolf Wierer (Bohemia).

If one of us should die, the next man will fight for two, for God gives every fighter a comrade. In the spirit of Bandera. *Furmann and friends (Germany).*

We bow our heads in reverence before the martyr of the fight for freedom, Bandera, but not before Bolshevist terrorism. He will always be a symbol to us.

Dr. B. Hayit (Turkestan).

The tragic loss which the Ukrainian liberation movement has suffered has deeply grieved all fighters for freedom. I am convinced that this new sacrifice will bring home to them still more their obligation to continue the fight for the persecuted and subjugated even more tirelessly and undauntedly.

We always knew that the enemy is everywhere, even here in our midst. Now those will at last realize this fact who have so far been blind.

I for my part shall do my utmost, more than ever, to fulfil the obligation and task which I took upon myself in the Russian concentration camp. *Dieter Friede (Germany).*

My sincerest sympathy to you on the loss of your husband whom I esteemed so highly. *Prof. von Mende (Germany).*

I and my Bulgarian compatriots wish to express our sincere sympathy to you on your tragic loss. With you and all the Ukrainian patriots we mourn for the champion of the freedom of his country. Stefan Bandera did not live in vain, nor did he die in vain. May this be a consolation to you. *Dr. Dimiter Waltscheff.*

This terrible Muscovite crime has profoundly shocked us Slovakians, for the name of Stefan Bandera has always been linked up with the fight of the Slovakians against Red despotism and its henchmen. His sacrificial death will be a new stimulus to us in the fight which we shall continue to wage against the enemy of mankind until our sacred cause is triumphant. *Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky.*

My heartfelt condolences on the sudden and tragic death of your leader, Mr. Stefan Bandera. *Dr. med. Georg Wepchwadse (Georgia).*

My deepest sympathy on the tragic death of your husband, with whom I was acquainted for 20 years, in the course of which I learnt to esteem him as an idealist and a sincere freedom fighter. *Walter Schenk (Germany).*

To my regret, I was not personally acquainted with Mr. Bandera, but I know of his fight against Communism and of the hardships and privations which he endured for the cause of freedom. I shall always revere his memory.

General (ret.) Svetomir Djukic (Serbia).

Like you, I find it hard to believe that this heroic fighter and leader is no longer in our midst. I shall always remember the day that Stefan Bandera received me in a personal audience, with pride, as one of the greatest moments in my life.

Helmut Krause (Germany).

Through treacherous murder your nation has lost one of its noblest sons. I am with you and your fellow-countrymen in thought and in sympathy at this time of mourning.

E. Ströhr (Hungary).

I should like to express my sincere sympathy with you and your fellow-countrymen on the tragic death of your beloved leader, the heroic champion of a free Ukraine, Stefan Bandera. *Wilhelm Ramge, cand. phil. (Germany).*

In deepest sympathy with you in your sorrow at the death of Stefan Bandera, the champion of the cause of freedom of Ukraine.

Kaarel Robert Pusta, Esthonian Minister.

Only once had I the pleasure of seeing him and being introduced, at the Remembrance Day in Holland for your national hero, Eugen Konovaletz, last year. I instantly knew that as long as we still have people like him, our world is not yet lost. I will pray that a new Leader for your Country and People will come forward.

J. M. Visser, Holland.

We bow our heads in reverence before the great sacrificial death of the Ukrainian national front. *Bulgarian National Front, Chicago.*

On behalf of the "Byelorussian Veterans" and the delegacy of the Byelorussian Central Council in Germany, we wish to express our heartfelt sympathy to you and the Ukrainian people on the tragic loss of the great son of Ukraine, Stefan Bandera.

The Chairman, D. Kosmovic.

On behalf of the Byelorussian Central Council, I send you and the Ukrainian exiles my sincere sympathy on the sudden death of the great son of Ukraine and tireless fighter for the freedom of his people, Stefan Bandera.

The Byelorussian Central Council,
The President, Prof. R. Ostrowski.

He devoted his whole life and his whole energy to the fight for God's truth, justice and freedom, — not only for the Ukrainian people, but also for other peoples subjugated by Moscow. He will live on in the hearts of all those who fight for Christianity.

Archbishop Vasili, Brooklyn, USA (Byelorussia).

I am sure that his name will always be highly honoured among freedom-loving Ukrainians and those of other enslaved nationalities who are struggling to obtain national independence. While your loss is a great one, I have no doubt that his courageous example will inspire many others to follow in his footsteps for the achievement of your great objective.

National Council of Canadian Labour,
The General Secretary, Clive Thomas.

I wish to express to you and to all the members of the heroic and patriotic organization of Ukrainians in exile our sincerest condolences on the tragic death of the illustrious leader and champion of the independence of his people, Stefan Bandera, whose passing is indeed a sad and immeasurable loss to those who are fighting against Soviet Russian imperialism.

On behalf of the Inter-American Confederation for the Defence of the Continent and the Anti-Communist Popular Front of Mexico, I wish to express our feeling of solidarity with you in the grief and trouble that has befallen you.

The Inter-American Confederation for the Defence of the Continent,
The Vice-President, Jorge Prieto Laurens.

Sincere condolences on the death of the great freedom fighter, Stefan Bandera.

Ministry of Communications, Republic of Argentine,
Alberto Daniel Faleroni.

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, of which the late Mr. Bandera was a brilliant leader, has always been a good friend of our Cossack Liberation Movement and we feel that his departure is a loss not only to the Ukrainian people but also to us.

May his sacrifice not remain without revenge, but be repaid with the blood of the occupants of our Fatherland.

Ivan I. Bezugloff, Jr., Ohio, USA.

Please accept my sincerest sympathy on the tragic death of the leader of the OUN, Stefan Bandera. This sad event reminds me of the memorable meeting I had with the great Ukrainian patriot in December 1958, in Germany. He gave all for the Ukrainian people and, in the end, his life, too.

Dr. John W. Kucherepa, Member of Parliament, Canada.

I wish to express my sincerest sympathy with you on the death of Mr. Stefan Bandera.

Hiroshi Oshima, Former Ambassador, Japan.

No Peace Without Justice

Extracts from the speech delivered by Foreign Minister Huang Shao-ku (Republic of China) before the Lions International Third Asian Convention at Taipei on October 3, 1959

What are Khrushchev's terms for "peaceful coexistence?" First of all, he wants recognition of the Soviet rule over the Baltic states and the Ukraine, of Soviet domination of East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania. Meanwhile, he maintains a threat to the Western powers' position in West Berlin. He wants the United States to leave Europe and forget about the captive nations there. In Asia, this means recognition of the Soviet Union's conquests by proxy on the Chinese mainland, in northern Korea, in northern Vietnam and in northern Laos. He wants the United States to leave the Western Pacific and forget about the captive nations in this area, too.

Retaliatory Blows

Khrushchev also wants to maneuver the United States out of its overseas bases from which the United States can deliver retaliatory blows against the Soviet Union itself in the event of Soviet aggression. In the disarmament proposal which he outlined in his speech before the United Nations he advocated "general and complete disarmament" within four years without, however, immediately offering any enforceable system of controls and inspections to prevent surprise attacks.

Furthermore, Khrushchev wants the United States to refrain from intervention when the Soviet Union is ready to commit new acts of aggression in Latin America, the Middle East, Africa and Southeast Asia. He wants the United States and other free nations to recognize the Communist bloc's right to expansion in these areas whenever it is good and ready again.

Finally, Khrushchev wants it to be known on both sides of the Iron Curtain that the Soviet Union has become so strong that even the United States has been forced to deal with it on an equal basis. In particular, Khrushchev wants all captive peoples behind the Iron Curtain to know that since the United States has agreed to negotiate with the Soviet Union on questions of "peaceful coexistence," they had better give up any hope of ever regaining their freedom again in the foreseeable future.

Like a wild beast that has just had a hearty meal, the Soviet bloc needs time to digest its conquests. That is why Khrushchev has asked for "peaceful coexistence" with the United States and other free nations. There has been absolutely no change in the Soviet Union's plans for world domination. It only means that the Russians and their international accomplices, after having swallowed a number of nations, now are slowing down their pace for the time being, before they are ready to move against their new victims. We hope the United States and other free nations will not fall for this bit of Communist perfidy.

Judging by Khrushchev's utterances in the United States, the late Mr. John Foster Dulles possessed foresight of the first order. He was asked on January 16 as to what he thought Khrushchev hoped to gain by meeting President Eisenhower, and Mr. Dulles' answer was as follows:

Like A Wild Beast

"The great gain for Khrushchev is to have a meeting which will utter platitudes about peace: 'We're going to work together. We're all going to be friends. We're going to end all world tensions, and, therefore, there is no need any more to have this military preparation, to pay taxes in order to have a mutual security program, and the like.'

"If he can get that, that would be the greatest triumph of his career, or indeed the career of almost anyone, because . . . the people would no longer be willing to support the military programs, the economic-assistance programs, the inconveniences of alliance which require people to coordinate their policies with each other—all of these things could be thrown away because peace has been proclaimed.

"And the Communist Party will go right on."

The Great Gain

In re-reading Mr. Dulles' statement nine months later against Khrushchev's statements in the United States, one must say how accurately the late Secretary of State had predicted Khrushchev's strategy. The free nations must resist any temptation to rush into agreements which the Soviet Union can tear up at any time.

From the standpoint of the government and people of the Republic of China, there is only one kind of peace that is worth having. It is peace with justice. Justice must be done to peoples who have been pushed behind the Iron Curtain. Justice must be done to peoples who have been brutally persecuted and inhumanly oppressed in Communist-dominated countries.

We refuse to believe that the free world's leaders are thinking only in terms of "peace in our time" or a peace which would perpetuate the present division of the world into two halves, one free, the other enslaved. Even if there should be any semblance of peace, it would be neither right nor just. Certainly, it would not last. To be enduring, peace must be based on the recognition of the truth that man is born to be free, and that nations have a right to work out their own destinies in their own ways. We hope leaders of the free world will not misread man's quest for peace to mean peace at any price. If they cannot do anything to liberate peoples behind the Iron Curtain right away, they should at least refrain from dashing their hopes for eventual deliverance.

Under no circumstances should leaders of the free world do anything to betray the captive peoples. So long as these leaders remain firm and refuse to make concessions to the international Communists, it will give the oppressed millions behind the Iron Curtain the necessary courage to hold on. Nothing should be done to break their spirit or to shatter their hopes for freedom. In this way, we may not have peace with justice tomorrow but at least we will not sell the future of mankind short.

We are glad to note that in proclaiming this year's "Captive Nations Week" on July 19, President Eisenhower asked the American people "to study the plight of the Soviet-dominated nations and to recommit themselves to the support of the just aspirations of the peoples of those captive nations." At his press conference on August 25, President Eisenhower again solemnly declared that the United States would never cease so long as he was the Chief Executive, *to use every "peaceful" means to try to secure for the captive nations of Eastern Europe "the right to express their own conviction." Of course, by implication, President Eisenhower must have felt the same way about captive nations in Asia."*

Canada

National Council of Canadian Labour

I am herewith enclosing our subscription renewal for your publication, which we find very interesting and informative.

It is regrettable that "ABN Correspondence" is not more widely distributed in Canada. I would suggest that you try to persuade the Ukrainian organizations in this country connected with your movement to promote sales and distribution. In some of the larger cities like Toronto, it might be possible to place copies for sale on newsstands.

Clive Thomas
General Secretary

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

Russian Colonial Policy

1. *The nature of Russian colonialism*

Before we discuss Russia's actual colonial policy it is necessary to consider the nature of Russian colonialism; then we shall realize that it goes back a long way in history, and is still continuing in our day.

We of the West know much about French, English and Dutch colonialism, but very little about Russian. Yet Russian colonialism should not be rated lower than that of the Western European countries; it has its history, its style and fixed type. The difference between West European and Russian colonialism is that whereas the colonial powers of Western Europe first brought the colonial countries politically, then militarily, under their control primarily as the result of trade measures, the Russians conquered the countries by military operations and then placed them under colonial tutelage.

Whereas West European colonialism in Asia and Africa concentrated on economic exploitation of the colonial peoples, the Russians concentrated on the political, military and then on the economic aspects. Despite its severity, Western colonialism had a humanitarian form, whereas Russian colonialism is even today based on brutality, and the subjugated peoples are not even given a chance of negotiating with the ruling country. Of late, numerous West Europeans have opposed their own colonialism and have offered the colonial peoples the way to freedom. For instance, after World War II the British and Dutch restored freedom to more than 500 millions; Russia, however, is seeking to prevent this in her colonies by every possible means. The spheres of interest of the two colonial systems crossed chiefly in Asia, with the result that rivalry between the two was inevitable there from the very start of colonialism.

Western Europe tried to govern her colonies on a democratic basis, and was very broad-minded about the free expression of opinions. Russian colonial policy, however, which was based on absolute military power, demanded the total subjection of the colonial peoples under a central power and tried to adapt the way of life and culture of the subjugated peoples to the Russian style. The restricting of freedom of expression is also a very important feature of Russian colonialism. This is what led Dr. Jamal, Iraq's delegate to the Bandung Conference of the Afro-Asian countries in 1955, to say: "In the former colonies it was at least usual to hear the sighs of the oppressed; the present-day colonialism of the Soviet Union, however, even prevents any sighing."

Owing to the geographical situation of the mother-country and the distance from the colonies, West European colonialism clearly showed up as foreign domination over other peoples. But Russia extended her rule over the neighbouring territories step by step and incorporated them in her empire. The Vice-President of the Bundestag, Dr. Max Becker, rightly said in one of his writings:

> "Russia had her own colonial style right from the very start. Her colonies were always on the borders of a nucleus. Like a glacis, Russia constantly added new territories to this nucleus; these territories being geographically united and the inhabitants in most cases assimilated, they appeared from outside as part of Russia and were not viewed by the rest of the world as actual colonies, but as part of the 'motherland'. This period of colonialism has not yet come to an end."

This colonialism has been able to continue because, apart from the peoples directly concerned in Asia — where several nations led a colonial existence, it has encountered no opposition and Europe has looked on with indifference. Only Britain was compelled to prevent further Russian penetration in Asia, on account of her interests in India. Anglo-Russian rivalry over the domination of further territories in Asia came to a halt with the Treaty of 1909, which exactly defined the respective spheres of interest.

Russian colonialism has its great tradition. It commenced in the time of the Tsar Ivan the Terrible (1533-84). Since the middle of the 16th century Russia has gone through many internal changes, but her colonial system has remained the same. Bolshevist Russia has applied a modern colonial policy whereby the traditional Russian colonialism has changed in form only.

2. *The extension of Russian colonialism southwards, westwards and eastwards, from the past to the present day*

Russian colonialism is based on a permanent Russian instinct, an essential element in the mentality of Russian intellectuals, to subjugate other peoples. This can be clearly seen from the development of the Russian empire. Whereas West European colonialism was spread over the sea, the Russians spread over land. The principality of Moscow started to expand by annexing the neighbouring territories in the southwest. At the end of the dispute between Lithuania and the principality of Russia (1514), Moscow ruled over the land up to the Upper Dnieper; that was at the beginning of the 16th century. Russia had already been able to take part in the European game of power politics by the end of the 15th century. At the beginning of the 16th century the Tsars took over the Byzantine empire and the imperialist idea. The Byzantine double eagle was taken over as the symbol of the Tsarist empire. The dignitaries of the Orthodox Church preached the idea of a third Rome by saying: "Two Romes have fallen, the third, Moscow, is standing now and there will be no fourth." This gave Muscovites the idea of world domination, with Moscow replacing the old and the new Roman Empire. The Moscow Orthodox Church took up and defended this idea, and Moscow turned her face eastwards. In 1552 the Turkish Khanate Kasan and in 1556 the Khanate Astrakhan were conquered. In this way the Volga Ural territory came into Russian possession and Moscow reached the northwest shore of the Caspian Sea. In 1582 Moscow embarked on the conquest of Western Siberia, which was ruled over by the Turkish Shaibaniden dynasty. After the conquest of Western Siberia the Russian policy of expansion eastwards came to a standstill, as Russia was then trying to extend her rule westwards.

In 1654 she occupied East Ukraine. But she did not abandon her aims in the East. By 1689 the Russians had reached the Amur River. Peter the First — known in European literature as Peter the Great and in Turkish as Peter the Mad — was the first to extend Russia's rule in Eastern Europe. In 1721 he occupied the Baltic. But Peter had not lost sight of the East; on the contrary it was he who paid special attention to Turkestan. In 1715 he sent an expedition over the Irtish River to Chotan (East Turkestan) and in 1717 an expedition over the Caspian Sea to Chiva, to find the way to India. Both were fruitless however. But Peter's idea of reaching India through Turkestan and hence of first conquering Turkestan was inherited by his successors. In the years 1732-40 Russia assumed protectorate rights over the nomad sultanates in the Turkestan steppe territory. In the period 1768-74 the Sea of Azov became Russian. In 1784 Russia occupied the Crimea, in the years 1787-92 the north coast of the Black Sea, and in 1826-27 Transcaucasia. In 1852 Turkestan was attacked. Whilst the war negotiations were still going on there, Russia occupied the Amur district in 1858. Between 1852-97 Turkestan was occupied as far as the Pamir

Mountains. Whilst the expansion eastwards was being successfully pursued, Russia was nurturing the idea of Pan-Slavism. A Slav Committee founded in Moscow in 1857 demanded the union of all Slav groups and the replacement of Western culture by Russo-Slav culture. In the years 1877-78 Turkey had to relinquish the Balkans to Russia. In addition Russia occupied the Batum and Kars territories. In this way it was hoped to reach quickly the aim of Pan-Slavism demanded by the Russian State. These hopes were destroyed, however, by the Berlin Congress of 1878, which barred the way to Russian penetration in the Balkans. Moscow immediately switched round and started thinking about expanding eastward again.

In the years 1891-1912 the northern flank of East Asian territory was the principal objective of Russian foreign policy. Between 1900 and 1905 Russia occupied Manchuria and brought Mongolia and Korea under her influence. Once she had confirmed her position in the East by the agreements with Japan and China, from 1910 to 1912, Russia turned westward again. She incited the Balkan Alliance (Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia) against Turkey and during the Balkan War of 1912-13 she extended her influence in these territories. The idea of a third Rome and Pan-Slavism came very much to the fore, and Russia thought that the World War would bring these plans to fruition. But the First World War led to the overthrow of Tsardom. In February 1917 the Revolution broke out. The Russian Provisional Democratic Revolutionary Government continued the Tsarist policy of expansion. Russia tried to occupy Constantinople (Istanbul) and to incorporate the Emirate of Bokhara with Russia.

The overthrow of Tsardom led to a wave of freedom amongst the peoples held by Russia in subjection. The Bolshevists, who came into power in October 1917, had to adapt themselves to the state of mind of the non-Russian peoples in the Russian empire and promise them national freedom. In the years 1917—18 the Russian colonial empire was on the point of dissolution. Ukraine, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Caucasus, Poland, White Ruthenia, Tatar Bashkir and Turkestan became independent or were granted territorial autonomy. In the Peace Treaty with the Central Powers in Brest-Litowsk on 3rd March 1918 Russia was compelled to undertake to respect the national rights of the subjugated peoples. But the Bolshevist promises and statements regarding self-determination of the nations did not last long. The Bolshevists too tried to keep the Russian empire in being. They therefore opposed the national Governments. It transpired that the Bolshevists, Monarchists, Social Revolutionaries, Social Democrats, the Red and White Armies of Russia were at one in upholding the Russian empire though they were mutually at odds over political questions. The elimination of the national Governments led to nationalist uprisings against Russia.

The Western Powers' object in intervening in the territories of the Russo-Soviet empire was not to assist the colonial peoples to regain their freedom but to oppose Bolshevism, so as to help the Russian ex-Allies to retain power. The Americans came to the aid of the White Army in Siberia and the British in Turkestan. Up to 1921 Soviet Russia had to contend with freedom movements in the West — in Ukraine, in the South — in the Caucasus — and in the East — in Turkestan. But by 1923/24 she had succeeded in enforcing her rule once more over the greater part of the former colonial territories. Only Finland, the Baltic, Poland and Bessarabia did she temporarily have to relinquish. Against this, Soviet Russia succeeded in sovietizing Mongolia and in incorporating the Khanates of Bokhara and Chiva in the Russian empire in 1924.

There was a pause in Russian expansion policy up to 1939. In that year she intensified her colonialism once more and this period of expansion reached its zenith in 1947—49, after Soviet Russia had succeeded in subjugating a number

of free countries or in bringing them under her sphere of influence. Thus between 1939 and 1945—46, Soviet Russia annexed 684 300 sq.km. of territory with 23 783 000 inhabitants and turned a number of countries of Europe and Asia with a total area of 2 925 600 sq.km. and 113 447 000 inhabitants into her satellites. In addition, she supported Communism in China and helped the Communists to achieve power. China thus became an ideological brother of Russia and today the two states are trying to influence international policy as a joint Communist power-bloc. Russia has in this way achieved the dream of Tsarist Russia. From the Baltic to the Sea of Japan, from the Arctic to the Mediterranean, and with influence right to the East Coast of China, she is today the only powerful colonial empire in the world. The aim of Pan-Slavism has been reached. The idea of a third Rome has been dropped and replaced by the idea of Communism-Sovietism.

Russian colonialism has naturally altered its traditional style. Present-day colonialism is concealed behind Communism. The pretext for seizing a country has also been altered. Where Tsarist Russia used the pretext of civilisation, the Soviets — under the motto Revolution — offer the workers their "brotherly aid" backed by the Communists or by Communist machinations in the country concerned. So we see that an expansionist policy is still the decisive feature of Russian colonialism. The annexation of the Baltic countries in 1939-40, of East Poland in 1939, of the German East Prussian territories in 1949, of the Japanese Kurile Islands in 1945, simply represent a continuation of classic Russian colonialism by modern methods.

Russia has contrived to counter-balance in a masterly fashion her political-colonial campaign southwestwards and eastwards. Though part of Europe, the possession of Turkestan has made Russia an Asiatic power. It is the Russians who are responsible for Russian colonialism. It was the Russians, too, who were responsible for Bolshevism. Where it is a question of power and extension of Russia's boundaries, the Russian intellectuals and the Bolshevists are agreed. From the point of view of territory and influence, Russia has now reached the highest point of her history. Though after 1917 Communism set out to fight capitalism and the bourgeoisie through the rule of the so-called proletriat, this did not alter the nature of Russian colonialism or the boundless ambition to dominate over other peoples. On the contrary, Communism — with its plan of world domination — offered the Russians the best chances for their colonialism.

3. *Methods of Russian Colonial Policy*

As already stated, the colonial policy of Tsarist Russia was based on absolute military power. The subjugated countries were annexed by Russia. Up to 1917 all colonial territories were called Russian provinces. Only Turkestan, where a state of war and martial law still prevailed, was placed under the army. The Communists did not change this. The Russians called all non-Russians "non-equals" (Inorodey). The National Socialist idea of the "Superman" was already to be found amongst the Russians back in the 19th century therefore. Their aim was complete domination over the conquered territories, either through the Russian administration or the army.

Under Soviet Russia, the methods of colonial policy have completely changed. Soviet Russia has discovered many ways and means of new-style colonialism, chief amongst which are the following:

1. *Deluding the people by speaking of freedom and national self-determination*

Before ever coming to power the Bolshevists talked of freedom for the peoples oppressed and exploited by Russia (Ugnetennych i porabaschennych narodov Rossii)

and advocated national self-determination for oppressed peoples. When they came to power they proclaimed the rights of the peoples and even agreed to secession from Russia. But though they called on the peoples to decide for themselves, they acted in the spirit of Russian imperialism. They employed every means (propaganda and especially the army) to keep the Russian empire in being. They spoke of national self-determination and at the same time of the proletariat's right to maintain power, that is centralisation. They spoke of national autonomy and at the same time insisted that this must be Soviet. Soviet Russia even included the conception of national independence in her Constitution, by which they meant of course the subjection of all the peoples under a central authority. The 1936 Constitution of the Soviet Union even promised the Republic of the Union the right of free secession. But whoever tried to avail himself of this right was destroyed. Up to the present day, Soviet propaganda has insisted that the "national" Soviet Republics are autonomous and, since 1953, that they are even independent. This is deluding the free peoples by talking freedom, a novel method of bringing more lands under Russian domination.

2. *Deluding the people by talk of internationalism*

The Soviet Union is always saying that she honours the spirit of internationalism. Up to now she has averred that all nations, whether large or small, have equal rights. Experience has shown, however, that what the Soviets mean by internationalism is simply the strengthening of Russian hegemony in the whole of the Soviet Union, especially from the cultural, economic, military and administrative points of view. They openly admit that it is the Russians who are the guarantors of Communist, proletarian, socialist internationalism because it is they who were responsible for the great Socialist revolution and who made the Soviet Union into a great nation. The catchword of internationalism was nothing but a trap for the non-Russian colonial peoples of the Soviet Union, serving as a cloak to pacify them, to prevent nationalist aspirations arising amongst them, and to destroy their national characteristics.

3. *Fight against the nationalism of non-Russians and pseudo-fight against Russian chauvinism*

In order to be able to fight the nationalism of the non-Russian peoples, Soviet propaganda was also set in motion against Russian chauvinism. When the Soviets first came to power, they permitted the non-Russian peoples to speak and write against the Russian imperialism of Tsarist Russia. In fact, the Soviet leaders even took the lead in this expression of anti-imperialist feeling by the non-Russian peoples. From now onwards, the actions of Tsarist Russia had to be written about in positive terms and praised. The nationalist risings against the rule of Tsarist Russia were henceforth represented as reactionary movements because the secession from Russia which was their object would have signified a retrograde step.

Nowadays there is no talk whatsoever of Russian chauvinism, though the fight against nationalism still goes on. For instance, Muchitdin, the former First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan, at present Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, said in Tashkent on 11th June 1957: "We always have and we always will fight nationalism without compromise". So we see that the declaration of war on Russian chauvinism was merely a passing tactical move on the part of Russia's Communists in order to create the necessary conditions for the Russians to acquire unlimited power. Now the Soviet Union is celebrating, for instance, the 300th Anniversary of the amalgation of Bashkiria etc. with Russia, when Moscow bestowed medals on the non-Russian peoples "for their historical, progressive decision".

(To be continued)

Dieter Friede

Youth Behind Soviet Bars

My first encounter with youth behind Soviet bars and Soviet barbed wire took place in Germany, in October 1949, namely in the Soviet prison on Münchener Square in Dresden. Joachim, the fellow-prisoner who shared the same cell with me, was only just turned 16 years old. The Russians had arrested him when he was fifteen. They had accused him — a mere child — of being a political agitator, of forming political groups and of terrorism, and had sentenced him to the usual punishment of 25 years' slave labour.

In February 1950, I got to know Eduardus, a young Latvian, in the concentration camp at Sachsenhausen, the collecting point for transports to Russia. He had been living in a Baltic refugees' camp in West Germany. With the permission of the Allies, Soviet officers had enlisted inmates of the comp for repatriation to their native country, allegedly to enable them to "return to the bosom of their people". They promised such persons complete exemption from punishment. But this young Latvian had already been arrested at the frontier of the Soviet zone and sentenced to twenty-five years' slave labour. And he was sent not to Latvia, but to the Arctic region, to one of the many camps there.

We travelled together, and in the Soviet Union we now encountered an entirely different type of young person from a world which is alien to ours. Their appearance did not arouse our pity and compassion; on the contrary, it filled us with horror and loathing, — for these were the "Besprizornye"! Children who have never known the innocence of youth, children who have the faces of criminals!

It was March 1950, and we had been taken to the transit prison in Gorky and put into the big communal cell there. The dull murmur of voices was suddenly interrupted by piercing screams. Nine or ten boys had been brought into the cell, ranging from 12 to 16 years of age. They immediately began shouting and cursing and stealing things from the other prisoners and terrorizing them. Two shirts promptly disappeared in their clutches, as well as tobacco and cigarettes. None of the grown-ups ventured to demand their possessions back again, for they knew only too well that the whole youthful gang would in that case start attacking them, hitting, scratching and biting them. Many a grown-up who has started a quarrel with "Besprizornye" has in the end collapsed, covered with blood, and never got up again.

Even the imagination of a Goya would be too weak to create the evil faces of these young Russian criminals, which are stamped with an expression that is sly, vile, brutal and wary. There is nothing childlike, in fact, hardly anything human, about these faces. In many cases these children are not to blame for having become what they are. They are sent to prison or put into concentration camps at the age of eleven or twelve or even younger. They grow up under the camp regime of violence. They steal because they are hungry or because they are forced to do so by older persons. They live in an environment of dirt and vileness, they are maltreated and exploited. In the midst of so much inhumanity, any human feelings which they may have, have no chance to develop and wither completely. They become beasts of prey.

Many of them have already been obliged to commit crimes whilst they still enjoyed freedom. Parents who were starving have forced their children to steal. I encountered numerous cases of this kind where boys of 12 and 13 had been made to steal flour or bacon. Since, as a rule, there is nothing to be had from private persons in Russia, these children break into state depots. As the punishment for stealing state property is particularly severe, even children are often sentenced to several years' imprisonment.

In Syktyvkar (Komi A.S.S.R.) in 1949, an eight-year old boy, for instance, was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in a camp for theft. In the course of the same year, the same court tried two boys of nine and twelve years old on a charge of robbery with intent to kill. They had murdered a woman who caught them in the act of burgling a house.

In the prisons and camps these youthful criminals become completely demoralized, that is, if they do not perish behind barbed wire. In the years of starvation up to 1949, the death-rate amongst youthful prisoners was very high. It is an established fact that in November and December, 1947, the internees of a camp for young persons (up to the age of 18) near Kirov died wholesale. Of the 900 young internees there, more than ten died every day for two months. The highest death-rate per day was 26.

In 1950 and 1951, the separation of political internees from criminals, the "Blatnyes", was eventually carried out in the slave labour camps. The criminals were now removed to the various penal camps on islands such as Novaya Zemlya, etc. We were naturally greatly relieved at this measure. The only prisoners now with us in Camp 9 (Pit 8) at Vorkuta-Rudnik were our young people. When I say our young people, I am not thinking of my young German friends. No, I am referring to the young people from Ukraine and from the Baltic countries, to whom we felt ourselves bound by close bonds of fellowship. Our thoughts, wishes and hopes were the same as theirs. The same longing for freedom united and bound us together, — the same hatred of subjugation, enslavement and terrorism. We shared the same political and human aim, — a free community of free nations.

And it was here in the midst of the Russian slave labour camps and concentration camps that we experienced a feeling akin to happiness. It was here, behind barbed wire, that we realized that though the Soviet political police may murder individuals, it cannot, however, destroy the spirit of community and fraternity, the unity of those who love freedom. Behind the barbed wire of the camps there are Germans, Austrians, Hungarians, Roumanians, Czechs, Poles, Finns, Norwegians, Esthonians, Latvians, Lithuanians and Ukrainians — the latter constitute the largest groups in all the camps in Vorkuta — living in a European union. They are united in political, spiritual and human respect. They are one large family of peoples which stands united against their common enemy and cannot be divided by terrorism.

And, indeed, the prisoners from Ukraine and the Baltic countries took us the "lost sons", the last Germans, into their midst like a family. Only three of us remained behind in the concentration camp "First Kilometre", in Vorkuta, when all the other German internees were transferred westwards in the winter of 1954/55. From then onwards, the Ukrainian, Esthonian, Latvian and Lithuanian national groups took us under their wing.

Neither the individual nor the mass terrorism of the Soviet political police can destroy the feeling of community of the prisoners, their all-national solidarity. It was in 1950/51 that the dangerous and extremely difficult underground activity began which, in 1953, 1954 and 1955, was to lead to the large-scale strikes which broke out in the various slave labour camps in Norylsk, Vorkuta, Kirov and Karaganda, separated from each other by thousands of kilometres.

Perhaps posterity will some day realize that the struggle of the incarcerated and unarmed prisoners against the gigantic apparatus of the Soviet state, a struggle waged in secret for years on end, was an example of heroism such as is rare in this 20th century of ours.

And youth, too, plays a valiant part in this heroic struggle of the enslaved against the subjugators. Indeed, the young people whom I got to know in the camps gave me proof again and again of their mental and spiritual courage and determination.

What sacrifices they make in order to be able to acquire more knowledge and educate themselves still further. Though isolated from the world in the remotest regions of the concentration camps, they nevertheless untiringly strive to acquire their share of the great cultural legacy of the Occident. Whether they are imprisoned in camps in the Arctic regions or in the deserts of Kazakhstan, they seek to gain a profounder knowledge of European culture. Though they lead the life of slaves, they derive strength and knowledge from the writers and philosophers of the West, available in Russian translation, in limited and specially selected numbers, in the camps, but only since 1953. To foster their affinity with the spiritual powers of the free world, they sacrifice the most precious and most important thing that a prisoner in a slave labour camp possesses, — namely, sleep, hours of sleep, which is the only thing to save one from physical collapse.

The young people in the camps are obliged to do the heaviest and most exhausting type of work, — in the mines, underground. Yet it is precisely the young miners who, in the little free time from work that they have, go to the older prisoners, as they came to me, in order to acquire more knowledge. Tiredness and hunger are of no account. All they want is to feel that they are in some way in touch with the free intellectual world.

It takes a lot of courage and perseverance to occupy oneself with intellectual matters in a Russian slave labour camp. Two young Germans used to come to me in the evenings and study the history of literature with me for two hours, — the little free time they had. One of them would just have finished working on the first shift in the mine, whilst the other used to have to go to work on the third shift at 10.30 p. m. But this fact in no way diminished their interest in German, English, American and French literature.

Other young miners — Ukrainians, Baltic nationals and also one Russian — used to learn English and French from me.

Anthologies and collections of lyric poetry began to be compiled in various languages. And one day, some verses without a name under them appeared amongst the poems of the greatest poets of the world. Someone had written them himself. In 1953, some young prisoners, who worked as miners at Pit 8 of the camp in Vorkuta, submitted their first attempts at lyric poetry to me, but they were so modest that they asked me to keep their authorship a secret.

That same year, however, something happened which was an admission that could not be kept secret. It made a deep impression on me and, no doubt, an even stronger impression on the political officers at the camp. For this admission was in effect a vote against Russia in favour of the free world. In the summer of 1953, the prisoners were for the first time allowed to order foreign books. And they stood in a long queue to order them. It was, in fact, like a demonstration!

In reality, however, this incident must be regarded as far more than a demonstration. It is the magnificent and striking lesson which the persons enslaved in the slave labour camps teach their slave-drivers, — namely, that one can force the hands of the prisoners in the camps to work for Bolshevism, but their hearts and their souls are with the free world.

Great Britain

I am much obliged for the copy of your monthly Bulletin containing the Obituary Notice of Mr. John F. Stewart. It is pleasing to know that all the work which he undertook as Chairman of the Scottish League for European Freedom has been so much appreciated.

J. S. & J. W. Fraser-Tytler

Australia

. . . and that I am interested in receiving "ABN Correspondence" in future too.

Wolfgang Hoyer

The Ukrainian Liberation Struggle against Russian Imperialism and Communism Today

When it became obvious to the leading active forces of the Ukrainian and other national revolutionary liberation movements after World War II that the policy of the USA and of the other Western Major Powers was directed towards a peaceful settlement and was not in the least disposed to consider seriously the question of supporting the national fight for freedom of Ukraine and the other nations subjugated by Russia, a change took place in the fighting methods of the said liberation movements. In place of the strategy and tactics of armed insurrection, underground tactics and an underground resistance on a broad front, namely in the political, economic, cultural and religious field, were adopted, and these were supplemented by armed action within certain limits and of purely defensive significance. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) concentrated their activity in Ukraine — and similar liberation organizations of other peoples did the same — on the intensification and extension of the fight in all spheres of life and amongst all social classes in order to combat the enemy in *all* fields of national life with all the forces available. Underground propaganda, underground publications — political, educational and even literary (including the collected works of the underground poets), journals for youth and for children, — all this began to prepare the people for a long fight for an aim which was still far off. Propaganda was disseminated in the ranks of the Soviet Army in order to undermine the strength and morale of the latter from within, to aggravate its internal conflicts and, finally, to cause it to disintegrate, as the army of the Soviet imperium, into its national elements. Further features of this underground activity were: resistance against collectivization, economic sabotage and a constant fight for private property for the farmers, support of the two Ukrainian catacomb Churches, the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, influence on the legal forms of cultural activity, resistance against the inevitable process of Russification, moral, psychological and political training and preparation of the masses for an insurrection. In addition, deportations of the population to Siberian concentration camps and to Kazakhstan were used in order to form new resistance centres there, for the purpose of destroying the Soviet Russian peoples' prison and the Communist system from within. The riots of the Ukrainian prisoners in Norylsk (June 1953), in Vorkuta (July 1953), in Kingir (Kazakhstan, June 1954), in Mordovia (September 1955) and in Taishket (1956), for instance, are known to the whole world.

Thus, on principle, the internal contradictions in the Soviet system are made use of for the purpose of bringing about the disintegration of the latter, as can be seen in particular from the fact that deportations to Siberia, to what were formerly the safest centres of Soviet industry,are now taking an unfavourable turn for Moscow' tyrants, inasmuch as the latter are in this way now helping to undermine Siberia's industry themselves and are making their own geopolitical position more complicated; but they see no other way out of their difficulties.

Armed political action is now exclusively subordinated to expediency as regards the defensive, and not as was formerly the case, when such action also had a strategic aim. The far-reaching task of such action consists in expanding and protecting the political revolutionary underground organization and the smaller, armed, auxiliary units, which, if necessary, could develop into an important political and revolutionary and also military force.

As the revolutionary "organizations for national liberation" feel that they have been sadly disappointed by the West, they are working systematically on the realization of a plan for the simultaneous and coordinated anti-imperialistic and anti-Communist revolution for national liberation in all the countries (and in the concentration camps). Moscow's policy of dispersing the best elements of every non-Russian nation is taking a dangerous turn for Moscow itself; for in the new regions to which they are sent, these rebellious elements are rousing the indifferent and are strengthening the faith of the hesitant; they are, as it were, the yeast which is helping the national and social resistance to grow and systematically guiding it in the right direction.

The idea of a common anti-imperialistic and anti-Communist front of all the subjugated nations is thus assuming a real form, — that of a planned, systematic, consistent and continuous preparation of the disintegration of the Bolshevist imperium from within and of its partition into independent national states with a democratic constitution. The ideological, political, psychological and ethical revolution is taking place in all social classes of the peoples subjugated by Moscow; people are becoming more and more conscious of the fact that there can be no social revolution without a national political revo-

lution, no freedom for a subjugated nation without its seizing power on its own soil, no overthrow of Communism without the collapse of the imperium, which at present exists in the form of Communism; for subjugation of the individual, universal collectivization of life, universal state omnipotence and totalitarianism, enslavement of the individual is identical with the enslavement of the entire nation. The national liberation revolution is the national liberation war of the subjugated peoples against the foreign occupant, — against *Russia.*

The confidence of the subjugated nations in the West has been sadly shaken since Hungary was abandoned to the Russian tanks. Synchronized and coordinated anti-imperialistic and anti-Communist revolutions for national liberation, — such is the conception of freedom held by the subjugated nations today. To what extent such revolutions can be successful without help from the West, is a question which we leave to the responsibility of the leading factors of the West before God and history, — but, in this connection, it must be borne in mind that Bolshevism is as great a danger for the West as it is for our nations.

To quote a typical example: the revolutionary detachments for national liberation which in Ukraine waged a two-front war against both Nazist Germany and Soviet Russia, — the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), the Ukrainian Army (UPA), the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR, the underground government of Ukraine which opposed the Kyiv agency government), and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), which was founded on the initiative of the UPA in the forests of Ukraine in 1943, during the two-front war, and which unites the uncompromising and sovereign organizations of the subjugated nations, are ignored by certain circles in the USA, in spite of the fact that they play a very significant part in the anti-Bolshevist campaign. The Communist gangs and the sham government of Ho Chi-minh, for instance, were, it is true, not recognized by the West, but they were acknowledged as "lawful" by the U.S.S.R.; but at the time of the greatest development of the military action of the UPA not a single Western state made the least attempt to recognize either the UPA (on the strength of the Hague Convention of 1899 and 1907, pars. 1 and 2) as a belligerent army, or the UHVR as an independent Ukrainian government which opposed the sham government of Kyiv, — even though this government relied on its own fighting strength and operated on its own native soil.

A similar situation in the fight for freedom also exists in other subjugated countries, namely in Turkestan, Caucasia, Byelorussia (White Ruthenia), Lithuania, Esthonia, Bulgaria, Czechia, and Slovakia, etc., not to mention the magnificent example set by Hungary.

It is by no means a coincidence that the propaganda of the Kremlin constantly stresses the "friendship of the peoples in the U.S.S.R.", which, according to Lenin's words, should be cherished like the apple of one's eye. It is obvious that there is something wrong with this "friendship of the peoples" and that it is precisely the *national problem* which is the real vulnerable spot of the Russian imperium and of Bolshevism; and it is precisely on this problem that the liberation policy of the USA should concentrate.

The nationalism of the subjugated nations which aims at the liberation of peoples is the key to the destruction of the Russian imperium and of Bolshevism. And this nationalism has remained invincible. S. S.

Prof. R. Ostrowski

The Role of the Communist Parties in the West and Their Underground Movement

Conclusion

Whereas the Soviet Union and its satellite states have adapted their entire economy to armament, are not only training every man for military service, but also women, too, and are keeping innumerable divisions in readiness to attack, they are conducting a most elaborate anti-military propaganda in the Western world. The most striking example of this can be seen in the Federal Republic of Germany. From the moment they receive their notification to report at the recruiting office, almost all conscripts are kept constantly supplied with anti-military propaganda: requests to mutiny, to commit acts of sabotage and to desert into the East zone of Germany. The Federal army is ridiculed as an army of mercenaries. Every attempt is made to break the healthy spirit of defence of the peoples, for a defenceless people is an easy booty for world Communism. The Communist parties of Western Europe have an armed force at their disposal. In France, Italy and Spain there are Communist units of considerable size, which at present are camouflaged underground. Their members have been mainly recruited from former partisans. Since 1945, about 180,000 Communists have been trained for sabotage service in trade union (CGT) convalescent homes in France. In Italy no secret is made of the fact

that in the event of war 60,000 partisans would go into the mountains. They have been specially trained to blow up the harbours in the South of France and in Italy in the event of the U.S.S.R. going to war, in order to destroy the naval bases of the American Mediterranean fleet. Their other important task is to blow up the railway lines connecting the Atlantic ports and Germany, in order to disrupt this reinforcements route which is so important for the American and the Federal German armies. Persons who are to carry out special sabotage tasks in Western Germany are being trained in the Soviet occupied zone.

In conslusion I should like to give a brief survey of the true nature of Communism. Communism is in itself a theoretical and practical attempt to found and consolidate by force a world-system of tyranny, exploitation, class hatred and slavery. In its social form it reveals the following characteristics:

1) It divides society into two distinct groups, — the Party and the subjugated people.
2) The Party is the sole monopoly owner of all natural resources, of the entire people, their life and their work, of political power and of cultural life.
3) The Communist Party is purely dictatorial in character. It systematically robs man of his personal freedom, his freedom to work where he pleases, his private initiative and his freedom to live where he chooses. The subjugated people are exploited to the utmost, politically and economically, as the Party sees fit. It deprives every people of their natural right to prosperity.
4) The Communist Party forcibly trains youth to scorn religion and democratic and liberal ideas, good literature and the arts. It seeks to train a new human race with animal instincts and limited demands on life.
5) The Communist administrative apparatus represents a dictator who, with the support of a terrorist apparatus which is only responsible to him, such as the political police, the military, official and secret spy organizations, subjugates the people and profits from their work. His word is law.

Thus, the practices of Communism in the countries that it has subjugated clearly prove the absolute retrogression of historical materialism back to the age of slavery.

As an instrument in the hands of Russian imperialism, world Communism constitutes the greatest danger. And it is backed up by Russian bayonets.

The question to be solved is how to divert this danger! Extreme political vigilance and an open-minded attitude to the human rights of freedom and democracy and to the basic values of the state are, of course, the essential preconditions. The ability to differentiate clearly between various conceptions is no less important. And, above all, the *will* to do so. The political lethargy which to a large extent has overcome the non-Communist peoples, the lack of a genuine community feeling in all the free states and the egocentric attitude to life of the so-called favoured classes constitute the greatest dangers in ourselves. They represent the prelimimnary stage of an imperceptibly increasing, but nevertheless fatal mass capitulation to Bolshevism.

If we resign to our fate, or allow ourselves to be forced into the defensive, then we shall lose the battle in advance! There can be no alternative in this case!

From the Declaration on the Macedonian Question

of the Thirty-Eighth Annual Convention of the Macedonian Patriotic Organisation of the USA and Canada

The present Communist regime of Tito in Yugoslavia has utterly aggravated the situation in Macedonia by imposing decrees which are constantly destroying the traditional cultural, religious and economic life of the people. One of these decrees created a new, so-called "Macedonian" language, which is a clever way to serbianize the Macedono-Bulgarians . . .

There is no freedom of religion in Yugoslav Macedonia. Most of the oldest churches have been turned into museums. The Church is completely subjugated to the State. Priests who do not obey the Communist Government soon find themselves in trouble. The centuries-old Bulgarian Orthodox Churches in Macedonia have been renamed "Macedonian" Orthodox Churches and subjugated to the Serbian Patriarch—which is another way of serbianizing the Macedono-Bulgarians . . .

Press and radio in Skopie, Macedonia, are controlled by the Government. Private enterprise has received a mortal blow; even small shops are taken over by Tito's agents in Macedonia. Tito himself admits constantly that he is a Communist, blood and flesh. In his quarrel with Moscow he presents himself as a better Communist. One would be very naive, indeed, to believe otherwise.

The Greek Government has stubbornly refused to recognize the existence of the Bulgarian-speaking people in Macedonia. All Bulgarian schools and churches which flourished during the time of the Turkish

regime are now taken over by the Greek administration. People are forced to pray and study in Greek instead of Bulgarian. The same fate has befallen the Aroumanians in Macedonia. In the districts of Lerin, Kostour, Voden, Kailari and many other places the population of whole villages is Bulgarian. Any international inquiry commission at any time could verify the presence of Bulgarian-speaking people in Greek Macedonia ...

Thus, contrary to the highly proclaimed humanitarian principles in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights, Macedonia not only remains divided but, very unfortunately, she is experiencing the unbearable yoke of her modern tyrants. The Macedonian Question, this powderkeg of the Balkans, remains unsolved.

What is, then, the solution of the Macedonian Question?

To let the Macedonian people govern themselves by the creation of a free and independent state of Macedonia in the Balkans, organized on the example of the Swiss state—a Switzerland in the Balkans. With the realization of an independent state of Macedonia there will be established justice and pacification of the struggling and liberty-loving people of Macedonia; an end will be put to the century-old Balkan antagonism and wars involved primarily with the struggle for the domination of Macedonia; and a great contribution toward the peace of Europe will be made.

Karl Marx on Russia's Foreign Policy

It is most interesting and informative to read the essays nowadays, which Karl Marx wrote in the "New York Tribune" during the years 1853 to 1856 and which were published in 1897 under the title "The Eastern Question".

After outlining the geographical constants of Russian history, he continues as follows: "Inasmuch as it (Russia) counts on the cowardice and fear of the Western powers, it poses as a swashbuckler and exaggerates its demands as much as possible in order to pretend later that it is magnanimous since it contents itself with more immediate aims." And a little further on, he says: "Russian policy with its traditional cunning and deception may mislead European kingdoms, since the latter themselves are part of tradition, but it is powerless where peoples who have already experienced their revolution (he is here hinting at the American War of Independence) are concerned." Karl Marx had no illusions as regards the highest and ultimate aims of Russia's policy. In a speech which he made in 1867, at a time when it was hoped to restore Poland, Marx, after recalling the events of that fateful year, 1747, affirmed: "There are plenty of naive persons who think that this has changed everything (the expansion urge) and that Poland has ceased to be a "necessary nation", as one writer put it; and it already becomes a historical memory. And, as you know, feelings and memories do not count for much. But I ask you, — what has changed? Has the danger diminished? No, it is only the blindness of the ruling classes of Europe that has reached its zenith. In the first place, Russia's policy is unchangeable, as the official historian and Muscovite, Karamsin, admits. Its methods, its tactics, its manoeuvres may change; but the lodestar of its policy — world domination — is a fixed star."

"Russia — so Karl Marx wrote in an article in the "New York Tribune" — is a conqueror-nation and was one for a century, until a big process in 1789 set a powerful opponent in motion. We are referring to the European revolution, to the explosive force of its democratic ideas and to the innate longing for freedom. Since that time there have really only been two powers in Europe, — Russia and absolutism, revolution and democracy." And this equation still holds good today. It is completely irrelevant whether it is a question of Red or tsarist absolutism.

Great Britain

Following my last letter, I am writing this one to tell you that after I had read the last ABN copy to the end, I came once more to the conclusion that you are doing excellent work and the articles you publish are now on a very good and high level. It is difficult to find a single word of criticism. Mr. O'Connor, Mr. Kosyk, Mr. Durcansky or Admiral P. Botto, all of them spread and support the principles as well as the ABN resolutions passed in Australia, which I studied with great interest.

You cover practically the 5 Continents and you speak frankly on behalf of those who are silent behind the Iron Curtain.

Therefore you must be proud that you have succeeded in building up your ABN and I congratulate you very sincerely and with all my heart.

J. Godlewski
Former Polish Senator

ABN Chronicle

In the spring of 1959, Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky, the President of the Peoples' Council of the ABN, paid a visit to the United States of America, from which he returned with optimistic impressions regarding the possibilities of the activity of the ABN in the USA

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In May this year, the President of the Central Committee of the ABN, Jaroslaw Stetzko, visited Italy (Rome, Bolzano), where, together with the former Bulgarian Minister Christo Stateff, he had talks of an informative nature with Italian friends of the ABN.

*

Dr. Ctibor Pokorny, a member of the Central Committee of the ABN, took part in the Congress of the Academy for Political Training in Tutzing (Germany) at the end of August. The Congress was attended by over 40 participators, including Federal German Bundestag members of the two big parties.

*

In July and August 1959, Jaroslaw Stetzko visited England, where, together with the Vice-President of the Peoples' Council of the ABN, Prof. R. Ostrowski, he had talks with the Ambassadors of Korea and Vietnam and the chief of the Press Bureau of Free China. He also had numerous talks of an informative nature with House of Commons and House of Lords members of the two big British parties, as well as with the famous military writers, Major-General J. F. C. Fuller and Major-General Richard Hilton. In various towns in England Jaroslaw Stetzko held lectures for political emigrants, which were also attended by active British anti-Communists.

*

The 8th Congress of the European Centre for Documentation and Information, which was held in Escorial, Spain, from September 28th to October 4th, 1959, was attended by ABN members Jaroslaw Stetzko and Ferdinand Durcansky. In the general debate Jaroslaw Stetzko explained the attitude of the ABN to the themes of the Congress. Prof. Durcansky also took part in the discussions.

*

On August 30, 1959 the ABN Mission in Free China held a cocktail party in honour of Col. Neil Maclean and Ch. Fletcher, British M.P.'s, which was also attended by numerous high Chinese guests, as well as by the British Consul General and his deputy. In connection with the visit of the British M.P.'s, the members of the ABN Mission were invited to various receptions held by the Chinese.

*

In connection with the proclamation of "Captive Nations Week", the Central Committee of the ABN sent messages of thanks to President Eisenhower, Senator Paul H. Douglas and Congressman Michael A. Feighan.

*

During the Communist Youth Festival in Vienna from July 26 to August 6, 1959, the ABN launched a large-scale counter-campaign, in the course of which numerous leaflets, pamphlets, journals and papers were distributed among participators from behind the Iron Curtain and also from the free world, in their native languages. In addition, oral propaganda activity was also carried on by ABN campaign groups. These groups were assigned to the campaign by the Central Committee of the ABN and by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), which had supplied most of the persons for this activity.

*

On the occasion of the visit of the Kremlin hangman, Khrushchov, to the USA, the American Friends of ABN (AF ABN) held mass demonstrations in various large towns of the USA. Similar mass campaigns were also organized in Canada (in particular in Toronto and Winnipeg).

*

An ABN Conference, at which the new Executive Committee was elected, was held in Toronto on April 25, 1959, The ABN, Canada, has recently started publishing an extremely interesting official organ.

*

U.S. LABOR VOTED TO SHUN KHRUSHCHOV

The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations officially decided to shun any contacts with Premier Khrushchov when he visited the United States.

As one of the reasons for such a decision was emphasized "the basic immoral character of Communism and the brutal suppression by the Soviet dictatorship of human freedoms and democratic rights".

*

It was with great interest that we read the "ABN Correspondence", No. 1/2, January/February, 1959, in which you published an article on the philosophical policy of the President of the Republic of Vietnam.

We should like to thank you very much for the interest which you have in Vietnam and for your valuable contribution towards informing the world on the subject of Vietnam.

We should be very grateful if you would kindly let us have 30 copies of the "ABN Correspondence" (No. 1/2, January/February,

Thanking you in advance, we remain,

Yours sincerely,
Ha Vinh Phuong

Vietnam Embassy, Bonn

From Behind the Iron Curtain

BYELORUSSIA

Russification of the Greek Orthodox Church and Persecution of the Catholic Church

According to information contained in the "Bulletin de l'Académie Internationale Libre des Sciences et des Lettres", Vol. I, No. 3, which is published in Paris, the Greek Orthodox Church in the "Byelorussian Soviet Republic" is at present Russified to such an extent that the Byelorussian language is neither used in sermons nor in the Church administration. At the priests' seminary in Zhurovitsi — the only one in the whole of Byelorussia — which was opened in 1947 (it is, incidentally, officially "supervised" by a representative of the Communist Party), Russian is the only language which is used. Of the four eparchies which in 1944 were approved in the Byelrussian Soviet Republic, only one, that of Miensk (the capital of Byelorussia) is at present occupied; the last bishop, who was of Byelorussian nationality (the Bishop of Pinsk), was arrested in 1950. The following statistics show the present status of the Greek Orthodox Church in Byelorussia as compared to the status in 1917: of the 8 original eparchies, only one still exists, instead of 13 bishops there are now only two, instead of 2,614 parishes there are now only about 200, instead of 4,776 churches as formerly there are now only about 200; the number of priests, formerly 3,080, is now only about 250, and instead of 5 priests' seminaries there is now only 1.

As regards the Roman Catholic Church, there are now only about 20 parishes (in 1917 they numbered 456), but they are only tolerated to a very limited extent; the three former eparchies are all vacant, and the 2 priests' seminaries no longer exist. The number of priests has dropped to about 25 (in 1917 they numbered 917). Recently, the Soviet Byelorussian press has been attacking Catholicism particularly violently as a "foreign" religion.

LATVIA

Latvian Leader dismissed for "Nationalism"

Eduards K. Berklavs, Deputy Premier of Soviet Latvia since 1954, has been dismissed for placing "narrow national interests" ahead of those of the Soviet Union. it was diclosed by Premier Vilis T. Lacis today in an article in "Party Life", organ of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist party.

Mr. Berklavs rose to prominence in Latvia during the heyday of former Soviet Prime Minister G. M. Malenkov.

Premier Lacis said Mr. Berklavs had "favored policies which would have disrupted the economic connections between Latvia and the other Soviet republics and openly attacked the general line of the party, which is to develop heavy industry."

He added: "Unfortunately, we have had leading officials who have attempted to switch development of the Latvian (Soviet) republic from the right road and toward national narrow-mindedness."

UKRAINE

Convincing Proof!

We have learnt that in some of the cinemas in Poland parts of the funeral of Stefan Bandera, the President of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), have been shown in the weekly news reel.

It would be interesting to know whether the Bolsheviks themselves made a film of the funeral, or whether the film in question was bought from a Western film distributing company. But one fact is certain, — namely, that the purpose of showing this film in cinemas in Poland, where there are many Ukrainians, is to convince the population that the President of the Ukrainian Nationalists is dead. This is also corroborated by the fact that the Bolshevist local, district and regional papers in West Ukraine publish detailed reports on the death of Stefan Bandera, which, of course, contain false information (namely, that he was poisoned by the Germans).

*

OUN Members Arrested

In October this year, the Russian Bolshevist press published a report to the effect that the Russian security police in Volhynia had arrested certain so-called "bandits" of the defense service of the OUN and was investigating charges against them. The following names were mentioned: Andrij *Kosheluk* (of Richtyzja in Volhynia), Petro *Makovetzkvj*, *Luhynskyj*, Ivan *Kobetz*, Mykola *Kipinj*, and Feoktyst *Dejnyka*. The places where these persons had carried on their activity were given as: Ratno, Chotiushiv. Mokryn, Karteljisy and Krasylivka, etc.

In this connection the fact must be stressed that the Russian Bolshevist government, which recently has fiercely attacked the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, some months before the death of Stefan Bandera got the Polish Communist press to start a defamatory campaign, too. They constantly tried to show up the OUN and its leaders in as unfavourable a light as possible and described atrocities which had never occurred, in order to stir up hatred amongst the Ukrainian people against the OUN. In this way they prepared the Ukrainian population for the murder which had already been planned.

The purpose of the latest reports by the Bolshevist papers about the arrest of OUN members is the same: they are likewise intended to prepare the population for further Bolshevist deeds!

It is to be feared that Moscow will not content itself with the death of Stefan Bandera, but will continue to pursue its murderous course and will try to liquidate the other leaders of the fight for freedom.

*

Arrested or Imprisoned?

In the previous edition of "ABN Correspondence" we reported that, according to information broadcast by Radio Warsaw, the commander of a UPA detachment, Ivan Spontak, had been extradited to the Polish Communist government. The Russian paper in Poland, "Ruskij Holos" ("Russian Voice"), in this connection writes as follows in its edition of November 7th:

"In 1947, when the detachments of the Polish Army and of the People's Police practically annihilated the leading forces of the UPA gang (the gang operated in the district of Riashiv), their leader, Spontak, fled to Czechoslovakia and hid in the village of Wellke Kapusane, in the district of Priashiv."

If, however, we consider the reports published by the press of the free world, according to which Moscow was forced to use paratroops and tanks against the Ukrainian insurgents in Carpatho-Ukraine, and also the statements made by the American journalists, Horst Pecell and Paul McKiel (reported in the "Sunday Star Ledger" in its edition of September 27, 1959), about the trials against the Ukrainian insurgents in Kyiv, then it can be assumed that Commander Spontak was not arrested as a civilian, but was captured whilst fighting, possibly after he had been wounded.

His extradition to the Polish Communist government took place shortly after the events in Carpatho-Ukraine and in East Slovakia (in the district of Priashiv), where combats on the part of Russian troops against the UPA, which were described as "manoeuvres", occurred.

BOOK-REVIEWS

Tran Tam: The Storm Within Communism. Free Pacific Edition, Saigon, Vietnam, December 1958. 151 pp.

The author, who is the Secretary-General of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, here presents an informative book which deals with the situation within the Communist parties in several countres of Europe and Asia and with their internal quarrels about revisionism and anti-revisionism. The valuable and accurate information which he has collected provides the reader with an excellent documentation of the struggle for power which is going on within the Communist ranks.

It is stressed that the Communist world of today is no longer the homogeneous bloc of the Lenin-Stalin era, as formerly extolled by Communist leaders, since this bloc has now formidable enemies from within who are undermining Communist solidarity. Events of recent years have clearly demonstrated the undeniable fact that the Communist ideologists have taken divergent paths: there are, for instance, those who supported the Hungarian Communist Nagy and his adherent Maleter, who broke away from the Party, resisted Party orders and pointed the way to a better existence than that promised by the old Communism. There are others who oppose the mechanical application of Marxist-Leninist principles. This has happened in the very centre of Communism in Russia and China where forcible rectification campaigns have proved necessary. Many Communists reject the Marxist-Leninist doctrine as outmoded and demand that the so-called "pure form" of Communism should be revised.

The break of 1948 between Tito of Yugoslavia and Stalin (or rather the Russian-Chinese Communist axis) has become a formal opposition in every respect: adherents of both sides have resorted to vociferous attacks, vituperation and so on. Belgrade and Russia (together with Red China) have become "foes", – they are no longer "comrades". It is very doubtful whether Moscow will continue to be the headquarters of the Communist world; perhaps it will be superseded by Belgrade or Peking if the ideological quarrels within the Communist world continue to persist.

The opinions expressed by the author are indeed extremely valuable and interesting, but we should, nevertheless, like to stress that he grossly neglects the national problem within the so-called Soviet Union. The subjugated nations, who continue their struggle for liberation from Soviet Russian enslavement, unabated, constitute the real vulnerable spot of the Soviet Russian imperium. And it is extremely regrettable that the great anti-Communist powers have not perceived this vulnerable spot in the edifice of the huge Soviet Russian peoples' prison.

The book is lavishly illustrated. The map on page 16, in our opinion, should however indicate which peoples are being forced by the Red Russians to live within the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is like a sack full of cats that are trying to escape from their enforced imprisonment. And the peoples of Asia should realize this basic truth about the Soviet Union, in which the non-Russian peoples constitute more than half the total population.

W. O.

Lin Yutang: **The Secret Name.** Farrar, Straus and Kudahy, New York, 1958. 268 pp.

This book by the Chinese essayist and publicist Lin Yutang, who writes in English and is well-known in North America, is undoubtedly one of the most outstanding books on the U.S.S.R. which has ever been published. In ten chapters the author discusses the political, social, economic, national and ethical problems of the Soviet Union and Bolshevist tyranny and, in doing so, shows an excellent knowledge of his subject, strict objectivity and an admirably fluent and forceful literary style. It is true that he owes much to his carefully chosen sources, which include such works, for instance, as "The New Class" by Milovan Djilas[1]); but, at the same time, he himself is also a master of the art of interesting narration and striking and pithy formulation of ideas[2]); and numerous individual sections of his book (as, for instance, the one on the "technique of indirect aggression" and the ones entitled "Hitler-Stalin parallels" and "The Labor Clock 1900–1960") are truly masterpieces of modern historiography. Throughout his book – in keeping with its title – the author stresses in particular the internal and external mendacity of the Bolshevist world, the very opposite of the Confucian ideal of the state built up on civic and individual moral principles.

But even so, the author, unfortunately, depends on the type and trend of his sources to such an extent that, consequently, the treatment given to the various sections of his book is unequal. The political and economic aspect is dealt with in a far more thorough and detailed manner than is the social aspect, and the national problem in the U.S.S.R., about which the author seems to be informed almost exclusively by the books of William Henry Chamberlain (an excellent source, but one which in this case is, of course, by no means adequate enough), only occupies a very modest place in the book; a fact which is all the more regrettable as the author's starting-point for his arguments is in principle faultless and he would have been in a position, had he gathered more information on this question, to emphasize this extremely important, indeed decisive, aspect of the Bolshevist imperium, which is intentionally and unintentionally neglected in the Western literature on the Soviet Union, in a fitting manner. He talks unreservedly about "colonial governments" ("comprising many originally independent peoples") not only in the three Baltic states and in the so-called satellite states, but also in Georgia, Ukraine, Armenia, Azerbaijan, the Turkestanian states and Mongolia (p. 55); indeed, he affirms that the chief motive of Soviet Russian imperialism is the "human desire for **nationalism**[3]), forcing the monopoly-capitalist system into colonial expansion, with development of a political sphere of influence, . . . and for the emotional satisfaction of nationalistic egotism and glory" (p. 58). Of the "positive" principles of an ideological war against one of the most important is worded as follows: Communism which are formulated by the author, "An ideological war should closely identify itself with the people of the area and express their national aspirations, especially for national independence".

About Ukraine in particular the author says comparatively little, but when he does refer to this country, he reveals an obvious feeling of solidarity with it.

On the other hand, however, we find a peculiar misunderstanding on the part of the author on p. 189, where he affirms that Ukraine, in spite of its "treaty of alliance" of December 28, 1920, with the U.S.S.R., was "forcibly annexed" by the latter on December 30, 1922, namely "by direct aggression"(!). It is obvious that the first date refers to the treaty of alliance between the Ukrainian Soviet Republic (that is Bolshevist) and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (R.S.F.S.R.), whereas the second date refers to the founding of the U.S.S.R., which prior to 1922 did not exist legally at all. The author is obviously unaware of this, just as he appears to be unaware of the fact that the "de jure" recognition of the Ukrainian National Republic by the Russian Soviet Government was on December 4, 1917, and that this treaty was already violated by the latter on December 17, 1917, by its ultimatum and military attack. It is thus hardly surprising that the author describes the entire Ukrainian national fight for freedom during the years 1917 to 1921 merely as "civil war" (p. 41).

We sincerely hope, however, that this and similar errors are merely due to lack of information, but not to ill-will on the part of the author; we base our assumption in this respect on the conclusions drawn by the author, which we herewith quote:

"An Anti-Communist International United Policy must take a firm stand on the **liberation of nations** subjected at present to Russian imperialism, both in Eastern Europe and in Central Asia" (p. 246). "It is the simple force among her subjected peoples which Russia will have to reckon with and which will rise to crush the Russian Empire as surely as the sun rises in the morning" (p. 208).

V. Derzhavyn

Walter Leifer: **Asien, Erdteil der Entscheidung** (Asia, the Continent of Decisive Factors). Marienburg-Verlag, Würzburg, 1957. 224 pp.

The sensational title gives one a wrong idea of the book; for what, after all, is the "Continent Asia"? Geographically, there is the continent of Eurasia, but in cultural and political respect there are a whole series of fundamentally different "Asias", and that which one nowadays calls "Asianism" is nothing but an only partly justifiable hatred against European colonialism and, above all, a concealed, and, for this reason, dangerous, inferiority complex towards Europe and America. There is no such thing as a uniform "Asiatic" mentality, not even in the sense in which one can speak of a European-American mentality; and that which one calls "Asiatic" really refers to everything on the old continent which is neither European nor Africa: that is to say, it is a purely negative concept.

The extent to which the author himself is influenced by senseless pseudo-terminology, however, can be seen from the fact that he affirms that Stalin, the "born Georgian" and "Caucasian", is also a typical "Asian" (p. 191); and, what is more, he even goes so far as to write as follows:

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[1]) Incidentally, he also uses some obscure sources (as, for instance, the alleged memoirs of the former NKVD-man Alexander Orlov, "Secret History of Stalin's Crimes"), but only uses the credible information they contain.

[2]) A standard example: "The simplest summing up of the economy of the USSR is in two words: **sputnik** and **hunger.**"

[3]) We would, of course, prefer to say Russian **chauvinism;** but actually the author means the same thing.

"Thus, he (Stalin) combined the Communist claim to a socialist world state with the religious idea of the Russian mission to mankind and with Messianist ideas which prevailed amongst his Georgian fellow-countrymen" (p. 192). – But what have the Georgians to do with **Russian** Messianism? And, in any case, there has never been such a thing as Georgian Messianism.

In spite of this fact, however, the book has a certain value because of the information it contains for the general public, – though not in every chapter. The author does not claim to have any encyclopedic knowledge; and, accordingly, the chapters on Turkey and Japan are fairly meagre and vague (the chapter on Japan, incidentally, also shows traces of the atom bomb hysteria which is, unfortunately, all too frequent in West Germany). In view of the events of the past three years, the chapters on the Arab countries are entirely out-of-date. And the chapter on the state of Israel is likewise unsatisfactory: the author expresses his opinions from a definitely denominational (Christian) point of view and does not do justice to the actual political facts. And how can the failure of the experiment with the Jewish "autonomous region of Birobijan" be regarded as evidence to the contrary of the national political ability of the Jews today (p. 126), if it is an established fact that this Bolshevist experiment was nothing but a camouflaged attempt at genocide on a large scale?

Nor does the author give one any clear information on the subject of China. It is, however, pleasing to note that the author does at least clearly recognize the **Russian** national character of Bolshevism ("World Communism – to be sure – is only Moscow!" p. 198), and has no illusions, as regards the notorious "Russian soul"[1]), and, moreover, definitely stresses the colonial character of Soviet Russian rule in North and Central Asia, together with the more or less forcibly introduced Russification and denationalization: "The peoples of non-Communist Asia stare at the smoking chimney-stacks beyond the Pamirs. They do not know that in the so-called Soviet evolution of a people, races are destroyed by a precipitate industrialization, which makes the native population unskilled labourers and members of other races the lords and masters of "their" republic, and that these persons begin to lose their soul in the process of technical development" (p. 39). The author also gives a fairly objective account of the heroic national anti-Russian insurrections in Turkestan (pp. 36-37). But then we suddenly encounter the "Soviet experiences in dealing with nomadic peoples, who were suddenly led by the Soviets from a passive historical existence to a certain historical role" (p. 107), – a statement which is sheer mockery of the historical truth. And there is, unfortunately, not a trace of understanding on his part for the international political significance of the anti-Russian national struggle of the subjugated peoples in the U.S.S.R.

Be that as it may, however, the author has devoted a number of pages, which are an expression of sincere feeling, to the great leaders of the anti-Russian and anti-Communist fight in the Far East, – to the noble personalities of Chiang Kai-shek, Ngo Dinh Diem and Syngman Rhee. And the characterization, presented in the final chapter, of the Communist parties in the non-Communist countries of Asia and, above all, of their tactics, strength and efficiency, definitely has a certain current value. **V. D.**

[1]) "If one gives Russia the chance to do evil, she will astonish the world by her misdeeds", he quotes from Dostoievsky.

W a l t e r L e i f e r : Weltprobleme am Himalaya. Eine Entscheidungszone der Gegenwart im Spiel der Menschengeschichte. (World Problems of the Himalayan Territory. A Decisive Zone at present in the Game of the History of Mankind.) Marienburg-Verlag, Würzburg, 1959. 182 pp.

There can be no denying the fact that this book – the latest work of the much-travelled West German publicist, Walter Leifer, who has already written a great deal about present-day Asia, in spite of its bombastic title (and sub-title) contains a lot that is fundamentally true: for instance, the author by no means underrates the world danger of Bolshevist imperialism, and – a rare occurrence in West German publicism – he even stresses the colonialist character of this "red" imperialism (and also of the tsarist Russian imperialism which preceded it).

But from this correct deduction the author does not draw the correspondling conclusions, nor does he seem to want to do so. He is a typical professional journalist, who in no way wishes to offend the governments of the countries in which he has travelled and in which he will in all probability travel again in the near future. This, for instance, is the reason for his enthusiastic glorification of the "new India" and for the fact that he makes no mention whatever of the abominable attitude of the Indian government as regards the Hungarian revolution of 1956 or of the even more abominable and, indeed, treacherous attitude of this government towards Tibet. He likewise intentionally keeps silent about the Soviet infiltration in Afghanistan and the Communist infiltration in Indonesia. On the other hand, the author has apparently never travelled to Taiwan (Formosa) and has no desire to do so; hence, Free China is non-existent as far as he is concerned.

What, then, does the author suggest as a political panacea, as "the only salvation for that part of the world which has not yet been subjected to Communist subjugation"? – A "Synthesis Policy in the supra-state economic sphere" is what he advocates: one should give the pro-Western and the anti-Western countries (or, to be more exact, governments) exactly the same economic help in order to prompt them to form supra-national federations amongst themselves; for example, a "synthesis between the Arabs and the state of Israel", a "federation of the three Arab-Berber countries", an "Aegean federation" of Greece and Turkey ("with Constantinople as the capital") and similar ridiculous unions, which, in the author's opinion, "would lead to an easing of political differences and territorial claims"; for "no one will turn a deaf ear to a well-disposed and peaceable policy of suggestions" (p. 181).

The author has thus not drawn any lesson at all from Nasser's and Kassem's policy, nor, in fact, from the complete fiasco of the notorious "Eisenhower doctrine" and the UN negotiations of the ridiculous "Mr. H.".

Incidentally, these are not the crazy ideas of a scholar who has no experience of the world, which are here offered to the opportunism of the average West European reader, but those of an incorrigible dilettante; for however much the author may endeavour to show off his knowledge of Oriental affairs and conditions, he fails hopelessly in practically every chapter. For instance, he calls the capital of Kazakhstan Ata-Alma (instead of Alma Ata – "Father of the Apples"), and he splits up the Turkestanian word for "settlement" into "Kischlak"; these two examples clearly show that he has not the least idea of the morphology and syntax of the Turco-Tatar languages. **V. D.**

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Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

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Memorable Words by Cardinal Ottaviani

In a sermon which Cardinal Ottaviani, the Prefect of the Roman Congregation of the Holy Office, held recently, he expressed the following striking and impressive opinion. Taking as his starting-point the conception of the Peace of Christ, which is indivisible, he said:

"As long as Cain can kill his brother Abel again and again without anyone being seized with just wrath; as long as it is possible to keep whole nations subjugated without anyone going to the aid of those who are subjugated; as long as freedom-loving students, peasants and workers, whose only crime was that they loved the freedom which was suppressed by Soviet tanks, are still sentenced to death three years after the Hungarian revolution, without the world being horrified and indignant, there can be no talk of a true peace, but only of tacit agreement and coexistence with the butchers who are continuing their work unhindered. The frequency and the power of crime have impaired the Christian feeling of even the Christians themselves. Can one content oneself with some kind of appeasement if, in the first place, there is no appeasement in the hearts of mankind, in the primordial feeling of respect for conscience and faith and, in our case, for the Countenance of Christ, which is once more being stoned, mocked and crowned with thorns? Can one stretch out one's hand to those who do so? Politicians and statesmen who hold highly responsible positions know that in half of Europe there is no freedom at all; they also know that we are exposed to absolute and uncontrollable arbitrariness and thus to the possibility of apocalyptical abysses. They know all this and yet they seem to be willing to tolerate the initiative of others and to remain at variance among themselves, as if, for sheer fright, they had been deprived of their pride and their reason . . ."

Release Committee For Cuban Anti-Communists

A group of South American and North American patriots have formed an "Inter-American Emergency Committee" in New York for the purpose of seeking the release of Dr. Ernesto de la Fé, Cuban anti-Communist leader, and his friends from Cuban prisons.

The committee is headed by Mr. Pedro de Mesones, a Peruvian journalist.

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Niko Nakashidze

Moscow's Coexistence Swindle

When the US Congress passed its "Captive Nations Week" resolution and the latter was proclaimed by President Eisenhower, Nikita Khrushchov flew into a rage and affirmed with considerable vehemence that such a resolution could only have been invented by capitalist and imperialist agitators, since, as he alleged, there were no subjugated nations in the Soviet Union, which was a union of free peoples. He likewise attacked and abused the Western "militarists". But in the West most people are no longer likely to swallow such assertions on his part, for they have gradually become more clear-sighted and discerning. They now see through such ruses, for the true facts about conditions as they really are can no longer be concealed.

Details of the sufferings and hardships imposed on the subjugated peoples and individuals who have been robbed of their freedom, have even seeped through the Iron Curtain.

The well-known French statesman, A. Francois-Poncet, writing about excesses on the part of Khrushchov, said: "This violence on the part of the Soviet Premier is not justified. His outbursts of fury and abuse make one wonder whether his conscience is clear." He then brings up the question of how Khrushchov can possibly imagine that the world will believe his allegation that the subjugated peoples "willingly bear their lot and are so happy that they wish for no other" ("The Subjugated Peoples Demand Freedom", in "Der Europäische Osten" of January, 1960). And yet there are certain circles in the West who listen to the Russian absolute ruler and despot and believe his assurances of peace. But they fail to realize that Khrushchov intends to preserve the peace as he sees fit and to determine the international political situation in his own way. Moscow's ruthless aims have been clearly evident in the statements made by Khrushchov recently. And even the Western coexistentialist politicians and publicists have been alarmed at them, for the Russian bear has revealed itself in all its cruelty and brutality.

Khrushchov's coexistence is the preservation of the present status quo, that is to say, the preservation of the Russian colonial imperium, called the Soviet Union, and of Russian rule over the peoples in its sphere of influence. Khrushchov's entire "coexistence" and "peace policy", as A. Francois-Poncet points out in the above-mentioned article, aims "to reach an agreement" which would be identical "with fixing the European status quo for good and shattering all the hopes of the subjugated peoples".

And even then there would be no lasting peace, for the present problems would not be solved in this way, but merely postponed, and, to quote A. Francois-Poncet, "in that case the conscience of the Western peoples would never rest. For if they were to sacrifice the right of the nations to self-determination, they would be abandoning their own principles and ideals and their own way of life. Our peoples have no intention of doing this!"

Such is the opinion of a great representative of the European spirit and of French traditions, but his words must be accepted with certain reservations, although we wish it were otherwise.

We believe that the Western Christian civilized world will one day resume its ethical and political principles and traditions, but, unfortunately, that is not the case at present. The policy of today is determined by economic factors and by reasons of expediency; ethical and legal factors are no longer decisive, and, accordingly, a certain class in the Western world is obsessed by the idea of coexistentialism and

hopes for a peaceful coexistence with the Russian Communist power. They are only concerned with "sacro egoismo". Not merely for our own sakes, but also in the interests of the free peoples themselves are we endeavouring to enlighten the Western public as to how dangerous such views and hopes are.

"Assurances of peace" on the part of Khrushchov are always mingled with brutal threats and, on the whole, his declarations are only threats. "We are the strongest power in the world" — he declared at a reception for the Italian President Gronchi. High hopes were set on this visit, but nothing much has come of it.

Khrushchov is endeavouring to attain peace for himself, but not for the Western world; for the Western world Khrushchov's peace would only be a temporary armistice until Moscow had worn down this world and made it ripe for defeat. At present, however, Moscow needs to gain time, for, on the one hand, the subjugated peoples are only waiting for a favourable opportunity to revolt, and, on the other hand, the state apparatus is not functioning satisfactorily. Atomic bombs alone are not enough, — people are needed to conduct a war, and our peoples have not the least desire to die for Moscow. And in addition, there is the problem of transport, and food, which even in peacetime is scarce, is also needed for the army and the peoples.

But Khrushchov does as though everything is lovely in the garden and takes this opportunity to assume his usual threatening attitude. A few days ago, the Soviet Ambassador Smirnov handed the German Federal government a note which stated that the Soviet government was prepared to give the German Democratic Republic "the necessary support to defend the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic", that is to say, to proceed with violence. And to think that there are still plenty of foolish persons in the Federal Republic who believe that something might be achieved by negotiating with the Soviets!

As far as Moscow is concerned, a situation created by brute violence is a "reality" and a "legal state", and objections on the part of the West, which are based on the legal and ethical principles that hold good in the civilized world, are decried by the Kremlin rulers as "unrealistic", or else are refuted with threats.

The Kremlin rulers pose as the advocates of the freedom of the African peoples, but they themselves keep countless peoples in dreadful slavery and rob them of all human rights and degrade them to the level of animals. A. Francois-Poncet's comment in this connection is: "It is indeed ironical for them to advise others to apply the right of self-determination, when they themselves refuse to tolerate this right within their own frontiers." But such comments fail to move Khrushchov & Co., for they are devoid of all moral principles and scruples. One cannot expect dictators who have caused millions of persons to be murdered to have any sense of justice or to regard moral principles as valid!

Khrushchov's deputy, Mikoyan, formerly Stalin's loyal henchman, recently held a lecture before students in Oslo and had the audacity to affirm that the hands of the Hungarian students who fled abroad after the revolution in 1956 were stained with blood. He was thereupon shouted down by the Norwegian students. This was the answer of Europe's youth to the Moscow hangman, and the fact that he was received in audience by the King of Norway immediately after his lecture was to little avail, for it did not help him to prove that Moscow enjoys any prestige or esteem. The people in the West have long since begun to see the Soviet Union in its true colours and can no longer be deceived.

Even those who refused to admit the Soviet danger, now recognize the aims of the Russian Communist power. In the documents of the German Social Democratic Party which were published recently, it was affirmed that the aim of the Communists is *not* "the peaceful coexistence of states and various governments, but

the subversion and weakening of the Western powers and the expansion and strengthening of the Soviet power".

For years we have represented this view-point and were accordingly decried as radical nationalists, but now it transpires that this attitude is thoroughly democratic. We state this fact not because we wish to rehabilitate ourselves or justify ourselves, but because we should like to express our gratification in this respect.

We have never opposed any Western policy for reasons of party politics or doctrines, nor have we ever intended leading an opposition against any political trend in the West. We think and act in the national interests of our peoples and we are only fighting against the Russian usurpers and Communists of every kind and against their Fifth Column in the West.

We have never been in the least disposed to be hostile to the Americans, for the simple reason that America has been the only Major Power which could oppose the Russian Soviet power. And the fact that America on principle has recognized the right of every people to independence has been decisive, as far as our attitude to that country is concerned. It was our hope, however, that America would proclaim the right of our peoples to the restoration of their independence. And, in keeping with their ethical and legal principles, the USA have realized that our peoples cannot be denied the right to state freedom. The USA have given expression to and corroborated this recognition by the "Captive Nations Week" resolution of the US Congress, a measure which must be regarded as being of great historical significance.

Since we are thoroughly acquainted with conditions behind the Iron Curtain and with all the historical, legal and political factors there, we consider it fitting to enlighten the Western public and to warn them against harbouring any illusions.

It is an illusion and definitely erroneous and dangerous, even for the free world, to hope that a lasting peace can be reached with the Russians and that coexistence can be bought at the expense of the subjugated peoples. And even if this were possible, it would, in the first place, as A. Francois-Poncet says, "not be a firm and lasting peace" . . . "A true peace would only be strong and lasting if it were based on the free expression of opinion and approval of the peoples and if, consequently, there were then no more subjugated peoples". And, in the second place, Moscow has no intention of letting the "capitalist" world live in peace and tolerating its existence permanently. Thus, the coexistence of these two worlds is nothing but a swindle.

The free world possesses strong and loyal allies in the Russian sphere of influence, — namely, the subjugated peoples. Hence, the policy of the West must be directed towards the latter.

In expressing the attitude of the ABN towards the US Congress resolution on "Captive Nations Week", we wrote as follows: "The true character of the Bolshevist danger to the world has at last been recognized and the way to eliminate this danger has now been discovered by the leading American world power!" . . . "In order to overcome this danger, however, one must not merely demand that individuals should rise up in revolt against the Communist system of terrorism which has been enforced on them, but one must, above all, kindle the national liberation revolution amongst all the enslaved peoples of the Russian Bolshevist despotic imperium" . . . "It is, therefore, high time that the West made use of the immeasurable potential of the urge to freedom of the non-Russian peoples incarcerated behind the Iron Curtain, in order to put an end to the present world crisis" . . . "A sincere desire to bring about an international easing of the tension can only be realized by eradicating the *basic cause* of all tension, — namely the inflated aggressive Soviet colonial imperium".

An Appeal to Freedom-Loving Mankind

The murder of the illustrious Ukrainian leader, *Stepan Bandera*, committed by the MVD by poisoning him on October 15th in Munich, cannot fail to arouse the indignation of freedom-loving mankind. Moscow has added another crime to the series of its misdeeds. Once again, the human rights and fundamental freedoms have been violated, which, in the constitutions of the truly democratic states, are assured not only their citizens, but also those who are not citizens of these states, — as is also confirmed by the Basic Law of the German Federal Republic, which states: "Everyone has the right to life and to physical security. The freedom of person is inviolable".

There can be no doubt about the fact that the murder of Stepan Bandera was committed for political reasons. As leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), an organization which is fighting for the liberation of Ukraine and for the restoration of its democratic state order, he stood in the vanguard of the fighters for the freedom of peoples and individuals. Stepan Bandera's ideas so appealed to the Ukrainian people and to other peoples enslaved by Moscow that his name has become a symbol of the present anti-Russian fight of Ukraine for its state independence and for the freedom of individuals and synonymous with the resistance against the despotic regime in the people's prison of the U.S.S.R. Stepan Bandera derived his great moral strength from the profound religiousness that was characteristic of him. The doctrine of Christianity was an inseparable part of bis mentality. Faith in God and Christian moral principles determined all his actions; his profound patriotism and nationalism were one with his character and his Christianity.

If it is a question of existence or non-existence for the Moscow imperium, the Russian imperialists do not hesitate to commit a crime; thus, for instance, Bolshevist criminals murdered the head of the Ukrainian state, Simon Petlura, in Paris (May 1926), and his successor in the fight for freedom of Ukraine, Eugen Konovalets, in Rotterdam (May 1938); this is corroborated by recent history, by the events in East Berlin, Poznan or Hungary, or by the ruthless suppression of the revolts of the political prisoners in the concentration camps of Siberia and Kazakhstan, — revolts which were led by Ukrainian freedom fighters, adherents of Stepan Bandera. However inconvenient it might have been as far as Bolshevist propaganda was concerned, to let the leader of the fight for freedom of the Ukrainian people be murdered at a time when the so-called peaceful coexistence and complete disarmament is being propagated, — Moscow nevertheless decided to take this step and, in doing so, thus disclosed that it regards the idea of the fight for the freedom of peoples and individuals as a deadly danger to itself.

On the other hand, however, Moscow used the coexistence atmosphere in the free world to advantage for this murder, since it was convinced that no Western power would wish to disturb the deceptive "peace atmosphere" by opposing the murderers in the Kremlin and rising up in defence of the human ideals of Stepan Bandera and his sacrifice. We, however, still believe that there is something noble and good in Christian mankind and hence we appeal to all those to whom freedom is dear *to condemn unreservedly the murder of Stepan Bandera as an act of treachery* and also as a flagrant violation of Article 55c of the Charter of the UN, as well as of the Geneva Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted and proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations, December 10, 1948, Article 3, which states "Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person", and of the European Convention on Human Rights, — and thus as a crime against mankind. Of course, no action can restore this husband and father who has been

murdered to his sorrowing widow and children, just as it cannot restore to Ukraine the undaunted fighter for its natural right to lead an independent life of its own amidst free peoples; *but the question at issue here is justice, which is indivisible.*

Any tolerance towards Moscow's crime is not only identical with discriminating between the highest human values, such as human rights and basic freedoms, but also with supporting the plans of the arch-enemy of freedom-loving mankind, who is seeking to subjugate the whole world to his rule and who wants to see godless Communism triumph everywhere.

At Headquarters, October 24, 1959.

The Presidium of the Units Abroad of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

Chinese Freedom Day

A message from Chairman *Ku Cheng-kang*, of the Committee of Civic Organizations of Republic of China in Support of Struggle for Freedom Behind the Iron Curtain.

"On January 23, 1954, over 22,000 Chinese and Korean anti-Communist POWs in the Korean War (of whom over 14,000 were Chinese), due to the insistence on the part of the United Nations on the principle of voluntary repatriation and to the support rendered them by all justice-loving people the world over, regained their freedom after a long struggle against the Chinese Communist "brain-washing". To commemorate this FREEDOM DAY of historical significance, we, the people of all walks of life in the Republic of China, have every year on this day held a mass meeting together with other celebration activities to mark this memorable occasion. While the intention is to extend celebrations to the anti-Communist POWs of the Korean War who denounced the tyrannical Communist rule and to those who escaped from behind the Iron Curtain by tens of thousands in each of the past years, our primary purpose is to work, by means of enlarging this freedom campaign, for the freedom of those who are still being enslaved behind the Iron Curtain. The forthcoming Sixth Anniversary of the ANTI-COMMUNIST FREEDOM DAY, which will fall on January 23, 1960, is of particular significance. In view of the fact that the Chinese Communists are now extending their aggression on Asia by armed forces with an aim to achieve their sinister plot to communize the whole world, and with a view to responding to the "CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK" movement, initiated by US President Eisenhower, we intend, as the main objective of our commemoration activities on this occasion, to intensify our support to the peoples on the Chinese mainland and in other parts of the Communist-occupied areas throughout the world in their anti-Communist revolutionary movements.

In the meantime, we wish to further point out that in this support-rendering movement of ours, the ideas embodied therein are:

1. We not only intend to expose the Communist aggressive plots in Asia and the Chinese Communist tyrannical rule on the mainland in the past years, but also wish to call upon the peoples of the free world to jointly heighten their alertness, further strengthen anti-Communist consolidation and help the 800,000,000 people, now being enslaved behind the Iron Curtain in the East and West, to regain their freedom.

2. The liberation of the Chinese mainland and other Communist-occupied areas throughout the world can not merely depend on the upsurge of peoples' anti-Communist revolutionary movements behind the Iron Curtains in the East and West, but should also depend on active support that comes from the free world.

3. The tearing down of the Iron Curtain in Asia and the Iron Curtain in Eastern Europe are correlated. Hence, we should consolidate our forces of justice throughout the world and fight to the bitter end in order to achieve our objective of restoring freedom to all the Communist-enslaved people".

To the Editor

We read each issue of the Newsletter with real interest and wish to send you our compliments upon the fine job you are doing in alerting people against the disease of international Communism. It was a great blow to the cause of Freedom when one of your leaders, Bandera, was struck down by a Communist assassin.

John K. Crippen, Executive Secretary, ACLA,

Member, Free China Committee, U.S.A.

Address

by Jaroslaw Stetzko

during the General Debate at the 8th Congress of the European Centre for Documentation and Information in Escorial, Spain.

"We shall either be victorious together, or else we shall perish one after another!"

To supplement what has been said so far, I should like to add a few ideas in order to show you some of the political problems connected with West Europe, as seen from the point of view of a spokesman of the peoples subjugated by Bolshevism.

I should like to express my opinion on the problem of Europe, on the question of the subjugated peoples (including East Germany) as a world problem and on the possibility of finding a solution to the confused international situation.

By way of introduction I should like to quote the words of a great Frenchman, namely E. Renan, who in September 1870 said:

"The spiritual and moral strength of Europe lies in the cooperation between France, Germany and England; unitedly these powers will, in a decided manner, direct their attention to another power — namely to Russia! . . .

It is influenced by its old aim of longing which it cherishes. Moscow resembles the dragon of the Apocalypse and will one day drag the subjects of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane into its clutches" . . .

Renan exhorts the descendants of his contemporaries to think seriously about the near future as regards the Slav peoples conquered by Russia, who, as he says, "are all heroic and courageous and have no desire to be commanded and to be incorporated in the big Russian conglomeration . . ."

These words express a profound European thought, and one cannot fail to admire the great foresight of this outstanding French thinker as regards the European idea, which is now occupying the minds of Europeans more and more.

All efforts to establish a union of West Europe are extremely desirable, particularly from the point of view of a global anti-Bolshevist fight. The union of West Europe is likely to have the greatest moral influence on the strengthening of the resistance of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain. And for this reason the radiative power of a united West Europe must not be underrated. To surmount the difficulties which still exist is thus in the interests of a successful fight against Bolshevism. I am of the opinion that all the problems of the world today must be regarded in the light of a struggle with Russia and Communism which must be won!

The All-European Problem

The frontiers of Europe must not be determined according to the position of the Russian occupation armies at a given time. There is no great difference between the demarcation of the European frontiers of 1939 and that of the frontiers of 1945.

West Germany is a border-country of the free Occident, but Germany as a whole is not the frontier of the Occident; to express myself more precisely and to correct the formulation put forward in a lecture which was, incidentally, excellent, I should like to stress: Europe extends as far as European culture and European values, which in content are determined by heroic Christianity and Greek-Roman ideology, have been experienced by peoples and individuals and, if necessary, defended with their lives.

The struggle for Europe is being fought not only in Berlin, Warsaw or Budapest, but also in Kiev, in Ukraine. And, indeed, no less in the concentration camps of

Siberia, where the best Europeans, forgotten by the West, are languishing; they have, however, not abandoned their European character, but still profess it courageously again and again!

The rule is and remains, — a people, an individual, who profess their adherence to Europe, are Europeans! They cannot be excluded from the European family of peoples.

Recognition of this fact is, in the spiritual and cultural sense, of decisive importance for the planning of the political fight of the free world; and, what is more, — the ideas of Europe pertaining to the cause of freedom gradually become common property, not merely for Europe alone; the New World also defends these ideas, irrespective of whether Europe's former position as a political power no longer exists.

The strength of Europe always lay in its offensive spirit, which West Europe now, unfortunately, no longer possesses. Five hundred years ago the first grandiose and, perhaps, the only European world revolution took place. Vast continents were opened up and mutual relations between the various countries and peoples, races and religions were established.

But the power of Europe was broken by Europe itself, by its unfaithfulness to the European ideals!

Russian Eurasia Is Advancing!

Russian Eurasia is pushing back Europe in order to set up a Russian world imperium, a world U.S.S.R.. Moscow, the centre of the world conspiracy, is proceeding according to a carefully worked out plan to carry out its world-conquest aims and is attacking here and there, from time to time. The problem of Berlin in a clever way caused the free world to forget that Moscow was fighting decisive battles on the Chinese mainland at the same time, in keeping with Lenin's testament: "It is via Peking and Delhi that the way leads to Paris" — and, we might add, to Washington, too!

And now there is another Berlin crisis again! What surprises will perhaps occur as diversion manoeuvres! The law of action is, unfortunately, determined by the Kremlin!

It is imperative that a global, offensive counter-plan of action on the part of the free world, in conformity with the underground movements of the subjugated peoples, should be put into operation. The German East Zone as Russia's satellite and the Berlin crisis are only a small part of the big Russian offensive.

The German problem can never be solved separately as something detached from the indivisible fight for freedom of all the peoples subjugated in the Russian sphere of influence.

Russia is attacking West Europe and America via Asia and Africa. As a result of the occupation of Siberia, the Russian imperium borders on the American continent via Behring Straits and here, too, it has its initial positions.

East Germany Constitutes Part of the World of the Subjugated Peoples

It can, in my opinion, only be liberated simultaneously with the liberation of all the subjugated peoples, including Ukraine, Caucasia, Turkestan, etc., that is to say by the disintegration of the Russian imperium as a whole. We shall either all become free again together, or else we shall perish one after another. To proceed separately and by stages would be to split up the vital forces in a disastrous way and would mean the ultimate failure of every liberation action.

The issue of the world fight against Moscow will be determined by a third force, the most uncompromising anti-Russian and anti-Communist force in the world, the

peoples behind the Iron Curtain. They constitute the key position in this fight against Russia and Communism, whether one is prepared to openly admit this fact, or not!

To quote a few figures, — the subjugated peoples number more than 200 million persons. They consist of 100 million in the so-called satellite states and far over 100 million non-Russians in the U.S.S.R. (Ukraine alone numbers 45 million; there are 30 million Mohammedans from Caucasia and from Turkestan, etc., . . . Byelorussians, members of the Baltic peoples, and so forth.)

Compared to these figures, there are about 90 million Russians. Hence it follows as a logical conclusion that the West, in order to ward off Moscow's offensive in Asia and Africa, should appeal to the subjugated peoples in exactly the same way as Moscow does to the peoples of Asia and Africa and in keeping with their idea of independence. Why does the West keep silent about the matters which concern the subjugated peoples in the U.S.S.R.?!

Moscow talks about the independence of the Asian and African peoples, to whom the West has long since conceded their independence or their right to self-determination. Why does the West not talk about the right to independence of Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan or other nations, nations with a thousand-year old tradition, such as Ukraine, the oldest civilized nation of East Europe, for instance, is? Why does the West make no mention of the fact that these peoples, too, have a right to independence?

In a deceptive and lying manner, Russia talks about the disintegration of the Western so-called colonial imperiums, which have brought Asia and Africa so many benefits and not merely destructive factors.

Why does the West not parry all this with the idea of the disintegration of the most ruthless colonial imperium in the history of the world, namely the Russian imperium, which has subjugated peoples that have a far higher cultural level than Russia itself? (I refer here, for instance, to East Germany, Ukraine, Georgia, Lithuania or Hungary.)

The Alternative to Atomic War

I am well aware that the objection is raised that there might be an atomic war. In this respect I should, in the first place, like to touch on a counter-argument connected with mysticism. . . .

The chief editor of the "Rheinische Merkur" used the same argument, but in another connection. I base my argument on the words of Charles Peguy: "Everything begins with mysticism and everything ends with politics!"

Fear of atomic war as a means of universal destruction is unjustified in so far as we — provided that we fulfil our ethical duties to God and our fatherland — cannot possibly become the object of destruction!

One must not ascribe to the Kremlin tyrants the power of universal destruction, as if the key to the existence or non-existence of the human race lies in the hands of godless Moscow. Even without resorting to the use of atomic weapons, there is a way to achieve victory. And it lies in the national liberation movements of the peoples subjugated by Moscow, co-ordinated as a simultaneous revolution and supported by a joint anti-Bolshevist world front, if necessary with armed force.

And in this respect the so-called conventional, classical fighting forces of the West must be made at least proportionately equal to those of the Moscow bloc.

The decisive factor lies in reducing the human potential of the armies at Moscow's disposal, as far as possible. And this is possible if the free world adopts an entirely different method of political and psychological warfare from the one to which it has resorted so far.

The so-called Moscow bloc constitutes the last and most ruthless peoples' prison in the history of the world, a peoples' prison which is suffering from an incurable disease: namely the suppression of other nations and other individuals. And herein lies the vulnerable spot of the Soviet Union. For this reason, the main and most important task is to win over the hearts of the aforesaid 200 million non-Russians, so that they will use the weapons which they hold in their hands and which they have received from Moscow against the latter itself. Moscow has thus forged weapons against itself. And this is the vicious circle from which Moscow will not be able to escape, provided that the West sets its hopes on the said decisive forces by adopting the ideas of the national revolutions to liberate the nations, that is, above all, the idea of the disintegration of the Russian imperium into independent states, and gives the national revolutionary processes behind the Iron Curtain its active and, if necessary, military support.

Russia lost the Crimean War and the Japanese War because internal complications arose in its imperium; although the tsarist empire was victorious in the first world war as a member of the Big Entente, it collapsed under the blows of the national wars of liberation of the subjugated nations.

If one does not want a third world war or an atomic war — and rightly so — but, at the same time, fails to support the national revolutions, that is to say the national fight for freedom behind the Iron Curtain, then there is no third way to destroy Bolshevism and the Russian peoples' prison. In this respect the fact must be borne in mind: atomic bombs are not dropped on revolutionaries and revolutions, since these bombs would also drop on one's own occupation troops.

Perhaps the West believes in the miracle of the Communist and Russian evil falling apart of its own accord. No such miracle, however, will occur, unless man, conscious of his noble aims, actively does his share in the fight for truth as the champion of good, by defying all obstacles and all danger!

At a press conference on August 5, 1958, President Eisenhower declared: "I believe in nationalism and I support it for the good of all the peoples". It is, however, absolutely imperative that this theoretical attitude should also become a guiding principle for the practical policy of the US State Department.

On August 26, 1959, Ex-President Harry S. Truman wrote in an article: "In this era of the abolition of the old colonialism and of transition to the independence and nationalism of the peoples, we must not overlook the menacing growth of a new type of colonialism, — Red, exploiting colonialism."

The resolution passed recently by the US Congress — both by the Senate and by the House of Representatives — on the establishment of a "Captive Nations Week" must in any case be regarded as laudable, especially as this "Captive Nations Week" is to be proclaimed every year by the President of the USA as an action of solidarity in favour of the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism and in honour of their national fight for freedom; in a special decree President Eisenhower proclaimed this "Week" to be observed from July 20, 1959, onwards. The solidarity of the USA with the fight for independence of Ukraine and other subjugated nations within the Soviet Union has, incidentally, been expressed without any kind of discrimination and without any reference to so-called "non-predetermination". This resolution on the part of the US Congress, as well as the proclamation issued in this respect by the President of the USA, is of far-reaching ideological and ethical significance; it will remain a pillar of light in the history of the USA, provided that the government of the USA gradually adopts the right course of a genuine policy of liberation, namely a policy directed against the "indivisibility" of the Russian imperium. Unfortunately, this is at present only being done on the moral line, but not on the practical political level.

The Tenth Anniversary of a Hero's Death

General Taras Chuprynka

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

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

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

An Anti-materialistic and Spiritual Revolution in the West Constitutes the Precondition for its Offensive Advance

May I be permitted to quote the words of the famous Jesuit, Pater Leppich: "In the West we need the missionary zeal of the Christian faith against Moscow's demonic force. We do not need pious banners; we need fighting banners; the Sermon on the Mount is God's revolution, written in fire!"

In the catacombs of our militant churches in Ukraine and other countries under Russian rule, in the national liberation underground movements, there has awakened a new heroic spirit of regenerated Christianity, of the ancient neophyte times, which for us is inseparably bound up with the idea of national liberation. In the name of God and the Fatherland the fight behind the Iron Curtain against the representatives and the personification of godlessness, against the subjugation of peoples and individuals, against Moscow, and for the universal and eternal values of the human race is being continued. In this great struggle between good and evil, between God and Antichrist, no one may stand aloof.

In conclusion, I should like to pay homage to the heroic people in whose country this Congress is being held, to the proud Spanish people, who so far are the only people in the world who by their indomitable courage and fighting spirit have overcome Communism, as the tool of Russian imperialism, in their own country. Let us consider what our continent and perhaps the whole world, too, would look like if, in place of this beautiful basilica, the monument of Christ, there were now the obscure buildings of the godless Communist Party and the barracks of the diabolical MVD troops, the enemies of God, of the Fatherland and of human dignity.

Let us congratulate the courageous and victorious Spanish people with all our hearts!

Resolution of the Convention of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (AF ABN)

held in New York on December 20, 1959

WHEREAS: *The United States is engaged in a struggle for survival with the forces of Russian Communist imperialism — an unorthodox war which has been provoked by and is now fully supported by the Russian government;*

WHEREAS: *The unorthodox war provoked by the Russian government is directed at all the free nations of the world, with the United States as the primary target of this war;*

WHEREAS: *This unorthodox Russian warfare has resulted in the violent overthrow of many free and independent governments and the Russian occupation of these formerly independent nations, among which are: Albania, Bulgaria, Cossackia, Byelorussia, Croatia, Armenia, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Czechia, Slovakia, Poland, Turkestan, Serbia, Idel-Ural, Ukraine, East Germany, China-Mainland, North Korea, North Vietnam and Rumania;*

WHEREAS: *The Russian nation alone among all the nations of the USSR has failed to know by first hand experience the blessings of freedom and individual liberty as the result of which most of the Russian people became an easy prey to the Communist regime;*

WHEREAS: *The peoples of the non-Russian nations in the USSR, who comprise the large majority of peoples of the USSR, are overwhelmingly opposed to Communism and Russian imperialism and desiring the restoration of their national independence thus constitute a powerful force against any efforts of Moscow to win their war against the United States and other free nations;*

WHEREAS: *The overwhelming majority of the people of the Russian captive nations outside the USSR have made common cause with the non-Russian nations in the USSR and all seek the overthrow of the present-day Russian empire;*

WHEREAS: *The Department of State has failed to recognize or to support the aspirations of the peoples of the non-Russian nations in the USSR while at the same time weakening our support to the other captive nations, and by this failure has weakened the chances for a just peace in a time of increasing prospects for war;*

WHEREAS: *The leadership and the members of the 86th congress have given public recognition to the aspirations and the yearnings of all the peoples of the captive non-Russian nations of the present-day Russian empire for liberty, freedom and national independence through the passage of Public Law 86—90, signed by the President of the U.S.A., by which Captive Nations Week Resolution is to be nationally observed each year;*

WHEREAS: *This enlightened action by Congress is a potentially powerful weapon for peace and merits the unceasing support by the American people;*

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED: *That the Second Session of the 86th Congress be urged to maintain the initiative for a just and lasting peace by taking steps to make certain that the intent of PL 86—90 is fully exploited during 1960 and for each succeeding year until peace is won;*

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: *That the 86th Congress be urged to create a federal commission with the necessary authority to implement to the fullest the intent of PL 86—90.*

The new Executive Council of American Friends of ABN, Inc. consists of the following persons:

Chairman: Dr. Kalin Koicheff, Bulgarian; Vice-Chairmen: Mr. Frank Alexis, Lithuanian; Mr. Ignat Bilinski, Ukrainian; Mr. Charles Andreanszky, Hungarian. — Secretary-General: Mr. Spas T. Raikin. — Treasurer: Mr. Michael Bez, Byelorussian.

An Ideological Fight Is Not Enough

Reviewing „Der Gegenangriff" ("The Counter-attack") by Dr. Stefan Yowey, Munich.

The above-mentioned publication regards the doctrinarian aspect onesidedly, namely as absolute, and reveals an unwarranted confidence in the allegedly revised ideological principles of the 20th Party Congress, and, consequently, erroneous conclusions regarding the practical policy to be pursued.

In particular, the theory that "world Communism" (that is to say, Moscow) has seriously renounced the idea of war as a means of world revolution strikes one as naive from the point of view of a realistic policy and is likely to lead to mollification and self-reassurance in the West. After the Soviet advance on Hungary, which followed the 20th Party Congress and was in reality the beginning of a Soviet offensive against the free world, all illusions of any renunciation of war externally and of the use of violence internally, as the main factors of the Soviet system, should be abandoned for good. The development of events has shown that this also applies to the so-called "own course to socialism", which was allegedly conceded to the Soviet-enslaved countries and peoples at the Moscow Congress.

To regard the present world political crisis solely as an "ideological controversy" between East and West and to limit the discussion in this respect solely to the ideological sphere, in the sense of combatting Communism alone as a social polical system, is, in my opinion, identical with *representing Soviet Russian aggression as harmless and camouflaging it.* It is an established fact that the latter has asserted itself not by ideological means, but by sheer military force — prior to and also after World War II — and has subjugated scores of foreign nations in order to enforce the Communist system of despotism on them as a *means of ruling them.* And herein lies the primary cause of the present world political situation and the root of the evil which must be attacked and eliminated. Communism as a state political system, with its entirely hypocritical ideological theories, would then be automatically liquidated as a secondary phenomenon.

It is undoubtedly true that to combat Communism on the ideological level is entirely justifiable, but only in order to put a stop to a further infiltration of Soviet aggression into the free world by a "cold war". To disintegrate the Soviet Russian imperium from within, however, it is not enough to refute Communist doctrine alone. The masses in the Bolshevist-ruled countries, who personally experience Communist practices in their daily life, are hardly likely to need doctrinarian enlightenment to prompt them to oppose the Communist system. The psychological "counter-attack" behind the Iron Curtain must, rather, be carried out under the motto of *national liberation* against Soviet Russian alien rule, which is forcing the peoples to lead a life of suffering and privation under the Communist system. In this way an immeasurable potential of revolutionary forces could be made available in the non-Russian countries of the Soviet Union itself. But no mention at all is made of this fact in the publication under review.

In other words, anti-Communism alone is not enough to conduct a liberation campaign against the existent Bolshevist tyranny over two-thirds of Europe. As was evident in the case of the Hungarian revolution, the decisive component there was, in the first place, *resistance against Russian alien rule.*

Hence, the cold war against Moscow must not be directed solely against "Communist dictatorship", nor must it merely endeavour to find "weaknesses in the Communist system" and the "vulnerable spots in the Communist programme", nor rely on "crises in Marxism and Leninism". Still less so, since the reversal of rudimentary concepts of the dictionary and excessive casuistry, particularly in regard to the application of doctrinarian Communist guiding principles, are a fixed component of Moscow's political practices.

What appears to me to be far more important and actual than all the hypocritical Communist theories and a profound doctrinarian analysis of the latter, is, therefore, the fact that in practice that world menace, the Soviet Russian imperium, is, above all, built up on violence and deceit and is protected by a huge war-machine. And the latter must, in the first place, either be overthrown by a frontal attack or undermined from within and paralysed. In my opinion, such a step would be bound to bring about a *chain-reaction of national revolutions,* which, as was seen in the case of Hungary, would even carry away the out-and-out "National Communists".

I. Z.

"So far, the free world has never espoused the cause of freedom with the necessary clarity. As long as the free world does not definitely and emphatically stress that peace with the Communist world is not possible until the East European nations are able to give free expression to their own will, the present conflict will continue to smoulder and will, in fact, also undermine the freedom of the world that is still free."

Salvador de Madariaga.

Obituary

The Death of Cardinal Stepinac, Primate of Croatia

On February 10, Cardinal Dr. Aloysius Stepinac, the Archbishop of Zagreb and Primate of Croatia, died of a pulmonary embolism. This "zealous and pious shepherd", as His Holiness the Pope says in his obituary, died in obscurity in his birthplace, Krasic. He died in exile, under detention in his home and guarded day and night by a strong police unit of Tito's Communist regime.

There are few personalities that are as morally fearless and, on the other hand, as deeply pious as Cardinal Stepinac was. And it was because of these qualities in his character that Pope Pius XII named him a Cardinal. Cardinal Stepinac was a sincere Croatian patriot and he emphasized this fact on numerous occasions. It was for this reason that he welcomed the restoration of the independent state of Croatia. Later, during his mock-trial, he told the Red Dictator Tito openly and plainly: "Every people has the right to self-determination! And the Croatian people, too, has this right!"

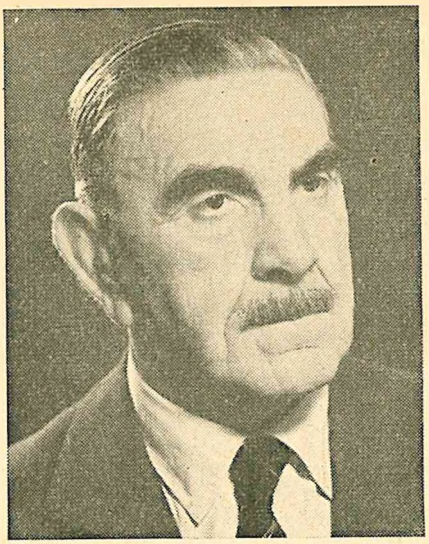
In the said mock-trial, Tito and his regime sentenced this champion of human freedom and servant of God to 16 years slave-labour and imprisonment.

On the Cardinal's fiftieth birthday, when he was in prison in Lepoglava, I sent 3,500 letters to all the bishops of the whole Church and all leading men all over the world, in which I gave them an account of the true position of the Church and human enslavement under Tito's Communist regime. The letters which I received in reply from all over the world expressed the deepest admiration for the fearless and pious character of Archbishop Stepinac. And the writers of these letters voiced their sincere wish and hope that God would soon liberate the Archbishop and the Croatian people from the "Satanic fetters of Communism", as Paul Claudel calls them.

The pressure from abroad was so strong, that Tito's Communist-regime felt itself forced to allow Cardinal Stepinac to be buried in the Cathedral of Zagreb after all.

The memory of this zealous champion of human freedom, a man whose whole life was dedicated to God, will live on for ever in the hearts of the Croatian people and of all those who are persecuted for their feeling of justice! It will live on for ever, — as long as there are freedom-loving people on this earth!

Dr. theol. Dr. med. Stephan Kukolja



Dr. Ante Pavelic

It is with deep regret that we announce the death of the former Croatian President, Dr. Ante Pavelic, on December 28, 1959, at the age of seventy. He died as the result of injuries sustained when Communist agents tried to assassinate him some time ago. Up to the time of his death Dr. Pavelic fought undauntedly for the freedom and the independence of his beloved fellow-countrymen, the courageous Croatian people. His memory will live on in the hearts of all sincere anti-Communists. In their joint fight with the other nations subjugated by Bolshevism, his people will, sooner or later, regain their national independence.

Dr. Ante Pavelic will go down in the annals of the history of Croatia as a national hero.

Dear Mr. Stetzko:

Your letter of November 12, 1959, addressed to President Chiang, has been referred to this office.

It was with deep regret that we learnt of the death of Mr. Stefan Bandera. As leader of the anti-Communist Ukrainians, his death is certainly an irreparable loss to the cause of freedom.

I wish to take this opportunity to express my sincere condolences and sympathy.

Sampson C. Shen, Director,
Government Information Office, Free China.

Vera Rich

Nuclear Disarmament Movement among Students of Great Britain

It is an indisputable fact that the development of nuclear weapons has introduced a new factor into the ideological consideration of warfare. To a certain effect, war has always been followed by an aftermath of devastation, famine, pestilence and suffering, and the cessation of hostilities has never meant the immediate restoration of the economic, social or medical *status quo*. But with the advent of nuclear bombs, the problem becomes a far larger one, since the effect of these weapons is at once more wide-spread and longer-lasting. Whether we argue that this is a difference in degree or in kind does not matter; the problem of the after-effects of war, of which we were perhaps only half-aware, has become one of the most pressing urgency. It is not surprising, therefore, that movements have arisen, demanding the total abolition of nuclear weapons and the strictest prohibition on their manufacture.

Such a policy is, of course, unrealistic. It would be a practical impossibility to insist that the Soviet Union, for example, should cease the manufacture of nuclear weapons: even if the Kremlin were to agree to some form of international control or inspection, it would be easy to hide the necessary stockpiles and factories in the Siberian tundra, and to explode test weapons unobserved, by underground detonation. The alternative, unilateral disarmament, is even more unrealistic. It is an open invitation to any aggressive power to start a war. Indeed it is more; it is national suicide, the first step to global suicide. The only ones who would benefit from such a policy of disarmament, were it successful, would be the Power or Powers who wished to embark on a war of conquest and aggression — to be blunt, Soviet Russia and her satellite-partner, Red China.

For this reason, we must look upon the growth of the Nuclear Disarmament Movement among the youth and students of Great Britain with some alarm. It is most certainly an ideal weapon for the Communist Party, not only because the ultimate success of the Movement would serve the Communist goal of world domination, but also because, in the meantime, it serves as an ideal propaganda weapon for their Press, on both sides of the Iron Curtain.[1])

In particular, they try to present the Soviet Bloc as a great force of peace-loving nations, and to throw the entire blame for the present world situation on the Americans. Constantine Fitz-Gibbon, writing of anti-American trends in Great Britain, summarizes the pacifist attitude as follows: "But the pacifists . . . must find a villain responsible for the state of affairs whereby they and we live under this horrible threat. The Russians are too far away, too strange, *even though it be their bombs that provide the sole threat to Britain.* So the villain becomes the U. S. A., Britain's close and peace-loving ally . . . Nor does the transference stop there. A country is not a really suitable receptacle for this; actual men are better. So a mythical group of men called 'Pentagon Generals' are imbued with all the devilish vices, and made into 'the other'. The sophistry is a simple one, *and is given maximum encouragement (if it was not actually invented) by the Communists.*"[2]) (Our italics)

However, Nuclear Disarmament, although it is certainly exploited, and is, perhaps, in part, initiated, by the Communists and crypto-Communists, is not, primarily, a Communist, or even a left-wing movement. The *Universities and Left Review*, in a leading article entitled "Will Mr. Gaitskell Miss the Boat?" specifically stresses the fact that Nuclear Disarmament has no direct Party affiliations. Since the *U.L.R.* is a left-wing publication for left-wing readers, a journal for the converted rather than outside propaganda (which might, in certain cases, entail a soft-pedalling of the Party aspect in order to attract new supporters), I rank this evidence of the highest importance. The general tone of the article, moreover, is to claim as much credit as possible for the Socialist Party, and it is with reluctance that the author admits that the Movement, as such, has not direct Party affiliations.[3])

However, if this is a non-Party movement, what is it that attracts young people to it? The motives are various, political, religious, emotional and in many cases, a combination of all three. It would be impracticable, even impossible, to classify and examine all the grades of feeling, but I shall try to indicate the main trends.

The simplest group, who stand rather outside the main stream, are the pacifists. This group condemns warfare of any kind on religious and ethical grounds. For the rest, the situation is far more complex. We are dealing with the "beat" generation, the generation of the "Angry Young Men". They feel that there is something radically wrong with the world situation created by their elders, and they have a very real desire to do something to rectify it. But the precise means, the exact cause, do not matter so much. The students who demonstrate in favour of Nuclear Disarmament will, for the most part, be equally prepared to demonstrate in favour of

any cause which catches their imagination.

It is relevant, therefore, to consider what I would call the literature of the Nuclear Disarmament Movement, in particular its poetry, since this has played a great part in the development of the Movement. Naturally one would expect that the introduction of such a new, powerful, and potentially destructive force would have its impact on literature. What has in fact happened, is that the poets have selected and elaborated one or two evocative motives, that are poetically justified, but which may or may not have a significant foundation in fact. Thus in the "Three Poems of the Atomic Bomb" of Edith Sitwell (an older poet, but one whose work is in the Modern school favoured by young people), the line "Then to the murdered sun arose a totem-pole of dust in memory of man", is founded, as the author claims, on an eyewitness report from Hiroshima, from which she selected the evocative image of the totem-pole, "the symbol of creation, the symbol of generation". I have elaborated this point somewhat, in order to show that the poetic development of a theme may be misleading as a basis for sound political reasoning. With this in mind, we will pass on to consider the greatest and most potent symbol of the Nuclear Disarmament Movement — the danger to the Unborn Child.

This, as we have already seen from the W. H. O. report, is one of the most potent fear-provoking themes, and it is exploited to the full. The very symbol of the movement, the semaphore letters N. D. enclosed in a circle, is interpreted to mean "Death to the Unborn Child". Therefore, in poems such as Christopher Logue's "To my Fellow Artists" — the *Credo* of the Movement for many students — the scientific fact that radiation can produce genetic mutations is sharpened into the image, designed to horrify and sicken,

. . ."your six-handed grandsons,
Your unborn consolation".

The prose literature in this field is less universal in appeal and appeals to reason rather than to primitive emotion. It is usually either strongly partisan — e. g. the very pro-Communist and anti-American play, *"The Off-shore Island,* by Margharita Laski, or else it takes the dropping of the bomb as a *fait accompli* and is a reasoned exposition of the state of affairs afterwards (e. g. *The Lunatic Republic* — Sir Compton Mackenzie). Even if a novel — e. g. Nevil Shute's *On the Beach* — describes an attack by atomic bombs, the very nature of the work, and the novelist's technique of verisimilitude, giving precise details and descriptions, resolves the Unknown into something less terrifying, because it has been described in a factual manner. For these reasons, the prose literature of the bomb, being less primitive and universal in appeal, has never become the slogan and Bible of the Nuclear Disarmament Movement in the way that the poetry of Christopher Logue and his followers has become.

Naturally, too, newspaper reports are savoured to the full by these young people, who select those parts of the reports which fit in with their preconceived notions of the effects of the bomb.

As for the propaganda literature of the Bomb, this is, for the most part, aimed at the same psychological-emotional level. e. g. the booklet *Common Sense and Nuclear Warfare,* by Bertrand Russell. This, one of the most significant pro-Disarmament tracts, purports to be a reasoned argument, and contains the deceptive chapter-headings "Methods of Settling Disputes in the Nuclear Age", "Programme of Steps towards Peace" etc. which look, at first glance, a reasonable approach. However, the emotional attitude of the introduction is maintained throughout, and one paragraph will suffice to show the author's deliberate appeal to primitive fears: "Let us take a, perhaps, more apt illustration. In the fourteenth century, the Black Death swept over the Eastern hemisphere. In Western Europe, it destroyed about half the population and, in all likelihood, it was about equally destructive in Eastern Europe and in Asia. In those days there did not exist the scientific knowledge necessary to combat the epidemic. In our day, if there were a threat of such a disaster, all civilized nations would combine to combat it. No-one would argue: "Perhaps this pestilence will do more harm to our enemies than to us".

"Anyone who did so would be considered a monster of inhumanity. Yet neither the Black Death nor any similar pestilence has ever offered as terrible a threat as that offered by the danger of Nuclear War. The countries of NATO and the countries of the Warsaw Pact and the uncommitted countries have precisely the same interest in this matter. The same interest, in fact, they would have in combating a new Black Death".

And this "philosophy", based, not on reason but on panic, is the contribution of one of the greatest modern philosophers to the Nuclear Disarmament propaganda. His reputation alone is sufficient to command the attention of young people to his views, yet all he can offer them is a philosophy of fear. While, of course, it is necessary that we do not underestimate the dangers of using nuclear weapons, it is my opinion that to teach young people to act from motives of fear is harmful to the development of their characters, and could lead to wide-spread loss of morale and ultimately to mass-hysteria.

Such, then, is the literary background to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The appeal is emotional, rather than intellectual, and plays, often deliberately, upon the psychology of young people who are beginning to think for themselves. Thus, the Direct Action Committee, in a manifesto entitled

"What Next for the Campaign", stresses the need for sacrifice:

"When they ask people (living near atomic weapons establishments — V. R.) to vote against nuclear weapons, they are in many cases asking them to vote themselves out of a job. If you want them to do this, you must show them that you are prepared to make sacrifices" — and the desire to sacrifice oneself in a worthy cause is very strong among young people.

But if the Movement has no direct Party affiliation, as we have seen, what is the political outlook, in the terms of the Party system, of these young people? Unfortunately, it is impossible to find methodical statistics on this subject, and I am grateful to Mr. Conrad Russell, a former (Spring 1959) Organizing Secretary of the Oxford University Campaign. Mr. Russell writes: "We had 612 members of which I must have known some half by name or repute. I would estimate their numbers at 100 Labour, 50 Liberal, 100 uncommitted (would probably vote Liberal or Labour or abstain), about 25 Conservatives, 1 Communist and 1 Communist sympathizer".

Thus, in spite of Communist claims, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is not, fundamentally, Communist. Even Christopher Logue, their Laureate, although strongly Left-Wing, is not an orthodox Party member. Some, like him, underestimate the threat to Western Democracy that the Soviet bloc represents:

"But where is the dishonour, gestapo
Or tyrant? And who wants to dishonour
Or govern a cinder?"[4])

Others tend to ignore the final issue of the banning of atomic war, and see the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in the light of its forerunner "The National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Tests", thus representing a more moderate point of view, that is concerned only with an immediate danger.

Others think that in throwing down our weapons, we will be protecting ourselves, since no-one would be inhuman enough to attack an unarmed country. (This view, unrealistic as it is in the light of recent history is, strictly speaking, the propaganda of the Pacifist movement, slightly adapted for the purposes of Nuclear Disarmament). Alternatively, they feel that once the West has disarmed, it would not be expedient for the Russians to use nuclear weapons.

Others feel that since we only hold 3% of the world's stockpile of bombs (I do not know the source of this figure, but it is the one they always quote) we should cease manufacturing them — a moral gesture in favour of peace, and an escape from the responsibilities of using the bomb — a responsibility which, presumably, is to be shifted on to the Americans. Allied to this is the idealistic conception of the values of Western Democracy as something which cannot be destroyed by external persecution but which can be destroyed *by the West itself* by embarking on a nuclear war, that is, defending itself from nuclear attack by the use of its own nuclear weapons. Such a war, they consider, is the ultimate evil, for it involves not only physical suffering, but also the suffering of knowing that we have committed treason against our best values. An allied, but more practical concept, is that of the propaganda value that Nuclear Disarmament would have, in winning support for the West among the uncommitted millions in Asia and Africa, because in the fight for the minds of the coloured peoples, the A- and H-bombs have a symbolic significance. Yet another view maintains that disarmament would make the country no longer a military objective, and we should escape direct attack. (But then, what of the genetic effects?) In any case, these arguments, characterised as they are by inconsistencies within themselves and with each other represent an attempt to give a logical justification to a movement that is founded primarily on a state of psycho-emotional shock and fear among young people who, though sincere in their real and growing desire to do something to ease the tensions of the present world situation, do not have a clear understanding of that situation, and in particular, the menace of the Communist ideology in practice.

Although many people have seen in the Nuclear Disarmament Movement a danger to the anti-Communist cause, and a weapon in the hands of the Bolsheviks — I would regard it not as a threat, but a challenge. The motives that have made a small but significant amount of young people turn to the Nuclear Disarmament Movement could be so easily re-canalized into a cause which, while being based on sounder reasoning and greater knowledge of the Bolshevik methods, mentality and ideology, will have a similar strong emotional appeal, and will offer both a goal that is, however distant, a solution to present-day problems, and also some practical means of working to achieve that end. Provided that the cause is sufficiently positive and inspiring, the young people should turn to it. So far they are uncommitted — and useful to the Communists only as an indirect means of propaganda. Let us offer them an alternative to Nuclear Disarmament before they are drawn into left-wing and Communist movements, before the new political consciousness of the students and young people of Great Britain does, in fact, represent, not a challenge, but a threat.

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[1]) e. g. The Daily Worker 1. IV. 1959 on the Aldermaston march.
[2]) Constantine Fitz-Gibbon. "The Anti-American Zoo". Encounter July 1959.
[3]) U. L. R. Spring, 1959.
[4]) Christopher Logue, To my Fellow Artists.

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

Russian Colonial Policy

II

4. Sham federalism in order to arrive at centralism

Soviet Russia tried to split up the whole empire at first into several administrative units on a national basis, in order to be able to direct these from the centre. In December 1922, the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" was formed, consisting of the Russian Soviet Federation, Ukraine, White Ruthenia and Transcaucasia, to which were added in 1924 the Soviet Republics of Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. In 1936 the U.S.S.R. consisted of the R.S.F.S.R., Ukraine, White Ruthenia, Azerbaidjan, Armenia, Georgia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Kirghizistan and Tadjikistan. The Soviet Russian policy of sham federation hit Turkestan particularly hard, as it was split up into five Republics. By 1941 the number of Union Republics had risen from 11 to 16, thanks to the annexation of Bessarabia and Bukovina, the Baltic and Finnish Karelia. In 1957 the Karelo-Finnish Soviet Republic was directly incorporated in the R.S.F.S.R. This federative character in the structure of the Soviet Union has so far had no practical significance for the people, as the stringent centralization has prevented any genuine federation. Lenin's saying still holds good, namely "We are not in favour of small nations, we definitely stand for centralism". In this way sham federalism has become a camouflaged centralism which serves to conceal Russian colonialism. The Soviets stress, however, that these Soviet Republics joined the Union "voluntarily". But we know from the history of the Soviets how this "voluntary" union came about. Only after sovietization and the use of force was it possible to create the so-called Union, and not only the U.S.S.R., but even the R.S.F.S.R. itself is not a form of state that was established voluntarily, containing as it does many non-Russian peoples, e. g. North Caucasians, Tartars, Bashkirs, Ijrats, Buryat-Mongols, etc., who were only incorporated in the R.S.F.S.R. after being subjugated by the Army.

5. Masking the colonial policy by the term nationality policy

Immediately it came into existence, the Soviet Government contrived to establish an institution for colonial problems and to camouflage this. For instance a People's Commissariat for Nationality Matters was organized under the direction of Stalin. The functions of this institution are defined inter alia in the Statute of 26th May 1921 in the terms: "To establish solidarity amongst all nationalities". The colonial policy was accordingly pursued behind the mask of solidarity. By 1923 this Commissariat was trying to extend the power of Soviet Russia to non-Russian territories. This action was described by the Soviet Government as "shock troops for the nationalities question". The Commissariat tried to win over, in all non-Russian territories, people who would canvass for Soviet Russia and the Soviet system. After completing its task, the Commissariat was dissolved in 1923. But the so-called nationalities policy has continued up to the present day. There is talk too of a "national policy", which means of course Russia's conduct towards the colonial peoples. This policy is at present based on the demand of both Party and Government that the peoples of the Soviet Union must live on friendly terms with Russia and that all non-Russian peoples, who constitute more than one-half the population of the Soviet Union, must show their "brotherly love" for the "big brother".

6. People's Democracy as first step towards annexation

Soviet Russia was the first to introduce in her domains the system of popular democracy as a new form of colonialism. This procedure was very necessary in the

years 1918—24, when a number of countries had not yet been directly incorporated in the Soviet power machine. When these people's democracies first came into being, their system was not identical with the Communist-Soviet system proper. The Soviet Government made use of this system as a first step towards the Soviet system. In 1922 Stalin said: "The people's democracies cannot at present be incorporated in the Soviet Union as the necessary pre-requisites are lacking". But he gave an assurance that this incorporation in the Soviet Union would take place as soon as conditions allowed. The Soviet leaders always tried to subject an independent country first to a regime of people's democracy. This method had been tried out between 1918 and 1924 in Ukraine, Turkestan, Bokhara and Chiva and these countries were incorporated in the Soviet Union. After World War II the same method was applied in a number of East European and Asian countries, which were then incorporated in a so-called Soviet Socialist bloc. This method has proved very effective in Russia's colonial policy, as it enables Moscow to keep control over the newly-subjected countries through its trusted agents or through the system of popular democracy itself, and to enforce a common line of conduct under the leadership of the Soviet Union. At any rate, people's democracies in the Soviet meaning are nothing but an instrument of Soviet-Communist colonialism.

All these methods of Russian colonial policy described above are still being used at the present day. Thanks to them, Russia's colonialism is not clearly apparent. Other colonial measures, such as the genocide of the Volga Germans, the Crimean Turks, the Kalmucks, the Kabardine-Balkars, the Karatshs and Chechen-Ingushs, or the policy of inter-mixing peoples, become quite plain to us when we examine the internal structure of Russian colonialism.

7. *Features of Russian colonial policy*

The methods adopted by Russia in her colonial policy differ in the various countries. It is therefore very difficult to examine them jointly. But Communist ideological action, sovietization, including proletarianization, collectivization, the class war and the setting of political objectives, together with exploitation of economic wealth, cultural policy and Russification in all countries ruled by Russia is a standard feature of Russian colonialism. These methods are adapted to local conditions and possibilities. It is not possible to discuss at length all the measures of Russian colonial policy in the individual countries. We must therefore concentrate on Turkestan, as being a typical example. Turkestan is a country which is totally different from Russia owing to its Turkish origin, Islamic faith, language, culture, customs and practices. In addition this country, which since 1924 has been sub-divided into the Soviet Republics of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Kirghizistan and Tadjikistan, is situated in the heart of the continent of Asia and has no historical connection whatever with Russia proper, which is situated in the continent of Europe. The methods applied by Russia in Turkestan are absolutely typical of a colonialism which covers every side of life, for instance:

a) Administration

Whereas Tsarist Russia divided the country into two parts, a Government General for the steppes and a Government General for Turkestan, Soviet Russia has split it up into five Soviet Republics. The reason given for this was that the "peoples" of this country wanted to live as "nations". Moscow called this splitting-up "organization". Moscow also said: "Although the Turks and other peoples who live in Central Asia constitute a national entity and a territorial complex, they could not form a centralized state". An official of the Foreign Ministry of the Soviet Union, Nemtschenko, had the following to say about this sub-division:

"The national sub-division which is being carried out at present is an example to all colonial peoples of the East how to go about liberating themselves from the national yoke and following the road to free, national, cultural and political progress".

Five Turkestanians were appointed to lead these five Soviet Republics as so-called Heads of State. They were given two or three deputies each, who were either Russians or members of other Soviet republics. For the whole of Turkestan, altogether 108 so-called ministers were appointed, of whom 34 were Russians. Each "minister" had two or three Russian deputies. This process was applied right down to the district authorities. At a conservative estimate, at present more than 70 % of the state officials in Turkestan are Russians. Specially important posts, like the state security organs, were retained by the Russians themselves (Vaskin, Kotshetov, Tereshenko, Gubin, Bezov). Moreover the Supreme Commander of the Turkestan Divisional Military District, General L. L. Fedyuninsky, and the Chief of the Political Administration, Jevdokom Egorovitsh Malcev, are Russians. On the other hand, five so-called Foreign Ministers are Turkestanians, but they serve only a propaganda purpose and have no say in matters of foreign policy, being no doubt solely intended to throw dust in the eyes of the free East. The Ministers or other high officials of state who are of Turkestan origin serve to carry out propaganda amongst the Turkestanians, to ensure that state and Party orders are carried out, but it is the Russian deputies who operate the actual state machine, carry out Moscow's instructions to the letter and control completely the entire administrative apparatus of the area concerned.

Compared with Tsarist Russia, Soviet Russia is naturally very generous about appointing Turkestanians to administrative posts, as Tsarist Russia ran Turkestan exclusively with her own people. But modern colonialism calls for up-to-date methods in the matter of colonial officials, in order to blur the colonial nature of the policy. Therefore, a number of Turkestanians were admitted to the state administration as interpreters, but — as a Soviet official pointed out — Moscow demanded their absolute allegiance to the Soviet regime.

b) The Army

The historical name of the country, i. e. Turkestan — the land of the Turks — was abolished in 1924 and the name Turkestan was only re-introduced in 1942 for the Divisional Military District. This was done for strategic reasons, because apart from that part of Turkestan which is occupied by Russia, there is also East Turkestan which is under Chinese rule, and according to the Soviets there is also an Afghan and a Persian Turkestan. In 1941 every Soviet Republic was allowed to establish a Defence Ministry, but so far this has only existed in theory. Up to now, the Turkestan Soviet Republics have neither a Defence Ministry nor any national armed forces of their own. All military power is in the hands of the Commander of the Turkestan divisional military district. Not until 1935 were Turkestanians admitted to the Russian army. They were however trained in other districts of the Soviet Union. Consequently there are, in Turkestan, very few Turkestanians in the Soviet Army. The Soviet Turkestan armies consist predominantly of Russians and other peoples of the Soviet Union.

Nor are there very many Turkestanian officers in the Soviet Army. During the war, altogether 7 Turkestanians were raised to the rank of general. In proportion to the total number of Turkestanian soldiers, the officers' corps is negligible. There are no units consisting solely of Turkestanians. All Turkestanians are spread over Russian units. Even today the three Soviet Russian armies in Turkestan are looked upon as a safeguard for Russia's power in that territory. There are also very few Turkestanians amongst the frontier guards on Turkestan's borders, all command posts

right down to the frontier posts being exclusively in Russian hands. In 1947 Moscow did, indeed, allow the Soviet Republics in theory "to establish their own national units", but on condition that if the need arose, the Union Government could grant permission for this. So far this has not happened. It is therefore quite obvious that Moscow uses its army in Turkestan to safeguard its colonial policy, whilst Turkestan soldiers are used for the military needs of the Soviet Union.

c) The Communist Party

According to official Soviet statistics in 1956 there are altogether in Turkestan approx. 541,000 Communists and candidates for Communist Party membership, of which more than 65 % are of non-Turkestan origin. Therefore, the proportion of Russian Communists in the Turkestan Party machine is just as great as in the State machine. Besides its administrative colonisers, Moscow has also sent Communists trained in ideology to Turkestan to direct the Party machine on the spot. Here again, four of the First Secretaries of the Communist Party are Turkestanians, whereas the Second Secretaries are Russians. Only in the Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan is the First C. P. Secretary a Russian (Belyaev), whilst the 2nd Secretary is probably a Turkestanian. On the other hand, the Russians hold all the important posts in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Republics in Turkestan, down to the Party district committees. For instance, of the 5 sectional leaders of the C.C. of the C.P. of the Kirghizistan S.S.R., who were appointed on 23rd March 1958, three are Russians (Party organs, agriculture, industry and transport) and two Turkestanians (propaganda and agitation, administration and finance). The five secretaries of the District committee of the Pavlador area in the Kazakhstan S.S.R. are all Russians and were appointed in January 1958. In the district committee of Frunze in the Kirghizistan S.S.R. a Turkestanian has been appointed Secretary and given 6 Russians as permanent assistants (Kusnecov, Rudnov, Bus, Morshitshina, Gubanov and Degtyarov). The position is the same all over Turkestan.

In Turkestan, the Communist Party is responsible for Communist ideology and is virtually a dictator in the country, being the leading factor in community life. The Turkestanians who are employed in the Party machine are needed to speak to the people to ensure that Russian policy is effectively carried out and to influence the public on Communist lines in its own language. These Turkestanians are used to further colonial policy, a procedure not unknown in the West European colonial system. They were also needed as propagandists, and enjoyed privileges under the ruling system.

At any rate the Turkestanian Communists are not regarded as the representatives of the regime and the power of Russia, but merely as aids to colonialism, all responsibility resting with the Russian Communists in Turkestan. If any responsibility has been given to the Turkestanian Communists in the past, this was purely a temporary, tactical measure on Moscow's part. Many of them were suddenly raised to high office, but disappeared as quickly as they had risen. For instance the Turkestanian Communists who had worked towards the establishment of Soviet Russian power were dismissed when no longer needed, whilst many Russian Communists continued to hold their Party posts in Turkestan for lengthy periods of time.

d) The Economy

According to the former Soviet Prime Minister Bulganin, in 1956 approximately 60 % of the entire raw material reserves of the Soviet Union were in the countries behind the Urals, i. e. in the Ural territory, in Siberia und Turkestan. Against this, the share of these countries in industrial production was only 16 %. Turkestan is the

only country of the Soviet Union which can safeguard the Russo-Soviet empire on the world cotton market. Thanks to Turkestan's cotton, the Soviet Union is independent of foreign cotton. The same applies to raw silk and caracul furs. At present, one-third of the annual Soviet grain harvest is produced in Turkestan. As a result of the industrialization process which has been carried out in Turkestan in the past 30 years, more than 15,000 factories have been built. After Japan, Turkestan is now the biggest industrial country in Asia and Africa. This industrial process has astounded foreign countries. Many take the view that the Turkestanians have Russia to thank for such colossal achievements. They do not ask themselves of what use all this industry is to the people if they cannot use it in their own interests? The colonial character of such progress is overlooked. Why has Russia attached such importance to the industrialization of this country? Because it is the raw materials store-house of the Soviet Union. No other territory in the Soviet Union or even in Asia has such universal raw material reserves as Turkestan. If the Soviet Union wanted to remain a Great Power she had no alternative but to use the raw materials available. The Turkestan economy was amalgamated with the total economy of the Soviet Union and is one of the pillars of the latter. The economy is largely in the hands of Russians, Turkestanians taking only a very small part in its direction. Even the Secretary of the Soviet Union C.P., Bredzhnev, had to admit that Kazakh specialists in industry and agriculture are few and far between ("Kazakhstanskaya Pravda" of 22. 1. 1956) although the Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan, in northern Turkestan, is one of the main supports of the Soviet economy.

Since 1956 there has been talk of decentralizing the economy; it is to be made a matter for the Soviet Republics, with the alleged idea of strengthening the sovereignty of the Union Republics. In the middle of 1957 the entire economy of the Soviet Union was divided up into 109 economic regions, 17 of which are in Turkestan. Here again, foreigners have misunderstood Moscow's true intentions. The real aim was neither decentralization nor to strengthen the sovereignty of the Union Republics. Khrushchov himself said:

> "Whilst the Union Ministries continue to be responsible for the general management, fixing and controlling of quotas, raw materials supply and financing of plant, the Ministries of the Union Republics must be given greater rights" ("Pravda Vostoka" of 16. 2. 1956, page 2).

What is being done about these greater rights for the Union Republics? Soviet officials have made this quite clear. For instance the Prime Minister of the Kirghizistan Republic, Suyerkul, said: "Heavy industry in our Republic is still subject to Moscow". Another leading Soviet official in Alma Ata said: "The coal and mineral oil industry is still a matter for the Union Ministries". In Tashkent the Deputy Prime Minister of the Uzbek Soviet Republic said: "The entire budget is fixed by the Union, the Republics being responsible for execution of the details". (The newspaper "Neues Deutschland", East Berlin, of 9. 10. 1956.) Take another example:

The plan was that the 9 economic districts in the Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan should make a net profit in 1958 of 2 milliard, 322 million roubles. Of this, the Kazakhstan S.R. is to get 381 million roubles and the balance, i. e. 1 milliard 941 million roubles is to go to the Union, that is to Moscow, as was stated by the Chairman of the State Planning Committee of Kazakhstan, Melnikov. What would an Indian, for instance, say if about five times the income of an organization in India were to go to a London fund? Everyone would call this pure colonialism, as of course it is in Turkestan.

This colonial policy is most clearly to be seen as regards the question of cotton. Moscow keeps the people on tenterhooks with its cotton policy. If the Turkestanians

do not plant as much cotton as Moscow requires, they get no bread, as before the recovery of virgin lands and the resultant increase in the grain harvest, Turkestan was dependent on bread imports from Russia owing to the increased planting of cotton. Russia demands: "Your cotton for our bread". The planting of cotton means, of course, much heavier work than the planting of grain. But the price of a ton of cotton was fixed at the same price as a ton of grain. In addition, the State arbitrarily fixed the quota for each cotton-planting kolkhoz and this had to be fulfilled if the people were to live at all. On the 17th April 1958, the Government and Communist Party of the Soviet Union gave instructions that the contract between the State and the cotton planters was to lay down not the planting area, but the total yield. The Party and State organs were at the same time to see that the planting area was not reduced. ("Quizil Uzbekistan" of 19. 4. 1958, page 1.)

It is thus perfectly clear that in Turkestan cotton is used by the rulers as a weapon for enforcing their colonial economic policy. The Soviet policy as a whole does not merely concentrate on exploiting the wealth of the country, but also makes excessive physical demands on the people, like using women for work in the mines, for heavy manual work and for building canals. The people are compelled to work from before sunrise until after sunset in order to earn their daily bread. (To be continued)

The Western Allies and the Soviets

During and after World War II, the Western allies made some extremely serious mistakes. I only intend to mention a few of them, — namely those which in my opinion seem to be the gravest. The first fatal mistake was committed when Hitler attacked Soviet Russia. The Western allies promptly hastened to Stalin's aid. The war between Hitler and Stalin would, if there had been no foreign intervention, have resulted in the complete annihilation of their totalitarian systems; and in the end there would have been a peaceful, free Central and East Europe!

The second fatal error was committed after Stalingrad, when the Red forces held up Hitler's advance. The West should have then immediately ceased helping Stalin. Instead of which, however, the Western allies continued to support the Soviet Russians. On February 21, 1945, after the conference in Casablanca, General Franco wrote to Churchill as follows: "Communism is a dreadful danger to the whole world, especially now when it is being supported by the Western armies, and all those who are not blind are bound to be alarmed. If Russia now conquers Germany, no one and nothing will be able to hold up the advance of the Russians. Should Germany some day no longer exist, the Europeans will have to restore it. It is ridiculous to belive that a federation of Lithuania, Poland and Roumania will replace Germany, for Russia will incorporate such a federation in its own federation."

Churchill's reply to this was that after the war England would be the strongest military state in Europe and would easily be able to hold up Russia's advance, and that. moreover, Russia would not pursue an anti-European policy after the war.

In Teheran another serious historical error was committed, — an error which was particularly fatal not only for England and Yugoslavia, but also for the rest of the world. Stalin was now the central figure instead of Hitler! England now dropped the reins and the initiative passed into Stalin's hands; he thereupon constantly threatened the Allies with a separate peace with Hitler, and this so alarmed the Western allies that they lost their political reasoning powers. After Teheran the Western allies disowned Draga Mihailovich, and now gave all their help to Tito and the Communists. The British Broadcasting Corporation (Harrison!) attacked Mihailovich and praised Tito. The British Major Boy informed the Serbian Major Knezevic that Draga Mihailovich was a "Quisling" who was collaborating with the Italians and Germans in the operations against the Communists. Accordingly, the English disowned their trustworthy and well-tried friend Mihailovich and took sides with that untrustworthy and dishonest Communist, Tito. After Italy's capitulation they handed over all the weapons seized to Tito, who thus became the stronger in the civil war with Mihailovich.

In Yalta Stalin dictated to the Western allies, but even so, Roosevelt referred to him as a good man ("good Joe"!).

The Western allies could not venture to intervene in the Balkans for fear of offending Stalin. Tito made an offer to Hitler, through General Velebit in Zagreb, to the

effect that he would put up a resistance together with the Germans if the Allies should invade the Balkans; in fact, he even gave orders to open fire on the Allies. Hitler, however, refused to consider Tito's offer ("Secret Front"), since, as he said, "one does not negotiate with bandits, but destroys them!"

When Maclean pointed out to Churchill that in any case Communism would rule in Yugoslavia, Churchill replied that neither he, Maclean, nor himself would be living there! Thus Churchill sacrificed Yugoslavia, which on March 27, 1941, "found its soul" when it hastened to help England in its need; as a reward for its help Yugoslavia lost its freedom — through England! When the war ended in 1945, the English handed over 20,000 of our Serbs, volunteers and "chetniks", to the Communists; they were murdered at Kocevie. Yugoslav police who had done their duty in taking action against the Communist bandits, were then handed over to the latter. At the same time, about one million anti-Communist prisoners-of-war (Cossacks, Baltic nationals, Ukrainians, Tatars and Turkmans, etc.) were extradited to the Soviets; the fate which they suffered was dreadful — either execution or imprisonment in a slave-labour camp.

Our younger generation should bear all this in mind and should likewise remember the English proverb which says there is no such thing as an eternal friend and also no such thing as an eternal enemy. But even though the English have caused us such immeasurable suffering, we do not want to be their enemy; in future, however, we shall look after our own interests more and shall be less sentimental in politics.

On June 6, 1954, an article was published in New York, entitled "America Failed In 1945". This article contained the following statements: ". . . Addressing a conference of a hundred men of learning in Princetown, Professor Sontag, Professor of History at the University of California, said that the mistakes made by America in 1945 had been based on the erroneous belief that the fanatics of evil could be made to see reason by means of negotiations. At the end of World War II the Western allies were at the height of their power and instead of making use of this fact with regard to the Soviet Russian plans of aggression, they resorted to decisions which had resulted in a deadly danger both for America and also for the rest of the free world. One should have heeded Churchill, who at that time was of the opinion that eastern Central Europe (Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary) and Germany should have been occupied by the Western allies. The surrender of this territory to the Soviets represents the greatest upheaval in the history of this century; the fatal decisions made in this respect are the result of ignorance of the modern history of dictatorships; in the spirit of their liberalist tradition, the English and the Americans believed that the Soviet Russians could be brought to their senses. For this reason the Soviet Russians today hold all the historical and strategical means to an invasion into Western Europe in their hands . . ."

In any case, the Western allies wanted to end the war and, at the same time, did not want to risk a war with the Soviets. The greatest error in their policy was this trying to avoid a war. At that time, America was the only country that possessed atomic weapons and it could quite easily have ordered the Soviets to withdraw to their own frontiers. In the meantime, however, the situation has changed completely and the Soviet Union has also become an atomic power.

In 1945, the American General Patton was the only one who objected to the surrender of the territory which the Western allies had occupied so far to the Soviet Russians. Eisenhower, however, waited at the Elbe until the Russians reached Berlin, which then remained completely encircled in the Russian zone.

On November 25, 1954, Churchill was fiercely criticized for having thought of re-arming the German armies anew towards the end of the war and setting up a joint German and Allied front on the Vistula against the Soviets. The "Daily Herald" commented in this connection that the English had been deceived and that the Russians were justified in showing suspicion and distrust. And the "Times" raised the question as to what Churchill's reply would be, and pointed out that the Western powers would not be able to convince the Russians that their intentions in negotiating for peace were honest and sincere. — What a naive attitude to adopt!

Contrary to his Balkans policy, Churchill was quite right to realize at the last moment with whom he was dealing.

In a New York paper dated December 5, 1954, the following significant statement appeared: "The former American Commandant of Berlin, Howly, affirmed: 'We must cease negotiating with the Soviets. Before negotiating we must always bear in mind that we are dealing with bandits, with gangsters. We have had enough of false friedship! There must be no more Geneva!'."

In his work "La dictature ou la liberté" ("Dictatorship Or Liberty") which he wrote in 1939, the French scholar and economist, Henry Marlio, affirmed that the world war would destroy all three totalitarian systems, Nazism, Fascism and Communism, because they had neither a sound economic nor a moral foundation. He was wrong in his opinion, however, for he could not foresee that the West would help Communism. And the Western democracies were not farsighted enough to realize that Fascism and National Socialism came into being as totalitarian

reactions to totalitarian Communism. As long as there is Communism, there will always be the danger of Fascism.

A hundred years ago, that is to say before the war of 1870-1871, Ardant du Picq, a well-known French thinker and military authority, wrote: "If there is a military organized state near to a democratic state, then the democratic state is in deadly danger. But who knows whether the time will not come when a military organized state conquers the whole world and then finally, when it has no more enemies left, collapses itself under the burden of its dreadful armament?" And it is for this very reason that we should seriously ask ourselves: since we are living in the vicinity of the most aggressive power there has ever been in the whole of history, is not a liberal democracy nowadays completely out-of-date? There is only one answer to this question: there can be neither security nor peace in the world as long as the dictatorial Soviet regime continues to exist! A wedge can only be driven out with a wedge. The democracies must learn a lesson from the history of the ancient Romans, who resorted to dictatorship (or authoritarian democracy) when great danger threatened.

Recent statements made by Tito and Khrushchov show us whom the Communists fear most. Tito recently criticized the West extremely sharply for voicing the intention of admitting Franco's Spain to the UN. Tito affirmed: "There is no freedom in Fascist Spain, — neither freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of thought, nor freedom of movement! It is the kingdom of espionage, of the secret police, of censorship, etc." (Surely this is the case in Tito's Yugoslavia!)

On September 24, 1958, Khrushchov criticized General de Gaulle and said that he was preparing a new dictatorship in France on the lines of Mussolini's Fascism. (Is Khrushchov's Soviet regime anything other than red Fascism?) In any case, these statements show us that Spain and France are proceeding on the right course.

Everything that the Communists criticize is good and everything that they praise is bad. The Communists constantly decry militarism, the police, dictatorship and imperialism, yet they themselves have the biggest army, the strongest police troops and a state which is the biggest capitalist of all and the most ruthless employer; and they have spread out as far as the Elbe in Europe and as far as Formosa in Asia and are now concentrating their attention on Africa and South America.

The West is no match for the Communist slogans, deceits and machinations. Lenin's directives are as follows: "The strategy and tactics of the Communist Party must be as elastic as possible. The Party must learn to apply every method of combat, ranging from armed revolts to infiltration into the reactionary workers' syndicates and parliaments. It must be capable of legal combination and underground campaigns; it must be capable of carrying out a spontaneous attack and at the same time must be able to withdraw in an orderly manner, and it must even be capable of making a practical pact with the Devil. It must be able to turn the conflicts and quarrels in the bourgeois camp to its own advantage; it must be capable of changing its methods of combat as quick as lightning and as unexpectedly as possible!"

In view of such a treacherous strategy, the democracies with their constant quarrels will never be able to set up a joint offensive front. Drastic measures and a thorough revision of the liberation policy are imperative if Communism is to be destroyed.

Lieutenant-General S. D. Vito

The Sham Reply of the Russian Anti-Communists to Khrushchov

The Russian emigrants who describe themselves as anti-Communists have — after considerable hesitation, so it seems, — managed to publish a pamphlet directed against Nikita Khrushchov's latest moves and plans, which is entitled "Catch Up With The Freedom" (its sub-title is "Free Russians Answer Khrushchov's Slogan With New Call To Their Compatriots In USSR") and bears the signatures of Alexandra Tolstoy, Igor Sikorsky, Boris Sergievsky and Leon Nicolai. What the purport of this "new call to their compatriots in USSR" is, however, is by no means clear, for practically the entire appeal is addressed to the government and public opinion of the U.S.A, that is to say, not to those circles who are described by the authors of the pamphlet as "our anti-Communist allies within the Soviet Union", — a term which, incidentally, may mean anything one likes or nothing at all. This, of course, does not prevent the authors in any way from not only speaking on behalf of the "Russian people", but also changing the name of the latter as they see fit; sometimes they refer simply to the "Russians", sometimes to the "Soviet citizens", at other times to "the peoples of the USSR", and finally even to "the Russian peoples", — a designation which, as is known, even under tsarism was applied falsely only to the Ukrainians and Byelorussians (White Ruthenians), but not to all the other peoples incarcerated in the Russian peoples' prison. The pamphlet, however, intentionally mixes

up all kinds of ethnical and non-ethnical conceptions and designations in order to give the Anglo-Saxon reader the impression that there is no difference worth mentioning between "Russians" and "Soviet citizens" and that there is no national problem at all in the Soviet Union!

That such a difference and such a problem do nevertheless exist, can best be seen from the contents and the tone of the pamphlet in question. Whereas the complaints about the "arbitrary, stifling cruelty of the Soviet system" sound extremely vapid and trite and the opportunism of the pamphlet — so acceptable to American superficiality — takes the field with such ridiculous arguments as "the growing solidarity of mankind on this shrinking earth" (which one might, possibly, interpret as bitter irony), the tone rises considerably in force when it is a question of polemizing on the famous fundamental resolution of the US Congress, of July 6th-8th, 1959:

"We have to continue to make clear, in the lands whose grateful citizens we are, the nature and the extent of the Russian peoples' (!) struggle against Communism. It is unfortunate, for example, that the Joint Resolution of the U. S. Congress of July 6-8, 1959, establishing an annual "Captive Nations Week", neglected to list the Russian people themselves as victims of Communism."

That would indeed be the limit! — in one and the same declaration, in which the Russians are definitely accused of subjugating other peoples, to describe them as being themselves subjugated by a mythical "international Communism"! But the authors of the pamphlet try to bear things stoically!

"Moreover, the listing of some integral parts (!) of Russia as 'Captive Nations' gives Khrushchov a powerful tool of propaganda as a defender of Russia's unity. We know that U.S. policy does not attempt to predetermine the future composition and political structure of the territories comprising the Soviet Union. The Russian people, however, do not know this, and to them the Joint Resolution could mean — as Khrushchov is trying to convey to them — a dangerous intention to dismember their country. Such an interpretation by the Russian people may well result in a serious weakening of the Free World's position in the struggle with Communism."

It is perfectly obvious that the "political climate" has changed completely. A year ago the said Russian emigrants would have made a great fuss, complete with threats and hysteria, if the U.S. Congress had reached some decision that was favourable to the nations subjugated by Moscow. Now they have resigned themselves to the situation. Since threats to the effect that the "whole of Russia" on this side of and behind the Iron Curtain would rather join forces with the Bolsheviks than give the peoples subjugated by Moscow for centuries their freedom, have proved futile, the Russian emigrants are now emphasizing their "loyalty" to America and to other countries, "whose grateful citizens they are"; on no account, so they affirm, would they wish to cause the American government trouble, — but the "Russian people" behind the Iron Curtain might be offended by the action of the American government, and for this reason the "misunderstandings generated by the Joint Resolution" should be "rectified" as speedily as possible.

Thus the entire pamphlet has nothing whatever to do with either Khrushchov, or with the struggle with Communism"; it merely defends traditional Russian imperialism, — nothing more.

"The Russian peoples want freedom" — so the authors state, and by "Russian peoples" they mean anything they like. If they are referring to the Russian nation within its exact ethnical boundaries, then their assertion is untrue: the Russian nation does not want freedom, for it already has the "freedom" to tyrannize other nations and it does not need any other freedom. *V. D.*

We send you our sincerest condolences and sympathy on the death of Stepan Bandera, who was poisoned by Communists.

Ku Cheng-kang,
President, APACLROC, Formosa.

I am convinced that the freedom-loving peoples in the whole world have lost a valuable friend in this great man. I am also convinced that the murder of Stepan Bandera will strengthen the desire of the Ukrainian people for the restoration of their freedom and independence and will rouse the subjugated peoples to intensify their fight for freedom and independence.

Arthur Maloney, Toronto,
Member of the Canadian Federative Parliament.

News and Views

Sen. Keating Honored by American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc

Rochester, N. Y. — The American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (AFABN) Rochester Chapter, gave a testimonial dinner in honor of Senator Kenneth B. Keating on Sunday, November 29, 1959 at the Hotel Powers, Rochester, N. Y.

The ethnic groups represented in the AFABN in Rochester are the Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Poles, Hungarians, Estonians and Latvians.

An Honorary Membership in the AFABN was bestowed upon Senator Keating and a plaque was presented to him for his strong stand against Communist aggression and as a defender of democracy.

Senator Keating delivered a penetrating address entitled, "The Organized Lie of Communism." Other speakers were Rep. Jessica Weis, Judge Fred B. Goodelle, Vice-Mayor Joseph Garbo, Dr. Nestor Procyk, chairman of the Executive Council of the AFABN and William Andrushin president of the Rochester Chapter of the AFABN, who also was toastmaster for the evening.

Entertainment was provided by Mrs. Vlada Sabalis and by the Ukrainian "Verkhovyna" Quartet from Toronto, Ont., Canada.

The Hungarian Question at the UNO Session

The Hungarian question was the subject of a debate at the plenary session of the UNO in the latter half of December. As a result of this debate a resolution was passed. It is worded as follows: "The General Assembly of the UNO regrets the fact that the Soviet Union continues to underrate the Hungarian question. It exhorts the U.S.S.R. and the present government of Hungary to co-operate with the representatives of the UNO. It appeals to the representatives of the UNO to continue their efforts with regard to the position in Hungary." As can be seen, the said resolution does not contain a single word of protest or of condemnation against the Russian Communist occupants and their crimes against the Hungarian people!

53 states accepted this capitulation resolution, 10 states of the East bloc objected to it, and 16 states of Asia and Africa refrained from voting.

Anti-Communist Demonstration at the Soviet Exhibition in Mexico City

On November 22, the second day of the Soviet exhibition in Mexico City, the members of the National Union held a demonstration in protest against the slogans of the exhibition; they likewise protested against those in charge of the exhibition who praised the technical and scientific progress of the U.S.S.R. The head of the National Union, Mr. Ignacio Gonzalez, published a letter in which he accused Anastasi Mikoyan of trying to stir up a hostile feeling in Mexico against the U.S.A. The President of the Anti-Communist League of Mexico, Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens, affirmed in a statement that the representatives of the U.S.S.R. resorted to lies in order to win over the sympathy of the free peoples and added that, in speeches which they held, the officials of the U.S.S.R. insulted the governments of the non-Communist countries.

Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations - Canada

During the last month two meetings of the Executive Committee of ABN — Canada were held in Toronto, Ontario.

The first meeting took place on November 25. Among the items considered was the participation of ABN — Canada in the preparatory work of the World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation.

The next meeting was held on December 9. Mr. J. Kaskelis, the President of the organization, submitted the report about the current activities of ABN — Canada. It was decided that the Third Conference of ABN — Canada will take place in Toronto, Ontario, in April, 1960.

The following members were present at the meetings: Dr. J. Kaskelis, Dr. N. Anisas and Mr. V. Jokubajtis — Lithuanian group; Mr. W. Bezchlibnyk, Mr. I. Boyko, Mr. G. Shmigelsky and Mr. M. Sosnowsky — Ukrainian group; Mr. A. Gandersky and Mr. G. Milenkoff — Bulgarian group; Mr. M. Hojbota — Rumanian group; Mr. L. Kraus — Slovakian group; Mr. A. Markovic and Mr. D. Sudan — Croatian group.

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ABN — Canada, Toronto Chapter, took part in the preparation of the Anti-Communist rally which was held on November 15, 1959, in Toronto, to commemorate the late Stepan Bandera, the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists who was assassinated on October 15, 1959, in Munich, Germany.

A similar rally was held in Montreal, Quebec, on November 24, with the participation of ABN — Canada, Montreal Chapter. Mr. R. Dabas, the chairman of the Chapter, delivered an address on behalf of the organization.

Letters to "ABN Correspondence"

Archivo Privado De Documentacion Internacional, Bogotá 741, Buenos Aires, Argentina

Dear Sirs!

I should like to take this opportunity of writing to you to inform you that the publication edited by you is of considerable interest to the archives of which I am in charge, on account of the interesting and extremely informative material which it contains. For this reason I should be very grateful if you would kindly continue sending me the said publication.

Thanking you in advance for your kindness,

Yours sincerely,

R. E. Baliari Soust, Director.

*

"A few days ago I happened to read a copy of the April 1959 copy of ABN Correspondence and I enjoyed it very much. I am a strong supporter of Anti-Bolshevism and therefore a friend showed me a copy of your excellent newspaper. You have some very good writers in your columns and I agree with you 100%. I must agree with you in some of your articles pertaining to the policy of the United States.

I am a college student here in Los Angeles and thereby see how this fiend called Bolshevism has come into our way of living. There are a few of us students who are trying to fight against it the best we can. I believe with the ABN Correspondence that we can do a better job of it".

Phillip Schaib,

Los Angeles, Calif., U.S.A.

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Congress of the United States

Joint Economic Committee.

Dear Dr. Engin:

Many thanks for your letter of November 6 commending me for my part in bringing about the designation of "Captive Nations Week". I appreciate very much your thoughtfulness in writing to me.

You may be sure that I shall continue in my efforts to free the captive nations.

With warm best wishes,

Faithfully,

Paul H. Douglas.

A Letter to "The Times", London

Sir!

To believe, as Mr. Cyril Osborne, M. P., seems to do, that the Soviet Russian dictators have given up their ambitions for world domination and would not resort to war because of the memory of the losses which the Soviet Union suffered in the last war, is pure wishful thinking and self-deception. Mr. Osborne, like many people of the West, falls into a trap by taking the arguments of the Moscow propagandists at their face value without confronting them with the entire ideology and practical policy of the Russian rulers. In order to divide and confound the "capitalist" West, the Kremlin skilfully uses many psychological tricks, such as the continued harping on the "German threat". By inflating the German bogey, Moscow is hoping to distract attention from the real threat of its own tyrannical power to all the free peoples of the world, while consolidating the unlimited power of its Communist clique over many hapless nations. Instead of worrying about the security of the inhuman Russian empire, the responsible politicians of the West would do much better to worry about the security of their own countries and about the fate of their true friends — the nations enslaved by Russia.

Mr. Osborne seems also ready to accept what "Comrade" Kovpak, one of Moscow's servant in Ukraine, told him, namely that Ukraine "felt safer under the sheltering wings of Moscow", and would not wish to be detached from Russia. Surely nobody expects a different answer from a Russian tool, but to believe it? It is the same as to ask the Panchen Lama whether Tibet would like to be detached from Communist China, or to ask Kadar whether Hungary, also "safe under the sheltering wings of Moscow", would wish to leave the "socialist camp". Numerous facts and the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian Underground against the Soviet Russian occupation during the recent decades are a sufficient indication that the Ukrainian people are determined to regain their national independence.

When he was in Ukraine, Mr. Osborne does not seem to have heard of the activities of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) which fought for the independence of Ukraine both against the Germans and the Russians during and after the last war. Did "Comrade" Kovpak not mention to Mr. Osborne how his Soviet "partisan" unit was routed by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army Group-West in the Carpathians in summer 1943? Khrushchov himself knows how his colleague, General Valutin, was killed in a battle with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Volhynia in spring 1944. Conducting an offensive against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, General Moskalenko was killed near Stanislaw on May 3, 1946. Si-

milarly the Communist Polish Vice-Minister of War, General Swierszczewski, was killed while conducting operations against the Ukrainian Freedom Fighters in the Ukraine-Poland frontier region on March 29, 1947. Only recently we read in the "Basler Nachrichten" of 8. 7. 59, "The New Chronicle", "The Daily Express" of 8. 7. 59, reports about the activities of the Ukrainian Underground in Carpatho-Ukraine and Eastern Slovakia.

Slawa Stetzko.

New Constitution for Czecho-Slovakia

A new Constitution it to be introduced this year in so-called Czecho-Slovakia, according to statements made by representatives of this Communist satellite state structure.

At the end of World War II, after the Red Army had occupied Slovakia and the Bohemian countries, the artificial state of Czecho-Slovakia, which collapsed on March 14, 1939, when Slovakia was declared independent, was forcibly re-established against the will of the Slovak people, namely as a satellite state of the Soviet Union. The so-called Czecho-Slovakia was already proclaimed a "People's Democracy" in 1945. From 1945 to 1948 chaotic conditions prevailed as regards constitutional law. Czecho-Slovakia was governed by Benes as President, together with the Communists and their collaborators. In order to break down the resistance of the Slovak people against the actual restoration of the Czecho-Slovak state structure, or at least to undermine this opposition, Slovakia was given a certain autonomy within the framework of the re-established Czecho-Slovak state structure. It was, however, only a purely formal autonomy which had no practical significance at all for Slovakia.

In May 1948, Czecho-Slovakia was finally given a "People's Democratic" Constitution. Most of the collaborators with the Communists from the bourgeois ranks and also Benes himself had by this time already been liquidated by the Communists, since the latter no longer needed their dirty services. After the Constitution of 1948 had been introduced, Slovakia still continued to have a certain sham autonomy with a kind of parliament and parliamentary government, which in theory however only had very little competence. In practice they merely received their orders from the Communist government centre in Prague, which in turn was and is controlled by Moscow.

The fact that the so-called Czecho-Slovakia is to be given a new Constitution this year — and there is no doubt about this fact — can only be taken to mean that this new Constitution will reflect the advanced process of sovietization in this satellite state structure and will create the necessary formal preconditions for further development in this direction. It is therefore very likely that Czecho-Slovakia will designate itself as a "socialist" state (of course, in the Communist sense). And in all probability the state institutions will be adjusted to those of the Soviet Union even more closely than has been the case so far. Above all, a further restriction of private property and private enterprise is to be expected, since the conditions of the present Constitution in this respect were not in keeping with the actual situation. The new Constitution is to make "legally" possible a further sovietization of Slovakia and the Bohemian countries, that is to say it is to sanction conditions that already exist.

The future position of Slovakia within the framework of the Czecho-Slovak state structure, incidentally, remains questionable. The solution of this question depends on Moscow, for this is the question at issue between the Czech and the Slovak Communists. But whether one retains the solution resorted to so far, or finds some other solution, is hardly likely to be of any practical significance for the subjugated Slovak people. As long as Slovakia is ruled by Moscow and Prague, there can be no talk of a satisfactory solution for the Slovak nation. The new Constitution will only be a new facade for the same system and in essence only a new bluff in the service of Russian imperialism and Communist dictatorship, in order to mislead public opinion all over the wold.

Dr. Ctibor Pokorny

Khrushchov Takes Precautions

On his recent visit to Hungary, Khrushchov took specially trained men of the security service with him. It was obvious that the "hangman of Ukraine and other subjugated peoples" was afraid of what might happen to him because of the atrocities he has committed and especially because of the murder of the leader of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Stefan Bandera. He has always been in the habit of taking a strong escort of security service men with him, but when he recently visited Budapest the precautionary measures exceeded all those ever taken so far. Shortly before his departure for Hungary, Khrushchov gave orders that raids were to be carried out by five Bolshevist divisions in West Ukraine, in particular in the Lower Carpathians. In Sacarpatia, too, the Bolsheviks also carried out raids; the forests were searched for Ukrainian revolutionary nationalists. Four divisions of the red Polish and red Hungarian armies were also standing by in readiness for combat and took part in the raids against the "Banderivci". In this way they wanted to prevent the Ukrainian revolutionaries from carrying out any attacks.

From Behind the Iron Curtain

BULGARIA

The Truth About Bulgaria

Relations between the rulers by Moscow's grace in Bulgaria and the Bulgarian masses have not changed very much during the past fifteen years, in spite of the much-praised "socialist achievements". Convincing proof of this fact was recently provided by a number of official Party statements on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the so-called Bulgarian People's Republic; these statements once again openly and frankly admitted that, without the invasion of the Red Army and without the camouflage of the Communists behind the mask of the so-called "Fatherland Front", the establishment of their absolute rule in Bulgaria, which they like to call the "dictatorship of the proletariat", would have been impossible and unthinkable!

What is more, — on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the state security organs of the Communist regime in Bulgaria, it was stated point-blank that the people's militia as well as the security and frontier defence troops of the Ministry of the Interior, which had so far done excellent work in consolidating and safeguarding the position of the regime, would as recognition for their services continue to be active and vigilant as the "main pillars of the people's government", since danger still threatened "from the class enemy".

"Our people's militia — so, for instance, Minister of the Interior Georgi Zankoff said, according to the "Rabnotnitschesko Delo" of September 13, 1959, — is today conducting a ruthless fight against elements that disturb public law and order and act against the socialist laws. By effectively combatting anti-state elements, the people's militia has contributed a very big share towards consolidating the people's democratic regime . . ."

On the other hand, however, the nature of the "willingness" with which, according to irresponsible newspaper scribblers, the Bulgarian people have accepted Soviet rule, can be seen from an extremely enlightening report on the activity of the "people's democratic justice" in Bulgaria during the past fifteen years. This report, which was published in the gazette of the Ministry of Justice, "Socialistischesko Pravo", in September 1959, contains, in addition to a number of very interesting details, a statement to the effect that the people's courts have, above all, been overburdened with countless trials of cases of anti-state conspiracy and activity. The following cases are mentioned in this connection: the illegal organization "Zar Krum", the military conspiracy "Neutral Officer", the illegal organization "Woenen Sajus", the "conspiracy" of Nikola Petkoff and that of the socialist leader Nikola Lultscheff, as well as the conspiracies of the National Legions and of the agrarian leader Dimiter Gitscheff, etc. All these cases of "desperate resistance on the part of the class enemy" — so the said report by the Ministry of Justice states — have occupied the courts for several years and have led to exemplary sentences being passed on all those involved.

It is further pointed out that the courts in Bulgaria during the past fifteen years have also been greatly occupied by trials of cases of resistance on the part of "kulak elements" against agricultural collectivization; at present, however, "murder cases" and cases of "hooliganism" are taking up much of the time of the courts. In conclusion, the report stresses explicitly that the courts are continuing their task of combatting "spies and traitors", as well as elements who are trying to undermine the socialist regime. These persons, so it is pointed out, are "arch-enemies of the people", whose activity "continues to be a serious public danger". State security organs, public prosecutors, courts and the entire public are exhorted to be vigilant and to combat such phenomena.

In view of all these facts which are substantiated by the admissions made by official Party and government circles in Bulgaria, assertions in the Western press, to the effect that the Bulgarian people are content with alien rule and with the Communist terrorist regime, can only be regarded as unscrupulous, intentional support for the cause of the Communists, or possibly as criminal ignorance!

CHINA

Further Riots on Chinese Mainland

According to reports from the Chinese mainland, two big riots there, which were started in October by the starving population in the province of Fukien, were crushed by Communist troops. More than 100 insurgents were killed.

The first riot, which was started by road-workers as a protest against the drastic cut in the food allocations, occurred in the vicinity of the Fukien-Wangtung border. As

a protest measure, the workers went on a five-day strike. According to reports, the Communists then began to arrest the strikers on October 7th. In the course of the clashes which ensued, more than 100 workers were killed by the Communists and 17 others were taken to a labour camp.

The other riot broke out in Mahsiang in the district of Tunghan. In the course of their protest measures against the inadequate food allocations, more than 2,000 demonstrators set fire to four grain depots in Mahsiang. Communist troops shot more than 40 rioters and arrested a large number of inhabitants of the town.

GEORGIA

As is stated in the gazette of the Ministry of Defence of the U.S.S.R., "Sowjetskaja Aviatziaja", of January 14, 1960, on the strength of a report by "TASS" from Tbilisi, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia and the Ministerial Council of the Georgian S.S.R. have passed a resolution "on the preparations for the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the seizure of power by the Soviets in Georgia". The date of this fortieth anniversary is February 25th this year. "TASS" states that this will be a "big national celebration" on the part of the Georgian people. Preparations for this "celebration" are being carried out under the motto "mobilization of all workers in the Republic for the successful realization of the decrees of the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.". This implies that Moscow is going to force the enslaved and terrorized Georgian people, who have so far been ruthlessly exploited by the Red Russians, to make even greater sacrifices in order to strengthen and consolidate Red Russian imperialism.

LATVIA

"Bourgeois Nationalism" In Latvia

"Bourgeois nationalism" and "religious prejudices" apparently continue to be a cancerous growth in the Baltic Soviet republics. The "Sowjetskaja Latwija" (of August 14, 1959) for instance severely criticizes the "over-estimation of national peculiarities", which, it affirms, are a "dangerous deviation". The danger of this deviation, so the paper stresses, lies in the fact that it fosters bourgeois nationalism and undermines the unity of the peoples of the Soviet Union. As examples the paper then quotes cases in which the nationality of the candidates was taken into consideration in the first place, in filling important posts. Furthermore, the paper emphasizes, local nationalism is also evident in the endeavour to set up an autarchical economic system and to develop the national economy onesidedly, that is merely to meet the needs of the population of the Latvian Soviet Republic.

As regards "religious prejudices", the situation also seems to be very similar. An anti-religious exhibition, which moves from place to place, was recently organized in Latvia in order to combat the activity of the churches. The "Sowjetskaja Latwija" (of September 17, 1959) also reports that the Catholic priest of Ozolmuize, Peteris Liepnieks, was recently sentenced to one year's hard labour for giving children religious instruction. The same paper sharply criticizes the faulty anti-religious propaganda in Latvia and stresses the particularly dangerous nature of the Protestant sects who affirm that religion does not oppose Communism. In this respect, too, the paper hints at the weak feeling of friendship on the part of the Latvian people towards the Russian people, when it says: "Religious remnants are an obstacle to the strengthening of the friendship between the peoples".

According to further reports, a course in "Principles of Scientific Atheism" is to be introduced as compulsory at the universities and colleges in Latvia this year.

LITHUANIA

Fear of "Bourgeois and Nationalist" Infiltration

At the December session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, the Secretary of the Central Committee, Niunka, expressed the fear that intensification of contacts with the capitalist countries might provide bourgeois ideology with new chances of infiltrating into the country. He stressed that one must not adopt a passive attitude in this respect.

Niunka affirmed that *the young people of Lithuania were particularly susceptible to this "foreign" infiltration, and added that some young people were not always capable of assessing the realities of life rightly.*

Atheist and anti-bourgeois propaganda, so he complained, was too stereotyped and did not have any influence on the masses.

Peace Slogans in Moscow —
Air-raid Precautions in Lithuania

Whilst Moscow's so-called "Peace Propaganda" drive is in full swing, extensive air-raid precautions are being introduced in the individual Soviet republics at Moscow's orders. At the instructions of the Minister of

the Interior of the Soviet Republic of Lithuania, Alfonsas Gailevicius, who is also head of the civil air defence in Lithuania, Radio Vilnius is broadcasting a series of precautionary measures to be adopted in the case of an enemy air raid. Air-raid wardens have been assigned to duties throughout the country and are constantly being instructed as regards the necessary air-raid precautions.

Young Lithuanians Flee From Kazakhstan

It has recently been learnt from Soviet Lithuanian and Soviet Russian sources that there is considerable discontent and unrest amongst the young Lithuanians who have been sent to Kazakhstan and to other Siberian "virgin" regions. Many of these young people are fleeing back to their native country illegally. Even the Kazakhstan press stated recently that living conditions are extremely hard for the alleged "voluntary" new settlers. And the "Komsomolska Pravda" openly admits that the young people long to be back in their native country.

SLOVAKIA

New Administrative Division of Slovakia

As from January 1, 1960, Slovakia, which, with a purely formal autonomy without any practical significance, occupies a special administrative position in the artificially created structure of Czecho-Slovakia, is to be divided up into three "rayons" for administrative purposes. These "rayons" are: West Slovakia (provincial capital Bratislava), Central Slovakia (provincial capital Banská Bystrica) and East Slovakia (provincial capital Kosice). Hitherto, Slovakia under the "People's Democratic" regime was divided up into six "rayons" (or provinces), of which the capitals were Bratislava, Nitra, Zilina, Banská Bystrica, Kosice and Presov. The purpose of this new regulation is to reduce the number of administrative departments and officials.

Glorification of the Red Army

Large new monuments are being erected in the cemetery of the Red Army soldiers in the Slovak capital. The Slovak people are highly indignant at this act of provocation on the part of the Communist dictatorship. Whereas the Communists are, on the one hand, destroying the graves of persons in Slovakia who have died since the war, they are, on the other hand, erecting monuments for Soviet soldiers who have brought slavery, distress and suffering to Slovakia. And, incidentally, thousands of Slovaks who have been tortured to death in "People's Democratic" slave-labour camps, are buried in unconsecrated ground and their graves are not even marked with their names or with a cross.

Propaganda against the Slovak State

At the end of 1959, a Communist propaganda pamphlet entitled "Partisan Warfare in Slovakia" was published in Bratislava. The purpose of this book, like that of several similar Communist publications which have already appeared in Slovakia, is to ridicule the Slovak Republic by falsifying facts and by fictitious statements, to defame former representatives of the Slovak Republic and to glorify the criminal Communist campaigns of 1944 and 1945 against the said Republic and its social order.

Anti-religious Propaganda

The Communist press in Slovakia is increasing its anti-religious propaganda. More and more articles with an anti-religious tendency are appearing in the Communist papers. The anti-religious propaganda of the Communist dictatorship in Slovakia is directed mainly against the Catholic Church. Even during the Christmas season, the papers in Bratislava published articles attacking the doctrines of the Christian faith.

TURKISTAN

"In the Kazakh Republic, where the reserves and possibilities of increasing the grain production are considerable, a good harvest could have been obtained this year, but owing to faulty management and poor organization the harvest was delayed. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, the Ministerial Council of the Republic and the Party executives and regional executive committes of the "rayons" of Kustanai, Kokchetau and North Kazakhstan did not devote enough care and attention to safeguarding the harvest; they did not supply the collectives and Soviet farms with adequate motorized equipment, nor did they see to it that all the necessary repairs were carried out on the machines needed for harvesting. Over 30,000 combiners and 11,000 mowing machines took no part at all in bringing in the harvest on the collectives and Soviet farms . . . All this resulted in a considerable delay and in a big loss of grain; in many places the crop was left standing and it was then covered by snow. Not only has the Republic failed to fulfil its duties, but it has even omitted to purchase the amount of grain prescribed by the State."

(From the resolution of the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. "On the further development of agriculture", which was passed on December 25, 1959.)

*

According to a report by the news agency "TASS", a plenary session of the Central

Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, at which the decisions of the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in December were discussed, ended in Baku on January 9, 1960. The plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan stressed that "in many branches of agriculture in the Republic serious mistakes were made" and that "public cattle-breeding in the Republic is slowly being improved". "TASS" comments in this connection, "the inadequate cultivation of cotton was sharply criticized".

UKRAINE

New Resettlement Measures in Ukraine

On December 3, the Soviet radio in Lwiw (Western Ukraine) transmitted a communique about the decision of the Soviet government to start new resettlement in some of the provinces of the Ukraine. In accordance with the communique, part of the population from Lwiwska oblast (Province of Lwiw) will be deported to Krymska oblast (Crimea). The deportation to Crimea will be concluded in December this year.

In January, 1960, a certain number of families will be deported to Mykolajiw) and to Khersonska oblast (Province of Kherson).

Some families will be deported at the same time to Kazakhstan in Asia. No reasons for the deportation of population were given except a standard statement that it is "voluntary resettlement".

There is reason to assume that the deportation is connected with Moscow's policy to weaken the Ukrainian resistance movement which always had the strongest support among the population of the Western Ukrainian provinces incorporated into the Soviet Union in the course of the Second World War.

New Phase in Deportations to Siberia

The forcible resettlement of the rural population of Ukraine to Kazakhstan and other regions, which has recently been conducted by the Bolsheviks under the pretext "a return to the places of work", has during the past few weeks assumed enormous proportions. The people of West Ukraine in particular are the victims of these deportations. Practically every day, radio broadcasts from Lwiw and Lutsk report on the "enthusiasm" with which the population learns of the decrees of the December plenary session on resettlement to Kazakhstan (Dzambula, Karaganda, Kustanai and other places). On February 4th, the Kyiv Radio announced the order in which argricultural workers, engineers and technicians were to report for emigration to Kazakhstan and the Siberian regions. The purpose of this new resettlement campaign is not only to supply the virgins regions with the necessary workers, but also to break down national resistance in Ukraine, which even Bolshevist news sources refer to.

Workers for the virgin regions are also being registered from among the military units. The decree on the demobilization of 1.2 million men clearly indicates that those who signify their willingness to work in the virgin regions will be released from military service first.

On January 29, 1960, the Charkov Radio announced that 370 families had been resettled "voluntarily" from various districts in Ukraine to Kazakhstan during December and January. About 116 families (400 persons) were resettled to Kazakhstan from the Charkov district alone. They belong to various professions and age-groups.

Ukrainian Nationalism Continues

On February 5, 1960, a conference was held in Kyiv by the Communist Party of Ukraine. The subject discussed on this occasion by the Russian MVD members was how to combat Ukrainian nationalism in the Kyiv district. A report in the "Robitnytscha Hazeta" ("Workers' Gazette") of February 6th stated:

"The speakers stressed the necessity of intensifying political vigilance and the uncompromising attitude towards all signs of bourgeois ideology and, in particular, towards Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism and revisionism!"

A Film On The Trial Of OUN Members

According to a report in the Soviet press, the "*Ukrainian* Film Studio for Documentary Films" has recently completed a new film entitled "The People Accuse". This film features the documents of the investigations and also the entire proceedings of the trial of the members of the OUN who were active in the Rivne district. As already reported by us, these OUN members were sentenced in Radevil in March 1959. Moscow is endeavouring by every possible means — arrests, death sentences, mass meetings and shooting of films — to carry on a campaign against the Ukrainian nationalists. According to a report in the literary supplement "Nascha Kultura" ("Our Culture") of the Warsaw paper "Nasche Slowo" ("Our Word"), a film entitled "Iwanna" has recently been shot in Lwiw. The purpose of this film is defined as follows: "to combat the united Church, Fascism and Nationalism".

Anti-Russian Lecture in Canada

As a contrast to the exaggerated pro-Russian enthusiasm which is in evidence in North America, we should like to stress and express our appreciation of the courageous attitude of Mr. Albert Pinel, engineer and agronomist, who recently returned to Canada after visiting the U.S.S.R. and also Ukraine (including such towns as Kyiv, Charkiv and Yalta, etc.) as a tourist. On December 12, 1959, he gave a lecture in Montreal which was arranged by the Hungarian section of the ABN and sponsored by the "Commission Scolaire".

After having been introduced to the audience by Mr. Kuschniryk, Mr. Piel proceeded to show in his lecture, which included colour slides, that Ukraine, the former granary of Europe, has been reduced to a land in which poverty prevails by Moscow. He said that one noticed a vast difference as soon as one crossed the Russian-Ukrainian frontier. In Russia proper no one had approached his car, he added, since people there are afraid of foreigners. Whenever he tried to photograph the "radiantly happy" inhabitants of the Soviet Russian "paradise", they hurriedly dispersed. In Ukraine, however, things were quite different; as soon as he stopped his car somewhere, he was promptly surrounded by a curious crowd and people started talking to him quite fearlessly. In his lecture Mr. Pinel stressed the fact that there is only a grain of truth and more falsehood than anything else in the propaganda disseminated by the Soviet Russians and their despicable agents in the West. He said that it was nothing but a flagrant lie to talk about the "happy life" in Ukraine and about the general "atmosphere of prosperity" under the Soviets. All this was simply bluff, as he convinced his audience. He then referred to the theatres and said that it was perhaps true that they were very good, but that it was nothing very clever to employ actors there who were chosen from among the peoples subjugated by Moscow and forcibly mobilized by the Russians. The same sort of thing also applied to the "luniks", "sputniks" and atomic rockets, so he added, for they likewise were not the creation of Russian genius, but of the six thousand German scientists who had been forcibly seized by the Russians after the war and compelled to work, in isolation and under threat of death, on the construction of armaments for the U.S.S.R. so that the latter could some day subjugate the whole world.

Mr. Pinel said that the famous Petscherska Lavra in Kyiv had made an unforgettable impression on him, but added that there were actually very few churches left in that city. From the numerous slides which he showed (as for instance the photographs of the district of Podil, where there were formerly a large number of churches), the audience gained a clear impression of the ruthless way in which the Khrushchov's and Chatajevich's have destroyed all the buildings erected to the worship of God. Incidentally, Mr. Pinel said that he was firmly convinced that the downfall of the Soviets was imminent.

In conclusion, Mr. Pinel appealed to the Canadians to adopt a different attitude and actively oppose the Soviet Russian evil and refute the Soviet Russian propaganda lies, and not to praise Moscow, as has previously often been the case, or to pass over in silence the exaggerations expressed on the television and wireless, as well as in the press by secret forces in the West who are in the pay of Moscow and are thus paving the way for an inevitable catastrophe in their own countries.

On behalf of the friends of ABN and President Stetzko, Professor Russov then thanked Mr. Pinel for his lecture and, referring to the ruthless way in which Ukraine has been ravaged and enslaved, said that the same thing would happen to every country that agreed to an "appeasement" with Red Russian tyranny and with the hangman of Ukraine and Hungary, Khrushchov, instead of opposing Bolshevist action. Mr. Pinel's lecture was the first attempt among the French Canadians to expose the true nature of Moscow and of its henchmen on this side of the Iron Curtain. And in this respect the Hungarian section of the ABN in Montreal contributed a valuable share in arranging the lecture.

Bolshevist Provocation Continues

The provocation on the part of Bolshevist agents against the emigrants of the subjugated peoples of East Europe continues unabated. After having treacherously murdered the leader of the Ukrainian liberation movement, Stepan Bandera, in the autumn of 1959, they carried out further plots in December 1959, and placed gas-bombs in the building in Zeppelinstrasse, Munich, in which Ukrainian and ABN publishing firms have their offices. Fortunately, the bombs only caused comparatively slight damage. The intention of the Bolshevik agents was probably to intimidate and alarm the emigrants.

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Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

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Revolt in Georgia

In the year 1956 "ABN Correspondence" already reported that a large-scale revolt had occurred in Georgia. This fact has now been corroborated by a report on testimony given before an American investigation committee, which states the following details.

Testifying in January 1960 before the Select Committee on Un-American Activities, US House of Representatives, an American citizen, Guivi Zaldastani, who was born in Georgia, stated that on March 7, 1956, thousands of workers and students demonstrated in the streets of Tiflis and demanded "personal freedom". Next morning, all communication lines with Georgia were suspended. Using tanks, troops of the Soviet army then attacked the barricades which had been set up by the demonstrators. Many of the workers and students, so Zaldastani added, tried to save their lives by jumping into the River Kura, which flows through Tiflis. Two young men and a girl had been the heroes of the day, he said. By means of a home-made radio transmitter, they passed on the news of the revolt to the free world.

To prove the credibility of his testimony, Zaldastani mentioned the fact that the French President Auriol, who at that time was visiting Tiflis, was immediately flown out of the town by plane. The Danish Prime Minister Hansen, who was due to arrive in Tiflis that same day, had been taken to Stalingrad at the last minute. And at the request of the Soviet government, so Zaldastani added, six American doctors who had been planning to visit Georgia had excluded Georgia from their planned tour.

Once Again Ukrainian Nationalism

On February 5, 1960, a regional conference of the Communist Party of Ukraine was held in Kyiv, at which the subject under discussion was once again the problem of how to combat Ukrainian nationalism in the region of Kyiv. The Kyiv daily "Robitnycha Hazeta" of February 6th reports as follows on this conference:

"The speakers stressed the necessity of intensifying political vigilance and implacability as regards all expressions of bourgeois ideology still more and, above all, as regards expression of the ideology of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism and of revisionism".

Strikes in Siberian Industrial Centre

At the beginning of this year, workers in various parts of the U. S. S. R. expressed their discontent by going on strike. Big strikes were held in particular in the West Siberian town Kemerovo, the centre of the chemical industry. In other towns in the U. S. S. R. the workers held protest meetings against the raising of labour quotas and against wage-cuts.

Dr. Harry Schworz, American authority on problems of the Soviet Union, states that Moscow is faced by increasing difficulties in the economic sector and points out that production is steadily decreasing and that it is therefore very questionable whether Khrushchov's ambitious plans and also his Seven-Year Plan will be fulfilled. Dr. Schworz also stresses the fact that there is a general atmosphere of discontent amongst the workers, who are getting bolder from day to day in their demands for an improvement in the unbearable working conditions.

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Temir Tau – the Dawn of Revolution

The representatives of the peoples subjugated by Moscow, who are living in exile, have always held the view that the partial abolition of the concentration camps in the Soviet Union would not result in a standstill in the revolutionary fight for freedom of the internees and deportees, but, on the contrary, that this fight would be continued on an even larger scale and on a different platform. The revolt in Temir Tau in October last year has corroborated this view. We can rightly be proud of the young people who have followed in the footsteps of the heroes of Norilsk, Vorkuta and Kingir and set up the banner of the anti-Muscovite revolution on the barricades of Temir Tau. But the fact that more than 1,500 young nationalists, above all from Ukraine and Byelorussia, lost their lives on this occasion fills us with deep sorrow. Since it is a historic truth, however, that no martyr ever gave his life in vain, we are convinced that these heroes have made a sacrifice which will bear fruit for the further development of the liberation struggle.

From 1950 to 1955 I myself was in Vorkuta, and I well remember the impassioned discussions between the leaders of the individual national underground groups when, in the autumn of 1954, the question became acute as to how the fight for freedom was to be continued if thousands of prisoners were released by amnesty in the near future. Some of the said leaders were extremely sceptical and were afraid that the mass would then be split up, that those who had been released by amnesty would solely be interested in their own private life and would accordingly show a lack of interest in the political fight. The camp was like a fortress, where we were welded together in a life and death struggle. As soon as we left the camp, so the sceptics affirmed, however, individualism and "petty bourgeoisie" would come to the fore.

Even at that time the Ukrainian underground leaders contradicted the arguments of the sceptics and stressed the fact that it was not camp-life but life in the Soviet Union itself, however "private" one might try to make it, that was the basis for the fight for freedom. As long as there is such a thing as the Soviet Union, there will also be forces who aim to destroy it!

On the contrary, so the Ukrainian underground leaders maintained, life "outside". that is beyond the barbed-wire of the camp, would only accelerate our work. They pointed out that we would then have an opportunity to move about more freely and, above all, to establish contact with all classes of the population. The procuring of financial means for the liberation task, weapons, radio transmitters, printing presses and informatory trips, etc. would be far easier for a "free" person than for a prisoner in a camp, who can expect to be searched thoroughly any minute.

The revolt of Temir Tau has proved that the Ukrainian underground leaders were right in their opinion. This revolt was possible because Kazakhstan has all the favourable preconditions for such action. At the present time, Kazakhstan is the slave colony with the largest number of explosive revolutionary elements in the Red slave-imperium. 80 per cent of the population in Kazakhstan are active nationalists. There are millions of ex-prisoners who have been partly or wholly released by amnesty from the concentrations camps, as well as millions of deportees from Ukraine, the Baltic countries, the Caucasus and the former Volga republic. In addition, there are the Kazakhs themselves who for more than 90 years have been living under the yoke of Moscow's alien rule. And, lastly, there are millions of young persons who have been deported from the non-Russian countries of the Soviet Union and from the satellite states. They have allegedly been sent to Kazakhstan in order to set up new industries there and cultivate the hitherto virgin regions.

Actually, the real reason for these deportations is a political one: the native countries of these young people are to be "freed" from potential revolutionary forces.

But like so many of Moscow's security measures, this measure, too, has proved a deadly boomerang. These young persons encounter the very persons and ideas in Kazakhstan from which they were to be isolated. So far, many of them had never seen any "banderovzis", — but in Kazakhstan they work side by side with them and "learn" from them. So far, many of them had never heard about the riots on the part of the concentration camp internees during the years 1953 to 1955, but in Kazakhstan they encounter eyewitnesses of these riots and learn all about "Italian strikes" from them and how to organize and carry out similar campaigns and riots. Many of them had so far only heard about the Hungarian revolution from the lying columns of the "Pravda", but in Kazakhstan they learn the truth from the thousands of deported Hungarian revolutionaries there.

Some Western commentators hold the view that the revolt of Temir Tau was due to the poor living conditions and was spontaneous. This view must, however, be contradicted most emphatically. It is true that living and working conditions in Kazakhstan are inhuman; the young workers are obliged to sleep in tents, they have to work in the steel factories and mines and receive far less pay than the older workers. The food is poor and meagre. But in spite of this fact, the revolt of Temir Tau was not a hunger riot! A person who is starving has no inclination to set up barricades. A person who is starving thinks in the first place of bread, but not of revolution. From my own experience I know that no one in Vorkuta thought of a riot as long as hunger prevailed. It was not until our food-rations were fairly adequate, that is from 1952 onwards, that we began to think about liberating ourselves.

The revolt of Temir Tau was the action of a political movement. Naturally, it is inevitable on such an occasion that anarchic cliques should also assert themselves. In every revolution there is a rabble that is only after booty and devastation. And this was also the case in Temir Tau. Canteens and tents were set on fire, and shops were raided and looted.

But these anarchic cliques had no influence on the course of the revolt. The most important stages in this fight — the march on the town, the seizing of the military headquarters and the hanging of the head of the militia, the capture and barricading of the centre of the town, the warding off and disarming of the "workers' militia", and, lastly, the grim combat with units of the army, — all these incidents prove that the revolt was wholly political in character. Indeed, the watchword of the insurgents was, down with the regime of exploitation, deportation, occupation and Russification.

And it is likewise a "Western" myth that the revolt occurred spontaneously. There is no such thing as spontaneous barricade-battles. Of course, spontaneity did play a certain part in Temir Tau, but it was a spontaneity that was "planned" in advance, — as I know only too well from Vorkuta. In any case, the revolt was planned and organized beforehand, otherwise it could never have taken place. And there can be no doubt about the fact that the organizers are to be sought not only in the ranks of the young workers, but, above all, in the ranks of prisoners who are experienced in the fight for freedom.

The Chekists themselves were even obliged to admit that the revolt was planned in advance and was in no way connected with social discontent. A tribunal accused and sentenced seven insurgent leaders because of an attempt to blow up the Kasachstanskaja Magnitka. Two of them were sentenced to death and the others to long terms of imprisonment.

The insurgents only achieved a semi-victory. On the one hand, their losses included one and a half thousand dead and as many wounded, whilst on the other hand, the

revolt led to certain improvements in living and working conditions. But even more was achieved. The news of the revolt fell like a bomb-shell in Moscow, and this explains such measures as the purge of the entire Communist Party apparatus and Ministry of the Interior of Kazakhstan, as well as the public "self-criticism" of Party Secretary Kunajev, to the effect that the building project of Kasachstanskaja Magnitka had collapsed.

But one thing that the insurgents did not succeed in doing was to kindle revolutionary civil war in Kazakhstan. Like Karaganda (1953) and Kingir (1954), Temir Tau is only a stage in the course towards a big revolution. In any case, the Ukrainian and Byelorussian youth has shown Moscow that in spite of all Communist training and Russification the idea of liberating themselves is still alive in their hearts and that the spirit of their national heroes, from Chmelnitzky to Chuprynka, has triumphed over the evil genius of Marx and Lenin. The foul rockets and sputniks spell, which has caused a fear psychosis in the West, has failed to mislead these young people. They know only too well that the internal strength of the Soviet Union is in no proportion to its external strength. Having learnt by experience and inspired by confidence in their own strength, the young deportees from the subjugated countries will courageously enter upon their next battle.

The powder-barrel of Kazakhstan has recently received a new supply of explosives: thousands of demobilized soldiers of the Red Army have been deported there. The reduction in the numbers of the Red Army, hypocritically described as a "contribution to the disarmament policy" by Moscow, has one aim alone, — to prevent a catastrophe in this year's tilling and harvest in Kazakhstan. If sowing is to function smoothly, 240,000 tractor-operators must be employed. But only 140,000 are available!

The demobilized soldiers constitute a new type of slave-labour. Practically every other soldier is a Ukrainian or a non-Russian of some other nationality. In this way, the liberation front in Kazakhstan will receive new reinforcements. The fact that the deported Ukrainian soldiers will go over to the side of the insurgents in the event of a revolt, can be plainly seen from the example of Hungary.

Kazakhstan, Khrushchov's hope and pride, has today become a hotbed of revolution. As a result of the deportations, the centre of gravity of the fight for freedom is shifting to an ever-increasing extent from Europe to Central Asia, and Temir Tau is evidence of this fact.

A. F.

New York Times — Tuesday, February 9, 1960
Letters to The Times

Freeing Captive Nations

Recognition of Desire for Freedom Declared Law's Aim

The writer of the following letter was formerly United States Commissioner of Displaced Persons. He later served as staff director of the Select Committee to Investigate Communist Aggression, and is now director of special projects at Canisius College.

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To the Editor of the New York Times:

The letter of G. P. Tschebotarioff published Jan. 25 charges the Captive Nations Week Resolution (Public Law 86-90) was influenced by Nazi agents. As a consultant in the preparation of the resolution, allow me to set the record straight.

P. L. 86-90 takes official recognition of the fact that the imperialistic policies of Communist Russia have resulted in the creation of a vast empire of captive, non-Russian nations during the past forty years. The list of captive non-Russian nations set forth in the law was compiled from official records and reports of the Government of the United States. I concede these official reports and records do not conform with the distorted Russian view of history.

P. L. 86-90 also recognizes that the people of these captive non-Russian nations are struggling for the return of their national independence and freedoms. These legitimate aspirations constitute a powerful deterrent to war and one of the best hopes for a just peace.

Objective Sought

P. L. 86-90 takes official notice of the fact that the captive nations look to the United States for leadership "in restoring to them

the enjoyment of their Christian, Jewish, Moslem, Buddhist and other religious freedoms." Hitler and his henchmen never supported such an objective.

"Kazakhstan" was not included as a captive nation because it is a Russian myth, created after the Russians occupied and divided the Turkistan nation into five Soviet republics. In contrast, Cossackia was established on Oct. 20, 1917, by popular will of the people concerned. The Democratic Republic of Idel-Ural was established on Nov. 12 1917, by a National Assembly of these homogeneous people. The Nazi movement was unheard of until the Nineteen Thirties. Therefore the Russians cannot blame these independence movements on Hitler.

Stalin, a Hitler collaborator, deported the Volga Germans to Siberia along with the Crimean Tartars, Chechins, Ingush, Kalmyks, Balts, Poles and millions of other non-Russian dissenters. These are crimes of genocide. No Russian, White or Red, should point with pride to these acts of infamy.

The law makes no reference whatever to "races" or "racism." It concerns itself exclusively with the national aspirations of captive peoples and recognizes their right to independence.

Absence of Groups

Finally, the law makes no reference to any struggle by the Russians to establish their national independence *because there is no evidence to support such a claim.* It is tragic that the *seventy million Russians in the U. S. S. R. have failed to produce a national patriot.* Moreover, *there is not one organization in the free world working for the national independence of Russia,* a startling fact. *There are,* however, *many overt and covert organizations at work to preserve the Russian Empire, no matter what form of government is in control of it.*

The national interest would be served by a Congressional investigation into the activities of the Russia First movement in the United States. A public exposure of this hidden but present danger would advance the cause of peace with freedom and justice for all.

Edward M. O'Connor
Buffalo, N. Y., Feb. 6, 1960.

U. S. Congress Resolution
On Behalf of Captive Nations and for Restoration of their Freedom

Washington, D. C. — Hon. *M. A. Feighan submitted* in the House of Representatives of the 86th U. S. Congress during the 2nd Session on *March 21,* 1960 the concurrent resolution H. Con. Res. 636 on behalf of the captive Nations which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Text of the Resolution follows:

Whereas, the rulers of the Soviet Union have repeatedly declared their determination to pursue relentlessly their political, economic, and ideological drive for a world-wide victory for Communism; and

Whereas, in their efforts to attain that objective, the leaders of Russian Communism, through force of arms, subversion, infiltration and other unlawful means, have imposed puppet Communist regimes upon the people of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Viet-Nam, and others; and

Whereas, the leaders of Russian Communism have employed organized tyranny, terror, mass killings and deportations, and other inhuman means to crush the spirit of the people of these captive nations and to transform their countries into political, social, economic, and cultural replicas of the Russian Soviet State; and

Whereas, in direct violation of the commitments set forth in the Atlantic Charter and the provisions of the Yalta Agreement, the people of the captive nations are still being denied the right of self-government by democratic means and the opportunity to choose, through free and unfettered elections, national governments of their own free choice; and

(Continued on p. 41)

Dr. D. Donzov

The West Is Preparing Its Own Downfall

Let us for a few minutes turn back to the year 1939 and ask ourselves, — would the West have won the war against Hitler, if years before the said war —

1) the democratic press of the West had made a big publicity drive for the National Socialist "Reich"? If it had been full of praise for the "gigantic achievements" of science under Hitler's regime, for the mighty strength of Hitler's army and navy, for the high cultural level of the universities in Hitlerist Germany?

If the radio and the television in the West had depicted and propagated the paradisiac life in the mighty "Reich"?

2) If the hundreds and thousands of pilgrims to the capital of the "Reich" had, on their return, affirmed that "everything was better" there than here?

3) If most of the Western press had kept silent about the concentration camps under Hitler's regime and about the activity of the Gestapo? If the peoples subjugated by the "Reich" had been stamped as enemies of peace and opponents of a peaceful coexistence with Hitler?

4) If the universities of the West, for the sake of enlightening young students, had invited members of the Hitlerist embassies to act as lecturers and extol the Hitler regime to the students?

5) If the West for various legal reasons had tolerated a whole crowd of Hitler's spies in its midst, or even "sympathizers" with National Socialism, namely in high political posts?

6) If the West had tolerated legal National Socialist parties with their "Koran" ("My Struggle") in its midst, and the members of these parties had legally made a pilgrimage to their Mecca, namely to Berlin, to receive detailed instructions there as to how they must act in order to gradually reduce their native country to the rank of a satellite province of the great "Reich"? And by making use of the democratic freedoms, to attack the said democracy at a favourable opportunity and strangle all freedom there?

7) If the capitals of the free West had, one after another, solemnly welcomed their "loyal friend" Adolf Hitler, accompanied by Himmler, immediately after he had, for instance, promised all the peoples of the Commonwealth outside Europe, or all the non-European parts of France, Holland or Belgium his wholehearted support in their fight with the West, but, on the other hand, had promised the West, in the course of ceremonious banquets in his honour, to become the grave-digger of their reactionary capitalist and colonialist system?

If Hitler during the years prior to 1939 had done all this and the West had tolerated or had extolled his conduct, would the latter have been able to win World War II?

If the reader finds an answer to this question himself, he will have answered the grave question which is no longer hypothetical hut one which reality presents to the West in the year 1960. For all that has been said above, which the West might have done prior to 1939 as regards the "Third Reich", the regime and the party of Hitler, as well as Hitler himself, *is precisely what the West is doing today as regards the U. S. S. R., the Bolshevist regime and the Communist Party.* And by doing so, it is discouraging all the dynamic national forces that are fighting against Moscow, and, at the same time, is encouraging the Muscovite subversive activity in the West (the activity of the Western Communist parties and of their allegedly "democratic" sympathizers).

The West tolerates the enormous propaganda and publicity drive in favour of Moscow on the television and radio and in the press, which spreads an idiotic enthusiasm for Bolshevism, or, on the other hand, a political fear of the latter and lack of confidence in the strength of the West, that is to say defeatism. In this way the West is preparing its own downfall in the event of a war with the U. S. S. R.

But, one may ask, how can such a war occur? And what kind of a war? Surely the West is trying to avoid a war in every possible way!

That is precisely the point! On the one hand, the West is endeavouring to avoid a war, whilst on the other hand it is preparing its own defeat in a war, which is not unavoidable, but, on the contrary, *is already existent* and has been going on since October 1917. Is this paradoxical? No, not in the least, — it is a grim fact, though many people are blind to it. Was it not war when Hitler annexed Austria and Bohemia? Was it not war when he attacked Poland and when all was quiet on the German-French frontier for a considerable time?

A war was being waged the whole time and, indeed, is still being waged, — in Ukraine, in Formosa, Vietnam, Korea, Greece, the Arabian countries, Africa, Cuba. And in addition to the open war which Moscow is conducting with foreign help against the West, it is also waging a *new kind of modern guerilla war* in all the countries of the West, namely by means of literature, strikes, pro-Soviet articles in the press and speeches in the parliaments of the West — all this with the aid of its "shock troops" — including the assassination or liquidation of its most active enemies (Petlura in 1926, Konovalets in 1938, and Bandera in 1959) and countless victims "of fatal accidents" as for instance recently Cardinal Koenig, MacCarthy and other prominent persons; Moscow is resorting to all these methods whilst waiting for a favourable opportunity to assert itself comparatively openly, as it did 25 years ago in Spain, 15 years ago in Greece, and at present in Cuba, and, tomorrow, who knows where.

In order to safeguard itself against an inevitable defeat in the war with Moscow, which has continued since 1917 (with but a few interruptions, rather like the peace of Amiens between Great Britain and Napoleon I), the West should —

1) clearly realize that Moscow's attitude towards the West at present means not peace but war;

2) in so far as Moscow has formulated and published its aims in its war against the West in the person of Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin and Khrushchov, the West, too, should define its aims precisely with regard to the Muscovite aggressor, — namely, the disintegration of the U. S. S. R. and the establishment of independent national states after the downfall of the monstrous imperium;

3) since Moscow seeks allies in its war against the West wherever it can and, in particular, among the peoples of Asia and Africa, the West should not ignore the peoples who fought or who are still fighting against Moscow, but should regard and treat them as its allies, as for instance the peoples of Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic countries, Finland, the Caucasus, Turkestan, Germany, Spain and Hungary;

4) the West must not allow Russia to openly recruit, mobilize and activate against their own country Moscow's subversive agents in the West;

5) the West must consolidate its spiritual resistance against the inundation of the cynical propaganda of barbarous Bolshevism among the population of the West as far as possible, and must mobilize all active anti-Russian forces in order to scatter the deceptive lie about the Moscow "ex Oriente lux" to the winds.

Only action such as this — and that without delay — can save the West from its imminent downfall!

Rostyslav Yendyk

His Fame is Immortal

In Commemoration of the Tenth Anniversary of the Heroic Death of General Taras Chuprynka, the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (March 5, 1950)

It is ten years since the heroic death of *Roman Shukhevych*, the president of the general secretariat for military affairs in the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) and the head of the presidium of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in the Ukrainian territories, who, as Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), was known by the name of *Taras Chuprynka*. General Chuprynka, who held the Distinguished Service Cross in gold as well as the Gold Cross for Distinguished Service in War, was killed in action on March 5, 1950, in the village of Bilohorshcha near Lviv (Lemberg), during an armed combat with the Soviet Russian occupants.

Roman Shukhevych spent twenty-five years of his life in combat against the foreign occupants of Ukraine. It was as a member of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) and subsequently, as a member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), which replaced the UVO in 1929, that he first chose this field of activity. It was not the organizing and the propaganda sections of the said organizations that attracted him, but precisely the military section, as was in keeping with his bravery and manly qualities. Dauntlessness was the most characteristic of all his qualities, — a dauntlessness which set him above all his contemporaries and has made him an unforgettable historical figure. Future generations look up to such dauntless figures with admiration and veneration, for it is men such as these who personify the entire nation. There are periods in the life of a nation in which its fate is decided only by the military. If, during such periods, a war then ends in a defeat, it is such dauntless men as these who guarantee the outbreak of further wars, — until the ultimate victory of the sacred national cause has been achieved. And they become the lodestar of the nation. So, too, Roman Shukhevych, who from August 1943 to March 1950 led the fight for freedom of the Ukrainian people, has become their lodestar.

It needed an extraordinary strength of will in those troubled times to reach the decision to conduct an armed fight against the two predatory world powers that were trying to crush Ukraine, — Nazi Germany and Red Moscow; but the Ukrainian Nationalists and, foremost in their ranks, Roman Shukhevych possessed this strength of will. As the head of the presidium of the OUN in the Ukrainian territories and as Commander-in-Chief of the UPA, he also possessed another invaluable quality, — namely, the ability to see the weak spot behind the human walls of the enemy's apparently invincible armies and, far away on the horizon, the realization of the freedom aim of the Ukrainian people. It was this quality which made him unswerving in his intentions and gave him a firm faith in his future victory.

The Ukrainian Nationalists at that time saw and, in fact, still see their superiority over the enemy in the invincible strength of their freedom ideas. Stalin was intent on preserving and expanding the Red Moscow imperium still further. Hitler ravaged East Europe with fire and sword and in his imagination followed the pattern of a colonial Africa. What both these dictators had in common was their firm conviction that only their own people, the Russian or the German people, were to be recognized as a national subject, whilst all the other peoples, on the other hand, were to become a substratum, an ethnical material, which could be used and exploited as wilful arbitrariness, fantastic aims or criminal impulse saw fit. These monstrous and unnatural factors were opposed by the Ukrainian Nationalists and by the nationalists of other peoples subjugated by Moscow with the principle "Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!", a principle which the entire free world is nowadays gradually adopting. In spite of the fact that this principle is so simple and easy to comprehend, it was drowned by the clashing of arms and, for this reason, seemed utopian during the war; in those days only the nationalists of the countries subjugated by Moscow heeded it.

R. Shukhevych's calculations in his capacity as Commander-in-Chief of the UPA were simple and, at the same time, made with an eye to the future: the brown armies of the Nazis and the red ones of the Bolsheviks would not merely suffer huge losses in their grim fight against each other, but one of them would remain the victor; if the German armies were victorious, they would in the long run be destroyed by the democracies of the West; if, however, the Russians were the victors, then inevitable differences would arise in the camp of the Allies, and these differences would lead to armed conflicts and, finally, to the defeat of Bolshevism. Accordingly, Roman Shukhevych held the view that it is not enough to stand in fighting readiness, but one must steel one's own military forces in combats with both occupants, in order to develop from an underground movement into a state centre at a given opportunity, — namely, when the state power

has been overthrown and armed forces can seize it. This is not the time and place to discuss what is erroneous in this view (which, incidentally, is not only a Ukrainian view); suffice it to say that the same idea was apparent in the plans of Winston Churchill, who at that time was the only statesman of the Western allies with a truly striking and forceful personality.

The UPA under the leadership of R. Shukhevych did not intend to bring the Ukrainian national revolution to a halt at the borders of its own ethnical territory; since it realized the signs of the times, it exhorted all the other peoples subjugated by Soviet Russian imperialism to organize and develop their national revolutions in order to form a joint anti-Bolshevist front. In this respect the UPA became the most important — though by no means the only lever which was to put the red Moscow imperium out of joint, in order to set up new organic national states on its ruins. The appeal of the Supreme Command of the UPA to the peoples of Asia (of June 1943) contains the following striking words:

"The era of national revolutions is dawning. The peoples of Europe and Asia should use this opportunity to drive out the imperialists from their territories and to form national independent states . . ."

And the same spirit is also expressed in the appeal to the peoples of the Caucasus:

"Today, all the peoples are confronted by the task of rebuilding the world on national foundations, which will be based on the existence of independent national states for the peoples of Europe and Asia. The fight must be waged in all the territories occupied by imperialists. And for this reason everyone must carry on the fight wherever he is and in unison with the people amongst whom he lives. The Ukrainians are already engaged in their fight against the imperialists. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) is operating in the territory of Ukraine. Establish contact with the UPA! Organize your partisan units in collaboration with the UPA! With joint forces we shall wage a revolutionary fight against the predatory imperialists."

These words refer not only to the united action of the fight for freedom, but also to the uniformity of the revolutionary campaign as a whole. Non-Ukrainian partisan units of several East European and Asian peoples fought courageously in the ranks of the UPA; and it was under the protection of the UPA troops that the First Conference of the Subjugated Peoples was held in the forests of Volhynia in 1943; R. Shukhevych personally played an important part in organizing and advising this Conference, out of which the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations was later to develop. Thus, according to R. Shukhevych's view, anti-Bolshevist freedom fighters should take up the fight wherever they are, and it is therefore not necessary for Ukrainians in the Caucasus or Caucasians in Ukraine to first of all fight their way through to their respective native countries; for the aim of all the subjugated peoples is the same, — the annihilation of every form of imperialism for the sake of national freedom and self-determination. The UPA and its Supreme Command deserve special credit for having formed so noble a conception of the idea of national liberation that it became a universally human one and that the Ukrainian people thus came to be regarded as one of the foremost champions of the cause of human freedom.

In its exhortations to join the common anti-imperialist fight, the Supreme Command of the UPA addressed itself not only to more or less distant peoples, with whom Ukraine had no quarrel to settle, but also to such close neighbours as the Poles and the Russians, who throughout centuries had constantly given (and still give) evidence of their hatred and persecution of the Ukrainians. Irrespective of whether such exhortations were successful or futile in practice, the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA, as a result of this his noble initiative, his setting aside of his own national feelings of resentment, his ability to distinguish between things important and unimportant and between the transitory and the permanent, earned himself a great ethical authority, raised the prestige of his national army very considerably and set posterity an example worthy to be imitated.

Naturally, these exhortations to the Poles and the Russians contain no trace of political opportunism, tactical compromise or disregard of the fundamental principle on which the Ukrainian national revolution is based, namely the reconstruction of the world as sovereign national states. In his exhortation to the Poles, for instance, the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA stresses the common interests of the Polish and Ukrainian peoples, in order to exhort to "agreement, understanding and cooperation":

"At such an epochal time, to link the fate of one's own people with those who only yesterday carried out mass extermination amongst the Polish people (and still continue to do so today), with those whose hands are still damp with the blood of the innocent Polish victims in Katyn and in the Lviv prisons (Brygidky, Zamarstyniv, Lontskoho), which in June 1941 were crowded with Poles, and in other prisons and concentration camps where in June and July 1941 thousands of innocent Ukrainians and Poles were murdered, — and then to serve the hangmen of one's own people and to glorify them, — only depraved traitors of the Polish people, of whom the latter must be ashamed, are capable of doing such a thing."

And his exhortation to the Russians still holds good even today:

"The Russian people have reached a parting of the ways. Whither are they to go? Where are they to seek a solution of the national problem? Are they to return to the form of old tsarist Russia? This is impossible! The wheel of history cannot be turned back. Are they to support bankrupt Communism? This would likewise lead them nowhere! Amongst the masses the idea of Communism is dead. A new solution of the national problem must be sought. And this solution lies in the fight against imperialism, in the reconstruction of East Europe and Asia on new and just foundations, namely those of national states within their own ethnical territories. Only a friendly and harmonic life together will put an end to the imperialistic bloodshed and will create the preconditions for a peaceful economic progress. It is only under such conditions that the rebirth of the Russian national state will be possible."

Although this exhortation met with no success amongst the Russian people, it is nevertheless still of historical significance and remains a political manifesto to the Russian people, whose rulers, in keeping with Lenin's policy of lies and Stalin's practices, cannot hope for any "understanding" with freedom-loving mankind.

Roman Shukhevych's spiritual legacy consists above all in faith in the decisive part played by direct military action. The operations which he conducted in his capacity as Commander-in-Chief of the UPA were necessary and well-calculated; and the combats which he led have earned the UPA fighters and himself eternal fame and have opened up many a new prospect for the Ukrainian liberation movement. Moreover, the present re-orientation of the Western world as regards the Ukrainian national problem is to a large extent due to his courageous activity.

Stefan Bandera, the leader of the Ukrainian Nationalists who was murdered by Bolshevist agents in October 1959, on learning the news of Roman Shukhevych's heroic death, characterized his historic figure with the following striking words:

"He has set us the best example, — namely that one can and should fight for a great truth even under the most difficult conditions and in an apparently entirely hopeless situation. His name is inseparably bound up with the most heroic epoch of the revolutionary fight for freedom of Ukraine, — an epoch which will constitute the most solid foundation for an ever-increasing development of this fight — until the glorious victory of the Ukrainian national revolution is achieved."

Germany and Political Exiles

(Letter to the President of the German Bundestag, Bonn)

Sir,

As is known, the leader of the National Ukrainian Liberation Movement, Stepan *Bandera*, was murdered by poison in Munich, in October last year. To the Soviet rulers the deceased was the most dreaded and most hated exponent of the opposition and resistance to Bolshevist tyranny. There are enough reasons to infer beyond all doubt that the said crime was perpetrated by Soviet agents.

This vile murder, which one would have expected to call forth measures against the henchmen of Bolshevist terrorism and for the protection of the emigrants from the countries subjugated by Bolshevism who are living in the German Federal Republic, strange to say prompted various competent German authorities in the Republic in general and in the different "Lands" to consider the question of introducing legal measures in order to restrict the personal freedom and activity of the said emigrants. Indeed, we gather from various press reports, broadcasts and television programmes that a bill to this effect is already being drafted and is to be passed by the Bundestag in the near future. What strikes one as most peculiar, however, is the fact that the numerous incidents which have occurred amongst the Algerian emigrants in the Federal Republic, in connection with the war in Algeria, are mentioned in one and the same breath as the murder of Stepan Bandera as the reason for passing a law of this kind.

In view of this unfair treatment of the matter, which is likely to confuse public opinion in the Federal Republic and might, in fact, lead to false steps of grave

significance being taken against the exponents of the anti-Communist fight of our subjugated peoples, we feel it is our duty — in the interests of the security and prestige of the German Federal Republic as a democratic constitutional state, too, — to make the following statement, with the request that its text should be brought to the attention of the German Bundestag in a fitting manner when the bill in question is dealt with.

STATEMENT

by

the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)

1) It is with considerable consternation that the representatives of the national liberation organizations of the peoples subjugated by Bolshevism, who are united in the ABN, ascertain that secret agents of the Bolshevist terrorist centres are carrying on their insidious activity unhindered in the Federal Republic and also in other countries of the free world, and, unpunished, are able to carry out attacks on political expellees and emigrants, to whom every free civilized and constitutional state, in accordance with traditional ethical principles and the fundamental principles of international law, owes asylum and protection.

2) We are firmly convinced that excesses of this kind, which carry the methods of mass murder practised behind the Iron Curtain into the free world, too, and aim to undermine the urge to freedom of our peoples, are not directed solely against the life of the victims of these attacks, but, in the long run, also against the freedom and security of the free Western countries.

3) We therefore feel that, in the name of the primary human rights and fundamental ethical principles of the civilized world, and in view of the treacherous murder of Stepan Bandera, a crime which will undoubtedly not be the last in the series of attacks on the anti-Communist fighters in exile, we are justified in demanding of the German Bundestag radical legal and administrative measures, which will put an end to the murderous activity of the Bolshevist agents and, as regards personal security, expression of opinion and free activity, will concede us the equality of rights to which we are entitled by virtue of the democratic and free constitution of the Federal Republic.

4) At this point we should like to stress in particular that the anti-Communist organizations united in our ABN only pursue aims for the cause of freedom and in their activity carefully respect the democratic legal order of the Federal Republic. We have no secret organizations of any kind in the territory of the Federal Republic; our fight for freedom and national independence is conducted perfectly openly for everyone to see. For this reason we must protest most emphatically against the fact that the treacherous murder of Stepan Bandera, who had become the symbol of freedom to the entire Ukrainian people and the representative of their national ideal, is now being regarded as a reason to suspect or restrict our activity for the sacred cause of national independence and democratic freedom. Such a step on the part of the German legislative or administrative authorities would, in our opinion, be undignified and incompatible with the good name of the Federal Republic as a democratic constitutional state. All the more so, as the Bolshevist enslavement of 18 million Germans in the Russian Occupied Zone should bind the Federal Republic and also the entire free world to feel a profound solidarity with us in defending the common cause of right and freedom against tyranny and mass murder.

5) We likewise protest in particular against the fact that the sacrifices which we are forced to make in the fight against Soviet Russian tyranny, even here in the free world, are mentioned in connection with the murderous clashes that occur on German soil between rivals in the Algerian war. It is hardly necessary for us to point

out that certain secret organizations have already openly admitted that they have instigated these excesses, and that there is hence even less reason to class the martyrs from our ranks, their murderers and these Algerian incidents as one and the same thing and to defame our just cause, which should also be the cause of the entire free world, in the eyes of the German public by such analogies. We protest most emphatically against the fact that such parallels have already been drawn in Germany and in certain "Lands" of the Federal Republic by means of commentaries to this effect, broadcast reports and television programmes, in which persons who hold official positions in the Federal Republic took part.

6) On the strength of the principles of right and democracy and in the name of indivisible freedom, we, finally, protest before the forum of the German Bundestag against every discrimination of the anti-Communist emigrants from the Soviet Russian sphere of influence and their spokesmen, a discrimination which is systematically emphasized in particular by the major part of the press in the Federal Republic. It is high time that a stop were put for good to the prejudices that are inspired by the Communists and still harboured here against exile politicians, merely because their peoples and armies in the last war tried to save their national existence by fighting on the side of Germany, when they would otherwise have been inevitably destroyed under the Russian Bolshevist yoke. These peoples and their spokesmen in exile, who have escaped the mass murder in their countries and today represent an important potential factor for the West in the fight against the Bolshevist world-menace, by their necessary partnership with the Third Reich in the fight against Bolshevist inundation have not become "Nazis" and "Fascists" any more than have the French become Bolshevists by their wartime partnership with Soviet Russia, which they regarded as a necessity.

In view of all these facts, we take the liberty of exhorting the Bundestag and the competent authorities of the Federal Republic, when discussing and deciding on a new legislative regulation with regard to the political exiles to refrain from introducing measures, which are not only incompatible with the fundamental rights of mankind and traditional international principles, but would, in addition, also be equal to playing into the hands of Soviet Russian tyranny and the Communist underworld.

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

The National Struggle in the Soviet Union

I

During the past few months a number of congresses have been held by the Communist parties in the various national republics of the Soviet Union. In addition to lengthy propaganda speeches, for the most part in praise of the republican "achievements in the field of socialist expansion", a considerable part of these congresses was also devoted to attacks on the "phenomena of bourgeois nationalism".

The reason for these attacks were nationalist aberrations on the part of leading Party members, in intellectual circles and mainly among men of learning and writers, which occurred in various national republics in 1958 and 1959 and have since come to light, as well as phenomena of the national struggle, which, above all in Ukraine, are reflected in the trials against revolutionary underground movements.

The purges carried out in Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan and Tadzhikistan in 1958 and 1959, in particular, called forth a considerable response both in the U. S. S. R. and in other countries. All these purges, incidentally, are closely connected with the exposure of nationalist deviations in the Communist ranks of these republics. Moscow's first victim in this respect was the Communist Party of Turkmenistan. In January 1959, a general purge of the Central Committee of the Communist Party there was carried out, and the victims on this occasion were a number of high Party functionaries, including the first and second Party secretaries, Babajev and Durdijev. The situation in Turkmenistan had

become so serious that Khrushchov decided it was high time to send his special mandataries, Kiritchenko and Muchidinov, there in order to carry out a purge of the "nationalist elements" in the Communist Party of Turkmenistan on the spot. The Turkmenistan Communists were reproached with the following aberrations: they "disregarded the fundamental Bolshevist principle of the cadre selection, distorted the sacred principle of internationalism, looked down on other national cadres", etc. In other words, having learned of the decrees of the Congress of the Communist Party of the U. S. S. R. regarding the extension of the rights of the republics of the Union, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan sought to put a stop to Russification aims in Turkmenistan and filled responsible posts in the Party, administration and economy with Turkmenistan elements.

The purges in Turkmenistan were still in progress when the Soviet Russian press began reporting the discovery of nationalist aberrations in the second Asian republic of the U. S. S. R. — Azerbaijan. In the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, which was held in June 1959 and was presided over by Khrushchov's emissary Muchidinov, a general attack was launched against the "nationalist heretics". The victims of the purge in Azerbaijan were the First Party Secretary, Mustafayev, and the entire Central Committee of the Party. An article published in the journal "Bakinskij Rabotschij" ("The Worker of Baku") of July 11, 1959, stresses that the main reason for the purge is to be sought in the endeavours of the Azerbaijan Communists to free themselves from a too "ardent" tutelage on the part of Moscow. The paper reproaches Mustafejev and other Communists in Azerbaijan with having disregarded the principles of socialist internationalism, with having caused "confusion in language questions which were perfectly clear", and with having allowed historical facts to be distorted.

The disregard of the principles of internationalism lay in the fact that the Azerbaijanians endeavoured to de-Russify the Party and administrative apparatus. They dismissed four Russians from office in the Central Committee of the Party: the second secretary, the first deputy of the Prime Minister of the Republic, the head of the department for Party organs and the chief of the security committee (that is to say, all posts which in all the national republics are usually held by Russians), and replaced these persons by Azerbaijanians. In addition, a decree was passed to the effect that the Azerbaijanian language was to be regarded as the official language of the Republic and what is more, measures were introduced to de-Russify the school system. All this evoked a negative reaction on the part of Moscow and led to the purge. The former head of the Komsomol (the Communist youth organization), Semitchastnij, was then forcibly installed in the Central Committee as second secretary, the post of chief of the security committee was assigned to a Russian, and an order was issued to the effect that the Russian language was to be given priority in the schools of Azerbaijan.

A large-scale campaign to protect national rights, which started immediately after Stalin's death, also swept other Asian republics of the U. S. S. R. Because of "nationalist deviations", purges were carried out and high-ranking local Communists liquidated in Tadzhikistan. The "Pravda" of February 1, 1960, sharply criticizes the activity of the Communist Party of Kirghizstan. This criticism, as the paper "Sowjetskaja Kirgisija" ("Soviet Kirghizstan") of January 24 this year stresses, is closely bound up with the phenomena of nationalism. Among the literary men and scholars — so the paper writes — there are persons who, under cover of the protection of national culture, regard "reactionary nationalist" works of the 19th century as part of the literary heritage of the Kirghiz people. And in this respect, the paper adds, the Party organizations have not only not opposed the phenomena of nationalism, but have even supported them. In this connection the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghizstan, by its decree of January 5, 1960, "condemns" the "false and politically harmful action" of a number of local Communist notabilities.

An attitude of opposition on a national basis is also in evidence in Uzbekistan. Indeed, this fact was mentioned quite openly at the Second Congress of the Intellectuals of Uzbekistan (in December 1959) by the First Party Secretary, Rashidov. He sharply censured nationalist trends in the economic and cultural sectors in Uzbekistan, as well as the hostile attitude of the Uzbeks towards the Russians. This hostility can be seen from the very fact that the Uzbeks refuse to "acknowledge the historical services and efforts of the Russian working class and of the Russian Communists, who, led by the great Lenin, prepared the workers of Central Asia for the active fight for the victory of the revolution and of the expansion of socialism".

The struggle against the phenomena of "ultra-nationalism", as the First Secretary of the Communist party of Latvia, Pelsche, affirmed, is one of the burning questions in the Baltic countries. The "Pravda" of January 27, 1960, published an article by Pelsche, from which it can be seen that the fighting front against "bourgeois nationalism", which was established some months ago by the notorious purges amongst the highest Party functionaries, is being extended and is likely to come to a head. In this connection

Pelsche was obliged to admit that the Latvian youth is also "infected", and for this reason he exhorted the Party apparatus to resort to drastic counter-measures. And in doing so, he also sharply criticized Berklav, who on account of his nationalist aberrations was recently relieved of his post as deputy of the Prime Minister. Pelsche reproaches him and also other Party functionaries who have been dismissed from office with having "distorted the doctrines of Lenin" by removing Russians from their Party and administrative posts in Latvia and replacing them by Latvians. Nationalist phenomena, so Pelsche affirms, are also in evidence among the leaders of the Latvian Komsomol and among the majority of the members of this organization.

In connection with the intensification of the national struggle in Latvia purges have recently been carried out among the nationalist elements in the administration, press and Party, and a large-scale campaign has been started for the purpose of "re-training youth" in the Marxist-Leninist spirit. Pelsche decided to send his best agitators to deal with the problem of re-training the youthful masses. These agitators are to "instil" into the youth of Latvia "faith in the victory of Communism" and to carry on a ruthless fight against all those enemies who "disturb the peaceful coexistence between the peoples of the U. S. S. R.". Pelsche also talks about a big purge among the members of the staff of the Latvian press, who have recently "given a false account of life in the capitalist countries" and in this way have been spreading anti-Soviet feelings. As a result of this accusation, practically the entire editorial staff of the Komsomol paper "Padomjo Jonante", of the daily "Riga Bals" and of the cultural periodical "Zwajizne" have been dismissed.

In the other two Baltic republics the situation is a similar one. A great deal was said about "bourgeois nationalism" at the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania. This nationalism is particularly in evidence among the students and the intelligentsia. On January 20th this year, that is to say, prior to the Party Congress, an agitatory campaign was started against the professors and students of Vilna University. At the same time there convened in Vilna the so-called "Republican Conference on questions pertaining to the international training of students at the higher institutions of learning", at which, in addition to Lithuanian Communists, representatives from Latvia, Esthonia, Byelorussia and the Kaliningrad region (the former region of Königsberg which has been annexed by the R. S. F. S. R.) were also present. At this conference, as the paper "Sowjetskaja Litwa" ("Soviet Lithuania") of January 21st this year reports, the question of phenomena of bourgeois nationalism among the students of the higher institutions of learning in Vilna, as well as the "anti-Marxist views of various teachers of literature, language, history and art" were discussed. These persons, so it is affirmed, "idealize the past" and hold lectures "from the bourgeois nationalist point of view". Hence, large-scale purges were carried out among the professors and the students, in the course of which the rector of the University of Vilna, Ju. Bulawas, the deputy head of the Pedagogical Institute of Lauzikas, Professor Lukschene, and other scholars were removed from office. This fact was confirmed by the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Lithuania, A. Sneckus, in his speech at the Party Congress.

In Esthonia a fierce Party fight against "nationalist" phenomena among the Esthonia Party members, the intelligentsia, the youth and the broad masses has been in progress for a long time. As in other national republics, Moscow, its local henchmen and the emissaries it sends out from central headquarters stamp the struggle for national rights in Esthonia, the desire for national independence, the opposition to the de-nationalization which is being accelerated and enforced by every possible means in the Soviet Union, in short everything which in Africa and Asia is described by Soviet propaganda as the liberation struggle against imperialism, as phenomena of "bourgeois nationalism".

The national fight in Ukraine is somewhat different in nature. The ruthless and mass liquidation of the Ukrainian national Communists, of the Ukrainian intelligentsia and the broad masses of peasants and workers during the 1930's has actually made any kind of opposition campaign within the Party, or in fact within the Soviet Russian regime in general, impossible. The leading Party circles in Ukraine today consist in effect, in the first place, of persons of the older generation whose morale has been broken or who, as a result of recent events, have been intimidated and who constantly endeavour to give proof of their loyalty on every occasion; and, secondly, of unscrupulous careerists such as Kiritchenko and persons who share his views; and, thirdly, of a number of opportunists, — henchmen who constantly offer their services to those in power. In the past an active fight was fought in the Party by such Ukrainian national Communists as Skrypnyk and his likes; these persons hoped to change the Ukrainian S.S.R. into a really Ukrainian Communist state. But they were all literally exterminated by Moscow. Far more significant was the Ukrainian liberation struggle taken over by the underground movement and by the broad masses. And it was only thanks to these masses that the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) succeeded in continuing its armed revolutionary fight against Moscow for years after World War II. The

preservation of the underground movement, which leads and is responsible for the fight for freedom, is likewise due to these masses. The fact that this underground movement and its fight for freedom actually exist today and are successful can be seen from the countless trials against the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists which have been held in Ukraine recently, and also from the vigorous propaganda carried on by the Soviet Russian regime in Ukraine against "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism". The influence of the Ukrainian underground movement extends as far as Kazakhstan, as can be seen from a trial there against a Ukrainian priest. As is reported by the Soviet Russian press, this priest, after having been an active member of the Ukrainian underground movement for a long time, went to live in Kazakhstan in order to organize revolutionary groups there. We do not intend to go into the various trials in Ukraine in detail.

After the economic "de-centralization" introduced by Khrushchov, another type of nationalism — so-called economic local patriotism, known in the Soviet Russian jargon as "Mjestnitschestwo", — made its appearance. These local economic trends, which undermine the general imperial rule and, above all, are closely linked up with the struggle for the national rights of the non-Russian peoples, assumed such proportions that the Party was obliged to take extremely drastic measures in 1959. It issued orders that investigation committees were to be set up to deal with this question, and, accordingly, purges were carried out.

The Soviet Russian press reported on phenomena of "Mjestnitschestwo" for the first time in 1957. On May 29th of that year, for instance, an announcement appeared in the "Izwjestija" to the effect that the state planning commission in Bashkir had prohibited the export of alabaster beyond the borders of the Republic. Since then, reports on local patriotism have appeared in the Soviet Russian press in ever-increasing numbers. The periodical "Trud", for example, on July 2, 1957, published the following typical news item: the deputy of the Minister of Industry of the Armenian SSR, Mosesov, stated in a written communication to a granite works that it was located in the territory of Armenia and must therefore in the first place supply Armenia with its products. For this reason he suggested to the managers of the works that they should "cancel their contracts with unknown customers".

In connection with the dismissal from office of the Latvian deputy Prime Minister Berklav, who (as we mentioned above) was reproached with nationalism, a large-scale campaign was started by the Latvian local and the Moscow central press against the phenomena of "Mjestnitschestwo" in Latvia and in the other Baltic countries. Prior to his dismissal Berklav stated quite frankly that Latvian industry was in the first place working for the Latvian market and should supply the Republic with the essential products.

In this connection it must be stressed that phenomena of local patriotism are in evidence in all the Union republics in which there is a Soviet Russian national economy (sownarchos). News constantly seeps through from all these republics that they are endeavouring their utmost "to separate their economy from the general Union economy", a fact which as a rule is identical with the economic struggle for national rights.

The considerable extent of the national struggle in the Soviet Union is closely connected with the relaxation of the terrorist regime since Stalin's death and with the new Russification measures of Khrushchov's oligarchy, in particular in the field of culture and language. For, whereas Soviet Russian propaganda spreads reports all over the world about a big revival of the national cultures in the U.S.S.R., in reality the Soviet Russians are carrying on a systematic Russification policy. In this connection, for instance, one only needs mention the reform of the school system and the corresponding plans to Russify the national languages, as well as all the attempts (incidentally, under the guise of a fight against "bourgeois nationalism") to combat the slightest action that aims to consolidate national culture and economy. It is obvious that the Russification agents sent out by Khrushchov continue to be inspired by the idea furthered by Stalin, namely that one should aim to create one Soviet people on the basis of the Soviet Russian language and culture. We do not intend to go into the Russification measures in detail at this point, since this is a special question which must be dealt with separately. We should, however, like to stress an interesting method which Moscow applies in its de-nationalization policy. Moscow intentionally affirms that the propagators and wire-pullers of the Russification process are not only Russians, but especially local opportunist careerists, as, for instance, Muchidinov, Rashidov, Kiritchenko, Chervonenko, Pelsche and many others. They help to destroy national opposition within the republican parties, they stress the absolute necessity of increasing the number of Russian schools "at the wish of the population", they agitate for intensified instruction in the Russian language, the language of the Russian "brother-people", since this language is understood throughout the Soviet Union; and, what is more, they also help to liquidate all expressions of economic nationalism.

The intensification of national resistance, which has been so much in evidence recently, is nothing but a continuation of the above-

mentioned tedious and grim fight that has been going on for so long in the U.S.S.R. between Russian imperialism and the subjugated peoples. We should like to point out that the facts cited here on the phenomena of the national fight within the Party, among the intellectuals and the youth and in the masses are based for the most part on information supplied by the Soviet Russian press, and for this reason only represent a fraction of all that is actually happening behind the scenes of Soviet Russian reality. But even this is sufficient to enable one to form a clear picture of the present situation in the U.S.S.R. And this picture is by no means as rosy as Soviet Russian propaganda would have us believe. The differences between the peoples enslaved by Moscow and Russian imperialism in its "socialist" task are becoming more and more apparent. The resistance against the Russian imperialist policy has a solid foundation in the broad masses of the national republics. This resistance assumes many forms, ranging from opposition within the Party to an opposition, which is not organized, among the population and to organized underground movements. And those who follow the fate of contemporary empires attentively will have no doubts whatever as to who will finally gain the victory in the so-called Soviet Union.

M. S.

Liberation Policy or Atomic War?

(Address held by Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko at the 2nd Annual Congress of the "Save Freedom" Committee in Frankfort on March 25, 1960)

On the occasion of your Congress we should like to convey the sincere greetings of the Central Committee of the ABN to you, as well as our best wishes for every success in your efforts to strengthen the anti-Communist fight and help it to be victorious.

From the moment that your organization approached the public of the world with a courageous appeal, new ideas, a fighting spirit and determination, the representatives of the peoples subjugated by Russia and Communism, in the free world, set their hopes on your movement. The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, in which the national liberation organizations of the peoples fighting for their independence, such as Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia, Bohemia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Roumania, Serbia, Croatia, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Turkestan, Idel-Ural, Cossackia and others, are united, holds the view that a victory can only be achieved over the Communist world-menace by the co-ordinated fight of the free and the subjugated world.

The theme of your Congress, "The Fight for Freedom in the 20th Century" is of great significance, especially in this epoch of the policy of coexistence, which has been accepted by the majority of official circles in the West, since the latter underrate the key problem of the present international political situation, namely the fight for freedom of the subjugated peoples.

The peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism constitute a decisive power, dependent on no one, on the chess-board of international politics. Their fight for the disintregation of the last and most ruthless prison of peoples in the history of the world, the Russian imperium, into independent, national, democratic states is of the greatest importance for the defence of the free world against Bolshevist inundation. This fact was corroborated by the US Congress and by President Eisenhower in a unanimously accepted resolution on "Captive Nations Week", in which the part played by the fight for independence of these peoples in the anti-Communist world-fight was rightly assessed and they were assured of the wholehearted moral support of the American people.

The age of colonial empires is coming to an end, and a new era of free and independent states of the peoples of the world is dawning. Why then should the last

and most ruthless imperium of the world, the Russian imperium, still continue to exist?

Ex-President Harry S. Truman, on August 26, 1959, wrote in an article: "In this era of the abolition of the old colonialism and of transition to the independence and nationalism of the peoples, we must not overlook the menacing growth of a new type of colonialism, — Red Russian exploiting colonialism"; and President Dwight D. Eisenhower declared on August 5, 1958: "I believe in nationalism and I support it for the good of all the peoples!" And by this, liberation nationalism is undoubtedly meant!

Coexistence or liberation policy? Liberation policy or atomic war? And *not* coexistence or atomic war, — is the alternative with which the free world is faced!

For it is only by co-ordinated and synchronized national liberation revolutions behind the Iron Curtain, wholeheartedly supported by the free world with the aim of destroying the Russian imperium, that an atomic war can be avoided and the final victory over Bolshevism can be achieved. For Moscow cannot drop atomic bombs on the revolutionaries, since it would at the same time be dropping them on its own occupation troops. The idea of freedom is more powerful than all atomic weapons!

We of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations are convinced that your Congress will help to further recognition of the importance of the fight for freedom of the subjugated peoples in the anti-Communist world-fight and will contribute towards the setting up of a common anti-Bolshevist world-front of the entire freedom-loving mankind. Only in this way can the German people, too, attain their unity in freedom! Our motto is: freedom-loving peoples and individuals all over the world unite in the fight against Communism and Russian imperialism for the freedom of individuals and the independence of the peoples!

A Declaration on the Coexistence Question by the "Save Freedom" Committee

The "Save Freedom" Committee has resolved at its 2nd Congress in Frankfort/Main to reject the Soviet "coexistence policy" as expressed in the theory and practical policy of the Soviets. As the documents of Soviet policy and the ideological declarations of the Communist theoreticians have shown, this "coexistence policy" was from the outset a tactical method to conquer the non-Communist world.

We hereby declare:

1) The "coexistence propaganda" of the Soviet government has indisputably shown that the policy in question is one of constantly increasing pressure on the entire free world. The attack on West Berlin has exposed its deceitful character to the whole world.

2) The "coexistence policy" of the Soviet government has in no way changed the strategic aims of the Soviet power and the Communist movement. On the contrary, with its constant combination of threats and allurements, it represents an extremely dangerous method of Communist expansion.

3) The Soviet "coexistence policy" is an attempt, by feigning peaceful intentions, to achieve complete domination by means of a cooperation, controlled by Moscow, between the Communist bloc and the non-Communist world. Instead of such a hypocritical "coexistence policy", the 2nd Congress of the "Save Freedom" Committee demands a genuine cooperation of the peoples which emphasizes as a main principle the right of self-determination. The aim of this cooperation must be to ensure to all people, irrespective of their nationality, race, colour or religion, freedom, prosperity, justice and peace. In view of the forthcoming "Summit" conference, in particular, the Committee demands freedom and security for all Berlin, — as a symbol and guarantee of the freedom of all Europe.

Frankfort, March 25, 1960.

ABN in Brazil sends Letter to President Eisenhower

During President Eisenhower's visit to Brazil, ABN representative in Brazil, Mr. B. L. Bilinsky, submitted a memorandum directed to President Eisenhower through the Consul General of USA in Sao Paulo, Mr. William Kokranow. In his memorandum, Mr. Bilinsky expressed the thanks of ABN members for the proclamation of "Captive Nations Week" by the American Congress in 1959.

The Death of Stefan Bandera and the Bolshevist Defamation Campaign

"In war morals are to matter as three to one". *Napoleon I.*

The murder in Munich, on October 15, 1959, of the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), *Stefan Bandera*, by Soviet Russian agents by means of cyanide, at one blow exposed the motives of the Soviet Russian defamation campaign against the Ukrainian liberation movement. The Bolshevist murder of Stefan Bandera is an important link in the chain of Moscow's offensive against the revolutionary liberation front of the peoples subjugated by Soviet Russia, as well as against the free world in general.

As the leader of the Ukrainian national fight for freedom, which has inscribed on its banner the motto "Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals", Stefan Bandera fought against Nazism for the realization of this idea and languished in Nazi concentration camps for over three years; with the same indomitable uncompromising attitude he likewise fought against Russia and Bolshevism, in order to restore the national independence and democratic order of Ukraine.

And this fight is in the interests of all freedom-loving mankind, for Bolshevism is just as hostile to the latter as it is to Stefan Bandera's native country, Ukraine.

Stefan Bandera was murdered by Soviet Russian MVD agents. Months before this happened, the Soviet and satellite press controlled by the Kremlin carried on its deafening discrimination campaign against the Ukrainian detachment "Nightingale", which in 1941 fought side by side with the German army. The Soviet Russian press and the press of the satellite countries accused the detachment "Nightingale" and the German Federal Minister Prof. Dr. Th. Oberländer, who at that time was the German political liaison officer of the "Nightingale", of having been responsible for the mass murder of Ukrainian and other prisoners in Lemberg in 1941.

These mass murders were carried out by NKVD units at the orders of Khrushchov, at that time the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, not only in the Lemberg prisons but also in countless towns and villages all over Ukraine after the outbreak of the German-Russian war; *and they were, in fact, all carried out at the direct orders of Khrushchov.* And now one is trying to blame the Ukrainian detachment "Nightingale", in conjunction with the German army, for all the mass murders committed in the prisons of Lemberg.

Wherein lies the primary motive of the Bolshevist discrimination campaign against the Ukrainian detachment "Nightingale" and General Taras Chuprynka?

It lies in the fact that in Ukraine the ideological and political principles of the Ukrainian fight for freedom, organized by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), have taken possession of the soul of the people. The younger generation that has been growing up since the end of World War II is profoundly impressed by the ideology of the OUN and UPA. It is futile to try to combat the Ukrainian fight for independence solely by means of police measures. For this reason an attempt was made to bring political disrepute on it.

And one of the aims of this attempt was to defame the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which practically all the members of the "Nightingale" together with the Ukrainian commander, Roman Shukhevych, later known as General Taras Chuprynka, joined after the breach with Nazi Germany. Soon afterwards, Roman Shukhevych was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the 200,000 strong Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The heroic deeds of General Taras Chuprynka during the fight against Russia and Nazi Germany have become famed the world over.

The Soviet Russians were thus determined to sully the good name of the Ukrainian liberation hero, General Taras Chuprynka, by accusing him and his detachment of the mass murder of Ukrainians.

This large-scale defamation campaign was already planned in 1958 and was systematically prepared by both the Polish Communist and Soviet press.

The Soviet Ukrainian paper "Literaturna Gazeta" in its edition of October 16, 1959, shamelessly affirmed that the mass murders of "Soviet persons in Lemberg were organized by two officers, Roman Shukhevych and Theodor Oberländer".

Previously, numerous mock trials of OUN members were held in Ukraine, as for instance in Chervonoarmyska in Volhynia, and, subsequently, in Bels in the Lemberg district, during which the OUN members were accused of mass murder and reference was made to "wells filled with the corpses of the victims of the OUN gangsters".

The Lemberg journal "Zovten" in its issue No. 6 of June, 1959, published an article by Juriy Melnytchuk entitled "The Blood Curdles In One's Veins", in which unbelievable accusations were made against the OUN. At the same time a so-called documentary film was shown, in which the NKVD

mass murders were supposed to have been committed by the Ukrainian freedom fighters.

All this, so it is affirmed, is connected with the notorious extermination campaign carried on by the Gestapo in Ukraine. The Soviet Russians are trying to prove that Roman Shukhevych as Commander-in-Chief of the UPA was merely a Nazi hireling, who carried out Himmler's orders in Ukraine. Prof. Oberländer was allegedly only to play a subsidiary part in this connection as the political liaison officer of the Ukrainian detachment "Nightingale" at that time.

General Chuprynka was killed on March 5, 1950, whilst fighting against MVD troops. During the combats which took place between his army and Soviet Russian NKVD troops, Field Marshal Vatutin, the Commander-in-Chief of a Russian group of divisions in Ukraine, was killed in action on April 15, 1944; General Moskalenkov, the commander of NKVD troops in Ukraine, on May 3, 1946; the Polish Vice-Minister of Defence, General Walter Swierszcewski, on March 28, 1947. The German SA chief of staff Lutze was killed in action much earlier, namely on May 5, 1943. On May 12, 1947, the Soviet Union, Czecho-Slovakia and Poland signed a tripartite pact to combat the UPA.

But the memories which the Russians are doing their utmost to eradicate from the minds of the Ukrainian people, have made a deep and lasting impression on the latter. It is a known fact in Ukraine that, at the beginning of the war against Russia, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists tried to win over Germany for the cause of Ukrainian independence. And it is also a known fact that the opposition groups in the German army — who later took part in the attempt to assassinate Hitler in July 1944 — were on the side of the Ukrainian independence aims and tried to carry into effect the idea of support for the Ukrainian fight for independence. Indeed, it was this idea which led to the initiative of forming a Ukrainian detachment in conjunction with the German army, for it was hoped that, after the recognition of the independence of the Ukrainian state, this detachment would form the nucleus of a Ukrainian army.

Bandera as the Symbol of the Anti-Nazi and Anti-Russian Ukrainian Fight for Independence

After the government of the Third Reich refused to recognize the independence of Ukraine, Shukhevych and his detachment broke with Nazi Germany; the Gestapo arrested all the officers of his detachment, but Shukhevych himself managed to escape during transportation. Practically all the members of the "Nightingale" went over to the UPA. In this way the UPA received newly trained cadres. After taking over command of the UPA, Roman Shukhevych carried on a courageous fight against Nazi Germany.

It is obvious to anyone who is politically clear-sighted why the Soviet Russians are trying to cast the blame for the mass murders in Lemberg on to the "Nightingale".

Whilst Shukhevych-Chuprynka commanded the UPA, Stefan Bandera was interned in the German concentration camp in Sachsenhausen. The entire Ukrainian people were aware that and also knew the reason why the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, as well as the Ukrainian National Government under Jaroslaw Stetzko, which was not recognized by Hitler and was later arrested, were fighting the Nazi regime.

Stefan Bandera and Jaroslaw Stetzko remained interned for years in German concentration camps; in vain did one try to make them Nazi collaborators.

Hence the attempt is now made to falsify facts in the usual manner and defame the "Nightingale" detachment by affirming that its members were the hirelings of Himmler and Hitler. But this defamation campaign has tripped up on its own contradictions.

The Soviet Russians murdered Stefan Bandera, but they tried to blame the Germans for this crime. The staff of the KGB (Committee for State Security in Moscow) planned this murder, but, at the same time, wanted to divert suspicion from itself. For this reason the murder of Stefan Bandera was planned in such a manner that Khrushchov could later be exonerated of all responsibility and two birds could be killed with one stone.

It is easy to accuse the Germans with their Gestapo persecutions in Ukraine of various crimes, for the population there suffered great hardship under the Nazi occupation. On the other hand, however, one is also trying to stir up hatred against the West, for Stefan Bandera, who carried on his activity amongst the Ukrainian emigrants in the West, was greatly loved and respected by the Ukrainian people at home. At the same time, the German Federal Republic is an ally of the Americans and a member of the NATO. Federal Minister Oberländer has now therefore been chosen as the scapegoat for the perfidious game of the Russians, which has been staged by the MVD as a counter-move against the Ukrainian revolutionary fight for freedom, in order to defame and discredit the latter in the eyes of the youth of Ukraine and of the unsuspecting world. At the same time, the Adenauer government is to be compromised, and in this way one is aiming at three targets.

The German side, led by Federal Minister Oberländer, however, is defending itself

very unskilfully, for Minister Oberländer is only intent on defending himself and does not realize what a fiendish game Moscow has started with regard to himself. Moscow intends to use him as the reason for a large-scale campaign, in which he is not to be a central figure, however, but only a butt.

In reality, the entire Soviet Russian campaign against Prof. Oberländer is merely an interim episode, a secondary matter in the murder of Stefan Bandera, which was undoubtedly thought out and planned in every detail by the Kremlin. Prof. Oberländer was merely chosen as the victim of a defamation, as a scapegoat, in order to thrust the blame for the crime committed by Soviet Russian murderers onto Germans, — just as the Soviet Russians are trying to thrust the blame for the atrocities committed by themselves in Lviv, prior to the entry of German troops there in June 1941, onto the same Prof. Oberländer and the Ukrainian nationalists (and the Kremlin likewise tried to blame the Germans for the murder of thousands of Polish officers in Katyn, even though it was Stalin who gave instructions that the latter were to be murdered). It is thus obvious that the plan to murder the leader of the Ukrainian national liberation movement was carried out according to a definite method. And the Bolsheviks have succeeded in carrying out their plan, which is so very typical of Moscow's terrorist tactics, — both with regard to the vile crime itself and also as far as partly diverting public attention from the murderers to entirely different persons and circles, namely Germans, is concerned.

To Safeguard Indivisible Justice!

One must do Prof. Oberländer, who is allegedly such a suspicious person, justice: he had nothing whatever to do with the massacre comitted by the Soviet Russian NKVD in Lviv, in June 1941, nor with the atrocities which were later committed against Ukrainian nationalists by the Gestapo at Himmler's command. Moreover, Prof. Oberländer is undoubtedly the last person to whom one could impute the organization of a political crime; and to accuse him of the mass murder of Ukrainians, Poles or Jews is a typical example of Bolshevist insolence. But the very fact that Prof. Oberländer holds a ministerial post in Adenauer's Federal Government is reason enough for Moscow (and still more so, for Pankow, Prague and Warsaw) to hate him and defame him whenever possible.

The notorious cunning of the Bolsheviks even prompts one to raise the question whether Moscow had not still another secret reason for choosing a German politician as the scapegoat for the murder of Stefan Bandera; namely, in this way to provoke the indignation of the non-Russian peoples subjugated by Russia, of their national emigrant groups on this side of the Iron Curtain and of their political representatives against the German Federal Republic, whose leading dignitaries are accused of having organized and carried out the murder of the Ukrainian national leader, who was so greatly esteemed and honoured amongst the said peoples (and not only amongst the Ukrainians).

If Moscow was really pursuing this treacherous aim, then it has made a mistake in its calculations: the peoples subjugated by Communism and Russian imperialism are by no means so naive as to believe the Bolshevist defamations, and those who esteemed and honoured Stefan Bandera are not likely to give any credence to the lies of their and of his worst enemies.

And yet the West is committing a capital error in showing itself disposed to cover up and belittle this cowardly crime on the part of Moscow. And the West German government in particular, instead of trying to "appease" the "citizens" by degrading measures against the anti-Bolshevist emigrants, should, rather, bear in mind that this is not the first political murder planned and directed by the Kremlin (via Warsaw, Prague, Budapest, etc., or by direct means), that has occurred in the German Federal Republic, and that the time-bomb (in all probability from Prague) which killed the Slovak anti-Bolshevist emigrant politician, M. Cernak, in Munich in 1956, was not the first one that the Communist murderers in West Germany sent to their victim by post: it was only by sheer chance that the Federal Chancellor Dr. Adenauer escaped a similar attempt on his life in 1952. Under such circumstances, "to appease the citizens" at the expense of the anti-Bolshevist emigrants, is worse than pursuing an ostrich policy, for this is merely thoughtlessly following a course, the realization of which constitutes the aim of the Bolshevist provocations. And this at a time when a third of Germany is languishing under the Bolshevist yoke!

The Germans should start a large-scale counter-offensive and should emphatically refute the accusations made against them in such a defamatory manner by the Russians, for the Germans did not commit the mass murders in Ukraine at that time; and they should also stress the profounder significance of this campaign for the Ukrainian liberation movement, which later fought against the Nazi occupation in Ukraine. But, unfortunately, nothing whatsoever is done in this respect in Germany. In fact, the Germans even join in the Moscow defamation campaign against their own fellow-countryman and, like the Communists, demand the resignation of their Federal Minister, instead of defending the honour of the man who is entirely innocent of having committed the mass murders in Lviv in 1941, and

exposing the mass murderer Khrushchov, who at that time was Moscow's governor in Ukraine und gave orders that these murders were to be committed!

"Lies have short wings!"

Or, in other words, *"They mock themselves!"*

The Soviet Russians contradict themselves in their defamations against the battalion "Nightingale".

The official organ of the Ministry of Defence in Moscow, the "Krasnaja Svezda", of October 20, 1959, the "Radianska Ukraina", of October 21, 1959, and the "Komsomolskaja Pravda", of October 22 and 25, 1959, accuse the battalion "Nightingale" and Prof. Oberländer of carrying out a terrible massacre in Lviv, namely the murder of over 310,000 persons in the district of Lviv, and they insinuate that Bandera was in command of the "Nightingale" and was in Lviv with Oberländer. Bandera is supposed to have known certain secret details about Oberländer's alleged crime and for this reason was murdered at Oberländer's instructions. Actually, Bandera was not in Lviv at all at the time, but in Cracow, where he was under the police surveillance of the Gestapo; he was already arrested on July 5th and taken to Berlin. He was not a soldier, nor did he ever command the "Nightingale". He was the political leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. The Ukrainian military commander was Roman Shukhevych, *who found the body of his brother in a Lviv prison amongst the corpses of the persons murdered by the NKVD, a fact which became generally known.*

The responsibility for the entire campaign of the OUN in Ukraine at that time lay in the hands of Jaroslaw Stetzko, who was also the Prime Minister of the Ukrainian government that was combatted by Nazi Germany and who then introduced his extremely sharp anti-Nazi course. It was for this reason that he was already arrested by the Gestapo on July 11, 1941, and interned in the concentration camp in Sachsenhausen until September 30, 1944. Roman Shukhevych was the First Deputy Minister of Defence of the Stetzko government. The office of Minister of Defence was held by General Vsevolod Petriv (socialist).

Furthermore, the fact must also be mentioned that the organization of the "Nightingale" legion was supported by Admiral Canaris, who, as is well known, was Himmler's and Hitler's enemy and, of course, did not help to found this legion in conjunction with the German army for Himmler's aims and intentions. Incidentally, Admiral Canaris was later hanged by Himmler's henchmen, a fact which is known to the whole world.

In spite of the obvious Soviet Russian contradictions as regards the actual facts of that time, the Bolshevist papers continue to repeat the same lies about the mass murders committed by the "Nightingale" in Lviv. And, finally, *how could Ukrainian nationalists of the "Nightingale" come to have murdered other Ukrainian nationalists, their fellow-fighters and comrades, their brothers and compatriots in prison, and Roman Shukhevych his own brother?!* Only the Russians can lie to this extent.

The sword of Damocles of Bolshevist terrorism is already hanging over the head of West Germany, which is dazzled by its "economic miracle" and is spiritually disintegrated by opportunism and atomic bomb hysteria; and neither servile homage to the Kremlin nor any acrobatics of "peaceful coexistence" will be able to ward off the deadly danger of Soviet Russian imperialist aggression from Bonn and West Berlin.

And it will not be of any avail whatever to either West Germany or other "more western" countries to continue to turn a deaf ear to the only possibility of causing the Russian colonial and totalitarian imperium to vanish without an atomic war and, in fact, without a third world war. This possibility consists in forming an effective common liberation front with the non-Russian peoples subjugated by Communism and Russian imperialism, that is to say, the liberation revolutions, with the wholehearted — and military — support of the free world; with the peoples who are fighting against Moscow for their national independence under the everlasting motto of "Freedom for Individuals!" — under the motto of the A. B. N., as whose hero and martyr Stefan Bandera will go down in the history of mankind.

S. S.

Dr. I. Kucherepa Elected Chairman of the Executive of the Parliamentary Association of the NATO

At the recent annual assembly of the Canadian Parliamentary Association of the NATO, which took place in Ottawa on February 11th, the representative of the Canadian Federal Parliament, Dr. Ivan *Kucherepa*, a Canadian of Ukrainian descent, was elected Chairman of the Executive. Dr. Kucherepa also continues to remain a member of the Permanent Commission of the NATO and of the Statute Commission. The representative of the Canadian Parliament (for Toronto), Arthur *Malony*, who is known as a friend of the Ukrainians, has also been elected a member of the Executive, which consists of 21 representatives and 3 senators.

Dr. Kucherepa already took part in the Paris Conference of the NATO in 1958 and in the Washington Conference of the NATO in 1959 as a member of the Canadian delegation, and on these occasions he distinguished himself by his excellent knowledge of East European problems and by his uncompromising anti-Soviet attitude.

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

Russian Colonial Policy

(Conclusion)

5. Culture

A special feature of Russian colonialism is her policy in regard to culture. This concentrates above all in imposing Russian culture and oppressing the national culture. Tsarist Russia had already tried to carry out this policy in Turkestan in 1878, by forming a commission to spread Russian culture. Soviet Russia does not need to establish commissions like this because it can act under the cloak of "internationalism", "Soviets", "Brotherly love", Marxism, Leninism, Communism and Socialism. Under Soviet Russia the national culture has suffered severely because:

1. Instead of the Turkestanian classics, Russian classical literature is predominant, i. e. mainly Russian works are published.
2. History has been falsified and the teaching of Turkestanian history prohibited. Russian history presents Turkestan as though it had never been an independent state. The risings against Russia are described as reactionary and the country's annexation by Russia as progressive, etc.
3. The national melodies are inter-mixed with Russian ones.
4. The schools are used not merely to train the children and youth in the spirit of Communism, but in addition to inspire the youth with respect for the Russians and their culture.
5. Cultural monuments of the past are not cared for.
6. Publications in the Russian language are increased and great importance is attached to the translation of Russian works.

This is a brief summary of Russia's action in the cultural life of Turkestan. The Turkestanians in the Soviet service have the following to say about this, like the poet Gafur Gulam: "The museums only show old ploughs and broken tea kettles and the directors say that these are the only relics of the past" ("Pravda Vostoka" of 2. 2. 1956, page 3).

Another poet, Mustafin, remarked:

> "The management of publishing houses and book shops is reducing the editions of books by Kazakh writers. This raises the question whether the head of this management, Comrade Basov (a Russian), understands the national policy of the party at all". ("Kasachstanskaya Pravda" of 28. 1. 1956, page 3.)

The present Secretary of the Soviet Union C. P., Mukhitdin, himself admitted:

> "We do not know whom to approach about the state of the historical monuments". ("Qizil Uzbekistan of 27. 7. 1956, page 1.)

He also said:

> "The Composers' Association discussed at length the question of making use of the national tradition in music. Those who used the national rhythms in their compositions were accused of being retrograde and conservative".

Naturally the Chairman of this Composers' Association is a Russian, Rudakov.

Another scholar, Issar Sultan, wrote:

> "Were we to believe the nihilists, who disparage the cultural heritage of our people, we would think that the history of our people is lacking in cultural developments". ("Pravda Vostoka" of 10. 10. 1956, page 4.)

Notwithstanding these complaints a Party official said:

> "A few reactionary circles abroad allege that the Soviet rulers ignore the cultural heritage of the people. This is nonsense". ("Pravda Voskota" of 14. 10. 1956.)

Another Party official said the opposite when he declared:

> "Bokhara is of course an ancient city and it has many ancient monuments. I must say however that no one takes the trouble to look after them". ("Qizil Uzbekistan" of 31. 1. 1956, page 4.)

The Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mukhitdin, who is himself a Turkestanian, said in Tashkent on 10. 3. 1958:

> "I think it is wrong that school-children and students in the central and high schools of the Union Republics, including Uzbekistan, should not be taught more history and geography of their own Republic". ("Qizil Uzbekistan" of 11. 3. 1958, page 2.)

All these statements reveal that cultural life in Turkestan is suffering from a colonial cultural policy. This is also clear from the ballet books published in 1955. The share in book-publishing of the non-Russians in the Soviet Union was only 40,3 millions as against a total edition published of 286,6 millions ("Die Welt" of 19. 8. 1957, page 7), although non-Russians make up the majority of the population of the Soviet Union.

6. Russification

Russification was and is a characteristic feature of Russian colonial policy. This has been the case especially since 1938, when the Russian language was made compulsory. Any Turkestanian who does not know Russian is not allowed to study at high schools. Russian was made the state language. Affairs of state are conducted in the Russian language. In 1928/29 the Arab script was abolished and a modified Latin script introduced. In 1940/41 the Russian script was brought in. This made the Russification of writing complete. This was a hard blow to the Turkish and Islamic peoples. It is no longer possible for youth to inherit the intellectual legacy of its forefathers. The Moslem peoples of the Soviet Union have therefore been cut off from the other Islamic peoples.

A very large number of purely Russian words have been adopted in the Turkish language. For instance, by 1930 the Uzbekistan dialect of the Turkish language consisted of about 10 % Russian words, by 1950 of about 18 % Russian words ("Qizil Uzbekistan" of 14. 5. 1952, quoted by "Millij Turkestan", No. 82, A. page 16). Teaching in the mother-tongue has also been curtailed. For instance, in the 4th class the school children spend 3 hours per week learning their mother-tongue and 5 hours learning Russian. Names have also been Russified by the suffix "ov". For example, the name Hakim has been changed to Hakomov, like the Russian Ivan, Ivanov. The names of many Turkestan villages and towns have also been changed to Russian names.

The so-called "internationalist marriages", i. e. marriages between Turkestanians and Russians, have been encouraged, though such marriages have not become very prevalent. In addition, anyone who can speak Russian well is allowed to put down his nationality as Russian. Persons who use many Russian words in their mother - tongue rank as well - educated people.

In the schools, too, Russians are gladly admitted. Of the 7,994 schools in the Kazakhstan Soviet Republic, 4,166 were intended for Russians. Of approx. 40,000 teachers in the Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan, 54,4 % were Russians. The 36 high schools in this Republic were attended by 22,000 Russians and 13,000 Turkestanians, although the Russians only represent 5,8 % of the total population in this part of Turkestan. Over the course of 25 years, of the 4,814 persons who passed through the Tashkent Medical School, only 20 % were Turkestanians and the rest Russians. During the 10 years from 1940 to 1950, only 10 Turkestanians passed through the "Central Asian State University" of Tashkent, all the others being Russians ("Millij Tur-

kistan" No. 70/71, pages 30—32). All this shows how the process of Russification is being carried out and how the Russians are given preference in Turkestan.

7. Colonization

The word "colony" comes from the Latin "colonia", which meant a settlement of foreign soil. By the end of the 15th century, this word had come to mean, unlike the significance attached to it in ancient history, the political, military and economic domination of other countries by Western Europe. In our day the term colonialism has come to be regarded as synonymous with imperialism. Consequently it has lost its original meaning and has come to signify political ends. Here the term colonization is used in its original meaning and signifies Russia's settlement policy. According to official statistics, in 1939 there were in Turkestan 2,128,225 Russian or other Slav settlers. At present the number of settlers in Turkestan is estimated at more than 4 millions. They are being used in industry, transport, agriculture and administration. This figure does not include people sent into exile. The Tsarist and Red settlers together constitute the pillar of Russian power in Turkestan, having proved to be more reliable elements for Russia and the Soviets than the Turkestanians.

Colonization measures have been greatly intensified under Khrushchov, since he ordered the opening up of the virgin lands in Turkestan in 1954. By the end of 1957, 425 new sovchoses (state property) had been formed in the northern area of the Republic of Kazakhstan, exclusively by new settlers. These new colonials, as Khrushchov said, have the following tasks:

> "We must quickly occupy and settle the free lands in the East. The culture of the towns must be brought to the steppes. Whoever comes here from outside must be able to see that Moscow people live there and live well. Many of you are going to Kazakhstan. There are plenty of reeds there which you can use to build homes" ("Qizil Uzbekistan" of 9. 1. 55, page 2).

A year later in 1956 he said:

> "You will not merely be building factories, pits, power stations and railways, but will be introducing our great Russian culture in these regions" ("Pravda" of 19. 5. 1956).

He also made the following remarks:

> "The wealth in the East and North of the Soviet Union is not yet being fully exploited. The riches of these territories are inexhaustible. There are still not enough settlers there. Intrepid, industrious folk are needed" ("Pravda" of 13. 4. 1956).

Owing to these intensified colonization measures the Turkestanians are being evicted out of their homelands. Soviet Russia is at present striving hard to put into effect the aim of Tsarist Russia, namely to turn Turkestan into a Russian province.

Up to now this colonization has been impeded by natural causes, e. g. climatic conditions and irrigation difficulties. The Soviet Government is at present striving to overcome these. The Russians will have to get used to the climate of the steppes, and the scarcity of water is to be overcome by building artificial irrigation plants. The cultivation of cotton and silk is to be completely mechanised. It is planned to settle colonials right out as far as the Tien-Shan and Pamir mountains, the object being not purely economic, but also political, i. e. to strengthen the frontiers by Russian colonizers.

All these colonial policy methods are by no means ended. A particularly effective field for colonial policy is the fight against Islam which, in Tsarist times, was carried on for political reasons and in Soviet times primarily for ideological reasons. Unfortunately it is not possible here to go into the opposition to customs, practices

and traditions which is inherent in Soviet Russia's Islamic policy. We can only point out that the fight against Islam is one method of Russian colonial policy that has had far-reaching consequences in a country which up to the present has been very religious and conservative.

The facts set forth above have led us to conclude that Russia is one of the greatest, most dangerous, most successful and most skilful colonial powers in the world. The problem of Russian colonialism and of the colonial peoples in the Russian Empire remains a problem for our times. There has not been sufficient research into Russian colonialism in the form of Communism. A few experts have tried to prove that Russian does not mean Soviet, and Soviet does not mean Russian. We do not think this is true. There are political links between the two which make it impossible to separate them. We must not forget that Communism only became powerful through the Russians. It is therefore impossible only to combat Communism and to continue to cultivate imperialism.

At the present moment the Soviet Union is making great play with anti-colonial talk in the East. Many believe what she says, not realizing that Russia is herself a colonial power. The Eastern peoples should not be blamed for this, as many of them were colonies of Western Europe and are still obsessed by the fact. If the free peoples of the East and West are to continue in existence, therefore, there must be wide-spread, intensive and well-organized clarification on the subject of Russian colonialism. Otherwise Russia's penetration into the East will continue to prove successful. If the peoples of Europe, America and Asia wish for permanent order in the world at all they must, therefore, aim at freeing the peoples held by Russia in subjection.

World Anti-Communist Congress only Proper Answer to Moscow's Plans of Peaceful Destruction of Freedom in the World

Recently preparations were resumed to convoke the First World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation. The first organized steps to call such Congress were made in March 1958 in Mexico City, where the delegates from over 60 countries decided to fight unitedly against Communism and Soviet Russian imperialism to bring about the downfall of Communist tyranny and the Russian slave empire.

The Preparatory Conference for the First Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation like no other anti-Communist conference before went in its resolutions and declarations down to the very roots of the Communist menace, pointing out that Moscow is the master organizer of Communist conspiracy in its drive toward world domination.

In a preamble to the Political Statement which was unanimously accepted by the Preparatory Conference, the political objectives of the future Congress were clearly specified. The main task of the Congress is to "promote the cause of final liberation of all enslaved nations and peoples now living under the heel of totalitarian Soviet Russian imperialism and Communist regimes directed from Moscow".

The Preparatory Conference advocated speedy convocation of the First World Anti-Communist Congress, which in turn will establish the World Anti-Communist League. Due to technical and other difficulties the convocation of the Congress was delayed.

Recent political events in the world indicate that such an anti-Communist Congress is of the utmost importance. The observance of the Captive Nations Week in the United States, the Soviet Russian angry reaction to this observance, the visit of Soviet Premier Khrushchov to the United States and the forthcoming summit conference and visit to the Soviet Union by President Eisenhower, the beginning of a new phase in the political warfare conducted by Moscow — all these events affect the future of all nations of Eastern and Central Europe now under Moscow's domination. It is evident that Moscow is anxious to gain time to consolidate its vast empire and to prepare for the final attack against the free world.

With the election of the well-known American politician *Mr. C. J. Kersten* as Secretary General of the Steering Committee, the chances for speedy convocation of the Congress have improved. It is to be hoped that Mr. C. J. Kersten will be able to impress various anti-Communist organizations with the need for promptness in seizing the opportunities now presented.

Dr. Ctibor Pokorny

What Is The ACEN?

For some years a peculiar society of exile politicians from the satellite countries of Moscow, which pompously calls itself "Assembly of Captive European Nations" (ACEN), has been asserting itself in public. What is this society? Who is behind it? What are its aims? And what purpose does it serve?

The ACEN was called into being by the same American circles that are behind Radio Free Europe, that is to say by the Free Europe Committee. It was and is sponsored, supported and financed by these American circles. Hence the ACEN is in reality only an institution or an organ of the Free Europe Committee. The purpose of the ACEN is obviously to arouse the impression in the free world that Radio Free Europe is the acknowledged spokesman of the peoples subjugated by Moscow and that the exile politicians united or engaged in the ACEN are the genuine representatives of their peoples, which is a ridiculous presumption.

The political principle of the ACEN is the same as that of Radio Free Europe: to preserve the status quo in Europe which has been established by Moscow on the strength of the agreements of Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam, and to "liberalize" the Communist "People's Democracies" in the satellite countries of the Soviet Union. Hence the ACEN does not recognize the right of self-determination of the peoples subjugated by Moscow. It opposes the idea of the disintegration of the Soviet Union into free and independent national states. It denies the right of the Ukrainians or Slovaks, for instance, to restore and rebuild their sovereign states which existed prior to the Russian Bolshevist aggression and occupation. It is only in favour of the state structures and frontiers in Central, East and Southeast Europe which Moscow, too, recognizes and designates as "independent" states in its own sphere of influence! (An exception in this respect are possibly the Baltic states, since the US Government has not recognized their occupation.)

The ACEN obviously does not want to abolish the Communist system of coercion in the satellite countries, but only to moderate it. This is clearly evident from the fact that the exile politicians united in the ACEN endeavour to depict the political development in the Russian-controlled countries of East, Central and Southeast Europe after World War II as if the Communist dictatorships were only introduced there in 1948. Actually, there were no genuine democracies there but only Communist "People's Democracies" from the moment that the Red Army invaded these countries. That is to say, from 1945 onwards, and in some countries, in fact, from the autumn of 1944 onwards. To describe the regimes in the so-called Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, Roumania and Albania during the years 1945 to 1948 as democracies, in the Western sense of the word, is a gross falsification of history.

The essential difference between the "People's Democracies" of 1945—1948 and of today is merely that during the first post-war period the Communists were obliged to disguise their "People's Democratic" dictatorship by including various collaborators from bourgeois parties, whereas later on they did not need to do so. Since then, the bolshevization and sovietization of the countries in question has, of course, been carried on systematically. There is thus no difference in the essential character of the regime, but only in the degree of sovietization of the country ruled by Communism.

The members of the ACEN are for the most part persons who, during the years 1945 to 1948, collaborated with Moscow and the Communists and, together with the latter, were responsible for the conditions at that time and also for the later political developments in their countries. They cooperated with the Communists in governments established by the grace of Stalin; together with the Communists they represented the "People's Democracies"; together with the Communists they suppressed anti-Communist resistance forces and liquidated countless opponents of the Communist system. (Incidentally, our remarks do not refer to the Baltic representatives, who did not collaborate with Bolshevism.)

It is therefore perfectly understandable that such persons long for the "golden age" of their own collaboration with Communism and would like to rule again in the same way as they ruled together with the Communists until 1948. In the opinion of these shady characters, this would obviously be the desired "liberalization" of the Communist system. But those people who were the victims of their foolish policy do not want either Communism or "People's Democracy", but genuine national freedom and independence and the right to decide their own fate in their own states!

In order to form a clear picture of the type of persons who constitute this questionable society, it no doubt suffices to mention the fact that the Czech exile politician, Dr. Peter Zenkl, was chosen as their president. He was one of the closest co-workers of that notorious political failure, Benes, who as the quartermaster of Bolshevism in Central Europe plunged not only his own

Czech people, but also other Central European peoples and countries into misery and disaster. Zenkl himself after World War II was the leader of the Czech socialist party which closely collaborated with the Communist Party. In the Prague government headed by the Communist leader Gottwald, Zenkl was deputy Prime Minister (Vice-Premier). Whilst this government was in power, the greatest terrorism prevailed in so-called Czecho-Slovakia against all those who opposed Communism and this artificial state structure. And in the following years, when the sovietization of the countries of Czecho-Slovakia progressed still further, the terrorism of the early post-war years was hardly surpassed.

Zenkl most certainly also bears a large share of the responsibility for the criminal activity of the said Gottwald government. He is likewise in part responsible for the many crimes which the government that he represented committed, instigated, tolerated or concealed.

From April 5, 1945, to February 23, 1948, Dr. Peter Zenkl, Czech national socialist, was first deputy Prime Minister of the Prague Popular Front Government, under the presidency of Clement Gottwald, the Czech Communist leader. He was one of the most prominent representatives of the Czech party which was responsible for the inhuman expulsion of the Sudeten-Germans.

In May 1947, an agreement was signed between the Prague, Warsaw and Moscow governments regarding joint action against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

Perhaps the deputy Prime Minister of the Prague government at that time, Dr. Peter Zenkl, who now lives in New York and is the head of the Assembly for Captive European Nations, can supply more details about this disgraceful agreement, which was signed at his orders?!!

Zenkl was a reliable collaborator and vassal of Moscow as long as the Communists needed his services. During the session of the provisional "National Assembly" in Prague on May 7, 1946, for instance, he voiced the following sentiments:

"Loyalty to the confederacy with the U. S. S. R. and brotherly love towards the peoples of the great Russia are to us Czechs and Slovaks genuine and firm bonds for our whole nation. And herein lies the symbol and the obligation for all those who guide or will guide its (i. e. of the nation) policy. The commandment of the loyal alliance of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic with the U. S. S. R. is based on our profoundest historical traditions, on our position in the world and in Europe, as well as on the spontaneous will of the entire Czecho-Slovakian people, who are and must be the sole representative of the state power of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic."

And on another occasion he said in the Prague parliament:

"There will certainly never be any quarrel between the nationally conscious Czechs and Slovaks about the fact that a close and systematic cooperation with the Soviet Union is in our interests and also in international interests. Never without the Soviet Union, — always shoulder to shoulder with it!"

It is unnecessary to cite further examples and to devote more attention to the person of Zenkl and the entire society which designates itself as the ACEN than they deserve.

The ACEN is nothing but a society of bankrupt exile politicians, who are not to be taken seriously and who, in reality, only represent themselves and their American financial backers and employers.

The Eucharistic World Congress And The Persecuted Churches

Will it fulfil the hopes of the subjugated peoples?

The Eucharistic World Congress is undoubtedly an event of the utmost importance. It will most certainly help to strengthen the faith and hope in a victory of the good forces in this world.

On looking through the programme of the Congress, one is undoubtedly impressed by the manifold variety of the ideas of the Christian faith, to which expression is to be given during the various meetings and sessions. But there is one depressing fact, and that is that nowhere in the programme is there any mention of the life-and-death struggle of the persecuted Christians and true believers behind the Iron Curtain. Devotions and expiation services are to be held by the nations on the site of the former concentration camp in Dachau to commemorate the victims of the Nazis. It is right that this should be so, but the far greater and far more numerous mass murders of true believers, which godless Bolshevism during the forty years of its terrorist rule has committed against countless millions of freedom-loving and pious persons of various nations, have been forgotten. There is no commemoration service for these victims in the official programme of the Congress. In view of the present and most ruthless religious persecution of all time, this should surely be one of the most important features of the programme of the Eucharistic World Congress! Militant atheism can only be fought successfully by militant religious faith.

And what is even more depressing is the fact that among the "International Sessions and Meetings" of the Eucharistic Congress there is a "Nordic Day", "South American

Day", a "Mission of Africa", a "Mission of Asia", and a "Mission of the Islamic Countries", etc., but no "Meeting of the Catholics who have been driven out of their country by the godless Bolsheviks", and no "Day of the persecuted Church of Christ in the Soviet Russian sphere of influence", etc. Among the "Cultural Events" on the programme of the Congress there is likewise no event in commemoration of the martyrdom and heroism of the persecuted Christians. There are exhibitions such as "Bavarian Piety" and "Catholic Missionary Exhibition", for instance, but no exhibition which features the "Persecution of the Churches behind the Iron Curtain". We are still hoping that a supplement will be added to the programme of the Eucharistic World Congress; and we likewise hope that His Holiness the Pope will devote some words to our persecuted Churches in his address and that the martyrdom of our bishops and, in particular, that of the head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, Metropolitan Josef Slipyj, will be stressed. We also trust that with the assumption of office by His Eminence Cardinal Cicognani as Prefect of the Eastern Congregation of the Holy Office, certain changes will take place there as regards a fitting appreciation of our Eastern Churches.

One cannot fail to be surprised at the fact that one finds among the 150 pictures of churches hanging in the corridors of the Eastern Congregation in Rome, apart from one or two pictures of St. Sophia's in Kyiv, only pictures of the Russian Orthodox Church. There might never have been such a thing as the Georgian, Armenian and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches with their famous old cathedrals, or the Cathedrals of Constantinople; not to mention the fact that there is not even a picture of the venerable Cathedral of the Ukrainian United Church in Lemberg. These examples reflect the attitude towards our Churches.

It certainly strikes one as strange that there is no representative of the Ukrainian Catholic Church employed in the Congregation of the Eastern Churches as a permanent specialist. And the Ukrainians were extremely disappointed at the fact that Archbishop Josef Slipyj, in spite of his martyrdom, was once again passed over when new Cardinals were appointed recently.

In his idea of the Oecumenical Council, His Holiness the Pope reveals great sympathy for the Christian Eastern Churches, and hence we are confident that he will in the course of time fulfil the hopes of the true believers among our peoples.

We must wholeheartedly fulfil our Christian duty towards our fighting peoples and persecuted Churches in order to make the world realize the truth about them.

S. S.

Dr. Ante Pavelic and Colonel Mirko Belan

On April 10, 1960, the Croats in Munich celebrated the 22nd anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of Croatia. The above picture of Dr. Ante Pavelic and Col. Mirko Belan (deceased November, 1959) was distributed to those who participated in the celebration, together with the following text.

"The President of the Free Croatian State, Dr. Ante Pavelic, who died on December 28, 1959, sacrificed his life for the freedom and independence of the Croatian State.

To our late Poglavnik!

The Croatian fighters stood guard on the last post during your lifetime! The Croatian fighters will continue to stand guard there! We shall continue to fight for God and the independence of the Croatian State. God and the desire for freedom are stronger than the Communist and imperialist poison of hatred!

Ante, you will remain ours and we shall remain yours!"

Dr. Ctibor Pokorny

The Anniversary of the Proclamation of Slovakia's Independence

(March 14, 1939))*

At this time, the Slovak people in their enslaved native country and the refugees, expellees and emigrants from Slovakia in the free world think back more than ever to the historical events which, 21 years ago, on March 14, 1939, led to the victory of the right of self-determination of the Slovak people, to the proclamation of the indepen-

*) Address held in Munich on March 14, 1960.

Dr. Ctibor Pokorny, Vice-President of the Slovak Liberation Committee, during his address.

dence of Slovakia and the founding of the Slovak Republic.

It is with joy and pride that we recall this day of victory in the history of Slovakia.

We are proud of all that the Slovak nation and the individual national groups of Slovakia achieved during the six years in which the country of Slovakia enjoyed state independence, during the troubled years of World War II. During the period of its national freedom and state independence, Slovakia enjoyed a unique era of prosperity, the most illustrious epoch in its modern history. In every sphere of national life, Slovakia achieved successes of which all patriotic sons and daughters of Slovakia can always be proud. And all this was accomplished under extremely difficult conditions, in the heart of Europe, during World War II.

The six years of the state independence of Slovakia are clear proof that the Slovak people are mature enough to lead a free and independent life and that Slovakia possesses all the necessary preconditions for state independence.

The Slovak Republic was not only a state capable of leading a sound political and economic existence, but also a state which was capable of solving its social and ethnical problems in keeping with Christian moral principles. The nationality questions were solved in the Slovak Republic in a manner satisfactory to everyone, that is to say in a way that has so far not been surpassed by any other state in Europe. Hence, Slovakia has set Europe a good example, worthy to be imitated.

In looking back to March 14, 1939, we not only recall the gratifying events and successes of the past, but we are also inevitably bound to think of the present unhappy fate of Slovakia.

At the end of World War II, in the spring of 1945, Slovakia was occupied by the Red Army, ravaged, enslaved and plunged into disaster and misery. The tragic development of events robbed Slovakia of its independence, freedom and prosperity. And it was now incorporated in the Soviet Russian sphere of influence. Against the will of the Slovak people, the artificial state structure of Czecho-Slovakia was restored and a "People's Democratic" dictatorship introduced in Slovakia. Since then, unhappiness and misery, enslavement and lawlessness prevail there.

But the Slovak people are not prepared to renounce their national freedom, their state independence and their culture and traditions. Nor are they prepared to resign themseves to foreign rule and Communist slavery.

For the past fifteen years the subjugated people of Slovakia have unceasingly put up a resistance against Communist dictatorship and the compulsory state structure of Czecho-Slovakia, against the alien rule of Moscow and Prague. The Slovak nation has remained true to its tradition, to its Christian Occidental culture and to its state integrity. The Slovak people have never renounced their right of self-determination, their national freedom and their Slovak Republic. The spirit of March 14th lives on in the hearts of the Slovak people; it inspires them with hope and courage, and strengthens their faith in the future and their resistance. The ideal that was realized on March 14, 1939, continues to remain the desire, the wish and the aim of the Slovak people. They wish to regain their free Slovak state — the Slovak Republic — and to become partners with equal rights in the European community of peoples.

March 14, 1939, is not only an occasion for us to remember. It is also an obligation on our part. It is the noble task and sacred duty of those Slovakians of us who are now living in the free world to warn the latter against the Communist danger and against Russian imperialism and colonialism, and to give our services and fight for the indivisibility of freedom, for the right of self-determination of the peoples, for the national independence of the peoples subjugated by Russia and by Communism, and for the freedom and independence of our native country. It is our task to proclaim the real truth about Slovakia and to interpret and repre-

sent the true will of the enslaved Slovak people. Bound up as we are in our inmost hearts with our suffering country, it is our task and mission to enlighten the world, truthfully and courageously, as to conditions in Slovakia, the fate of our sorely tried country and the sincere desire of the Slovak people.

And it is in this spirit and in this firm belief in the liberation and the future of Slovakia that I today welcome this assembly, on behalf of the Slovak Liberation Committee.

A Jailer Remains A Jailer!

France exiles Freedom Fighters to Corsica

Fifteen years after the cessation of hostilities in World War II, the Slovak people outside the borders of their state are today celebrating the anniversary of the founding of the Slovak Republic. In the meantime the Slovaks have been deprived of their independence, and their right of self-determination has been violated by the major powers of the world, who have also degraded other European peoples that were proud of their traditions and their culture to the status of colonies of the Soviet Russian sphere of influence.

At the present time it is precisely such a day of commemoration as this which is an occasion for all the members of the deceived and enslaved European and Christian peoples, together with the representatives of the Slovak people, to proclaim their will to freedom, determinedly and emphatically.

There can be no easing of international tension nor genuine peace as long as over two hundred million non-Russians are living in Soviet Russian fetters and are ruled arbitrarily by the modern Antichrist. Peace cannot be established as long as independent states such as Slovakia are struck off the map, as long as Berlin continues to be an endangered island in the centre of a Bolshevist colony and as long as Soviet Russian hordes stand in readiness to attack in Thuringia and along the Elbe.

For years, international institutions and statesmen of the major powers have been making solemn declarations, in which the sacred right of self-determination of the peoples and the right to freedom for every individual are assured.

Today, when the major powers are vieing with each other in shaking hands with the head of world Communism and exchanging confidential smiles with him, an attempt is made to rob those who have escaped from the Soviet Russian prison of their freedom once more and to send them on compulsory leave. Prison-bars remain prison-bars, even if they are of gold! And a jailer remains a jailer, even if he acquires the manners of a perfect diplomat!

We would never have thought it possible that precisely France, which 181 years ago hoisted the flag of freedom, equality and brotherhood, would suddenly and without warning deport people who have sought asylum on its soil to Corsica, merely to please Khrushchov and on the strength of lists presented by the Soviet Russian security police.

The Occident is at present fighting for its culture and for its existence. A fight can be waged with various means, including soldiers and generals. None less than Napoleon once said: "There are no poor soldiers; *there are only poor generals*". In the free West there are excellent soldiers everywhere, who are prepared to bring the advance of Bolshevism to a halt, with courage and determination. We are of the opinion that, with but a few exceptions, it is the generals of the West who are unable to keep pace with their soldiers.

But this fact will not discourage us. Since we believe in God, we also believe in a miracle that will bring about a turning-point, especially this year when the ideas of the coexistence show are to carried out in series. And we also know perfectly well that our brothers and sisters in our native country will not remain passive much longer. In spite of the fact that their hopes have been shattered, in spite of all the humiliations and persecutions to which they have been subjected, these peoples who have been written off by the major powers have not given up their will to freedom. They are still capable of liberating themselves. And there are plenty of indications of this fact. Like the phoenix, our peoples will rise from the ashes.

It is in this spirit that we feel the close ties that bind us today with the courageous, freedom-loving Slovak people, with whom we join in proclaiming:

Long live independent and free Slovakia!
Long live freedom for all and everywhere!*)

Ion V. Emilian (Roumania)

A Letter to "ABN Correspondence"

I regularly read and translate for my friends your immensely interesting and striking articles in "ABN-Correspondence". We were very deeply grieved at the treacherous assassination of the great Ukrainian leader Stepan Bandera, and I wish to express our sincere condolences to you and to all anti-Russian fellow-fighters in our common cause, — the disintegration of the Russian imperium.

Dr. Arin Engin, Istanbul, Turkey.

*) Speech held at the celebration in Munich in March 1960, to mark the anniversary of the proclamation of Slovakia's independence.

News and Views

A Declaration by the International Federation of Refugee and Emigrant Christian Workers in France on the Occasion of Khrushchov's Visit

Paris, March 1, 1960.

The refugee workers from the countries of Central and East Europe — Baltic nationals, Byelorussians, Croats, Hungarians, Poles, Roumanians, Serbs, Slovaks and Ukrainians — who are members of the Christian syndicates, the C.F.T.C., and are assembled here today in Paris, feel bound to express their views on the visit to France of the main representative of a regime of tyranny and persecution, Khrushchov, since they regard this as their duty to the ideals and principles which they hold dear and to their fellow-countrymen, who are suffering under this regime and are not able to express their own opinion freely.

They wish to stress their loyalty and their gratitude to France for the hospitality it has accorded them in providing them with asylum and work, and they corroborate their adherence to the principles of the Christian syndicalism and of the C.F.T.C., of which they are members. They are aware of the fact that the invitation extended to Khrushchov to visit France was prompted by important reasons of national and international politics and by anxiety as regards world peace.

They have every confidence in the political leaders of France, who will soon be discussing the problems pertaining to world peace with Khrushchov and will be called upon to defend the fundamental principles that are necessary in order to establish a just and lasting peace.

In spite of all this, however, the attitude of the refugee workers from the countries of East Europe is one of reserve, for they doubt whether Khrushchov's intentions as regards peace are genuine and sincere. They point out that Khrushchov, who is the absolute ruler of a totalitarian regime which subjugates about 300 million persons and has committed and continues to commit genocidal crimes against the peoples of Central and East Europe, is not worthy to negotiate with the representatives of the free world on peace terms.

They contest Khrushchov's right to speak on behalf of the peoples of East Europe and of the working masses, since he is solely the spokesman and representative of a tyranny that has silenced and enslaved the said peoples, who have been robbed of freedom and peace.

They stress that the technical progress of the U.S.S.R. — of which Soviet state capitalism is proud, as though technical progress were an aim in itself — has cost the lives of millions of people and has only been achieved by exploiting millions of so-called free workers and other persons, who were sentenced to slave-labour with the above aim in mind.

They point out that, in order to ensure a just and lasting peace, a number of necessary conditions must first of all be fulfilled; above all, that a democratic regime, that is based on freedom and social justice, should be set up again in every part of the world and for all peoples.

The refugee workers from East Europe exhort the French politicians who negotiate with Khrushchov on the terms regarding unions between the West and the East and on the establishment of world peace, to put the following demands to the present rulers of the U.S.S.R.:

That the principles of free self-determination for the peoples, according to which they shall rule themselves, and the right to national independence shall come into force immediately;

That free and controlled elections shall be organized;

That the entire Charter of Human Rights shall be applied to all Soviet legislation;

That concentration camps and slave-labour camps shall be abolished;

That free syndicalism shall be established;

That freedom of expression, of the press and of political and religious institutions shall be restored;

That all deportation and displacement of non-Russian peoples to Siberia, etc., shall cease immediately.

Under these conditions alone, a suitable basis can be found for discussions regarding the establishment of a just and lasting peace and for the strengthening of the friendship between the free peoples.

It is in this spirit that the refugee workers from East Europe who are living in France send greetings to their fellow-countrymen in East Europe and assure them that, until the day when Soviet tyranny is overthrown, they will always continue to be their loyal spokesmen in the free world, and that they will always fight side by side with them in the common fight of all the subjugated peoples against the Communist dictatorship and, with them, will always support the cause of national liberation and peace amongst the free nations.

They appeal to the solidarity of the C.F.T.C. to support their campaign for the subjugated peoples and the working masses of these peoples, who cannot take action themselves in order to assert their rights.

Jaroslaw Stetzko Visits Rome

In February this year, Jaroslaw Stetzko visited Rome in order to further contacts with Italian anti-Communist circles and also to have important talks with the Vatican authorities. His talks with His Eminence Cardinal Ottaviani, the Prefect of the Roman Congregation of the Holy Office, whose sermons against coexistence and the pilgrimages of Western statesmen to Moscow, prior to the visit of President Gronchi to the Bolshevist paradise, met with great response in the entire free world, were of particular interest. Mr. Stetzko also had talks with the Prefect of the Oriental Congregation, Cardinal Cicognani, the successor of Cardinal Tisserant, and with the American Cardinal Dr. Munch. He discussed various important questions with competent personalities of the State Secretariate, of which His Eminence Cardinal Tardini is the head, with representatives of the Jesuit Order, with the President of the Marianic Academy and many other prominent persons.

Jaroslaw Stetzko also visited Archbishop Bucko and informed him on the present anti-Bolshevist campaigns of the Ukrainian liberation movement and the ABN. On two occasions he was the guest of the Chinese Embassy in Rome and held a speech before a large audience of foreign guests at a reception. The Chinese Ambassador gave a reception and dinner for Mr. Stetzko and a number of Italian guests.

Mr. Stetzko discussed the problems of the anti-Bolshevist world-front and the part played in this front by the peoples subjugated by Moscow with the Italian anti-Communist circles interested in these questions. Towards the end of his stay in Rome he was received in audience by His Holiness the Pope. His Holiness gave the Ukrainian people and all the other subjugated peoples his apostolic blessing and mentioned the martyrdom of Ukraine. During this audience Jaroslaw Stetzko handed His Holiness a memorandum, in which he dealt with important questions of an ideological and national religious character, — the ideological crusade of the world against godless Moscow, the part played by the underground Church of the subjugated peoples, in particular in Ukraine, and also pertinent national religious problems of the World Congress. Memoranda on these questions were also handed to the Cardinals.

During Khrushchov's visit to France the Ukrainian and Georgian political refugees there issued a special combined edition of the two papers published in France. This special edition was intended to give the public an insight into the atrocities committed by Khrushchov.

SUPPLÉMENT -- MARS 1960 Reproduction autorisée

L'UKRAINIEN

La NATION GÉORGIENNE

Le Bourreau de l'Ukraine en France

UN MENSONGE QUI A LA VIE DURE :

"KHROUCHTCHEV L'UKRAINIEN"

Members of ABN Central Committee in the USA

The Vice-Presidents of the Central Committee of ABN, General *Ferenc Farkas* (the leader of the Hungarian Liberation Movement), and the head of the Bulgarian National Representation, Minister *Christo Stateff*, and the President of the Peoples' Council of ABN, Minister *F. Durcansky* (President of the Slovak Liberation Committee), are at present visiting the USA for the purpose of furthering the sympathy of American political circles with the aims pursued by ABN and setting up a common anti-Bolshevist front in the spirit of the ideas upheld by ABN.

New ABN-Delegation for Australia

On the 22nd February 1960 a General Meeting of ABN Central Delegation for Australia and New Zealand was held.

The present members of our Committee are:
President: *Dr. C. I. Untaru (Roumanian)*,
Vice-President: *Mr. O. Schwarz (Slovak)*,
General Secretary: *Mr. G. B. Marenin B. E. (Ukrainian)*,
Treasurer: *Mr. A. Olechnik (Byelorussian)*,
Press Director: *Mr. E. Csapo (Hungarian)*,
Committee Adviser: *Mr. O. Koscharsky (Ukrainian)*.

From the Report for Last Year — Dr. Untaru (Acting President) took over the presidency after the passing away of the late Dr. Megay. A.B.N. activities have been concentrated on: the Migrant Advisory Council to the Liberal Party of Australia, where many A. B. N. motions have been passed, such as "Captive Nations Week in Australia", "Reunification of Families from behind the Iron Curtain", "No Recognition of Red China" etc; letters to members of parliament, including Mr. Menzies, Mr. Killen etc. and social functions and big anti-Communist mass demonstrations.

Mr. Olechnik (Treasurer) reported a donation of £ 20 from the Ukrainian A. B. N. Delegation in Sydney and a present day cash balance of £ 9-I-8.

ABN Delegation for Australia intends to circulate further the "ABN Correspondence" here in Australia, particularly among influential Australian personalities.

General Secretary.
(G. B. Marenin)

From Letters to the Editor

The Question of Compensation for Ukrainian Political Internees

After eighteen months' investigation of the question of compensation for Ukrainian victims of Hitlerism, the supreme competent West German court in Bavaria, the "Compensation Senate", recently reached a *negative decision*, inasmuch as it refused to concede to the former Ukrainian political internees *the right to compensation as persons who have been persecuted politically.*

This decision, which was reached in the case of Dr. Petro Mirchuk, holds good on principle for other cases, too. In the course of a lengthy law suit the Bavarian Ministry of Finance was prepared to recognize Dr. Petro Mirchuk's claim to compensation in the form of a "settlement" and to pay him the sum of compensation which he claimed, provided that he divorced his own personal case from the general Ukrainian problem of the anti-Hitlerism fight and did not demand a decision on principle in his case. Dr. Petro Mirchuk, however, refused to accept such a "settlement" and demanded that the court should in his case reach a fundamental decision which should also apply to the right of all former Ukrainian political internees to compensation. And the supreme Bavarian court in the end reached the said final decision.

The reason which the West German court in Bavaria gives for its negative decision as regards the right of former Ukrainian political internees to compensation according to § 1 of the Law on Compensation of the so-called BEG, is that the fight of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) during World War II was not a political fight against Hitlerism, but a fight on the part of the Ukrainian nation against the interests of the German nation; the court affirmed, moreover, that the Ukrainians were not arrested and imprisoned in concentration camps as political enemies of National Socialism, but because they were a danger to the interests of the German nation. And it was pointed out that the law does not provide for any compensation for such persons.

In other words, the West German courts in Bavaria officially acknowledge Hitler's criminal policy towards the Ukrainians as the German national policy and for this reason they justify the crimes committed against the Ukrainians by the Hitler regime as "legal measures for the protection of the interests of the German nation" . . .

The definitely hostile attitude of the West German courts in Bavaria towards the

Ukrainian victims of Hitlerism can, for instance, already be seen from the fact that the investigations and decision in this one case alone were protracted for eighteen months (six hearings at intervals of several weeks — over ten weeks on some occasions), although all the necessary documents were submitted to the court at the first hearing; the court, for example, "considered it necessary" to postpone a hearing for six weeks in order to ask Dr. P. Mirchuk by letter whether he knew the present address of the former Governor of Galicia, Lasch (who was killed in 1943) . . . And in the "reason" given for the court's negative decision no attempt whatever is made to refute the documents submitted, the arguments put forward, the testimony of the German witnesses, or the expert opinion of German scholars and politicians in favour of the former Ukrainian political internees. The contents and the form of this "reason" clearly show that the negative decision was already reached beforehand. The court simply ignored all the documents and arguments pertaining to the matter.

The final decision on the question of compensation for the Ukrainian victims of Hitlerism will be reached by the Supreme Court of the German Federal Republic, that is by the "Federal Court of Justice", in its capacity as the fourth and highest authority for compensation questions. Thus, the struggle of the former Ukrainian political internees to assert their justifiable right to compensation, which has been going on for over fourteen years, will continue.

The decisions reached by the West German courts in Bavaria in this respect, however, have ignored the importance of historical documents with regard to the question as to how the present democratic Germany assesses Hitler's policy towards Ukraine and the Ukrainian people: namely, whether it condemns the policy of Hitler and his clique as the national policy of the entire German people at that time and as such justifies it? The answer supplied to this question by the West German courts in Bavaria, officially and at their own initiative, is however worth considering carefully and thoroughly by all persons who are interested in past and also future German-Ukrainian relations.

Union of Ukrainian Political Internees,
Compensation Board.

ASTOLPHE DE CUSTINE (1843)

Has Russian Despotism Changed much since the Czars?

"They (the Russians) wish to rule the world by conquest; they mean to seize by armed force the countries accessible to them, and thence to oppress the rest of the world by terror. The extension of power they dream of is in no way either intelligent or moral; and if God grants it to them, it will be for the woe of the world."

"The spectacle of their society, all the springs of which are taut like the trigger of a weapon that one is about to fire, frightens me to the point of dizziness".

". . . A Russian domination that limited itself to diplomatic demands without going to the point of conquest appears to me to be the greatest menace to the world . . ."

"Here a capital question arises: is the idea of conquest, which is the secret life of Russia, itself a lure to seduce dense populations or must it some day be realized?"

"This doubt obsesses me endlessly, and, in spite of all my efforts, I have not been able to resolve it. All I can tell you is that since I have come to Russia I see the future of Europe in black".

"In Russia, the government dominates everything and gives life to nothing. In this vast Empire, the people, if they are not tranquil, are silent; death hovers over all heads and strikes them capriciouly — this serves to create doubt of the supreme justice; there man has two coffins — the cradle and the tomb".

"Everything is obscure in the future of the world; but one thing is certain — the world will see some strange scenes played before nations by this predestinated nation".

Editor's note: The above excerpts are from a book written in 1839 by the Marquis de Custine under the title "Journey for Our Time". Vicepresident R. Nixon after his trip to USSR commented about this book: "The book is in many respects a deadly parallel with conditions in the Soviet Union today". This book is suppressed by the Soviet regime.

"The Kremlin on a Volcano"

Taipei, February 2, 1960

Dear Mr. Stetzko,

I am instructed by my Foreign Minister to inform you that he is in receipt of a copy of your book "The Kremlin On A Volcano" which you were so kind to forward him through the A. B. N. Mission here. He desires me to convey to you his many thanks, particularly as he attaches great importance to the valuable work you have done in contributing to our common cause for Freedom against Communism.

With kindest regards,
Yours sincerely,
Sheldon S. D. Cheng,
Secretary to the Minister.

From Behind the Iron Curtain

HUNGARY

News from the Soviet Colony Hungary

Soviet Occupation Troops in Hungary Isolated from Population

In view of the incidents which occurred during the Hungarian revolution in 1956, when many of the Soviet soldiers and, in fact, whole units went over to the side of the insurgents, the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary have now been strictly isolated from the population.

They are only allowed out of barracks when manoeuvers are held, and on such occasions they are conveyed to and from the terrain by lorries and usually by dark. Only officers are allowed out of barracks on furlough.

Apparently it is extremely dangerous for the loyal soldiers of the Red Army to fraternize with the Hungarians whom they have "liberated"!

The Results of Compulsory Collectivization

The Communist paper "Nepszabadsag" ("People's Freedom") ascertains with considerable consternation that the young people to an ever-increasing extent are leaving the villages in which the farmers are joining (forced to join!) the so-called "Production Cooperatives".

An example is then cited by the paper, — namely a rural area in the lowlands. Of the 4,000 farmers' sons living here, only 440 of those who are between 16 and 20 years of age have joined the "Production Cooperatives"; whilst of those who are between 21 and 25 years old, only 470 have joined. It is, on the whole, only the older members of the farming families that decide to join the cooperatives and give up their independence. In such cases the family receives about half a hectare of land for its own cultivation and, from the cooperative, agricultural products and a little cash (but, what is more, it is left in peace).

The young people are sent into the towns by their elders, since they can earn more money there.

Of the 500 members who constitute such cooperatives, which consist of 1,700 hectares, 200 are usually old and ailing, and only about 15 are young men of twenty. In some of the cooperatives which number 320 members, only 220 are able to work regularly and of these, only 10 are young persons.

The above-mentioned paper, in trying to explain the reasons for these symptoms, mentions the hostile attitude in general to the idea of cooperatives and also the economic considerations on the part of the farmers. In the opinion of this Communist paper, the situation (for which the Communists alone are responsible) should be remedied as soon as possible, since otherwise not even a subsequent mechanization will be able to avert a catastrophe.

It is interesting to note that the area mentioned as an example is densely populated and the child-population figure there is extremely high. But the rural exodus throughout Hungary (for the same reasons) today is the same serious problem in all rural areas there.

Where Can the Hungarian People still Give Vent to Their True Feelings?

Plays and films which have as their theme oppression, the persecution of innocent persons or the overthrow of a tyrant, always draw large audiences in Hungary. For it is here that the Hungarians can give free vent to their feelings of sympathy or hatred without discussing politics. And the strange thing is that the Red colonizers are not allowed to reveal that they know what the Hungarians are really thinking.

LATVIA

The School Reform In Latvia

The school reform is apparently not being effected as speedily as the authorities would have wished, and this seems to apply in particular to boarding-schools and also to vocational schools. According to a report in the paper "Sowjestkaja Latwija" (of August 1, 1959), the Ministry of Education has not taken adequate steps to ensure that school attendance is made compulsory for eight years. In addition, so the paper points out, the organization of classes in which vocational training is given is inadequate, and in six secondary schools in Riga such classes are non-existent. The paper then mentions the fact that in many of the schools in Riga no attempt whatever is made to give the pupils any practical training and that the school-workshops are badly equipped, and adds that the situation is even worse in the rural areas.

SLOVAKIA

During the past year, 30,000 propaganda lectures were arranged in Slovakia by the "Slovakian Executive Committee of the Czecho-Slovakian Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge". The purpose of these lectures was to propagate the Communist ideology, the Czecho-Slovakian state structure and friendship with Russia.

2,000 men's suits were exported recently to Soviet Russia from the textile factory Robotodev in Zvolen (Central Slovakia).

Ludovit Benada was re-elected President of the so-called Slovakian National Council (similar in character to a parliament, but with practically no competence at all). Nothing whatever is known about Benada's past in Slovakia, The so-called Slovakian National Council has practically no legislative powers. During the whole of 1959, for instance, this body, which is supposed to represent the "autonomy" of Slovakia in the artificial state structure of Czecho-Slovakia, only passed three laws: two laws pertaining to the budget of Slovakia and one law of local character regarding viticulture.

The "Pravda", the main organ of the Communist Party in Slovakia, which is published in Bratislava, is apparently not afraid of making itself ridiculous. It recently made an absurd statement, for instance, to the effect that in 1965 so-called Czecho-Slovakia, as far the economic situation and the standard of livng of the population are concerned, would not only have caught up with but even overtaken the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Great Britain and the USA! Incidentally, the population would be glad if the Communist dictatorship were in a position to restore the standard of living in Slovakia which prevailed there during the war, when Slovakia was still a free and independent state. The population of Slovakia would, though not satisfied, at least be somewhat appeased if it had the assurance that the present low standard of living there would not sink even further. Unfortunately, the standard of living of the Slovak people has been constantly getting lower and lower since 1945, in spite of all the promises made by Communist propaganda.

Collectivization of Agriculture

From January 1st to October 31st, 1959, 290 kolkhozes were set up in Slovakia by the Communists. The area under cultivation in Slovakia which now comes under forcible collectivization thus amounts to 216,000 hectares. Drastic measures are being applied in order to continue the collectivization of agriculture in Slovakia still further.

UKRAINE

Trial of OUN Members in Belz

The Bolshevist paper "Robitnytscha Hazeta", which appears in Kyiv, reported in its issue No. 925 that a trial of the "nationalist monsters Dubecki, Kobak, Mucha, Hadjiy, Michajluk and their accomplices", which was held in the town of Belz in the Lviv district, lasted four days, and that "the Juridical Council of the town of Lemberg sentenced all of them to death". The accused, incidentally, were sentenced on the strength of the testimony given by the Bolshevist informer W. Shevchuk.

On December 11, 1959, "Trud", the organ of the "Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union", in its issue No. 287 already published an article by its own correspondent, Osipov, in which this trial was referred to as impending. Osipov wrote as follows: "After the liberation of Lviv the pro-German-fascist aggressors Dubecki, Kobak, Mucha, Hadjiy and Michajluk began to lead a lawless life and joined a gang. They lay in hiding in the forest and took part in attacks on soldiers of the Soviet army. Mucha also took part in the shooting of frontier patrols, in the course of which an officer, Lapistov, was fatally wounded. Sanotzky, Orenic and various others have received their just punishment. Very soon, Dubecki, Kobak, Mucha, Hadjiy and Michajluk will also be tried by a court!"

This action on the part of the Bolshevist occupants once again proves that Moscow is still obliged to combat Ukrainian nationalists.

Trial of OUN Members in Jaseniv (West Ukraine)

It is a known fact that it is extremely difficult in the West to obtain any of the Bolshevist papers which appear in the provinces or small towns. This is a great pity, since these papers often contain some very interesting information which is not published in the central organs. Quite by chance we came across an account of a trial of OUN members in the "Vilna Ukraina" of July 21, 22 and 23, 1959.

This trial was held in Jaseniv, in the Oleshko district, West Ukraine, and the accused were O. Medijevski, V. Predeba and J. Chornobai, members of the OUN. They belonged to the "Pidkova" unit, which operated in the areas of Zabolotciv and Oleshko.

According to the above-mentioned Bolshevist paper, the head of the district OUN, Pidkova, the member of the district presidium Kod, and Doleniuk and many others were killed during a combat with the Bolsheviks. This combat took place in a forest not far from the village of Pidlisky, in May 1950.

Many of the OUN members managed to get away and lived in various villages until 1959.

The said Bolshevist paper writes: "During the court investigations, two notebooks, which were full of English and Ukrainian words and figures and were falling apart with age and were all torn, were discovered. On the first page of one of these notebooks were the words "In the name of God"! It was the diary belonging to W. Kod, a member of the security service of the OUN. Experts managed to decipher the secret code contained in the notebooks".

The above-mentioned members of the OUN were only arrested by the Bolsheviks in 1958. The "Vilna Ukraina" relates how three men came to see an innkeeper, Hnatiuk by name, one day; there was a militia-man, Petreniuk, in the room at the time. The three men said they wanted to hand themselves over to the NKVD. After this ruse they then shot the militia-man and fled.

When interrogated, the innkeeper and his wife and daughter, who were the only persons who had witnessed the incident, refused to admit that they knew anything at all about it, even though pressure was brought to bear on them, as the "Vilna Ukraina" affirms. They were thereupon deported to Siberia.

Some years later, after they had returned from Siberia, the NKVD arrested Hnatiuk, Medijevski, Chornobai and Predeba. Chornobai was shot and Medijevski was sentenced to 10 years in a penitentiary. Predeba, so it is stated, is in a lunatic asylum. He sits staring at nothing and in answer to every question put to him by the doctor, he nods his head and says "Yes, yes, yes!" He obviously was unable to endure the tortures inflicted on him during the interrogations and collapsed.

Political Ferment In The U.S.S.R.

In *Lithuania* 400 big agricultural concerns still have no Party organization. Those who are responsible for anti-religious propaganda are reproached with the fact that their activity is inadequate, in particular in the Soviet Russian territory between Brest and Grodno. In spite of the fact that thirty-seven of Lenin's works were last year translated into the *Kirghiz* language, the attitude towards women — most of the Kirghiz are Moslems — is still said to be predominantly "feudalist".

In *Uzbekistan*, as was pointed out at the Party Congress in Tashkent, there is a tendency to careerism and intrigues. In Perm the delegates criticized the absolutist attitude of the chairman of the National Economic Council, Soldatov, who told his critics on the phone: "The National Economic Council — that's me!"

The Communist Party of *Ukraine* criticized in particular the trends apparent among the young people there, — namely revisionism, bourgeois ideas, *false Ukrainian nationalism* and local protectionism of an economic nature, such as have allegedly been ascertained in towns such as Kyiv, Kherson and Stalino.

From all these discussions one can gain a clearer impression of the actual fulfilment of the economic plans. In Ukraine the demand of the industries that use raw materials is said to be greater than the supply. For this reason the ore-mining centre at Krivoi Rog is to be extended as quickly as possible. Progress of the mechanization programme is still extremely slow in many industrial sectors, as can for instance clearly be seen in the case of the Baku oil-fields, where of 12,000 borcholes, only 60 are worked mechanically.

Turkmenistan, which was unable to fulfil the whole plan for 1959, actually reports a decrease in the production of the light industries.

In many parts of the Soviet Republics new building projects cannot be carried out according to schedule because the erection of the cement works has not been completed on time. In the meantime, the *apparatus for administrative control*, which was set up a year ago, continues to increase. *In Ukraine alone, as many as 80,000 Communists are employed in these organs.* As can be seen from the provincial press, changes continue to be made in appointments to official posts in the Republics.

Communist Agents Defect from N.T.S. Ranks

In the December 24, 1959 issue of 'Rossia', a Russian-language review published in New York, appeared the following item:

"It was reported from Munich that two responsible workers of the N.T.S. (Solidarists) have gone over to the Bolsheviks. They are Cherezov and Darin."

"In a special conference in East Berlin they revealed the 'secret work' of the N.T.S. and its 'connection with foreign intelligence services', as well as the methods of work, training and dispatching of people on the other side, etc."

"Cherezov is known to have been working in the propaganda department of the N.T.S., directing the distribution of literature among Soviet sailors, tourists and other Soviet citizens who found themselves abroad."

EDITOR'S NOTE: This is not the first time that outstanding N.T.S. "revolutionaries" had defected to the Soviet side after spending a number of years in the free world. We can mention such prominent Russian refugees, many of whom were active N.T.S. leaders, as Vinogradov and his wife, Major Ronzhin, Captain Olshansky, Lieutenant Ovchinnikov, Levchenko, Khorunzhy, and others.

BOOK-REVIEWS

Jaroslaw Stetzko: **The Kremlin On A Volcano.** Coexistence or Liberation Policy? Foreword by Major-General **J. F. C. Fuller.** Introduction by **Nestor D. Procyk.** American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Inc., New York, 1959. 56 pp.

The ideological gist of this brochure, which owes its origin to the stay of the President of the Central Committee of the ABN, Jaroslaw Stetzko, in the United States (1958) could hardly be summed up more explicitly and precisely in a few sentences than has been done by the British Major-General J. F. C. Fuller, C. B., C. B. E., D. S. O., in his short Foreword, when he says:

"The strength of Soviet Russia does not lie in her military might, but in the ignorance of the Free Nations, and her weakness is that half the population of the U.S.S.R. are opposed to the Soviet regime, and yearn to be delivered from it. Actually, the Soviet Imperium rests on a gigantic social bomb, millions of times more deadly than all the H-bombs in the world"; and this is, as follows from the further context of the brochure nothing but the movements for national liberation of all the nations enslaved by Russian imperialism and Communism, for the full restoration of national sovereignty not only for the so-called satellite nations, but also those nations which are in the so-called Soviet-Union.

The brochure itself originated in the following way: during his visit to the United States Jaroslaw Stetzko had the opportunity to meet many leading personalities of this country, in their official or private capacity, and to have conversations with representatives of the American Government, and with leaders of private political institutions and organizations; in these conversations he had many questions of grave importance placed before him. These questions and the answers he gave have been compiled in this volume, and, in order to take full advantage of this opportunity, several questions and answers have been added from his own initiative, especially those which would be of special interest to an English-speaking reader. True, in a work of this kind there is always the danger of certain repetitions, and it would have been better to have emphasized more clearly the arrangement of the questions and answers according to certain groups – an arrangement which, incidentally, actually exists – by a number of sub-titles, or, still better, to have provided the brochure with an index of proper names and certain catchwords.

But even so, however, this "big interview" has obviously been built up in a logical way. After short introductory remarks about the anti-Communist movement behind the Iron Curtain in general, detailed opinions are expressed on the impossibility of a "peaceful coexistence" of the free world with Russian-Communist tyranny, on the historical motives of Russian imperialism, on the hopeless prospects and the dangers of a new "Summit conference", of an "atomic disarmament" and of the so-called "cultural exchange" between the Western nations and the Communist bloc; there follows a sharp but thoroughly justified criticism of the broadcasts of the "Voice of America", which brings us to the main subject of the brochure, namely the national problem within the U.S.S.R. and to the revelation of how absurd it is to believe that the Russian people would ever side with the United States against the present Russian empire and that they would help in the disintegration of this structure: "History proves that the Russians always perferred despotism to freedom. They have always been exalted with their Messianism and their mission to "make other people happy" . . . "The only effective weapon that the United States and the free world in general can successfully utilize with respect to the U.S.S.R. lies in appealing to the non-Russian nations and in supporting their unending struggle for their national freedom and independence".

After a short discussion of some of the problems that are particularly vital for America (as for instance the actual significance of Russian sputniks, the Russian political strategy and subversive actions in Asia, the Russian Communist propaganda among the Moslems outside the Soviet Union, etc.), the conception of so-called "National Communism" is then gone into thoroughly and the concrete example of Yugoslav "Titoism" is quoted to show how unfounded and futile any hopes of a "national Communist" opposition to the Kremlin are[1]): "From the viewpoint of international relations Titoism constitutes a gamble on a stable 'peaceful coexistence' and on the role of a middleman between Russia and the West. For the time being Tito is vacillating between the West and the East, but he knows full well that when the final hour arrives, he must cast his lot with the Russians . . . The temporary and ephemeral 'family quarrels between the Titoists and the Kremlin partners have no larger significance in perspective, as both Tito and Khrushchov know they have to stand together against the free world."

In conclusion the entire question of the anti-Russian resistance among the non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R. is then dealt with in a concrete manner, with special emphasis on the present activities of the Ukrainian nationalist underground in Ukraine and on what the West can do in order to help the enslaved nations behind the Iron Curtain in their struggle against Moscow and for their liberation.

Dr. Nestor D. Procyk, Chairman of the **American Friends of ABN,** has provided this publication with a lucid Introduction, which gives the Anglo-Saxon reader brief and concise information on the political activity of the author and on the circumstances which led to the compilation of the brochure. **V. D.**

Robert Ingrim: **Von Talleyrand zu Molotoff.** Die Auflösung Europas. [From Talleyrand to Molotov. The Disintegration of Europe.] Thomas-Verlag, Zürich.

As can be seen from the title, this book deals with the political problems from the time of the outbreak of the French Revolution up to the present day. The sources which the author uses for this extensive period are not always adequate; in fact, they are in some cases even inadmissible, for the newspapers to which the author frequently refers can only be regarded as one opinion. The opinions expressed by journalists are always very subjective and are influenced by the events of the day.

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[1]) This could also be illustrated by the example of Red Chinese "Maoism", and it is a pity that this has not been done here, for there are plenty of influential press organs in the free world that never cease to set their extremely naive hopes on possible "divergences" between Moscow and Peking (recently, in particular between Khrushchov and Mao Tse-tung) in vain.

This inadequacy of sources is in keeping with the erroneous view of history which is taken by the author. He regards the whole trouble of the present time in the wider sense of the word, that is including the first world war, as the result of the nationalism in evidence – we should not like to say created – during the French Revolution. Again and again, he tries to find new predicates of a very questionable quality to describe this nationalism. The historical trends which he mentions are neither bad nor good, but merely such as they are. In this category, too, he lists modern nationalism, which he finds as odious as the aims of the princes in the policy that he, however, glorifies. The whole attitude of the author and the considerable space which he devotes to Austria in the book reveals him as a born Austrian and only a naturalized American, who visualizes this state, which has been historically pieced together and is internally weak, as an ideal. He is unwilling to accept the idea that the age of supra-national major powers is past and that it is therefore no longer feasible to set the latter against nationalism, – the nationalism which seeks to build up states according to the ethnographical principle. The greatest evil of our day lies not in the doctrine itself, but in the degenerate forms of the doctrine, as for instance national socialism, but this peculiarity must not be described as inherent in nationalism. It would be far more objective and also far more open-minded on the part of the author for him to regard the peoples as natural units and to expect a productive and constructive policy on this basis for the future, in order to overcome all the evils of the present. The state structures are by no means self-contained in order that they may be transformed into a more general unit of a higher order.

Although we regard the general trend of the book as false, we are bound to admit that the author shows a far keener insight and discernment in his criticism of Bolshevism than do his American colleagues. His opinion to the effect that Red Russian imperialism can be combatted and ultimately destroyed by the national problem in the U.S.S.R., is correct. But it is a pity that the author has not a more thorough knowledge of the East European peoples.

The author certainly deserves credit for the outspoken way in which he explains the most important events of World War II and censures the Western statesmen for their errors. For this reason alone, the book is worth reading; there is something refreshing about its style and it certainly stimulates the reader to do some thinking on his own. **R. J.**

The Misery of the Chinese in Indonesia. Published by the Overseas Chinese United National Salvation Association, 1959. 126 pp.

The persecution of the overseas Chinese in Indonesia has prompted numerous Chinese organizations and various prominent persons to publish this book in the English and Chinese language. It consists of the following chapters: I. Foreword; II. Measures taken by the Indonesian Government; III. A Historical Disaster; IV. The Voice of Sympathy and Justice, the Chinese Government's Reaction; and the following Appendices: I. A joint declaration by the civic organizations of the Republic of China; II. A letter to the United Nations.

Since March 1958, over 200,000 overseas Chinese living in Indonesia have been victimized by a series of acts of oppression on the part of the Indonesian government.

A number of Chinese organizations have addressed a petition to the United States, in which they protest against the persecution of the overseas Chinese in Indonesia. According to this petition, this persecution includes:

1) Continuous arrest of 24 overseas Chinese leaders, who have been confined on a deserted island and have been denied the right to a court trial;

2) The closing down of 52 overseas Chinese civic bodies;

3) The compulsory registration of overseas Chinese property, the taking over of all enterprises, schools and civic bodies established by overseas Chinese in such a way that it can only be described as confiscation, and restriction of the freedoms to which the overseas Chinese are entitled.

At the same time, the said organizations stress that these persecution measures are a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. **W. O.**

Prof. Shih Yuan-ching: **"Peaceful Competition" or Threat of War.** Will the Chinese Communists be able to overtake Britain's industrial level within 15 years? Published by the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, Republic of China, Taipei (Taiwan), China, 1959. 68 pp.

This book is dedicated to a better understanding of the common enemy from a "fresh angle". The problem discussed in it – whether the Chinese Communists will succeed in overtaking Britain's industrial potential within 15 years – is an economic one. According to the author, the Chinese Communists, however, are merely using "peaceful competition" as a facade, and behind it, may be discerned active preparations for war. As such, it is a major international political problem (p. 2).

The Chinese Communists' task of overtaking Britain's industrial level within 15 years was determined by the Kremlin. Peiping's announcement in this respect followed Khrushchov's by twenty-five days. The post of command for the Communist bloc in the decisive contest between the "two markets" is in the Kremlin. The Chinese Communists are merely faithful servants meticulously carrying out their master's orders.

Taking as his starting-point statistical data, the author stresses that "undoubtedly much of the Chinese Communists' trumpeting of the possibility of their 'overtaking Britain within 15 years' is due to a psychological need of self-encouragement. But partly it is a fact that there a few items in which the Chinese Communists can surpass Britain in total production" (p. 12).

Professor Shih Yuan-ching then raises the following question: "Why is it that the Chinese Communists have picked Britain instead of Japan, or West Germany, as an object of their economic race? This is an exceedingly interesting question indeed."

At the same time, he answers this question as follows: "Of course, it should be borne in mind that Soviet Russia, in assigning the Chinese Communists to compete economically with Britain, is merely acting on the basis of division of labour within the Communist bloc. The Kremlin's masters, it may be taken for granted, must have worked out an over-all plan, which is to be implemented region by region, in co-ordinated moves against their enemy" (p. 25).

Again basing his arguments on statistical data, the author states that "it will be possible for the

Chinese mainland to overtake Britain within 15 years in the production of such items as fertilizers and sugar . . . but the production of such items is necessary to ensure continuous output and to maintain a minimum standard of living . . ." (p. 39).

He goes on to stress that the "Chinese Communists are typical giganticists and at the same time faithful servants in the cause of Soviet imperialism. Without giving much thought to the matter, they have taken up the task of economic contest assigned them by the Kremlin . . ." (p. 63).

The author concludes his observations as follows: ". . . we should heighten our vigilance and develop a feeling of reliance among the free nations. Then and only then will the anti-Communist solidarity of the Asias and that of all free peoples everywhere have acquired a stronger foundation than the one now in existence" (p. 68).

Like all the publications of the APACLROC which we have received so far, this book is extremely interesting; and it is certainly worth while reading carefully by all those who do not fully understand the real nature of the Communist danger. **W. O.**

Chinese Communists' Trade Offensive. Published by the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, Republic of China, Taipei (Taiwan), China, 1959. 60 pp.

This book deals with the Red Chinese trade policy in general and also with Peiping's trade offensive against Japan, the West European countries and southeast Asian countries; in addition, Red Chinese trade with the Middle East, Africa and the American countries is discussed, and, finally, the economic aid of Red China and its dumping policy are also emphasized.

Although the Reds use different methods to launch trade offensives against the free world and to push forward their dumping policy in Africa and Asia, the basic principle of achieving political ends through economic infiltration is unique.

It is interesting to note some features of the Red infiltration activities. In the Afro-Asian region they have been carried on entirely in close co-ordination with the foreign policy of the Reds, and whenever the latter have tried to cultivate closer political relations with a country, they have simultaneously launched their trade offensive against that country, as for instance in India and Ceylon since 1951. In addition, the Reds endeavour to sever the economic relations which exist between the countries they support and the Western world.

The third aim of Communist trade relations with the Afro-Asian countries is to co-ordinate the activities of the Soviet bloc.

Fourthly, the Reds, in exchanging commodities, have obtained industrial and strategic material from the Afro-Asian countries and have sold finished goods to them by making use of their barter trade agreements concluded with these countries.

Finally, in order to achieve their purpose of economic infiltration, the Reds have adopted a unique cut-price policy to dump their products in the Afro-Asian countries (pp. 50–52).

The book utters a warning to the effect that "from political and military standpoints, the Afro-Asian countries represent a vital spot of great strategic value. Their falling into the hands of the Red bloc would certainly change the political, economic and military situations of the whole world . . ."

"In the event of the free world failing to face reality and to strive to avert the adverse development, the consequences will be very serious. What it will lose will certainly be more than economic interests" (p. 58). **W. K.**

S a l v a d o r D i a z V e r s ó n : **El Zarismo Rojo — Rusia Avanzando Sobre América.** (Red Tsarism — Russia's Advance on America.) Impresora Mundial, La Habana, 1958. 201 pp.

This book has been written by a well-known Cuban journalist and author, who is a member of numerous Latin-American organizations and has an expert knowledge of Soviet Russian subversive activity on the entire American continent.

The following statement, which clearly reveals the anti-Communist contents of this publication, can be regarded as the motto of the book:

"History has clearly shown that the ideological imperialism of Communism is merely an excuse for Soviet Russia to retain the territorial legacy accumulated by the Tsars and to expand it still further by seeking to annex new countries.

The ideological doctrine of Communism solely serves the aims of a despotic clique of predatory Russians to conspire against the civilization and culture of the West by endeavouring to conquer the whole world, which is to be enslaved by Russia.

Red tsarism is far more serious and far more dangerous than the old sinister imperium of the Romanovs. But, unfortunately, the majority of the masses in America have not yet realized this fact."

The author then deals in detail with the Soviet Russian intrigues not only on the island of Cuba, but also in the whole of America, including the USA and Canada. Bolshevist tactics are not always the same all over America; they are, for instance, different in Latin America, where the background for Red Russian subversion, namely mainly among the intelligentsia, is far more favourable than for example in the USA, where the Kremlin has to proceed far more cautiously in order to keep the Communist movement, which is extremely weak there, alive.

The enormous wealth of material (facts and statistics) contained in this book is amazing.

In order to carry on their subversive activity in Central America, the Soviet Russians resort to various tricks. The author quotes numerous cases in which the Kremlin organizes mercenary non-Russian (Armenian, Jewish, Ukrainian and other) persons or genuine Russians in committees, which it then uses to carry out the tasks dictated by Moscow. On pages 82-83, for instance, he mentions the underground activity of a Byelorussian-Ukrainian committee under the leadership of a certain Theodisius Naumovich during World War II. This committee even held a big celebration to mark the liberation of Ukraine in September 1944; it also carried on espionage and frequently smuggled material that was of importance to Russia from Cuba to the U.S.S.R.

On page 146 the author mentions the case of the abduction of a young girl in Buenos Aires, against the wish of her parents, to the U.S.S.R. with the help of a certain "Ukrainian Club", known as the "Wilinski Club".

On page 200 the author makes a very interesting and significant statement about the fight for freedom of the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain:

"The martyrdom of the heroic Hungarian people, who are sacrificing their lives in their fight for liberation from the Russian yoke, the tragedy of Ukraine, which refuses to submit to Muscovite

despotism, and the state of political unrest show us that, as well as ourselves, on the same earth on which we walk about and under the same sun that gives us all light, there is an inhuman and ruthless scourge which tortures and murders part of mankind. We must not close our eyes and remain indifferent to the monstrous drama which is gradually approaching our doors, too."

The author then appeals to the American public at length to realize the serious nature of the situation and to go to the aid of those who are being tortured and deprived, of their rights by the Red Russians.

This book is well worth reading, for it has been written by a man who for years has occupied himself with the problem of Red Russian subversion in Latin America in particular, and in this connection he draws attention in this publication to the grave danger which threatens the Western hemisphere. **W. Oreledky**

J. A. Osorio Lizarazo: **Birth and Growth of Anti-Trujillism in America.** Graficas Rey, Madrid, 1958. 154 pp.

The author stresses at the beginning that this book is essentially objective and that all the statements which it contains are substantiated by documentary evidence. It has been written with the purpose of enumerating the forces, hidden or visible, individual or collective, which have contributed their share to the vast campaign to spoil the credit and prestige of "one of the most illustrious American nations and to attack its right to free self-determination, its national sovereignty and autonomy . . ."

In 1930, after the United States had withdrawn their troops from the Dominican territory, Generalissimo Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina was elected President of the Dominican Republic for the first time. He immediately took all the necessary steps to strengthen the national sovereignty of the country and establish the foundations of a stable and autonomous economic structure. But hidden forces and subversive elements went into action against Trujillo.

Osorio Lizarazo, who has travelled all over America and has spent some time in the Dominican Republic, states that the charges and accusations against Trujillo are unfair and untrue.

We are especially interested in the Soviet Russian intrigues in the country. Communism was brought into the Dominican Republic by two Russian agents, Kohaz and Bielostosky, who instilled its virulent ideas into certain susceptible elements under the pretext of an intellectual outlook and of economic investigation. They fostered disorder and disorganization in the country by stimulating and urging class war and by creating chaos and anarchy, for these are the primordial sources of energy of the proclaimed universal social revolution (p. 48).

Soon afterwards, a regular organization was set up in the Dominican Republic for the purpose of provoking disorder, carrying out assassinations and terrorist campaigns, instigating revolutionary strikes and adopting all the methods of social subversion which are natural to Communism. The Soviet Russians furnished the funds and also the instructions for the campaigns which they had already prepared with the help of their agents among the Spanish emigrants (p. 51).

It must be stressed that the Red Russians are devising plots in every part of the world; and their subversive activity is particularly in evidence in Latin America, of which the Dominican Republic appears to be an advanced post of great importance. **W. L.**

Wladimir Waidle: **"Rußland, Weg und Abweg"** ("Russia's Devious Course"). Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, Stuttgart.

It is regrettable that most of the German publishers nowadays publish books which justify the Russian imperium from the historical point of view and only rarely works which tell the truth about Russian imperialism, as for instance "Das Russische Perpetuum Mobile" ("The Russian Perpetuum Mobile") by Dieter Friede, published by the Marienburg-Verlag.

From the sociological aspect, Wladimir Waidle's book is really a justification of the Russian conquests. In his opinion, for instance, Ukraine and Byelorussia constitute an integral part of the Russian people. He regards the Kyiv state of the Middle Ages as a Russian and not, as is an established fact, as a Ukrainian state structure. The literature, art und learning of these and subsequent ages which came into being in Kyiv, are included by Waidle amongst the Russian cultural achievements, as, for instance, the ancient Ukrainian Codex of 1054 "Ruska Pravda", the great literary works of Ukraine in that period as, for example, the "Song of Prince Igor's Campaign", the achievements of the Ukrainian Princes –, all this, he makes out, is part of Russian history.

Waidle tries to show that the Russian element is a direct component part of the European character, although the Russian element should be characterized as belonging to the Eurasian sphere, a fact which, incidentally, is expressed in the fierce clash of opinion between the "Slavophil" Eurasians and the so-called "pro-Westerns" in Russia. All the arguments which Waidle advances in order to prove his theory about the Occidental character of the Russian element are so two-edged that they actually only corroborate the fact of the Russian Eurasian element. His analysis of the Russian character and of the characteristics of the Russian people in effect prove that Bolshevism is an organic creation of the Russian element. Waidle admits that the conceptions of the right to private property, personal dignity, personal freedom, Roman law and other features of the European character are and always have been entirely alien to the Russian people. And he also admits that democracy is in character alien to the Russian element and stresses that the Bolshevist class of leaders, as compared to the ruling class in the earlier history of Russia, is most closely allied to the people. In this respect Waidle's book gives research scholars of Bolshevism some interesting information as regards its being an organic Russian creation and not the ideology of Marx or Engels which has been imported from Germany.

Since Waidle himself is a Russian by birth, he knows his fellow-countrymen well, and his analysis of the predisposition of the latter to Bolshevism is all the more apt.

In conclusion, we should like to recommend the publisher to summon up courage in the near future to publish a book which enlightens the German public as to the necessity of disintegrating the Russian despotic imperium and restoring the independence of the peoples subjugated by Russia, that have an ancient culture and a state history of their own, such as the Ukrainians, Georgians, Turkestanians and others. **S. St.**

US Congress Resolution (Continued from page 4)

Whereas, in contravention of duly ratified Treaties of Peace, of the Charter of the United Nations, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and of expressions of the United Nations General Assembly, the people of the captive nations are being systematically deprived of the exercise of fundamental freedoms and basic human rights; and

Whereas, the 86th Congress did unanimously enact the Captive Nations Week Resolution as a testament of support for the legitimate aspirations of the people of all the captive nations, thus recognizing the common plight of all the submerged nations forcibly incorporated into the Russian Communist Empire during the past forty-two years; and

Whereas, the President of the United States has concurred in this action by Congress by signing the Resolution into law and declaring by public Proclamation that the third week July shall henceforth be observed officially as Captive Nations Week; and

Whereas, the United States of America has stood firmly on the principle of self-determination, welcoming the enlargement of the area of freedom and self-government and insisting on the inalienable right of the people of the captive nations to live under governments of their own choice; and

Whereas, the United States of America has consistently refused to sanction, either directly or by implication, the political status quo of the captive nations, which the leaders of Russian Communism have persistenly attempted to impose upon the countries of the free world, particularly the United States; and

Whereas, the attainment of a just and lasting peace is inconceivable without the restoration of freedom, independence, and national sovereignty to the captive nations forcibly incorporated into the Russian Communist Empire, the United States of America is determined to pursue by all peaceful means, the emancipation of these nations; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That —

1) The Congress of the United States reaffirms its intention to *stand firmly by* the people of the captive nations in their aspirations for freedom, liberty, and national independence.

2) The Congress of the United States invites the active cooperation of all nations and men of good will *in a crusade for peace with justice and freedom for all mankind;* and

3) The Congress of the United States urges the President to pursue energetically and *as a matter of first priority at the forthcoming Summit Conference the inalienable right of all people to self-government, individual liberty, and the basic human freedoms, and, in particular, the restoration of these God-given rights to the people of the captive nations.*

Fierce Clashes in Poland

Fierce clashes occurred in the Polish industrial centre Nowa Huta, on April 27th. Demonstrators set fire to the town hall and were involved in fights with the police. Rioting began on a square where a church was originally to be erected. Workers wanted to set up a cross, which had stood there three years ago, on the spot. The Communists, however, had forbidden the erection of the church and intended building a school there. Barricades were set up in the streets by the workers in order to prevent the police from gaining access to the square. About 2000 demonstrators then assembled behind the barricades. With the aid of gas-bombs the police forced the demonstrators to disperse. Fifteen persons were seriously injured.

THE KREMLIN ON A VOLCANO

by

Jaroslaw Stetzko

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

Hon. Michael A. Feighan

U.S. Congressman

A NEW BATTLEGROUND OF THE COLD WAR

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

THE TRUTH ABOUT A.B.N.

by

Niko Nakashidze

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

A B N CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

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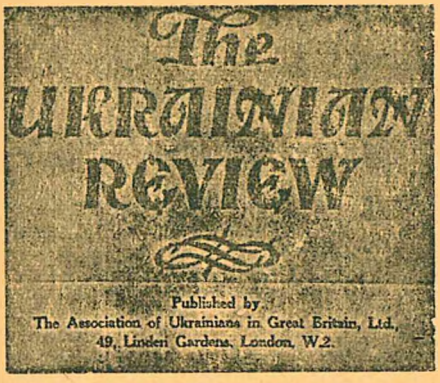

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FIASCO IN PARIS AND FUTURE POLICY

The ignominious collapse of the "Summit" meeting of the representatives of the four Major Powers in Paris has not come as a surprise to us. Indeed, having viewed with scepticism the extremely naive approach on the part of certain Western circles towards the prospects for an agreement between the West and the rulers of the Moscow imperium, we might justifiably now adopt a gloating attitude. We have, however, no intention of doing so, for our aim is not to seek petty satisfaction in the correctness of our judgment in the past, but to try to make the Western pover realize that the line of policy which we suggest is not an unrealistic policy, a phantasy born of emigre embitterment, but a policy based on experience and the reality of life, — a policy which alone can wrest the initiative in international affairs from the hands of the Kremlin conspirators and return it to the free world. We believe — and not without good reason — that the West is capable of and has every chance of beating the Russian Communists at their own game, if only the political leaders of the West would cease shutting their eyes to reality, and, above all, to the reality of the struggle and aspirations of the nations enslaved by Communist Russia both within and outside the U.S.S.R., and if only they would seriously take up the support of the national liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain as part of their policy.

Exaggerated fears on the part of some pusillanimous sections of the public in the West that support of the nations enslaved by Russia would evoke an unparalleled out-burst of Russian wrath are completely groundless. Moscow itself has no scruples whatever in supporting quite openly any subversive activity in the West that comes its way and blandly denying such support when challenged, in complete disregard of obvious facts. In any case, the louder Moscow's threats, the more does it betray its fear of Western strength. The best example of this somewhat paradoxical but none the less true phenomenon was Khrushchov's press conference in Paris, on which occasion his ranting and raging betrayed a very real fear on his part that the vulnerability of the Soviet empire had been revealed to all and sundry by the flights of the U-2 planes over Soviet territory. Khrushchov got into a rage not merely because the Americans had "dared" to violate the aerial territory of the Soviet Union and "steal" some of his secrets, but, above all, because the carefully cultivated picture of Soviet omnipotence and might, which the peoples enslaved by Russia are supposed to believe, was in this way suddenly proved to be utter humbug. Naturally, such a reverse for Moscow stimulates the spirit of resistance and the hopes of the enslaved millions. Their continued resistance is the most reliable guarantee that Russian Bolshevist imperialism will ultimately collapse and the free world will be victorious, provided that the West does everything in its power to help to stimulate this resistance still further.

At the meeting and discussion organized by the A.B.N. which took place in Munich on May 19, 1960, and dealt with the Paris "Summit" meeting, a former internee of the Soviet concentration camps, who only recently returned to the West, recalled how the political prisoners in Vorkuta who staged a rising at the time of the previous "Summit" meeting in Geneva in 1955 were hoping that their resistance would be supported by the attitude of the Western powers. The Western capitulation to Moscow in Geneva, resulting in the dubious "spirit of Geneva", was a severe blow to the insurgents and a triumph for Khrushchovite propaganda. The West must not do anything that might impair the spirit of resistance to Russian imperialism and Communism behind the Iron Curtain.

It is to be hoped that the shattering blow dealt by Khrushchov in Paris to all the illusions which the Western public has more or less cherished tenatiously will, at least, result in a new approach on the part of the West towards its relations with Moscow and the question of the anti-Russian national liberation movements. The Declaration of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations published below represents an attempt to offer to the responsible Western politicians some suggestions concerning an effective political approach towards these problems.

W. M.

LIBERATION OR DISARMAMENT

Declaration by the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A. B. N.) on the Paris Summit Conference in May 1960

The events which led up to the Paris Summit Conference and, still more, the circumstances under which it has proved a failure prompt the members of the Soviet-Russian-ruled peoples, who are living in the free world, to express the following opinion :

1) The preconditions for the Paris Summit Conference were from the outset unfavourable, since it was convened at the instigation of Khrushchov and as a result of his Berlin ultimatum. Moscow's plan to hold negotiations at a summit level and Khrushchov's preparatory visits to Washington and Paris were by no means an indication of any willingness to make concessions, but were merely a means to an end, namely to revive the spirit of Potsdam and, by underhand methods, to force the former Allies to make further concessions. By removing the bastion of freedom in Berlin and excluding Germany from the Western defence system, a bulwark against the further advance of Soviet Russian aggression in Europe was to be overthrown.

2) As far as Moscow was concerned, this conference became meaningless the moment that it became obvious from the statements made by leading Western statesmen that the Western Allies were no longer prepared to agree to any more concessions on the German question. Khrushchov thus ran the risk of meeting with a rebuff during the negotiations in Paris, a danger which for reasons of psychological warfare, which ranks foremost in Moscow's political strategy, was to be avoided at all costs. An opportune means of doing so was by the dramatized incident of the American reconnaissance plane. It is highly probable that the Russians, thanks to their extensive espionage network in the West, already knew of this American undertaking beforehand. After all, it is the right of those threatened to inform themselves on the military equipment and preparations of the agressor, especially if this aggressor is the enemy of the entire free world.

3) After all former attempts at intimidation had failed to bring about a solution of the German question to Moscow's liking, Khrushchov used the opportunity in Paris to call the Conference off, and, by openly insulting President Eisenhower and theatrically bragging about his own power, to gain new trumps in the cold war against the West. Khrushchov was now obviously no longer interested in a conference which would solely deal with the disarmament problem and the question of agreeing upon an effective control system.

4) Even if the Paris Summit Conference had materialized, the negotiations would not have led to any positive results for the simple reason that the agenda itself was limited to the vague formula of an easing of international tension and *made*

no mention whatever of the chief cause of the present international political crisis, which lies in the partition of Europe by military Soviet Russian despotism, in moral and material decimation of scores of enslaved peoples in Europe and Asia and in the exploitation of their potential in the service of the Bolshevist world aggression.

5) The result of the first Summit Conference in Geneva in 1955 showed that a severance of the German question from the entire complex of the international political crisis was by no means conducive to its solution in the sense of the desired "reunification in peace and freedom". On the contrary, the fact that Moscow was tacitly exonerated from its responsibility for the enslaved peoples in the so-called satellite countries and for those within the frontiers of the so-called U.S.S.R. merely encouraged the Kremlin rulers not only to incorporate the Soviet Occupied Zone of Germany more firmly and more ruthlessly in their sphere of influence, but also to undertake open advances against Berlin and the consolidation of the Federal Republic of Germany. A recent example in this respect is the ruthless liquidation of the free farmers and private craftsmen in the Soviet Occupied Zone.

6) However justified the indignation of West Germany at all these terrorist measures may be, all the protests voiced in this respect reveal an extraordinary naivety on the part of the Western public, which right up to the end seems to have been lulling itself in illusions as regards the complete incorporation of the Soviet Zone in the Soviet Russian colonial empire. The latest development in the Germany of the Pankow government is merely an inevitable and logical process that was enacted years ago in the so-called satellite countries and decades ago in a number of enslaved nations in the Soviet Union under exactly the same dreadful attendant circumstances without the free world at that time raising any protest whatever, let alone attempting to intervene in order to protect the terrorized free peasantry of our countries. May the events that are now being enacted in the heart of Europe and in the immediate vicinity of the peoples who are still free serve as a lesson and a warning. Tomorrow it will be the turn of these peoples themselves.

7) The recent brutal challenge by Khrushchov, namely his statement in Paris to the effect that the West has no other alternative but to submit to the will of Moscow since the Soviet Union is five years ahead of the West as far as the technique of warfare is concerned, is the last signal of alarm that should bring about a *decisive* change in the attitude of the West. If the catastrophe of an atomic war is to be avoided, *then it can only be done so by a large-scale political offensive for the purpose of increasing the pressure on Moscow to the greatest possible extent until the uncurbed Bolshevist aggression collapses from within. And in this connection the immeasurable potential of the subjugated peoples, whose readiness to revolt is a deadly danger to Bolshevist tyranny and whose demoralization is the chief aim of Moscow's psychological warfare and mass propaganda, can well become a decisive factor.*

8) The U.S. Congress can certainly claim great credit for having clearly shown up the vulnerable spot of the Soviet Russian colonial empire when it proclaimed its resolution on the establishment of the so-called "Captive Nations Week" last year and in this way laid down the principles for an effective *liberation policy* without atomic war. For the first time in history this highest-ranking body of the leading world power, by the said resolution, designated the existence of the Soviet Russian colonial empire as a danger for the free world and *recognized the right to freedom and national independence of all peoples behind the Iron Curtain, including those in the Soviet Union itself,* inasmuch as it proclaimed the will of the great American people to help the said peoples to attain this freedom and national independence. The reaction to this resolution in Moscow and the storm of indignation on the part of the entire Moscow-controlled East Bloc press

which it evoked showed that the Bolshevist rulers dread nothing on earth more than *the active execution of such a policy, which would undoubtedly be capable of releasing a chain-reaction of national liberation revolutions.*

9) The most favourable opportunity for Moscow to carry out its world-conquest plans is provided by the Western powers' acquiescence in the present status quo, the establishing of economic and cultural relations with the free world and the recognition of the present usurper governments in the conquered countries as a legal regime. An equally big concession is the quarantine imposed on the millions of East European emigrants and their political spokesmen, who, with the exception of a small category of former partners of the Communist popular front governments, are decried and silenced as "Fascists" in the West, too, according to Bolshevist standards. Hence, the political exiles in the free world as the advocates of the idea of national sovereignty constitute a fallow potential, which, if the Western countries, where these exiles are now domiciled, were to change their attitude in this respect, could release an immense explosive force against Bolshevist tyranny.

10) An important trump card of the Soviet coexistence policy and propaganda is the assertion that the peoples of the world have adopted two different ideologies and two different social and political systems, the capitalist and Communist one, so that the only thing to do is to bridge what is allegedly only an "ideological difference" by peaceful coexistence and a noble-minded competition of ideas. And *herein lies the greatest falsification of reality in order to camouflage Soviet Russian alien rule* and to make it appear harmless, namely as the alleged acceptance on the part of the subjugated peoples of the so-called "socialist" system. Actually, not one of the people of the Soviet colonial empire has ever voluntarily accepted the Communist system or sworn loyalty to Moscow as the sacred metropolis of the so-called socialist camp. It was the Soviet Russian army hordes that overran our countries in the train of World War II and by fire and sword set up the Communist dictatorship there in the service of Soviet Russian colonial rule. Such are the blood-stained "people's democracies" which today, with Khrushchov as their mouthpiece, lay claim to sovereignty and refuse to tolerate any intervention in their internal affairs! And the situation is the same in all the non-Russian countries of the Soviet Union which, after the collapse of the tsarist empire, re-established their independence only to be forced to submit to Russian rule again by the Red Army.

This is the question that should rank foremost on the agenda of international politics.

Only the restoration of the national independent states of all the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism can guarantee lasting peace in the world.

11) The aim of the coexistence formula, invented by Lenin as a deceitful manoeuvre and today propagated by Moscow, is to make the Western powers recognize the status quo and to preserve the latter as a starting-point for further conquests, and, at the same time, to give the subjugated peoples the impression that they have been abandoned by the free world for good. We therefore reject every form of coexistence policy and hence, in the interests of the free world, too, demand a liberation policy such as was conceived by that prudent statesman John F. Dulles. The only alternative to an atomic war which is likely to prove successful would be simultaneous national liberation revolutions, supported by the West, throughout the entire Soviet Russian colonial empire.

12) Apart from thermonuclear armament, the military potential of the West must at least be brought up to the level of the Soviet Russian potential by increasing the conventional fighting forces. If the West by declaring its solidarity with the

yearning of the subjugated peoples for the restoration of their national and state independence wins over the latter as its allies, the potential of the armies of Soviet Russia and of its satellites would be undermined very considerably and their effectiveness and activity would be greatly reduced. Hence, not the disarmament of the Western world, but the liberation of the subjugated peoples should rank foremost on the agenda of international politics. In view of the present situation, the security of the free world and its peace do not permit any disarmament, but, on the contrary, universal armament together with the application in practice of a liberation policy directed against Moscow's world aggression and subjugation.

13) The subjugated peoples in the Bolshevist colonial empire constitute a decisive force in the present international political conflict. The task of liberation cannot be carried out locally and isolatedly, but is, rather, in view of the present circumstances, an indivisible and integral problem. A large-scale political offensive on the part of the free world must be based on the principle of the historical resolution of the U.S. Congress on the establishment of "Captive Nations Week", which explicitly demands the disintegration of the Russian colonial imperium. A policy such as this would encourage the peoples behind the Iron Curtain to oppose Moscow unyieldingly and to reject every type of Communist rule uncompromisingly. The free world should thus inscribe on its banner the watchwords of national independence, freedom for individuals and social justice for all subjugated peoples, in order to mobilize the latter for the decisive fight against Moscow's tyranny. The formation of a global anti-Bolshevist front of all the free and subjugated peoples and a co-ordinated common strategy is an imperative demand of the present time.

14) A spiritual revolution against materialism, an active Christianity and recognition of the national idea constitute the preconditions for a victorious campaign of the free world against tyranny.

15) We demand the exclusion of all Bolshevist governments from all international institutions and the reorganization of the latter in keeping with the requirements of a global anti-Bolshevist fight for freedom and by the inclusion of the authorized spokesmen of the subjugated peoples. This would be a decisive step forward in psychological warfare and, indeed, a step which would revive and strengthen the confidence and the trust of the fighting and suffering peoples in the West, in the spirit of solidarity.

In helping those who are subjugated, the West will also be helping itself! For the enemy is already at the gates; indeed, in some places he has already broken through the defences, and is at large in their midst. *Caveant Consules*!

From letters to the A.B.N.

President Chiang Kai-Shek Thanks for Congratulations

Dear Mr. Stetzko:

President Chiang has asked me to acknowledge the receipt of your cablegram and thank you for your kindness.

It was thoughtful of you to send him this message of good will and congratulations. He wishes to assure you that he appreciates your staunch support and will continue to do his utmost for the cause of freedom and democracy in the countries oppressed by Communism and Russian Imperialism and liberation of our oppressed brethren on the mainland.

The President reciprocates your best wishes.

Your very sincerely,
CHANG CHUN

MOSCOW'S FEARS

Report on the Open Discussion held by A.B.N. on May 19, 1960, in Munich, in connection with the Summit Conference

At an open discussion arranged by the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) together with spokesmen of the Union of Expellees and other allied German organizations and held on May 19, 1960, in the College of Technology, Munich, a declaration was made on behalf of the subjugated peoples of the Soviet Russian sphere of influence with regard to the failure of the Summit Conference in Paris.

The meeting was opened by the secretary-general of the A.B.N., **Prince Niko Nakashidze,** and presided over by **Col. (ret.) Gärtle MdL,** regional president of the Union of Expellees.

Prince Niko Nakashidze welcomed those present, who included **Reichs Minister (ret.) Dr. Ohnesorge,** the **American Consul Mr. Kermik S. Midthun,** the **American Vice-Consul Mr. Sherman, Mr. Franz Gaksch,** Deputy of the Bavarian Parliament, and various representatives of German and emigrant organizations.

In a short opening address the Secretary-General of the A.B.N. stressed that the German problem cannot be separated from the problems of other peoples behind the Iron Curtain. He emphasized the fact that the fight for national existence cannot be left solely to the parties and organizations, but must be borne by the entire nation. He pointed out that the public in the German Federal Republic is on the whole not sufficiently informed and hence does not realize the existing danger. The Germans, he added, were and are excellent soldiers, but the German nation had so far not produced any revolutionary fighters. If, however, a fighting spirit and an urge to freedom were latent in a nation, then they would suddenly and spontaneously assert themselves, and the best proof of this fact, so he said, was the Berlin revolt in 1953. The political parties in the Federal Republic missed a favourable opportunity inasmuch as they failed to use this large-scale outburst against tyranny to advantage. If this revolt had been supported by the West at the time and had been successful, the revolutions of the subjugated peoples everywhere would have broken loose like an avalanche and would have swept all the peoples along in its course; this, so the speaker emphasized, could be seen from the revolts in Poznan, Hungary and even in remote Georgia, as well as from the riots organized by the Ukrainian prisoners in the concentration camps in Siberia and Kazakhstan. In conclusion, the Secretary-General of the A.B.N. said that the purpose of the meeting was to enlighten the public as to the true nature and activity of Communism and to indicate the right course to a joint fight.

MR. HERBERT PROCHASKA'S SPEECH

The chief German speaker of the evening was **Mr. Herbert Prochaska,** Deputy of the Bavarian Parliament. In his speech, which met with enthusiastic applause, he expressed the following views:

Khrushchov had in every way reckoned with **the failure of the Paris Summit Conference** before ever he came to Paris. Recent developments have thus clearly shown that genuine negotiations can only be carried on with the Soviets if the latter are definitely made to realize that the free West is no longer willing to tolerate the disparaging remarks made by certain Soviet politicians. Communist propaganda systematically agitates against the so-called cold warriors in the West. "The warmongers," as one is wont to call them, allegedly are mainly to blame for the present tension in the international situation. All neutralist, pacifist and "realistic political" minded circles in the free world take a keen interest in this Communist-directed campaign. It is an established fact that the expression "cold war" is a Communist invention and one that is very skilfully formulated. All persons on both sides of the Iron Curtain who long for peace are shocked and intimidated again and again by this watchword, especially as the gigantic wave of propaganda which reaches us from the East Bloc states, in every phase of its political activity, brands the German and Western politicians as revengists.

But what does cold war mean in reality? Obviously nothing but an ideological fight. With its demagogic request to the West to put a stop to the cold war in order to ease the political tension in the world, the Kremlin aims to make the free peoples tie their own hands so that they will be defenceless in the face of the Communist offensive.

It is the aim of the Kremlin that the West should disarm precisely in the sector in which the actual decision on the future of the world will be reached. It must be stressed above all that the Western democrats in any case have a good deal of lost ground to

make up as regards psychological defence and offensive. Should the leading statesmen of the free world fall into the Communist trap and thus undermine the front of the Western ideological fight still more,—a front which, incidentally, is extremely weak as compared to the mighty Communist apparatus,—then they will from the outset already have lost the battle for the salvation of freedom. The recently intensified Communist campaign against the cold war is moreover also intended as a preventive measure. It is to paralyse the mobilization of the moral forces of resistance of the free world, a mobilization at present in its initial stage. It is obvious that there is no other alternative to cold war but hot war. The free world is faced by a relatively simple choice: either to win the cold war, or to perish in an atomic war, or submit to the totalitarian Communist dictatorship. Every political demand on the part of the Communists is automatically directed against the existence of human freedom. When Communist propaganda for instance condemns the conducting of the cold war and the policy of strength advocated by the West, then it is perfectly evident that these tactics are thwarting Communist world-conquest plans and are in the interests of the fight for freedom.

* * *

The actions of the Soviet Russian government in the field of foreign policy are determined above all by the **invincible pressure of the national anti-Russian liberation movements** in the Russian sphere of influence, as well as by the increasing military strength of the free world, in particular of the USA.

Khrushchov's main aim as far as the Summit Conference was concerned was to get the free world to recognize the status quo of the subjugation of the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. and in the satellite countries at last, and in this way to dishearten the subjugated peoples and shatter their hope of any support on the part of the free world. Moscow's purpose in diverting attention to West Berlin is to cause local complications there and in this way prevent a development of what are still the current problems of the nations subjugated during and after World War II and also after the first world war, namely during the 1920's. A single concession with regard to West Berlin would automatically make the possibility of any Western liberation policy completely illusory, namely with respect to all the subjugated nations. On the other hand, however, Moscow would tolerate the definite inclusion, according to international law, of West Berlin in the Federal Republic by the Allies, together with the maintenance of allied troops in the same strength as at present in Berlin; this would not mean danger of war, and Moscow cannot afford to risk a war at present since it knows that in such a case, with the West pursuing a genuine **liberation policy**, it would be in danger of being paralysed internally by the subjugated peoples.

* * *

History has shown on various occasions that Moscow has always given in under strong political and military pressure, but never as the result of negotiations. The only language which Moscow understands is a **policy of strength**, which now more than ever must be impressed on the free world and on the rulers in the Kremlin. Only in this way will it be possible to curb Russian aggression. Russia's policy in the Soviet Occupied Zone of Germany with its liquidation of the free farmers and private craftsmen, measures which were first of all introduced in the countries subjugated by the U.S.S.R. and later in the satellite states, is identical with the policy of exploitation and subjugation which has been applied behind the Iron Curtain for the past forty years. It is a system of coercion which no one can escape, once he has come under Russian rule. **It is the law of Russian rule.** The West has failed to heed the warning expressed in the identical development in the East European countries and has drawn no lesson from it. When Turkestan, the Caucasus, Ukraine and Byelorussia went through the same Bolshevist hell, neither Poland nor any of the states that were threatened directly realized the danger. When the same fate befell Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland and the Baltic countries, the free Germans and, in fact, the free world in general refused to believe in the laws governing the development of events in this case and took no steps to ward off the danger which threatened them. When, however, Central Germany was completely collectivized and the same system in all its details was imposed on it, the free West was more than surprised. The free West now began to cherish the illusory hope that Moscow for some reason or other would come to a halt at the German frontier. In this connection it seems fitting to stress a quotation by Lenin, who on one occasion said: "Once Germany has been bolshevized, the victory of the Bolshevist world revolution will be certain."

* * *

In 1945 the united forces of the Allies could still have driven back the Russian steam-roller from Berlin by force. But now, they are no longer strong enough to do so alone; only a **united anti-Bolshevist world front** of the free peoples and of those who are subjugated by Moscow is capable of keeping Bolshevism in check. The longer we remain inactive and behave accordingly and ignore and underrate the fight for freedom of the subjugated peoples, the greater and more dangerous will Bolshevism become for freedom and for our culture. The free world is deceiving itself when it talks about the competition of two ideologies, two equal systems and two conceptions of the world order in the East European countries subjugated by Moscow. In these countries, just as in Central Germany, a foreign power has forced its social and political system on us. It is a question of Russian alien rule in our countries, but not of a social, economic, cultural or state political Communist order desired by our peoples.

Our peoples do not want to have anything at all to do with Communism in any form whatever. All the subjugated peoples in the Russian sphere of influence have personally experienced Bolshevism in its true significance, prior to and after 1945 and also in connection with the ruthless expulsion of millions of Germans from their native regions.

* * *

Moscow talks about the independence of the African and Asian peoples, to whom the West has long since conceded their independence to an ever-increasing degree. **Why does the West not talk about the right of the peoples subjugated in the U.S.S.R. to independence?!** President Eisenhower was ill-advised when, in the course of a press conference held in connection with the approaching Summit Conference, he stated that he would not discuss secondary questions, such as were, for instance, particularly in evidence with regard to German frontier questions, with Mr. Khrushchov. Russia hypocritically talks about the disintegration of the Western so-called colonial empires. **Why does the West not retort with the idea of the disintegration of the most ruthless colonial imperium in the world, namely the Russian imperium,** which has subjugated highly civilized peoples, as for instance those of Central Germany, Ukraine, Georgia, Lithuania or Hungary, and of many other countries, too?! Russia lost the Crimean War and the Russo-Japanese War because internal complications arose in its own imperium; though the tsarist empire as a member of the Big Entente was victorious in the first world war, this vast imperium nevertheless collapsed under the pressure of the wars of liberation of the subjugated nations. Though none of us desire a world war, there is no other way of crushing Bolshevism and the Russian peoples' prison in East, Southeast and Northeast Europe if one fails to support the national revolutions, that is to say the national fight for freedom behind the Iron Curtain. One cannot drop atomic bombs on revolutionaries, for these would inevitably fall on one's own occupation troops, too. Perhaps the West still believes in a miracle, namely that the Bolshevist evil will disintegrate of its own accord. No miracle, however, is likely to happen, unless man, conscious of his noble aims, in the fight for truth defies all obstacles and is prepared to sacrifice his prosperity and his life, if needs be, in order to play an active part in fighting for the good in this world.

* * *

The exile representatives of the national liberation movements respect the will of their peoples, and to disparage them as troublesome emigrants is to lose the most important allies of the free world. This also applies to us, the German expellees, who, since they are likewise fully aware of the situation, have not become radicalists, but advocates of the idea of constructing a new state and, within the framework of the national aims and aspirations, likewise have a right to a home of their own.

It is not so long since De Gaulle, the Queen of the Netherlands, the Emperor of Abyssinia and the King of Greece were also emigrants like the politicians of freedom who hail from behind the Iron Curtain now are. Did these persons not respect and represent the will of their peoples, even though they continued the fight for the independence of their countries whilst abroad?! I hardly think it is appropriate to mention such emigrants as Lenin, who once lived in the vicinity of the College of Technology in Munich.

* * *

A forthcoming Summit Conference should be determined by a declaration and programme on the part of the free world that will guarantee the realization of the idea of national independence for the countries behind the Iron Curtain, including those in the U.S.S.R.,—an idea that has been more and more in evidence recently in Asia and Africa. **The withdrawal of Russian troops** from all non-Russian countries, including those of the U.S.S.R., such as Ukraine, the Caucasus, etc., should be the primary demand. This would be a political blow against Moscow in the cold war. The free

world should draw up a complete list of all the accusations that can be brought against the Russian rulers and should expose their ruthless tyranny towards human beings. If one is prepared to sit at the same conference table with them, then one should at least have a guarantee that one will be the moral victor. The U.S. Congress rightly realized the significance of the national idea when it proclaimed **"Captive Nations Week"** with its resolution of July, 1959, in which the President of the United States was asked to issue a similar proclamation in July every year.

* * *

It is fairly certain that we shall witness a competition between the two camps during the next few weeks. Which system is likely to lead to defeat and collapse? A more ambitious and more aggressive state leadership always has a greater chance of surviving than has a passive one. At the present time the free peoples therefore have no other alternative but to resort to a psychological and political **counter-attack** and to set themselves a clear and definite aim. The defeat of the Soviet system can only be effected by a psychological and political **offensive.** The Communist state leaders do not hesitate to spend milliards for offensive and defensive political and psychological propaganda every year. The so-called German Democratic Republic alone provides several hundred million Marks out of its annual budget for the psychological war against the Federal Republic. The Ulbricht regime spends countless millions on its home propaganda. What for instance does the government of the Federal Republic undertake in this respect? In spite of the fact that the population of the Federal Republic is three times as numerous as that of the German Democratic Republic and material conditions are far more favourable, the Federal Republic only spends a decreasingly small fraction of these amounts for its defence against Bolshevist subversion, for the moral mobilization of its population and for a psychological offensive against the regime of the Soviet Zone. Private initiative is not enough in this case. The responsible government departments should at least make the same amount of material means available, if not double the amount, which Pankow has at its disposal, in order to be able to conduct the psychological war effectively. This expenditure would be just as vital as the expenditure for armaments. The Federal Republic incidentally supports the countries abroad which are in the course of development with annual subventions of several hundred million Deutsche Marks. By fighting poverty, starvation and disease in the Asian and African countries, the latter are to be protected against the clutching hand of international Communism. This generous aid is most certainly commendable. But it surely strikes one as paradox to provide material means without any hesitation for the purpose of checking the Communist advance in overseas countries, if one cannot make any real sacrifice for the purpose of combatting the Communist offensive in one's own country, which is definitely of far greater importance in Europe; in addition, the fact must be stressed that the general staff of the world revolution in Moscow regards the future development on our continent from the point of view that the internal political and economic position of West and South Europe will be undermined to such an extent that those parts of Europe which are still free will, some day, drop into Moscow's lap like ripe fruit. An extremely materialistic attitude on the part of the West Europeans of today, their secularization and their moral instability might well become the grave-diggers of their freedom. It is quite possible that in the event of an economic crisis, mass unemployment and a marked determination in the standard of living of the population, a political radicalization might ensue, which might create the preconditions for the outbreak of civil wars. Demoralization, weakening of the will to assert oneself and little desire to make sacrifices for spiritual and moral values foster the internal disintegration of society in the free world, and this fact in itself might well open the door for a Soviet invasion without the outbreak of an atomic war. And this state of affairs might ensue not only in France and Italy, but also in the Federal Republic and in Belgium. The West must not merely confine itself to raising the standard of living of its peoples and to seeking to prevent the outbreak of economic crises by limited state intervention, but must, above all, concentrate on strengthening and consolidating the **spiritual** resistance and defensive readiness of the West Europeans by means of a **large-scale** and intensive **psychological campaign.**

OUR DEMANDS

1) The development of an offensive in the psychological war. **A liberation policy** is to be actively supported.
2) "Captive Nations Week" should not be confined solely to the USA, but should be extended to all the other countries of the free West. The cause of freedom and independence of all the peoples subjugated in the U.S.S.R. and in the satellite countries should be actively supported.

3) A co-ordination centre of psychological warfare should be set up in the free world in joint effort with the representatives of the national liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain.

4) A freedom manifesto should be drafted by this co-ordination centre and proclaimed as a Magna Carta of the independence of the peoples and freedom of individuals.

5) Steps should be taken to bring about the disintegration of the last imperium in the world, the Russian imperium, into independent national states of all the subjugated peoples, as the main aim of the political war of the free and subjugated world.

6) The national liberation revolutions of all the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism should be supported actively and wholeheartedly.

7) The free world should actively and with every means available support a co-ordinated national liberation revolution of the subjugated peoples behind the Iron Curtain and should regard this as the only possible alternative to an atomic war.

8) The policy of coexistence should be rejected by the peace-loving Western world as a trap designed by Moscow, since it is bound to lead to a surprise atomic war.

9) The United Nations, which are adjusting themselves more and more to a policy of coexistence, should be reorganized:
   a) as an anti-Bolshevist world organization, with the immediate exclusion of Bolshevist representatives and their satellites;
   b) as an organization in which the German Federal Republic and the authorized representatives of the peoples subjugated by Moscow are included;
   c) as an organization in which the veto is abolished and all partners enjoy equal rights.

10) The introduction of Communist papers and of other Communist propaganda material into Germany and its sale there should be prohibited as long as Western informative material is not allowed to be circulated behind the Iron Curtain.
All camouflaged Communist organizations should be prohibited.

OTHER SPEECHES

After the main speaker of the said meeting had concluded, **Mr. Meinl,** chairman of the Head Organization of the Soviet Zone Refugees, made a speech and stated on behalf of his society that it was wholeheartedly on the side of the subjugated peoples and, in joint effort with the latter, would carry on the fight against tyranny.

Dr. I. V. Emilian, representing the Roumanians, referred to the problem of Communist subversion in the German press. He stressed that this type of infiltration was extremely dangerous, since in this way public opinion could be influenced to the advantage of the enemy of freedom, Bolshevism.

The audience then heard the opinion of **Mr. Jalias Nagy,** who took part in the Hungarian revolution in 1956. He opposed the policy of coexistence and reminded those present of the fight for freedom of the Hungarian people and, above all, of the younger generation in Hungary.

Quoting as evidence publications issued in the East, **Mr. Franz Gaksch,** Deputy of the Bavarian Parliament, mentioned the defamatory propaganda campaign conducted against the free West and stressed that the Communists were only using the policy of coexistence for its tactical purposes in their aggressive policy.

Further speakers were **Dr. Dimiter Waltscheff,** representative of the Bulgarian Delegation in the Central Committee of the A.B.N., the Croatian representative, **the Reverend Dr. Dr. Stefan Kukolja,** and the regional president of the Union of the Victims of Stalinism, **Mr. Günther Doberauer.**

Among those who attended the meeting were the President of the Central Committee of the A.B.N., **Jarolaw Stetzko,** Mrs. **Slawa Stetzko,** Prof. **Stefan Lenkavsky** (Ukraine), Dr. **Ctibor Pokorny** (Slovakia), Colonel **Coloman Bilic** and Mrs. **Rukavina** (Croatia), General **A. Zàko** and Mrs. **Zàko** (Hungary), as well as various other prominent representatives of the subjugated peoples.

Dr. F. Priller, the President of the German-Slovakian Society, also attended the meeting.

"None will be Free until All are Free"

Address of Congressman Michael A. Feighan at the A.F.A.B.N. Dinner Given in His Honour in Cleveland, Ohio, April 24, 1960

This occasion has a significant meaning because I attach great importance to the work carried on by the A.B.N. and associated organizations in support of a peace with justice and to keep the American people informed of the dangers of Russian imperialism and Communist imperialism to our free American way of life.

This occasion provides me with an opportunity to discuss some of the major problems confronting our country as a consequence of the Russian effort to dominate the world.

There is the Berlin crisis. The Russians have been attempting to take over complete control of all Berlin since 1947. They attempted to drive us out in 1948 by cutting off our lines of supply and communication. President Truman responded with a firm determination to remain in Berlin — the Berlin Air Lift. — The Russians backed down when they saw we meant business.

In 1955 the first summit conference was held. The Russians agreed with the Western Leaders that Germany should be united by means of free elections — this was played up as the big accomplishment of the conference. A reading of the communique released at the end of that meeting makes this fact startlingly apparent. Yet — nothing was done to implement this agreement, and a dangerous drift set in. — The Russians took advantage of this vacuum. Having serious internal troubles with the captive non-Russian nations in their slave empire — fearing a repeat of the Hungarian freedom revolution on a much broader scale — — The Russians backed down when they saw we meant business.

Khrushchov was the spokesman on this new demand — he made no less than ten major addresses in the empire on this theme. The United States did not look with favor on a status quo arrangement and told the Russians so.

Therefore Khrushchov provoked a political crisis on Berlin — his demand that the United States, France and Great Britain get out of Berlin by a set date or be driven out by Russian military force. President Eisenhower's first reaction was, we would stand fast on Berlin — the Russians would have to take full responsibility for their action in Berlin. In this he received complete support of congress and the acclaim of the American people. It was clear that our people had become sick and tired of being pushed around by the Russians and the time had come to take a stand.

Khrushchov recognized this and quickly claimed he had been misunderstood — that he wanted to negotiate on Berlin — that he was ready to meet with the Western leaders to negotiate. Here is where the Eisenhower administration weakened. The offer was made to the Russians that if Khrushchov would remove his deadline threat — we would be willing to negotiate, now imagine this. We said we were willing to negotiate something on which no negotiation was legally possible because our legal right to be in Berlin was clearly established. By accepting Khrushchov's demand that we negotiate on our legal right to be in Berlin, we thereby admitted our right to be there was not clear — that it was something subject to negotiation. This in my opinion was a blunder, an admission of weakness. We let Khrushchov get off the hook after we called his bluff and he had backed down. It seems our leaders lack the political sense to know when we have won a victory and how to exploit such a victory.

It is now clear that Khrushchov used the Berlin crisis as a political blackjack to force the leaders of the West into a second summit conference. He must have needed this meeting very badly to take the risks he did on this crisis.

And now it is clear that Khrushchov so desperately needed a recognition by the Free World of a status quo that he was prepared to take grave risks to win this goal.

Now let us look at the meaning of status quo — its significance to the Russians in their plot to conquer the world.

To the Russians status quo means that the United States recognizes the finality of the captivity of all the non-Russian nations within the empire; it gives a permanency to the Iron Curtain — at least a permanency so far as the emancipation of the captive nations is concerned. It does not mean, however, that the Russians would give up their ideas of extending their Iron Curtain to the still free countries of the world. For the Russians it means the right to do as they please with the people held in bondage behind the Iron Curtain — to continue on with genocide and their other crimes against humanity, to ruthlessly crush all opposition, to kill off more millions of non-Russian people. It would give the Russians the right to be above the conscience of all humanity. To the enslaved non-Russian nations it means the United States has deserted their cause — has turned its back upon their legitimate aspirations for liberty, freedom, and national independence. It is cold water thrown upon the torch of human freedom which they hold up in a sea of tyranny and despotism. It is a denial of the cause of those millions of martyrs of all faiths who gave their lives in the cause of justice and all humanity. It is a temptation for those who may grow weary of the struggle for freedom to take the easy way out — to compromise their conscience and their moral conviction — to be opportunists — to make their peace with the tyrant. It is in fact an invitation to accept Communism as the wave of the future — and this is the key to war — a war in which the United States would be deprived of its proven allies behind the Iron Curtain — the non-Russian peoples of the empire.

For the United States recognition of a status quo would mean that we have surrendered our heritage as the citadel of human freedom — that we fear the power of our political ideals, that we consider our political ideals as theories reserved for after-dinner talks and fillers for history books, worse still, that the United States had lost its faith in the power of the common man and his aspirations for peace with justice. It would signal the beginning of a new era in power politics, an era in which the United States would turn back to the 19th century, to indulge in the immoral peace of empires, and finally, it would deprive the United States of its most potent weapon for peace — moral leadership in a world which is crying out for a return to fundamental morality in the affairs of nations and peoples.

With this background we can see the hidden importance of the conference which will open in Paris on May 16th. The great challenge to American leadership in Paris next month is whether we will take advantage of a golden opportunity to strike a blow for peace — that is — a just and lasting peace. We will fail in this opportunity if our leaders sit back and wait for the Russians to take the initiative and state our case for all the world to hear it — and to understand beyond any doubt that we reject any and all proposals which could lead to recognition of a political status quo with the Russian slave empire.

On March 21, 1960, I introduced a resolution in congress — calling upon the President to do just this. It is H. CON. RES. 636 — copies of which some of you have had an opportunity to study. In my judgment, the terms of this resolution state our case for the Paris Summit Conference. I call to your attention the fact that my resolution includes all the nations occupied by the Russian Communists — not just a few — but all of them. It is my judgment that none will be free until all are free. That is the nature of the struggle for the world.

Allow me to read for you that concluding part of my resolution — because I believe it puts the issue sharply and squarely.

1) The Congress of the United States reaffirms its intention to *stand firmly* by the people of the captive nations in their aspirations for freedom, liberty, and national independence.

2) The Congress of the United States invites the active co-operation of all nations and men of good will in *a crusade for peace with justice and freedom for all mankind; and*

3) The Congress of the United States urges the President to pursue energetically and as a matter of first priority at the forthcoming Summit Conference the inalienable right of all people to self-government, individual liberty, and the basic human freedoms, and, in particular, the restoration of these God-given rights to the people of the captive nations.

It is my fervent hope that the "spirit of the Paris conference" will be based upon these foundations of international justice.

The "Spirit of Camp David" needs an airing, it needs the clean airing of just what did take place between President Eisenhower and Khrushchov. Only the Russian version has been made public. The American version has been withheld from everyone — including the American people. We shall judge the meaning of this strange silence by the results obtained at the second summit conference. Not in terms of platitudes and slogans, but, specifically, in terms of what the American delegation did on the question of status quo and the future emancipation of all the captive nations.

Letter to Hon. Michael A. Feighan

Dear Mr. Feighan, *May* 10, 1960

We have learnt from the press that on March 21, 1960, *you proposed a resolution in Congress to the effect that the demands for the liberation of our countries from foreign rule and the restoration of their independent states under their own national governments, which were mentioned in the resolution introducing "Captive Nations Week", should be supported.*

This significant and noble action on your part on behalf of the rights of our peoples is proof of your humane and Christian attitude. And, at the same time, it is evidence that you truly represent the American spirit and traditions.

As spokesmen of our peoples we should like to thank you most sincerely for your unselfish support in the fight of our peoples for their national freedom. The day will come when our peoples will be able to express their gratitude to you and other American friends in a fitting and worthy manner.

In this mighty struggle of two worlds, the question at issue is not solely a difference between state political and economic and social systems, but, in the first place, the national freedom of our peoples, for on the one side there is the free world of the free national states and, on the other side, there is the Russian colonial imperium which rules and violates the peoples. The leading force in this struggle for freedom is the USA, and our peoples trust and are convinced that the American people will fulfil this mission.

...Once again, our sincerest thanks to you for your action. With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

Prince Niko Nakashidze
Secretary-General

Jaroslaw Stetzko
President

REFLECTIONS ON RELIGION IN THE U.S.S.R. TODAY

The political events of recent years have clearly shown the intense and almost fierce desire of the free world for peace.

The United States, like the majority of Western nations, have even managed to forget their own dead, massacred in the distant campaigns in Korea, in Europe or in Africa, and it seems that, for the time being at least, they have likewise forgotten the millions of men of the countries of East and Southeast Europe?

Would this be the price of the so-called easing of tension?

Is a friendly understanding at all possible between the free West and the world behind the Iron Curtain, which is subjected to the notorious methods of Stalin and Khrushchov?

Must all the destruction, not only material but also and, above all, spiritual, be forgotten, which has been wrought in the majority of European countries, from the Baltic States to Ukraine, to Azerbaijan and Turkestan, and in Central Europe, in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and Roumania?

Are the Hungarians who died in November 1956 to be sacrificed once more for the sake of easing the tension? Must they be resuscitated in order to kill them a second time on the altar of Khrushchov's easing of the tension?

The term "easing of tension" is simply a phrase that has been coined in order to deceive the American and European citizens, who are always disposed to accept as gospel truth all commodities "made in the U.S.S.R."

The magic term "easing of tension" has been introduced in all the five continents, in all the countries of the world: it is a term which for the time being has been thrown on the market of political illusionism by the Soviet dictator in the same manner as, some years ago, his predecessor Stalin, likewise an undisputed master of political and lexical intrigues, coined the word "coexistence," in order to mislead people more easily and make it simpler for Soviet Communism to advance and penetrate into the different nations and into the government circles of the Western countries.

But once more it is the Church of Rome that has managed to deprive this magic term, which was beginning to be such a big success amongst the heads of state of many of the European and American countries, of its prestige.

And it was Pope Pius XII who had the courage to proclaim publicly the danger of a coexistence with the enemies of the Church, who are also the enemies of the spiritual values and culture of the West.

In his addresses and in his "Apostolic Letters," Pope Pius XII expressed the opinion that one should take up the defence of the freedoms of the countries subjugated by Russian imperialism and solemnly declare that any kind of collaboration between the governments of the countries subjugated by Soviet Russia and those of the West is impossible.

Now, some years later, it is once more the Church of Rome that is warning the governments and the peoples against the easing of tension,—this magic term which has taken the place of "coexistence." Mr. Khrushchov, whose cunning is masked by a certain ingenuousness, thought it was now time to find a new word as a substitute for "coexistence." Hence the Khrushchov "easing of tension," let loose on the five continents like a volley of peace and freedom: the spiritual "sputnik" of Muscovy!

But this new term has the same meaning, the same objective, the same significance and the same characteristics as Stalin's "coexistence."

And once more it is the Church of Rome that is warning the Western world: in his first "Encyclical Letter," Pope John XXIII clearly expressed his views on the countries behind the Iron Curtain, on the religious persecutions, on the suppression of freedom and on the coercion inflicted on the peoples in the Soviet countries.

And, to those who can read and understand, the recent words of the Pope on the occasion of the death of Cardinal Stepinac sound like the greatest reproach against the destruction of all spiritual values by the Communist and atheistic governments.

The Catholic Church has had an opportunity to become thoroughly acquainted with the true intentions of Soviet policy as regards religion: in China, as in the U.S.S.R. and in the satellite countries, religious persecution aims to destroy the very roots and foundations of Christianity. The entire Catholic hierarchy has for instance been destroyed by means of imprisonments, death-sentences and slave-labour camps; seminaries have been

closed down, and so, too, have many of the churches; and the few churches that are still open in the Soviet countries are under strict control, whilst the faithful are under surveillance and are excluded from taking any part in public life.

The Communist paper published in Budapest, **"Zalai Hirlap,"** writes in one of its editions of February, 1960: "A Communist is not a Communist in order to lock up his convictions and opinions inside himself. Party membership demands that he should popularize the Party's standpoint in certain questions and should convince other people of it. It is thus natural to expect this persuasive work in ideological questions to start in the family."

The Slovak Communist Party daily, **"Pravda"** (Bratislava, February, 1960), replying recently to a reader who had asked whether a believer in Christianity could be a good Communist, declared: "A Communist cannot invoke the Constitution which guarantees freedom of religious belief—or freedom to be without a religion —to the citizen. For him the Party statutes, which make higher demands on him, are binding."

But it added "While the Party shows a great deal of patience towards its worker and collective farmer members who are burdened by surviving religious prejudice, it emphasizes the principle of upbringing and it makes higher demands on the intelligentsia. It demands that members of the intelligentsia be clear in their own minds on the question of religion before they are accepted as candidates for Party membership."

Atheistic propaganda constantly intensifies and increases its efforts through the press and especially through broadcast programmes in the U.S.S.R. and other countries of Eastern Europe. It was recently declared in a Communist broadcast in the U.S.S.R.: "The activities of the Society for Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge are of inestimable importance for the complete abolition of religious survivals, as science does not leave room for belief in God."

But in spite of all persecutions and threats, religious activities are enjoying a secret revival in all the Soviet territories and especially in Ukraine.

The persecuted Catholics, for example, obliged to hide in the catacombs, look to Rome for help with the same faith and the same hope as did the early Christians in the reign of Nero.

The problem is not only a religious but also a social, political and, above all, a human one; and it is the mass of the Christians—whether they are Catholic or Orthodox—who now address themselves to the Church of Rome.

For the orthodox believers in Ukraine, as in Roumania, know only too well that the Church of the Patriarch Alexey stands for Soviet imperialism in disguise. On the other hand, however, it is the Church of Rome that shows its sympathy for these faithful and stretches out its arms towards the Christians of Ukraine and of the other countries of Eastern Europe.

It is our duty to help them with our prayers; but we must also give them the feeling that the Church of Rome has a genuine interest in its sons and daughters who are suffering under the worst form of persecution ever heard of in the whole of history.

The Church of Rome—in the past and not only today—was the first to recognize the existence and the vitality of the ethnical groups and, I would like to stress, the pre-eminence of the nationalities over the "composite" State.

And since the Church of Rome has always been well-disposed towards the ethnical groups and, in particular, towards the peoples of Eastern Europe, we sincerely hope that the Pontifical Institute of the Eastern Church, which finds the greatest expression of its activity in the Russian element, will welcome the Ukrainian representatives who, together with the other nationalities represented there, will certainly be able to contribute in an effective way to the development of the Catholic Church and to a friendly understanding between the Christians. A friendly understanding, and not merely an easing of tension; and herein lies the great difference between the two policies, —that of the Church of Rome and that of Moscow.

His Eminence Cardinal Cicognani, who has on many occasions shown his affection for the Eastern Church by helping the Ukrainians to be reunited to Rome, or, rather, to return to Rome, for it is a question of a return, will undoubtedly render the Roman Catholic Church an even greater service and at the same time earn the gratefulness of the Ukrainian people And, what is more, by introducing some Ukrainian element, he will contribute to a better understanding between the ethnical groups, and this collaboration more than anything else will further the friendly understanding between the Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church.

The Ukrainians, as we have already pointed out, regard Rome as their spiritual home, and one must corroborate their attachment to the Roman Catholic religion.

In view of the loyalty of Ukrainan Christianity, we should like to respectfully express the wish that His Holiness

Pope John XXIII, on the eve of the Oecumenical Council, on which so many faithful have set their hopes, will raise to the rank of Cardinal the great martyr of the Ukrainian Church, Monseigneur Joseph Slipyj, the Archbishop of Lviv. Imprisoned in 1945, he was sentenced by the Russians to slave-labour in Siberia, from where he continued to send his messages of comfort and solace to the Ukrainian faithful in order to encourage them to adhere to their loyalty to the Catholic Church.

Subjected to a new trial in 1958, he was once more sentenced to a further seven years' slave-labour in Siberia, where he still is at the present time.

A worthy successor of the great Metropolitan Andreas Sheptytskyj, a noble patriot and a courageous soldier of the Church of Christ, Mgr. Slipyj not only represents the Ukrainian Church that is loyal to Rome, but also the entire Ukrainian population, for he is venerated by all the orthodox Ukrainians.

The raising to the rank of Cardinal of Mgr. Slipyj would make all Ukrainian Christians happy and would reward their loyalty to Rome, to which they have adhered in spite of persecutions, threats and dangers of every kind; it would be a ray of light and hope in the terrible darkness in which Ukraine and the whole of Christianity in Eastern Europe at present find themselves.

On the eve of the Oecumenical Council, the Orthodox Church of Ukraine joins with the whole of Christianity in manifesting its wholehearted adherence to God.

The return of the Orthodox Church of Ukraine to Rome would be the consummation of all the efforts undertaken for so long to further the union between the Catholics and the Orthodox and would make it possible to inaugurate a new epoch in the history of the Catholic Church.

Leo **MAGNINO**,
Secretary-General of the "Institute for the Study of Ethnical and National Problems," Rome.

U. S. Census Bureau Recognizes Ukraine as Separate Country and its Language in 1960 Population Census

Washington, D. C. — The U.S. Census Bureau will officially recognize Ukraine as a separate country and the Ukrainian language as a separate tongue in the 1960 population census of the United States. This information is contained in the letter of Robert W. Burgess, Director of the Bureau of Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, which he sent to Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, national chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. The UCCA, through its chairman, has been corresponding with the Bureau of Census for a number of years to have the Ukrainian nationality recognized by the U.S. Census Bureau.

"As we indicated in our previous letter, the enumerators will accept responses of the Ukraine in connection with inquiries on country of birth and country of birth of parents. In addition, since our letter of November 8, it has been determined that there will be a question on mother tongue in the 1960 Census, and for the foreign born, Ukrainian will be reported and identified as a separate mother tongue.

"We do plan to recognize the Ukraine as a separate entity in our coding scheme for country of origin, but, as we indicated in our previous letter, we still have serious doubts as to the advisability of publishing these figures as a separate entity, particularly in view of the small number of persons who were identified as of Ukrainian birth in the 1950 Census. In the case of mother tongue, Ukrainian represents a separate item in the classification and will appear in most of the tables in which data on mother tongue are presented".

Edward M. O'Connor,
former U.S. Commissioner for Displaced Persons

SEEDS OF RUSSIAN DISAFFECTION

At the Yalta conference the late Joseph Stalin proved to be an able tactician in support of the ages-long Russian dream of world empire. He argued for and convinced the Western statesman that Ukraine and Byelorussia should be admitted to full membership in the United Nations Organization, then in the planning stage. Strange as it may now seem, he openly expressed the fear that unless these two non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union, along with Lithuania, were so recognized and admitted, the territorial holdings of the Soviet Union would be seriously endangered. In pointing up the fact that both Ukraine and Byelorussia had demonstrated deep-rooted tendencies toward what he called 'separatism' during World War II, Stalin gave full recognition to the major internal problem which has faced the Soviet Union in the post-war period. That is, nationalism, or the striving of subjugated nations for their national independence. In the case of Lithuania Stalin had an additional motive. He sought to quiet protests of the people of tht Russian-occupied country which was annexed by Moscow in the days when the Russians were in alliance with the Nazis, and to legalize this forced annexation.

In the end, both Ukraine and Byelorussia were admitted to full membership in the United Nations, as part of the price paid by the Western statesmen to secure Russian participation in that organization. The Lithuanian proposal was dropped by Stalin when he realized there was some limit to what he could extract from those taking part in the Conference.

On another basic point Stalin made a persistent plea and, unfortunately, was in large measure successful. That was the feature status of those millions of unhappy people who had lived behind the Russian Iron Curtain and who had been either deported to or had escaped to those parts of Western Europe liberated by the Allies. Stalin referred to them as 'Seeds of Soviet Disaffection'.

In demanding the forced repatriation of these people to the Soviet Union, Stalin predicted that unless this was done they would spread what he called 'slanderous lies and provocations' about conditions within the Soviet Union. Who better than Stalin was in a position to know the feelings and intentions of these people toward those who occupied their homeland? It was Stalin who perfected the system of the police state and terror which the Tsars had used to hold their empire together. As a realist, he knew the damage these victims of tyranny could do to the many myths about life under the new order in Soviet Russia which had been nurtured by his skilful propagandists in the free world. These people, if allowed to remain in and move about the free world, could damage his carefully laid plans by alerting thinking people to the realities of life behind his Iron Curtain and the truth about Russian intentions toward the rest of humanity.

Stalin won his point at Yalta and at war's end in Europe several millions of these 'Seeds of Soviet Disaffection' were dragged back by force behind the Iron Curtain. Some observers have placed the figure of forced deportations at close to 4,000,000 people, though no official figures have been made public. President Harry S. Truman, who played no part in the Yalta Conference, intervened in this tragic work and by order of the Secretary of State James Byrnes, all forced repatriation to the Soviet Union was stopped. At this point there remained some 1,700,000 uprooted people in the Western zones of Germany and Austria and in Italy. The

vast majority of them came from lands behind the Russian Iron Curtain. Later they became known as Displaced Persons and were properly recognized as the victims of religious and political persecutions.

All the nations forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union were represented by elements among the Displaced Persons. They came in numbrs from Estonia, Latvia Lithuania, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, North Caucasus Cossackia, Idel-Ural, and Turkestan. In the years which followed, most of the countries of the free world opened their doors to the resettlement of these dispossessed people. Thus, the seeds of Soviet disaffection were carried to the far corners of the world, bringing with them a vital message of truth.

The United States admitted some 400,000 of the Displaced Persons between 1948 and 1952. The vast majority have proved to be active seeds of Russian disaffection, by making well-founded claims for the national independence of their captive homelands. Those who came from the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union have been joined in this effort by those who came from the newly annexed colonies of the Soviet Union, such as Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and East Germany. The impact of this combined mission of dispossessed people has done much to awaken the American people to the union between historic Russian imperialism and 20th century Communist ideology, and the menace this presents to all who cherish individual liberty and the basic human freedoms. Among those who came to our shores were intellectuals, teachers, diplomats, religious leaders, skilled and unskilled workmen, medical doctors, farmers, scientists and just plain people. They settled in nearly every State of the Union. Their adjustment to the American scene has been both orderly and constructive. Some have fashioned fabulous stories of success and, with some exceptions, have taken to the great opportunities of our free society like a duck takes to water.

In attesting to the accuracy of Stalin's fears expressed at the Yalta Conference, the Displaced Persons have provided us with a rich fund of knowledge about the realities of life in the Soviet Union. They have lifted the Iron Curtain from the unnatural edifice of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, to reveal a long list of crimes against nations and humanity. The hard and now shocking truths which had been concealed from public attention for more than a quarter of a century are rapidly becoming common knowledge in the free world. The monumental work of the House Select Committee to Investigate Communist Aggression, 83rd Congress, which has been published in 27 public documents, stands as a testament to their labors in support of truth and justice. Hundreds of them came forward voluntarily to give eyewitness testimony, under oath, so that free men would know the origin and nature of the threat which confronts all civilized mankind. In unmasking the black deeds of the Kremlin they gave public identity to the struggles of the people in the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union to throw off the chains of modern day Russian imperialism and to win back their national independence. Their testimony remains unchallenged by any witness willing to subject himself to the procedures which govern the work of Congressional Committees established for the purpose of special inquiry. However, they and the work of the Select Committee have been subjected to a continuous attack by the various organs of propaganda which the Russian Kremlin has established throughout the world.

It is important that we Americans understand that an Empire made up of captive nations whose people aspire to national independence will never be in a position to wage war successfully against any free nation or combination thereof. This is necessarily so because war would provide an opportunity for the captive nations to show their contempt for and disloyalty to the imperial tyranny which holds them in bondage. This is a lesson which the Russians have learned twice in this century...

(to be continued)

THE ACTIVATION OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN THE U.S.S.R.

The fiasco arranged by Khrushchov in connection with the Paris "Summit" conference has once again confirmed the rightness of the views of the representatives of the subjugated peoples in the free world and of those objective-minded circles in the West who see through the pretence of the Soviet Russian peace campaign and realize that all talks with the Soviet Union regarding a peaceful coexistence are hopeless and unlikely to be successful. The reason is perfectly plain: the Soviet Russians do not want a genuine peaceful coexistence and a stabilization of conditions according to a universal standard. They solely make use of the watchword of peace and of peaceful coexistence with the "capitalistic world" as a tactical measure which enables them to undermine the powers of resistance of democracy and pave the way for the future victory of Communism of the Soviet Russian type in the world.

Apart from the theory that only a firm stand and an unyielding attitude, as well as vigorous measures to combat Communist infiltration and a defensive activity can safeguard the democratic world and peace in general against Soviet Russian aggression, the representatives of the peoples enslaved by Moscow have on numerous occasions tried to convince the free world that the other most dangerous weapon against the Soviet Russian regime is a close co-operation on the part of the West with the national liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain. It is extremely regrettable that the national liberation movements of the peoples subjugated by Moscow have so far not been accorded the understanding and support which is their due by the West.

Influential circles in the West frequently underrate the importance of the national liberation movements and even throw doubt upon their existence when it is a question of the Soviet Union. We have on numerous occasions not only drawn attention in the columns of our periodical to the significance of the problems of the national liberation movements in the U.S.S.R. as the only loyal allies of the democratic world and as the most dangerous internal enemy of the Soviet Russian regime, but, on the strength of facts, have ascertained their indefatigable persistence and activity since the earliest beginnings of the Soviet Russian imperium up to the present time.

There are three factors which constantly hover over the Soviet Russian regime like the sword of Damocles and are indicative of its internal weakness; by means of boastful statements about solidarity and strength, this regime tries to conceal this weakness and to cover up the economic, political and national enslavement of the masses in the U.S.S.R. For some time now, we have been aware of Khrushchov's endeavours to raise the standard of living of the Soviet citizens and in this way lessen their hostile attitude towards the regime. At the same time, Soviet Russian propaganda has recently been trying to prove that the Soviet Russian dictatorship is not a dictatorship but solely a new "socialist democracy," and in this connection the main proof that is cited is the fact that the Soviet citizens are entitled to approve unanimously of the infallible decrees issued by the central authority of the Party.

All these measures have, however, not produced the desired results, as can be seen from a whole wave of opposition in Soviet society and from more and more frequent and obvious signs of discontent on the part of the population with the existing social and political conditions. There have recently been a number of strikes in the U.S.S.R. Boris Pasternak has become the symbol of an unyielding spirit which opposes Soviet Russian totalitarianism and aims to attain freedom. Soviet youth in particular reveals a vehement resistance to the social and political enslavement that prevails in the Soviet Union.

But the most powerful and most dangerous enemies of the Soviet system are undoubtedly the national liberation movements of the peoples enslaved by Moscow. As we have already pointed out (see an article on this subject in the last edition of this periodical), the "spirit of nationalism" has become so powerful in the U.S.S.R. that it has even seized the Communist parties of the non-Russian republics. In this connection large-scale purges have been carried out amongst the head Party officials and the masses of the ordinary Party members in Turkestan, Georgia, the Baltic countries and Kazakhstan. In order to master the situation in these countries, Moscow was obliged to resort to vigorous measures. As is no doubt known, trials have been taking place in Ukraine for the past two years against the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, which conducts an organized underground fight for liberation. The aim of these trials is to bring discredit on the fight for freedom in the eyes of the population.

It is hardly necessary to raise the question as to what is the reason for all this evidence of opposition and resistance if—as the opponents of the national liberation movements in the West affirm, the national question does not play an important part in the U.S.S.R. and is not a particularly popular subject amongst the masses. It is, after all, an established fact that cause and effect are always inseparably linked. And this, too, applies in the case of the national liberation movements in the U.S.S.R. The "nationalist" feeling in the Communist parties of the non-Russian republics and the existence of a Ukrainian revolutionary underground movement are not sporadic facts which do not reflect the sentiments of the broad masses, but, on the contrary, these phenomena are only possible because of a profound and widespread national feeling of opposition which has taken possession of the non-Russian masses. The magic influence of this feeling results, on the one hand, in "nationalist" diseases within the non-Russian Communist parties, whilst, on the other hand, it enables the revolutionary underground movement in Ukraine to carry on its operations.

But the above conclusions are not drawn solely on the strength of deduction. One of the most discussed problems in the Soviet Union is the question of how to combat "nationalist" feeling among the broad masses of the non-Russian population and, above all, amongst the youth. There is no Party congress and no important conference at which this problem is not mentioned in connection with combatting bourgeois views among the Soviet people and, above all, among the youth, or in connection with combatting various expressions of nationalism. "The fight against the bourgeois ideology must be belligerent and aggressive in character," so Andriy Skyba, the new ideological secretary of the Communist Party of Soviet Ukraine, affirms. At the Party congresses of the national republics which have been held recently, practically all the secretaries have stressed the necessity of combatting nationalist influence among the broad masses.

Stalin sought to "solve" the problem of the unyielding "nationalist" influence in the Soviet Union in a radical way by means of a mass resettlement to the vast expanses of Soviet Central Asia. And, indeed, much has already been done in this direction. Some of the smaller Caucasian peoples were, at his orders, deported from their native countries. Similar plans were also harboured by Stalin, as Khrushchov stated in his secret speech at the 20th Party Congress, with regard to the Ukrainian people. Khrushchov himself is pursuing this aim with other "more humane" methods. He has recently worked out a large-scale plan to Russify the subjugated peoples by means of the school-system, the "All-Union" language, and the colonization and resettlement of peoples. Both Stalin's and Khrushchov's plans are the most obvious proof of the feeling which is spreading to an ever-increasing degree among the broad masses of the non-Russian peoples, irrespective of the basis on which this feeling is founded: whether it is the revolutionary underground movement and its fight against the regime, or whether it is a "nationalist opposition" in the Communist parties.

There can be no doubt about the fact that the national feeling of opposition among the broad masses of the enslaved peoples is closely bound up with social and political discontent. And it is in this light that the revolt of the young nationalists in Temir Tau, for instance, must be viewed. The cause of the revolt in Temir Tau were the unbearable social conditions under which the young people who have been sent to the uncultivated regions of Asia are forced to live. But, as eyewitnesses of the revolt reported on their return to the West, the majority of the young people who took part in it were Ukrainians and Byelorussians. The youth of these two countries has far more reason to be discontented than has Russian youth. After all, it is a well-known fact that it is precisely the youth of the non-Russian peoples that is sent to these regions at the orders of the Party and is forced to live there under unbearable conditions and under deprivation of its national cultural rights. At the same time, and likewise at the orders of the Party, the Ukrainian and Byelorussian territories are inundated with Russian youth. It is, therefore, not surprising that this social and national injustice is felt even more strongly, and for this reason non-Russian youth is more susceptible to revolutionary ferment. The same applies to the strikes staged by workers in the West Siberian town of Kemerovo, though the West received but little information about these incidents. Nevertheless, anyone who is acquainted with the Soviet Russian demographic policy will have realized that it is, in the first place, the youth of the non-Russian countries that is being sent to the newly founded industrial towns in West Siberia.

There can also be no doubt about the fact that the revolt and the riots which have broken out twice already in Georgia since Stalin's death have been predominantly national in character. Only recently, eyewitnesses of the incidents in Tbilisi in 1956 have furnished the West with detailed reports of what happened there. It can plainly be seen from these

reports that Stalin's "discrimination" only served as an excuse for the riots; they were of a purely national liberation character. Nor was there any connection at all with Stalin as regards the student riots in Tbilisi on May 20, 1959, which were likewise of a national and anti-Russian nature. At an assembly of the students' "Active Body," the First Secretary of the Georgian Communist Party, Mshavanadse, corroborated the fact that anti-Bolshevist disturbances had recently taken place in the colleges in Tbilisi. The serious nature of these riots can be seen from the fact that, in addition to Mshavanadse, that is to say the head of the Georgian security service, a special envoy from Moscow, the secretary of the Communist youth organization, Pavlov, was also present at the said assembly.

Regardless of the fact that events in the Baltic countries have been hushed up, it is now perfectly obvious that the purges that have been carried out there have not been confined solely to those active Party members infected by nationalism, but have also been extended to bourgeois circles and, above all, to the youth of these countries. After the liquidation of Stalin's terrorist rule, which prevented all resistance, a reaction set in in the Baltic countries, and the result of this reaction is the activation of the fight against national subjugation, a fight which is closely linked up with social and economic aspects.

On the strength of the above-mentioned facts, one can assume that the same process of activating national resistance is also taking place in the other enslaved countries of the U.S.S.R. The fight for freedom, whether the opponents of the subjugated peoples in the West like it or not, is continuing undiminished and is proceeding towards its ultimate victory, that is to say towards the disintegration of the Soviet Russian imperium. How soon this fight comes to a victorious close will depend on the Western nations and also on whether they rightly realize the significance of this fight (above all in their own interests). The explosive forces of the national liberation movements within the Soviet Union are far greater and also far more dangerous than the atomic bomb. One must solely speed up the process of their revolutionary satiation. This can only be the case when understanding and friendship bind the subjugated peoples and the free world in unity and when the West realizes that freedom is indivisible and that it must prevail in every corner of the earth.

Z. Ju.

ABN Solidarity with Tibet

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations expresses its solidarity with the freedom-loving people of Tibet in their present struggle against the forces of Communist China, and sends to them heart-felt wishes for the success of their struggle, and the liberation of their homeland.

Extact from the Manifesto

"Our Appeal to Those Who hold Freedom Dear"

(issued by the Manifestation Rally Committee of Americans of Ukrainian Descent. New York, July, 1960).

"We, Americans of the Ukrainian descent, now gathered at a rally during this "Week of Captive Nations," solemnly declare our sincere belief, that there won't be any peace in the world as long the Bolshevik Empire — the U.S.S.R., which has ignored the most fundamental principles of human decency in its dealing with the West and the captive nations, continues to exist. We, furthermore, solemnly believe, that the government of the United States and the American people, dedicated to freedom, will not only morally, but also actively support the liberation struggle of the Ukrainians, and other Russian-dominated nations. We believe, that freedom is indivisible. We are convinced, moreover, that the Resolution concerning the "Week of Captive Nations," whose intention it is to give support to those enslaved countries, is inseparably tied up with the over-all problem of the security of our America and the whole world."

Message to the 6th Congress of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Comunist League

On the occasion of the 6th Congress of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League we wish to convey to you, on behalf of the national liberation movements of the peoples subjugated by Communism and Russian imperialism behind the Iron Curtain, our sincerest greetings and wish you every success in your work.

We are greatly impressed by the programme of your Congress and we are of the opinion that if you succeed in solving the problems raised there, this will be a great step forward on the path to the victory of freedom over tyranny.

We consider the main aim of the anti-Bolshevist world is to bring about the disintegration of the Russian imperium in every form into independent national states for all the subjugated peoples. The vital idea of the present epoch in history is the national idea. We are living in the era of the decay of colonial empires and the ascendancy of the national state independence of the peoples of the earth. Why should the Russian imperium be preserved when all the other empires are falling apart?

At a press conference on August 5, 1958, President Eisenhower declared: "I believe in nationalism and I support it for the good of all the peoples". And on 26, 1959, Ex-President Harry S. Truman wrote in an article: "In this era of the abolition of the old colonialism and of transition to the independence and nationalism of the peoples, we must not overlook the menacing growth of a new type of colonialism, — Red, exploiting colonialism".

The Asian peoples should support the idea of national independence and the disintegration of the Russian imperium if they wish to restore and keep their freedom and independence.

Free China, Free Korea and Free Vietnam cannot liberate their brothers from the Communist yoke and from Russian dependence if they do not support the idea of the disintegration of the Russian imperium.

Together we must fight not only Communism but also Russian imperialism; President Chiang Kai-shek very profoundly stated this point in the report he delivered prior to his re-election as head of the Republic of China.

Without the support of Russian military strength, Communism could be destroyed by every people internally.

We uncompromisingly reject every type and every form of Communism. The synchronized and coordinated liberation revolutions of the peoples subjugated by Communism and Russian imperialism, if supported wholeheartedly and actively by the free world, are the only alternative to an atomic war. Local and isolated liberation is impossible. For either we shall all be victorious *together,* or else we shall perish one after another!

We appeal to the peoples of Asia, Europe, America and of the whole world, whether free or subjugated, to set up a common and united front for national independence, freedom of the individual and social justice for all.

The anti-Communist world front can only be based on the recognition of the idea of national independence and of the disintegration of the last and most ruthless imperium in the world, the Russian imperium.

We condemn the coexistence policy, by means of which Khrushchov regards the preservation of the status quo of subjugation as the starting-point for further conquest and, at the same time, seeks to give the subjugated peoples the impression that the West has abandoned them.

We demand the severance of all diplomatic, economic, cultural and other relations with the government of this tyrant, as well as his Peking henchmen, Mao Tse Tung and Chou En lai.

We demand that the mass-murderer Khrushchov and his hirelings should be condemned by an international court for the mass murders committed in Ukraine, Hungary, Poland and Georgia, in the concentration camps in Siberia and Kazakhstan and elsewhere, and for all the other crimes committed against humanity.

This also applies to his so-called governments in North Korea and North Vietnam that are dependent on him, and, above all, to the Peking puppet government and its mass murders among the peace-loving Tibetan people.

We exhort the free world to support the liberation revolutions of the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism, including mainland China, North Korea and North Vietnam, and to support them from the military point of view, too.

We greatly appreciate the proclamation by the U.S. Congress and President Eisenhower on "Captive Nations Week" *and suggest that this unique historic resolution by the great and noble American people, their parliament and their government* be included in extenso by the 6th Congress of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League in its programme of action.

This resolution on the part of the U.S. Congress is a landmark on the course to the victory of the idea of freedom throughout the world and the defeat of the Communist and Russian world menace. With this resolution the U.S. Congress and President Eisenhower have proved that the American people, true to their great traditions, are not pursuing any imperialistic aims, but, on the contrary, are endeavouring to help all freedom-loving peoples and individuals all over the world.

We should be very gratified to see the 6th Congress of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League adopt the noble initiative of the American people and pursue the same aims in its action and its fight as the U.S. Congress has done in proclaiming "Captive Nations Week"; that is to say, by also propagating and furthering the idea of the disintegration of the Russian imperium in every form into independent national states.

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) will always give the fight for freedom of the Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese and other Asian peoples subjugated or threatened by Bolshevism its wholehearted assistance and will advocate and support the just cause of these peoples everywhere. In this spirit, too, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations trusts that it can also count on the support of these peoples for its cause.

We should like to close our message to the 6th Congress of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League with the fighting motto of the liberation revolutionaries of the subjugated peoples behind the Iron Curtain to the freedom fighters of anti-Communist Asia and in particular to the suffering but undaunted heroic peoples of the Asian continent who are languishing under Russian and Communist tyranny.

"Freedom-loving peoples and individuals all over the world unite in the fight against Communism and Russian imperialism for the freedom of the individual and the independence of the peoples!"

Presidium

of the Central Committee of the A.B.N.

London, May 17, 1960

News and Views

PREMIER OF CANADA AS GUEST OF THE ANGLO-UKRAINIAN SOCIETY

Taking advantage of the fact that Mr. John Diefenbaker, the Prime Minister of Canada, was attending the Conference of the Heads of Governments of the Commonwealth countries at the beginning of May in London, the Anglo-Ukrainian Society invited him to a special reception. On May 10th members of the Anglo-Ukrainian Society and representatives of various Ukrainian organizations in Britain gathered in a hall at the Savoy Hotel in London in order to honour the eminent guest, the Prime Minister of a country in which over half a million Ukrainians live in freedom and equality.

Among the hosts there were a number of prominent people, as, for instance, The Lady Hesketh, President of the Society, several members of the House of Commons, the Chairman of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Mr. Jaroslaw Hawryliw, and Professor P. Yuzyk of the University of Manitoba. The Rt. Hon. John Diefenbaker arrived at the reception accompanied by the High Commissioner of Canada in London. Dr. Pavlo Yuzyk greeted the guests and introduced all those present to Premier Diefenbaker who exchanged a few words with everyone.

Mr. Diefenbaker who is well acquainted with the Ukrainian problems, and in particular with the struggle of the Ukrainian Nation for independence, showed a keen interest in the life and work of the Anglo-Ukrainian Society and of the Ukrainian community in Britain. On behalf of those present Capt. M. Bilyj-Karpynec addressed a speech of welcome to the eminent guest, and all the Ukrainians present sang the traditional "Long life!" in the Premier's honour.

The reception lasted for over an hour and took place in a very friendly atmosphere. Mr. Diefenbaker expressed his warm feelings and satisfaction at this meeting with the members of the Anglo-Ukrainian Society, among whom there were many representatives from the local branches, and, in addition, asked that his warmest greetings be conveyed to all Ukrainians in Great Britain.

Photograph of the Reception at the Savoy Hotel in honour of Premier Diefenbaker. seated (left to right): Capt. M. Bilyj-Karpynec, Hon. George Drew, Q.C., Prof. P. Yuzyk, Premier Diefenbaker, The Lady Hesketh, Mr. Auberon Herbert, Miss Vera Rich.

Congressman M. Feighan Made Honorary Member of the AF ABN

On April 24th, the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (AF ABN) held a banquet in Cleveland, Ohio, USA, in honour of Congressman M. Feighan and in recognition of his work for the benefit of the nations enslaved by Russia. At the reception which was attended by over 500 people belonging to eight nationalities, speeches were made by the Mayor of Brooklyn, the Chairman of the Council of the ABN, Dr. F. Durcansky from Munich, the General-Secretary of the Council of the AF ABN, Dr. N. Procyk, Dr. E. O'Connor and Congressman M. Feighan.

The Chairman of the AF ABN in Cleveland, Mr. Rubinsky, opened the banquet by a brief speech. Shortly before his speech, Congressman M. Feighan was presented with a memorial plaque and in a special ceremony he was made an honorary member of the AF ABN. In his concluding speech Congressman M. Feighan dealt with a number of problems connected with the "summit conferences" and the policy of co-existence and stated that, in spite of the difficulties and obstacles, he would continue to defend the interests of the nations enslaved by Russia, for only when these nations are free, can one talk about peace.

In the informal part of the reception in honour of Congressman Feighan, the Ukrainian Choir "Homin" conducted by Professor Barnych, as well as Croat, Hungarian and Byelorussian soloists took part.

Jaroslaw Stetzko in Holland

On March 31st, 1960, the "International Investigation Committee — Lemberg 1941," which consists of prominent persons of various West European countries who were interned in Nazi concentration camps, arranged a press conference in The Hague for Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, former Ukrainian Prime Minister who was a prisoner in Nazi concentration camps for several years. On this occasion, which was attended by representatives of the international press, Jaroslaw Stetzko accused **Khrushchov** of genocide and other crimes against humanity and demanded the **setting up of an international tribunal,** which would at least condemn mass-murderer Khrushchov morally.

The said "International Investigation Committee" has published numerous documents which incriminate Khrushchov in a book entitled **"Lemberg 1941 and Oberländer"**—"the Result of an Investigation." Most of the documents and testimonies against Khrushchov have been furnished by Jaroslaw Stetzko, who at that time was head of the Ukrainian government.

Prof. R. Ostrowski Visits U.S.A.

The President of the Byelorussian Central Council and Vice-President of the Peoples' Council of the A.B.N., Prof. **R. Ostrowski** (London), is at present visiting the USA, where he is trying to win the sympathy of the American public for the ideas of the A.B.N.

Jaroslaw Stetzko in London

After preparing and taking part in the public meeting held by the A.B.N. in Munich on May 19, 1960, Mr. **Jaroslaw Stetzko** left for London in order to win over supporters there for the fight for freedom of the subjugated peoples and to further anti-Bolshevist relations.

Congress of Bulgarian National Front in Toronto

On May 6th-7th 1960, in Toronto, the Bulgarian National Front held its 4th Annual Congress which was attended by delegates from all its branches in the U.S.A. and Canada.

The main speaker was Christo Stateff, former Bulgarian Minister, who came from Rome for the Congress.

Several messages of greetings were read, including one from the Secretary-General of the A.B.N., Prince Niko Nakashidze, under the slogan "The Russian colonial empire must be destroyed."

Congress of Bulgarian National Front in Nev York

On March 5th and 6th, 1960, the Bulgarian National Front of America held its 4th Annual Congress in New York. The Central Committee of ABN was represented at the Congress by Dr. F. Durcansky, President of the Peoples Council of the ABN and former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Slovakia.

The main speaker Dr. Ivan Dotcheff.

In connection with the Congress to commemorate the Bulgarian Liberation Day, the Congressional Banquet and Ball were held. On this occasion a special resolution of the newly formed Bulgarian National Council was read.

"For God and Fatherland"

From a Memorandum to the Vatican on the Problems of the Church in Ukraine

Your Holiness,

The national liberation organizations united in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations are conducting their fight on religious and national principles. Our fight is being fought **"For God and Fatherland."** For it is only from religious, Christian positions that the fight against the personification of evil on earth, against Moscow, can be waged with lasting success; and for this reason the ABN in its campaign in the free world against godless Bolshevism stresses the necessity of Christian, religious, ideological principles in order to combat Bolshevism. The striving for national and individual rights and for social justice follows logically from the universally applied principles of Christian morality, which is integrally binding in all spheres of life and for all relations between individuals and entire communities among themselves. Only the uniform ideal, based on and determined by Christian metaphysical principles, of a new, different and better life can be successfully opposed to the Russian Communist system of life with its atheistic materialism, its subjugation of individuals and its oppression of nations, and to the Russian peoples' prison.

The Church of Christ in the U.S.S.R. is obliged to lead a secret, underground existence. The fate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and of the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church, the martyrdom of the Ukrainian bishops, priests and countless true believers of these two faiths, as well as the similar fate of the Churches of other peoples are known to all the world. And in so far as Islam refuses to submit to the dictates of Moscow's godless tyranny, it is subjected to the same persecution.

For the successful fight against godless Bolshevism, which is a synthesis of Communism and Russian imperialism, the emphasis on the present connection between the religious and the national liberation idea in the entire vital struggle of our countries is an essential precondition of the future victory over the forces of evil and destruction, such as they are at present represented by Moscow, the centre of the Antichrist. We, the representatives of the national liberation organizations of the peoples subjugated by godless Russian imperialism, who are fighting for the disintegration of the Russian imperium of every political colour into national independent states for all the nations enslaved by Moscow and by Communism, have learnt with great satisfaction of the measures taken by Your Holiness to convene an Oecumenical Council for the purpose of uniting or bringing the Christian faiths closer to each other. In view of the offensive conducted by the forces of evil, the militant godlessness and the Antichrist of Moscow, such a union of the Christian faiths and possibly a joint campaign on their part against the militant evil and godlessness would be of far-reaching significance,—also viewed from the ABN's standpoint of the national fight for freedom of the subjugated peoples. This approach and a union with the Christianity of all the religions of the world could lead to joint campaigns for the protection of religious faith and of the fundamental principles of life as defined by the latter. The Antichrist of Moscow must be overcome by the joint efforts of all those who believe in God and God's truth in life.

From the aspect of an Oecumenical Council for the purpose of uniting the Christian faiths the Ukrainian nation, numbering 45 million visualizes the idea of the Kievan visualizes the idea of the Kievan Patriarchate as a counterpoise to the Moscow Patriarchate as a counterpoise to the Moscow Patriarchate, which serves its godless government and declared that Stalin — the worst persecutor of the Christian religion and of religion in general — in his day was sent by God. The historical traditions of Kiev — a centre of Christianity in the European East — are being revived underground in Ukraine, both in religious and in national respects. In our era Kiev has become a symbol and the ideological bulwark of the Christian faith as opposed to Moscow's godlessness, the symbol of freedom and truth, just as Moscow is the representative symbol of militant atheism and tyranny.

In view of the difficulty of bringing about a dogmatic union of the Christian faiths, the national liberation organizations and the anti-Bolshevist resistance movements would be well-satisfied if at least a union of all the Christian faiths as regards their campaign were achieved, a fact which would strengthen the national and social resistance and freedom movements very considerably in the ideological and ethical respect.

The idea of the Kievan Patriarchate suggested in Rome in October 1959 in the joint pastoral message of the Ukrainian Catholic bishops would undoubtedly have a stronger psychical and ethical basis if the Ukrainian Catholic Church were deemed worthy of being honoured for the sacrifices it has made, in particular the heroic attitude of its Metropolitan, His Excellency Archbishop Dr. Josef Slipyj, who in spite of the unbelievable terrorism of the Moscow atheists has remained loyal to the Holy Apostolic Throne; and it would be fitting to name this martyr of Christ and internee of the Soviet Russian concentration camps a cardinal. This honour, which has for instance already been conferred on the Croatian and the Hungarian Catholic Church, would also alleviate the personal position of the Metropolitan; for Moscow, as can be seen from the history of the relations between Russian and the West only yields if it, too, is put under ideological or political pressure.

Such a step would also give all faithful Christians behind the Iron Curtain and, in particular, those in the U.S.S.R. and in Ukraine new hope and encouragement, for they would then no longer have the feeling that they have been abandoned and the impression that their heroic martyrdom is being underrated.

The peoples enslaved by Moscow and their Churches, which are truly Churches of silence and are fighting for Christ against the forces of evil, of destruction and ruin as personified by godless Moscow, look to the Apostolic Throne in the conviction that the Catholic Church will not accept any coexistence with the forces of evil, with the Antichrist of Moscow, but, on the contrary, will take its place in the vanguard of the ideological and ethical crusade as the Church which is fighting for God against the Devil as represented by Bolshevist godless Moscow. This will be the psychical and ethical basis for an uncompromising policy of the Western major powers, who must reject the policy of a "peaceful coexistence" of good with evil, of truth with falsehood, of freedom with slavery, and must adopt the course of a policy of liberation.

The ABN has brought up the idea of an anti-Communist world congress, and a preparatory conference in this connection was held in Mexico, in March 1958, in the presence of representatives from sixty nations; on this occasion Christian religious principles, not only from the social and ethical aspect, but also and above all from the ideological aspect, were adopted in the programme of the future congress. Any support on the part of the Catholic Church for the anti-Communist world congress, the resolutions of which, in accordance with the efforts of the ABN, must be determined by the spirit of the demands of the militant Church of Christ, would be of special significance for the anti-Communist and anti-materialist world front on this side of and behind the Iron Curtain. The actions of the ABN and, in particular, those of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), which constitutes a national liberation formation of the Ukrainian nation and took part in the formation of the ABN, are exemplified by the following words by Father Leppich, S.J.:

"An anti-materialist spiritual revolution is in the West the precondition for its offensive advance." "The Sermon on the Mount is the revolution of God, written in fire." "They know the market-report but not the Bible." "A Christian heart must burn."

On October 15, 1959, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), the co-founder of the ABN, and the entire Ukrainian nation, suffered a great loss: the President of the Executive Committee of the OUN, the leader of the Ukrainian fight for freedom against Communism and Russian imperialism and for the restoration of a sovereign and indivisible Ukrainian state, Stepan Bandera, who for many years was interned in a Nazi concentration camp, died after having been poisoned by Bolshevist secret agents. Stepan Bandera was the son of a Greek Catholic priest, the Reverend Andreas, who died in Siberia for the Catholic faith and for his loyalty to the Apostolic Throne, after having refused to submit to the will of the Moscow Patriarch. His son Stepan was an equally loyal son of the Catholic Church, a devout Christian who lived according to his faith. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), of which he was the leader and which is active in Ukraine, in Siberia and everywhere where Ukrainians live and fight against Moscow, against national and social enslavement, against atheistic materialism, bases the programme of its fight on Christian principles. Together with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) it supports and will continue to support the Church of Christ in Ukraine, inasmuch as it protects the priests and true believers of the two faiths which may only exist illegally in Ukraine, the Catholic and the Orthodox Authocephalous Church. The motto inscribed on the banner of the OUN is "For God and Ukraine." Since Moscow regarded the activity of the OUN as the greatest danger to its godless rule in Ukraine, it had Stepan Bandera murdered, for he had become the symbol and the champion of the national anti-Bolshevist fight for freedom of Ukraine, a fight based on Christian principles.

Stepan Bandera died by the hand of godless Moscow as a martyr for the faith of Christ and for his fatherland.

The entire Ukrainan people, the Catholic and the Orthodox, the two Ukrainian Churches and other peoples enslaved by Moscow mourn the death of Stepan Bandera,

the champion of faith and fatherland. We humbly beg Your Holiness to remember Stepan Bandera, the servant of God who sacrificed his life for God and Ukrainians, in Your prayers and to console his sorrowing family, devout Catholics, with Your blessing.

We beg Your Holiness to include in Your prayers for all the suffering and oppressed our persecuted but unbroken Ukraine, too, as well as all those who behind the Iron Curtain are fighting for freedom and state independence, for human rights and religious faith, and also the prisoners in the Russian concentration camps, the martyrs and heroes who die by the hand of the Moscow Antichrist.

Firmly believing in the victory of Christ over the Antichrist, in the victory of truth and justice, of the freedom and independence of the nations, we shall continue our fight against Moscow and Communism, against godlessness and tyranny, in the conviction that truth alone cannot be victorious if there are no efforts on the part of its advocates, who must be prepared to sacrifiice their lives for this cause.

Jaroslaw Stetzko
Former Prime Minister of Ukraine

OBITUARY

GEORG KERESSELIDSE

On May 11, 1960, the well-known Georgian politician and former national revolutionary fighter, Georg Keresselidse, passed away in Paris, at the age of 75.

In the year 1906 he played an active part in a big revolutionary campaign in Georgia and was obliged to flee abroad in order to escape being sentenced to death. From then onwards he lived in exile. He contributed articles to all the Georgian national papers published in Europe.

During the first world war, he belonged to the Georgian national legion.

In 1908 the tsarist government requested the Swiss government to extradite Georg Keresselidse and all the other Georgians who were living in Switzerland at the time. This request on the part of the Russians was then dealt with by a Swiss court. The defense was represented by the former Federal President A. Lachenal and the well-known politician, C. Hudry.

The Belgian authority on international law and permanent member of the International Court of Justice at The Hague, Prof. Dr. E. Nys, gave his expert opinion on this question. The verdict reached was that Russia had committed a flagrant breach of contract as regards Georgia, had annexed Georgia by force in violation of all legal and ethical principles, and that it was the right of every Georgian to fight against the violation of his people. Accordingly, the request of the Russians was turned down.

The deceased was highly esteemed and greatly loved by all his fellow-countrymen.

N. N-dse.

Visit to Bedford College, London

On Tuesday, May 31st 1960, the Liberal Society of Bedford College for Women, (one of the "big four" of the Colleges of London University) were very pleased to welcome Mrs. Slava Stetzko to address their lunch-hour discussion group, on the subject of "Some recent anti-Communist trends among the youth of the USSR."

In spite of the proximity of examinations, the meeting was well-attended, and the audience included members of other political societies in College, as well as the Liberals. After Mrs. Stetzko had outlined the situation among the subjugated peoples of the USSR and other Communist-occupied countries, the striving for National liberty, as expressed for example, in the strikes among young people forcibly settled in the "virgin lands" of Kazakhstan, the meeting was thrown open to questions.

The enquiries covered many aspects of the problem—Miss Lorna Low, the Chairman of the Liberal Society wanted to know the difficulties of carrying on anti-Communist work in exile. A chemistry student enquired if there was any chance of Communism evolving into some milder form of regime, to which Mrs. Stetzko replied that the problem was not only one of Communism but of Russian Imperialism, and that co-ordinated National Revolutions among the subjugated peoples was the only answer.

Mrs. Stetzko was also asked about religious persecution in the USSR, in particular in Ukraine. Other questions included "Is there any illegal anti-Soviet literature printed and distributed in the USSR?" and "Can we do any effective propaganda among the young people from Communist countries at International Youth Festivals?"

V. Rich

From Behind the Iron Curtain

LITHUANIA

THE INCLUSION OF SCHOOLCHILDREN IN THE SYSTEM OF LABOUR

The execution of the school reform decreed by Moscow (the purpose of which is to include schoolchildren in the system of labour) is encountering certain difficulties in the individual Soviet republics. This is due partly to the lack of material and technical prerequisites (a shortage of the necessary facilities and of suitable training centres) and partly to a scarcity of qualified training personnel in the schools and industrial concerns. In Soviet-occupied Lithuania psychological obstacles also play a big part in this respect. From the outset the attitude of the population and of many of the teachers there has been sceptical as regards the reforms decreed by Moscow. A teachers' conference which dealt with these problems was recently held in Vilna. On this occasion one woman-teacher candidly told a reporter from Vilna broadcasting station: "the organization of the production classes in the schools is causing a lot of upset not only amongst the teaching staff but also amongst the population."

DEFAMATORY CAMPAIGN AGAINST ANTI-SOVIET CIRCLES

The Communist Party of Lithuania, which is only too well aware of the fact that it is only supported by about 2 per cent of the population, has recently been attacking those circles which appear to it to be undesirable and their views by means of a large-scale defamatory campaign.

In order to expose and ridicule the "remnants of bourgeois nationalism," the Party press has been publishing "confessions" by former members of national resistance groups or national organizations. Anyone who is acquainted with Communist methods will be able to imagine how such "confessions" originate and the way in which they are cooked up.

Another method resorted to in this campaign is the publication of records of cross-examinations, in which former prisoners of the Soviet police incriminate national personalities. Statements made by the former German military commandant of Lithuania, General Emil Just, have also been published. As is known, Just was arrested after the Soviets entered Berlin in 1945 and was later tried before a court. The Soviet press has also published a list of prominent persons who formerly lived in Lithuania and allegedly worked for the German secret service there.

Special attention is devoted to the defamation of the clergy and the churches in this so-called "exposure campaign." Accusations running into pages and pages are brought against various members of the clergy who are alleged to have co-operated with the "nationalists" during the war.

At the same time, the atheists are disseminating their ideological propaganda in the towns and rural areas in order to combat the "religious remnants." A favourite method in this connection (especially in the rural areas) is to ridicule various religious rites and "miracles."

THE COMMUNIST VERSION OF THE COUP D'ÉTAT OF 1926

The coup d'état in Lithuania of December 17, 1926, is dealt with in the Soviet Lithuanian monthly "Pergale" by the writers F. Abramavicius and L. Sausas in the form of a "documentary narrative." In an introductory remark it is affirmed that the material has partly been obtained from records of cross-examinations and other information supplied by the security organs or by individuals who were "involved." In the account of the events which led up to the coup d'état it is alleged that certain foreign powers (the Vatican, England, etc.) helped to organize the revolution.

HONOUR FOR LITHUANIAN GENERAL AFTER HIS EXECUTION

One of the victims of the mass execution of high-ranking officers of the Soviet army, which was decreed by Stalin in the course of a "purge," was Lithuanian-born General Vytautas Putna. Some time after Stalin's death, he and a number of other high-ranking officers were "rehabilitated." In an exhibition of Soviet orders and distinctions and documents pertaining to those to whom they were awarded, which was held recently in the officers' club in Vilna, a special place of honour was accorded to General Putna as a "great military commander and wartime hero."

UKRAINE

TRUTH OR FICTION?

A Polish Communist on the Murder of Stefan Bandera

An article on Stefan Bandera's death appeared in the Polish illustrated weekly "Panorama" (published by the Silesian Communist press office "Presa" in Katowice) of December 25-27, 1959, No. 52. This article—incidentally, the fourth of its kind to be published—which is by a certain Jan Gil and is entitled "Orders Were Given By Berlin," is full of ridiculous and absurd statements. There is, however, a passage in it which deserves special interest, seeing that the said weekly is published in Communist Poland and in view of the fact that the author may possibly have obtained his information from secret Communist sources. This is his account of the attendant circumstances of the murder, which Jan Gil describes as follows:

"He (Stefan Bandera) laboured up the stairs. All this travelling tires one... On the landing halfway to the next floor, two figures appeared, the collars of their coats turned up. They descended a few stairs.

— Mr. Bandera? — one of them asked.

— Yes, what do you want...

A violent blow on his head knocked him unconscious. He would have fallen, had not four strong shoulders supported him. His head was tilted back and the fingers of an unknown man inserted two small capsules in his open mouth. One of the men then drew out a small bottle from his coat-pocket and forced the neck of the bottle between Bandera's teeth. Bandera's throat moved slightly. The two unknown men then gave his body a violent push and as it rolled down the stairs, they hurriedly ran down behind it.

On October 16th, 1959, the morning papers reported that Stefan Bandera had been fatally injured and had died as the result of an unfortunate fall on the stairs. This news item was already supplemented the very same day by a statement to the effect that a post-morten examination had revealed that Bandera's death had been caused by an overdose of cyanide."

"No force in the world would have been able to raise him from the ground alive..."

At the end of this series of articles by Jan Gil, there is a pencil-sketch of Stefan Bandera lying at the foot of the stairs, by the illustrator of "Panorama," Ernest Marek.

It is not without good reason that many people ask: "Is this a figment of Jan Gil's imagination, or is it a true account of the manner in which Stefan Bandera was murdered?"

U.P.A. on Trial

Under the above title, the Warsaw newspaper **Nasze Slowo** (Our Word), No. 23. of 5. V. 1960 announced that on June 6th, a case would be brought against Ivan Shpontak, generally known by the pseudonym of Zaliznyak, Commander of a unit of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.).

As early as October 9th, 1959, the Warsaw radio station **Warsaw II,** announced: "All of us here in Ryashiv were very exited to learn that the Czechoslovakian administration had handed over to the District Prosecutor of Ryashiv one of the chief commanders of U.P.A. who were active here in the years immediately following the liberation of Ryashiv — Ivan Shpontak." Following this up, the Warsaw newspaper writes "Shpontak is 41 years of age. Until the Second World War, he was a teacher in the L'viv district. In 1939, he left for Bratislava, going afterwards to Germany." **Nasze Slowo** asserts that after Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, Shpontak came to L'viv under the assumed name of Ivan Kozak and was employed as a policeman in L'viv. Afterwards he attended "the police school for Ukrainian Nationalists in Novyj Sanch." When he finished at this school "he was a German police officer in Rava Rus'ka. When the Soviet Army was approaching this territory, Shpontak came into contact with the leader of O.U.N. (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists — Ed.) and together with 30 policemen took to the forest (i.e. joined the Underground Movement— Ed.). Here, he organizes a unit for the struggle against the Authorities. According to his own evidence, Shpontak, in his capacity as the commander of a U.P.A. unit, caused many troubles to the local Polish and Ukrainian population. Late in the autumn of 1947, Shpontak disbanded his unit and crossed the frontier into Czechoslovakia, where he lived until his arrest, in 1959."

Western Press Agencies transmitted this news from Warsaw, that in Peremyshl "a case was brought against Ivan Shpontak, a former Commander of a battalion of Ukrainian Anti-Communist Nationalist Freedom-Fighters. He is alleged to have killed about 1000 people during the last months of the war and immediately after the war. He is also accused of

having raided the police stations and Communist Party Offices, Red Polish and Soviet military detachments, plundering villages and killing the civil population."

Zycie Warszawy ("Warsaw Life") writes that "Shpontak denied all major accusations, putting the responsibility on the civil detachments of O.U.N. and the Defence Service of U.P.A." The verdict was to be given on June 24th.

From the above reports, we may observe that Shpontak was not arrested in Poland but in Czechoslovakia last year. Since two Communist-satellite Governments are involved in this affair, one may assume that this trial was not brought by the Polish Government on their own initiative, but is part of the overall propaganda campaign of the Russian Bolsheviks against Ukrainian Nationalism, which last year reached a climax with a whole series of similar "trials." The comment of Zycie Warszawy, which, in reporting Shpontak's denial of the charges, tacitly accuses O.U.N. and U.P.A. of similar crimes, reflects, once again, the propaganda line of Moscow, which aims at discrediting and disgracing Ukrainian Nationalists in the eyes of the Ukrainian population. But they, the Ukrainian people, know only too well that Shpontak, as a member of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army only carried out his sacred duty to his fellow-countrymen, in carrying on the struggle of his nation against the Soviet Russian authorities. They know too, that the "trial" of Shpontak was the deed of the Quisling Polish regime only, and not of the Polish people.

BOOK-REVIEWS

Dr. Stjepan Hefer: Croatian Struggle for Freedom and Statehood. Foreword for English Edition by: John F. Stewart. Published by Croatian Information Service, Series "Croatia and Croatians," No. 5, Argentina, 1959. 238 pp.

This interesting book, which has been published by the Croatian emigrants living in Argentina, deals with the recent history of Croatia and the Croatian people. As the late Mr. Stewart states in his Foreward, "the dreadful tragedy of this great people began with the hordes of savages from the East" (p. 5).

The book gives a short but precise survey of the liberation struggle of the Croats since the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The Croats were by no means satisfied with the incorporation of their native country into the state which was later called Yugoslavia.

During World War II the Croats succeeded in restoring their own independent state, but after the war, in 1945, Yugoslavia was re-established and now included Croatia.

It is extremely regrettable that the victorious Allies did not prevent the establishment of the second Yugoslav federal state ruled by a totalitarian Communist regime, since in this way Tito has been able to extend his Communist dictatorship over the Croatian people, too.

When the Russian troops advanced on the frontiers of the independent Croatian state, the entire Croatian army was in danger of being encircled and captured. For this reason the Supreme Council of the Croatian Armed Forces decided to retreat towards the West and to surrender to the Allies on Austrian territory. About 150,000 soldiers and, with them, at least 300,000 civilians thus retreated from Croatia. But the Allies did not observe the Geneva Convention of July 27, 1929, regarding the treatment of prisoners-of-war, and most of the Croatian soldiers and civilians were extradited to the Communist regime in Yugoslavia. The author of the book then cites numerous examples of the dreadful and ruthless way in which many of these soldiers and civilians were massacred by the Communist regime. Dr. Hefer points out that "there is no Croat whose heart does not tremble on hearing the word Bleiburg,—the Croatian super-Katyn, because there the wonderful youth of a small people, lovers of justice and freedom, with their young lives paid for their naive belief that the West is the defender of lawfulness and humanity" (p. 227).

We should like to add that not only with regard to southern Europe, i.e. to the Croats, but also elsewhere, as for instance in Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, etc., the Western powers have committed irreparable political errors which have helped on the steady advance of Communist Russia towards the West.

We do not agree with the author's statement that "the Western world... sacrificed about a million members of the cultural nations in Central and Middle Europe" (p. 21) only, because there are many more such nations, as for instance the Ukrainian, Georgian and other nations, that were abandoned by the West.

On the other hand, however, the author's statement that the late Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Habsburg, the Crown Prince of the Austro-Hungarian throne, seriously entertained the idea of a complete reorganization of the old Danube Monarchy, is perfectly true. He was eager to satisfy the just claims not only of the Croats but also of other peoples of Austria-Hungary.

The book in question is lavishly illustrated and, moreover, of especial interest and value to readers who wish to inform themselves more thoroughly on questions pertaining to southeastern Europe.

W. Luzhansky

Victor Ostrowski: Anti-Semitism in Byelorussia and its Origin. Material for Historical Research and Study of the Subject Reviewed, Arranged and Compiled by V. Ostrowski. Published by the Byelorussian Central Council, 57, Cathnor Rd., London, W.12, February 1960. 77 pp.

The book in question deals with the problem of anti-Semitism in Byelorussia in all its ramifications. In his Introduction, Mr. C. Cooke stresses that the author has quoted by preference from non-Byelorussian sources, that is to say, mainly from Jewish

authors, whom no one can suspect of concealing facts pertaining to their own persecution.

Emphasizing the fact that the responsibility for anti-Jewish pogroms falls exclusively on those who are in power, the author proceeds to discuss Polish anti-Semitism and the anti-Semitism in those Byelorussian and Ukrainian territories that were and are occupied by the Russians, whether "white" and tsarist, or "red" and Communist.

Anti-Semitism under the tsarist regime was an integral part of Muscovite (Russian) policy in order to divert the attention of the broad masses from internal difficulties. As in Poland, restrictions were imposed on the Jews in Russia, and the notorious "numerus clausus" was introduced in all Russian schools.

Anti-Semitism continues to prevail in the Bolshevist imperium. Once it had consolidated its Communist power, the Kremlin turned its attention to the Jewish problem and reverted to the old tsarist methods, though now, of course, somewhat changed and adapted to the new circumstances. Mr. Ostrowski stresses that the Russian anti-Semites are systematically carrying out their plan to destroy the Jews as a national entity, as, in fact, they have been taught by their "great master" Stalin, whose anti-Semitic attitude could be compared to that of Hitler.

The policy of Stalin's successor Khrushchov, who makes no attempt to conceal his enmity towards Israel, is even more obvious, for he is not afraid of disseminating undisguised propaganda against the Jews.

At the end of his book, Mr. Ostrowski quotes the poem "Jews" by the Byelorussian poet Yanka Kupala (translated into English by Vera Rich), in which Kupala prophesies a happy future for the Jews.

W. Luzhansky

Paul Kwang-Tsien Sih: Nationalism in Asia. Institute of Ethnic Studies, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., 1959.

This book, written by the Director of the Institute for Far Eastern Studies, Seton Hall University, deals with the subject of nationalism in Asia and its characteristic features there, as compared to nationalism in the Western world. The author is convinced that nationalism now plays a major role in the political life of Asia. Indeed, it also plays a major role in the political life of the West, too. Mr. Kwang-Tsien Sih then quotes Professor Hans Kohn, who recently said: "Today, in spite of all its fundamental qualities of division, nationalism is the most universal religion of all time."

The peoples of Asia have now broken away from the structure in which the human order was very intimately related to the divine and the natural orders. The author is of the opinion that this break is of such magnitude that it is beyond our ability to measure it. Secularist nationalism in Asia involves a startling spiritual upheaval.

The first element of this upheaval is the break with the divine order. The mystical mandate from heaven, which formerly provided the basis of public authority, is discarded by the intellectuals as an illusion. At this point, however, the problem arises as to what is to take the place of this divine source of order, authority and meaning of life.

The second element of this upheaval is the break with the cosmological order and the transition to the historical order. A sense of progress in time, a sense of historical fulfilment and of meaning in time beyond the cosmological rhythm of cyclic recurrence, is now in evidence in Asia for the first time. Such an upheaval did not occur in the Western world when nationalism came into being there, for the West already existed in a historical form.

The third element is the break with the religious attitude towards the world of Nature. Nature now becomes something of purely economic significance.

A fourth factor in the said upheaval is the transition from a compact experience of life, in which the moral, religious, spiritual, ethical, political and legal aspects were all united as one, to a differentiated experience, in which these aspects are seen as distinct in themselves with little direct relationship to each other. Consequently, all former values and standards are thrown into confusion, and all points of orientation disappear.

Once the old order has vanished, nationalism must achieve what was formerly achieved by these ancient traditions. It must replace the former religious mysticism by a political mysticism, and it must recreate the people in the image of the national State.

Olga Barenyi: Der tote Briefkasten ("The Dead Letter-box"). Schild-Verlag, München-Lochhausen. 316 pp.

Instead of resorting to the usual method of quoting the data and documents of the Western world on espionage activities, the authoress courageously gives the reader a true-life account of Red Czech espionage.

In this extremely dramatic and interesting novel, Olga Barenyi describes the life of the agents employed in the service of Czech espionage in the West. The reader is dumbfounded on learning that the network of this vile activity extends as far as the very heart of the West and is amazed that such a thing is possible in a free country!

In a deeply moving manner, the authoress describes the fate of those persons who, almost unknowingly to themselves, get involved in the network of Communist espionage. She gives an account of the methods employed by the Communist agents' school in Marienbad, whose pupils, like the young and inexperienced girl, Liba, are sent to the West disguised as refugees, in order to track down the resistance fighters there and undermine their fight for freedom. The persons trained at this school likewise constitute Moscow's Fifth Column and are engaged in the task of extending the espionage network in the West, the main centre of which is Radio "Free Europe," which is financed by the Americans. Actually, all these alleged anti-Communists are working for Prague, and the secret information which they obtain is, of course, passed on from there to Moscow.

There are many interesting characters in this valuable book, and the cold-blooded and ruthless methods of Communist espionage make one shudder. It is to be hoped that this book will rouse the West out of its lethargy and open its eyes to this grave danger. It is certainly a courageous document of our times,—deeply moving and full of sincere human feeling, though the percentage of inhumanity depicted in it is equally large.

M. Lehman

"THE TRUTH ABOUT A.B.N."

It is, perhaps, one of the most heartening things to those engaged in the struggle against any form of social, political, or moral evil, when some action of their enemies can be turned to their own advantage. The publication of this book, "The Truth about A.B.N." is, therefore, especially welcome, not only because a clear account of the history and aims of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) has long been lacking in English, but also because, being occasioned by the attack on the A.B.N. published by the Russian emigre Imperialist organization N.T.S. (Narodno-Trudovoi Soyuz — National Labour Union), it comes as a counter-challenge to the gauntlet flung down by the latter organization.

The background of the A.B.N. is, essentially, the history of the struggle of the nations of Europe and Asia against the menace of Russian Imperialism, whether White or Red. To many English-speaking readers, accustomed as they are to think of the events which took place in Eastern Europe in the years 1917-1921 as a struggle between two regimes, White and Red, which were fundamentally opposed in every respect, the basic assumption of this book may come as a surprise, even a shock; namely, that the Russian revolution consisted solely in the replacement of one imperialist and totalitarian regime by another, and that the Red empire has not nor ever had any intention of releasing those nations held captive by their Tsarist fore-runners.1) This rather startling thesis is not, however, stated as an axiom for which no proof is needed—the author proceeds, by outlining the history of the conquest and subsequent Russification of the subject peoples of the Russian imperium, to demonstrate the truth of his statement that the change of regime meant no change of Russian "colonial" policy, in a manner which leaves little room for further doubt.

Passing from this unhappy background, the author moves on to the formation of the A.B.N. with its grand and inspiring motto of "Freedom for Nations—Freedom for Individuals." He gives a brief history of the organization, and—since this book is, in essence, an answer to the attacks of the Imperialists, both of the N.T.S. and the Kremlin, he skilfully and accurately refutes the charges of "fascism" and "anti-Semitism" levelled at the A.B.N.—charges so fantastic that they would hardly need refuting, were it not for the insidious nature of the enemy's propaganda that aims at killing the intelligence by a constant repetition of lies that, however fantastic, gain credence by the mere fact of being heard so often. The author outlines, in particular, the history of those National Delegations to the A.B.N. that have been especially singled out for attack—namely the Ukrainian, Hungarian, Slovakian, Bulgarian, and Georgian representations.

In a pamphlet of this kind, one would expect a strong defence of the A.B.N. as a great and noble organization that alone could save the world from imminent destruction. Yet the author, although himself the Secretary-General of the A.B.N., goes out of his way to refute this type of attitude. The question at issue is, not whether the A.B.N. as such is "reactionary" or "democratic" or "good" or "bad," but whether the nations subjugated by Russia and the human beings enslaved by the Communist regime of terror have the right to freedom, and whether, at a time when self-determination is the prevailing idea in so many parts of the world, the only remaining colonial empire, the Russian peoples' prison, is to continue to exist.

To this author, and to the A.B.N. on whose behalf he has written this book, it is not the organization which matters, but the ideals for which they stand. If for no other reason, the West should listen to the A.B.N. rather than to those Soviet escapees, who, being opportunists, frequently have only claimed political asylum in the West when they felt themselves on the verge of being disgraced by the Party. But the question for the West is far greater than the academic one of which organization speaks from purer motives. In an age that has simultaneously produced nuclear warfare and the emancipation and self-determination of many formerly colonial peoples, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and its satellite states stand as a menace to the peace and security of the world, and a denial to the right of every nation to self-determination within its ethnic frontiers as laid down by the U.N. charter. But the enemy is not, primarily, Communism. If the Russians wanted nothing more than to be ruled by a red dictatorship, no-one would deny them their right to this; **provided that they kept within the ethnic frontiers of the Russian (Muscovite) nation.** It is their desire to dominate other nations, to preserve and expand their colonial empire, and their denial of national rights to their subject peoples, that is the danger, and therefore, to think in terms of replacing Bolshevism by some more "moderate" or "civilized" regime, without guaranteeing the dissolution of the Russian imperium into sovereign national states is, (if not an actual contradiction in terms), a mere replacing of one ogre by another. So long as the ruler and the ruling nation desires a colonial empire, the bombs and armies remain an equal danger to the world, and the colour of their flags is irrelevant.

In the present world situation, then, the way to peace lies primarily in acknowledging and supporting the National anti-Communist movements within the Soviet empire. The alternative to this is the spread of the Russian Bolshevik imperium by war and/or intimidation until it embraces the whole world. In the face of such a choice, it is in the interests, not only of the rights of man as laid down in an abstract charter, but for the very preservation of democracy itself that the peoples of the West, whether politicians or ordinary citizens, learn all that they can of the activities of the A.B.N. which, alone, aims at fostering these National Anti-Communist movements, and which carries out its work under the slogan with which no adherent of Western Democracy could fail to sympathize:—"Freedom for Nations, Freedom for Individuals."

Vera RICH

1) In the early days of Soviet rule, Lenin did, in fact, promise the subject nations the right to autonomy "up to and including secession," but he made it quite clear that he regarded this promise solely as a reassurance, which should lead to closer union with the Russian metropolis. Cf. the article "Finland and Russia," in V. I. Lenin, **Sochinenlya**, Vol. 24. p. 304.

SHPONTAK SENTENCED TO DEATH

On June 25th, Bavarian Radio broadcast the following news: "A Polish court passed the death sentence on Ivan Shpontak, a former commander of the so-called Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Shpontak commanded an anti-Communist military unit of 6,000 men. He fled to Czechoslovakia in 1947, where he was arrested in 1959, and extradited to Poland."

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

THE KREMLIN ON A VOLCANO

by

Jaroslaw Stetzko

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

Hon. Michael A. Feighan

U.S. Congressman

A NEW BATTLEGROUND OF THE COLD WAR

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

THE TRUTH ABOUT A.B.N.

by

Niko Nakashidze

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

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

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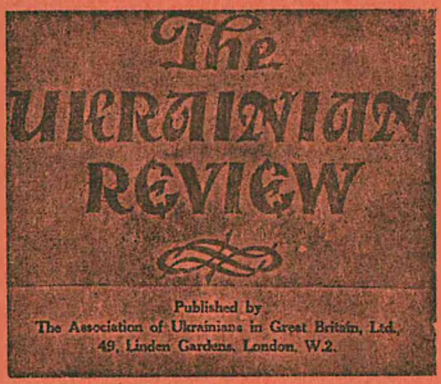

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Captive Nations Week

President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Governors and Mayors Designate the Week July 18-24 as "Captive Nations Week".

Captive Nations Week has been proclaimed by President Eisenhower as the week beginning July 17. Last year he signed a joint resolution passed by the Senate and the House of Representatives providing for a yearly marking of this Week "with appropriate ceremonies and activities... until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world".

The resolution lists these nations which have lost their national independence through Communist Russian aggression: *Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czecho-Slovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Vietnam,* and others.

This noble and historic declaration, surely one of the finest in the history of the American nation, which for the first time, last year, officially proclaimed that the Soviet Union is a ruthless totalitarian empire which has conquered and oppressed 22 different nations, and is a serious threat to the whole of the free world, did not go unmarked in Moscow. The original declaration was condemned by Khrushchov as "meddling" in the "domestic affairs" of the U.S.S.R., whose peoples, he had the temerity to say, were "free and sovereign". Nor could he fail to mark the fact that the resolution pointed out, in no uncertain terms, that while Communist Russia continues this policy of imperialism and oppression, there is no point in trying to achieve "peaceful co-existence".

Nevertheless, the U.S. Government was not deterred by its arch-enemy's threats, and in 1960, once again the Resolution was re-issued. Nor did the President's Declaration remain a dead letter in the record of Congress — from all over America, from every town and city, the Mayors and local officials echoed the call to observe Captive Nations Week.

"*I invite all Pennsylvanians,*" wrote Governor Lawrence, "to observe this occasion with appropriate activity so that all may be made aware of the unfortunate status of those enslaved behind the Iron Curtain and to reaffirm our determination to keep our Nation free to help others obtain equal freedom." The Mayor of *New Haven, Connecticut,* urged "the people of New Haven to participate by offering prayers in their churches and synagogues for the peaceful liberation of the subjugated peoples from the godless tyranny which oppresses them; and to write to their representatives and members supporting the concept that such peaceful liberation be a cardinal goal of United States policy."

An official leaflet of the *City of Buffalo* recognized that "In our quest for peace with justice we have tens of millions of allies within the Russian Communist empire. These are the people, the common man, of the captive non-Russian nations. They call to us for emancipation from the tyranny and godless system which has been imposed on them by subversion, terror and military force. Their political goals are the same as ours — liberty, freedom, and national independence...

Great numbers of citizens in our city have family ties in many captive nations, particularly Poland, Hungary, Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, East Germany,

Armenia, Croatia and Albania. They know well the plight of their friends and relatives living under Communist rule. It is necessary that all Americans understand the plight of the captive nations and the aspirations of all the peoples of these nations for freedom and national independence. For it is in this understanding that we, as a nation, shall find peace with justice".

The highlight of the celebrations in *Chicago* was a "mass Rally" at which several speakers would reveal "some hitherto unknown facts about the Soviet Union".

Boston, (the scene of the outbreak of the American War of Independence) organized a Freedom Rally. The *New York* State Captive Nations Committee organized a Giant Rally under the sponsorship of several American journals and political organizations. Also in New York, Cardinal Spellman presided at a Mass for the intention of the liberation of the Captive Nations.

Philadelphia held a "manifestation" at which one of the guest speakers was the President of A.B.N., *Mr. Jaroslav Stetzko*. A wreath in memory of the victims of Communist tyranny was placed in front of the Liberty Bell, and other means of observing the week included a ten-minutes silence in all businesses and factories, and the showing of films exposing Bolshevik terror.

In addition, several professional bodies made their own declarations. The *American Education Association* sponsored an essay contest on the theme "Captive Nations' Contribution to American Society", open to all pupils of Junior and Senior High Schools and Colleges in the United States.

The Bar Association of *Erie County* declared that it "firmly believes that peace with justice and freedom, under the law, for all the peoples of the world is a 'conditio praecedense' in the absence of which the term 'peaceful co-existence' continues to be merely a slogan perversely useful as a tool of Russian propaganda" and appointed its own special committee to celebrate the Week, within its own Association.

The *National War College* (Washington) took the occasion of a visit of *Professor Lev Dobriansky* to discuss "the concept of the non-Russian nations of the U.S.S.R. as a new dimension for U.S. foreign policy".

To co-ordinate the celebration throughout the country, and to assist local Committees with information leaflets and other means of propaganda, a "National Captive Nations Week Committee" was set up in Washington. The Chairman was the well-known Ukrainian-American Professor, Dr. Lev Dobriansky, and members included clergymen of all major denominations, statesmen, business-men, labour leaders, teachers, and leading figures from fraternal organizations and nationality groups. Among the publications of the Committee was an excellent pamphlet, which included a map of the Soviet empire, all captive nations being clearly marked, President Eisenhower's proclamation, prayers for the Captive Nations specially prepared by religious leaders of the Catholic, Protestant, Jewish and Buddhist faiths, suggestions for local committees, including a theme for each day of the Week, and even a suggested editorial as a model for local newspapers. "Why — Captive Nations Week?" Such is the question asked by a leaflet issued by the Philadelphia Captive Nations Week Committee. And the answer it gives is typical of the answer that has resounded during this Week from every corner of the United States:

"To believe that we may preserve our freedom while these nations remain enslaved is foolish and suicidal indeed. Each and every American must understand and take part in the battle to keep man a free and independent being under

God. The battle is here and overseas; within our boundaries in education and material assistance; overseas in the giving of hope and eventual aid. *For now, every crack in the Iron Curtain must become an echo chamber for freedom's voice*".

* * *

Note. At the time of going to Press, we have not yet received reports from many important centres of America. We should like to apologize, therefore, for any major omissions in the above report, and to assure our readers that further reports will appear in our next issue.

Charles J. Kersten

CUBA, THE CONGO AND THE CAPTIVE NATIONS

From the speech of former Congressman Charles J. Kersten (5th Dist. Wis.) who was Chairman of House Committee on Communist Aggression against Captive Nations; given at Grant Park, Chicago, Illinois, July 23, 1960, 2 p.m. at Captive Nations Rally. Present also as speakers Sen. Roman Hruska (Rep. Nob.) and Father Leopold Braun, former Catholic Chaplain in Moscow.

"The American declaration of resistance to Soviet troop entry into the Congo is supported by all freedom-loving people. Everyone can understand and see uniformed Soviet troops flown into a small nation and that such a military move would be to make the Congo a Captive Nation of the Communists in the heart of Africa.

"But the Captive Nations of the Soviet Empire were not made captive entirely by the troops of the Red Army. The Red Army assisted the take-over on the pretext of being invited by the so-called 'People's Government.'

"The main Communist technique in taking over victim nations has been by means of trained Red cadres of national traitors who have transferred their allegiance to the center of International Communism in Moscow.

"These cadres are, of course, composed of traitors to the victim nation. Castro is of Cuban blood but he has no loyalty to the people of Cuba. His loyalty is to the ideas of Moscow. Like Kadar, a Hungarian, and Gomulka, a Pole, he aims to destroy the national traditions of independence and to enslave his nation to the international conspiracy of Communism.

"In every country it was the hard core Moscow-trained Communists from the Captive Nations which became the headquarters of Communist take-over. These Red cadres did not come in military uniforms. They received training behind the Iron Curtain in methods of subversion and deceit. They learned to inject into the traditions of their native land the philosophy of Communism: atheistic materialism.

"While these Red cadres did not wear uniforms of Soviet soldiers they were nevertheless even more deadly and more of a threat to the independence of the victim nations than Soviet uniformed troops being flown in on Khrushchov's orders.

"If we have a right under International Law to take effective measures to prevent the invasion of Soviet troops into the small victim nations such as in the Congo, we and all the other free nations have the same right to prevent the Moscow-trained Red cadres from coming into these same nations.

"Along these lines lies the solution to the problem of Cuba.

"We must learn to prevent the further invasion of Moscow-trained Red cadres into Cuba. We must recognize Mr. Kudryavtsev — not as a diplomat or an ambassador — but as an officer in command of Red cadres of Cuban take-over. His entry into Cuba should be blocked by the UN. There should be established in the United States a West Point of Political Warfare whereby exiled anti-Communist young Cuban nationals can learn the techniques of Communist subversion; where they can learn the fallacies of Communist philosophy.

"There are no such training centers in the United States for either foreign nationals or for American students.

"The Soviet Union has such training centers for Communist purposes.

"The free world has none in behalf of freedom.

"An effective blockade, economic, diplomatic and, if necessary, with military support by all the nations of South America and North America to prevent and screen from coming into the Carribean area all travelers concerning whom there are reasonable grounds to believe they are from behind the Iron Curtain. If they have not a legitimate reason for landing in Cuba other than to take part in subversive activities they should be excluded and prevented under the Monroe Doctrine.

"The problem of the Captive Nations of the Soviet Empire may be finally brought home to American understanding by the Soviet thrust into the Carribbean to make the island of Cuba a captive of Moscow.

"When Hungary broke out of its prison in 1956 the free world stood helpless as Soviet tanks returned.

"We did not fully understand the barbarous man-made famine imposed by Stalin to bring the brave Ukrainian people to their knees in 1932/33 whereby the Communists caused the death of over 6 million people from starvation. Nor did we understand the mass graves in Vinnitza in Ukraine that enclosed tens of thousands of Communist victims.

"We did not understnd the sadistic murder of the flower of the Polish Officer Corps by the Reds in the Katyn Forest massacre, nor the never-ending resistance of the heroic Polish people against Red rule.

"We did not understand the forced deportations in boxcarts by the NKVD of tens of thousands of victims of the Communists in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

"We have not understood the significance of the 1200 miles of barbed wire across Eastern Europe which imprisons the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union and of Eastern Europe.

"It was my privilege, together with other members of Congress, as Chairman of the House Select Committee on Communist Aggression against the Captive Nations, to learn the true facts behind the Iron Curtain. We had the sworn testimony of hundreds of witnesses from every Captive Nation. We conducted hearings in Chicago, Detroit, New York, Washington, London, Munich, Berlin, Madrid and elsewhere.

"I am happy to say that in our hearings in this country in the Chicago area and elsewhere we were greatly aided in procuring certain witnesses and in other respects by one of your leading and patriotic citizens, Mr. John Duzansky.

"The American people should now begin to learn something of the Communist methods in the take-over of a Captive Nation by their present action in Cuba.

"Aided by what we know the Reds have done in the Captive Nations of the Soviet Empire, we may be able to prevent them from extending Communist slavery to within 90 miles of our American shores."

LET US BE ON GUARD

Address Delivered by ABN President Jaroslav Stetzko in Philadelphia to Mark Captive Nations Week

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF CAPTIVE NATIONS! FRIENDS OF THOSE NOW IN BONDAGE OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM AND COMMUNISM!

The national liberation movements of the subjugated peoples regard the U.S. Congress Resolution on Captive Nations Week as a far-reaching historical event in the present psychological and political anti-Bolshevist struggle and as a fitting basis for the future solution of international problems once the Russian empire has been liquidated.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, which organization is the co-ordinatien centre of the liberation movements of Ukraine, Hungary, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Georgia, Armenia, Slovakia, Czechia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Roumania, Croatia, Serbia, Cossackia and other enslaved nations, I welcome and applaud the initiative of the U.S. Congress and declare ourselves in full agreement with its Resolution.

It is our earnest hope that this Resolution will become the basis of a practical liberation policy by the U.S. Government.

In the present global political conflict between the world of tyranny and the world of freedom, between the Russian Communist concept of a Soviet World Empire and the concept of a world order with free and independent national states, the U.S. Congress has courageously placed America on the side of justice and national independence.

To approve and advocate the preservation of the reactionary Russian empire in an era when empires are de-

clining and ideas of national independence are spontaneously gaining ground in the world, would not only be a historical anachronism but also a direct threat to the freedom and security of the United States.

By stressing the national problem of the Captive Nations, the U.S. Congress has revealed the vulnerable spot of the Russian prison of nations. At the same time, the United States, thanks to the action of its Congress, may acquire a true ally in the enslaved nations, who, with the support of the West, would help to annihilate Bolshevism from within and without provoking an atomic war.

The recognition of the common fate and the need for freedom and liberation of all the nations enslaved by Moscow, regardless of when they were enslaved, is a far-reaching political diagnosis on the part of the U.S. Congress, which should become the fundamental guiding principle of a concrete liberation policy, inasmuch as it rightly treats Russia as a ruling and not as an enslaved nation.

World politics today revolve round the subjugated nations, which constitute the key force in the present conflict between opposite worlds and also the first fighting front in the ceaseless anti-Bolshevist struggle. This liberation front must be given active support as well as military help by the free world. There must be no passivity on the part of the West, as there was during the October revolution in 1956 in Hungary.

In 1953-56, and again in October 1959, in Temir-Tau in Kazakhstan, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Lithuanian, Estonian and other prisoners in the concentration camps of Kazakhstan revolted against Soviet Russian tyranny. But elsewhere, on other fronts, the spirit of co-existence dominated, thus making moral support for the freedom-fighters, not to mention any other form of support or help, entirely impossible.

The failure of the Paris Summit Conference, the humiliation of the U.S.A., the shooting down of unarmed American planes, the personal insults hurled at the President of the United States by Khrushchov, would in the past have at least led to the severance of diplomatic relations with the Moscow gangsters, if not to an outright ultimatum of war. But now? Quo vadis Occident?

Not only the enslaved nations but also America needs friends in the fight against Communist aggression in defence of its way of life and the eternal values of mankind, — freedom, justice and independence.

The angry and hysterical reaction of Khrushchov to the proclamation of Captive Nations Week was an indication that the United States had found the key by which to destroy Bolshevism. Hence, now is the time to strike, — now is the time for an active policy of liberation.

From the moral and legal point of view the proclamation of the Resolution may have a tremendous significance, provided that the next step be taken toward a conclusive result. All the nations of the free world should follow the example of the United States and issue similar proclamations.

At the same time, the peoples of the free world should put spiritual values before materialistic goals; they should seek the purpose of life in noble and heroic deeds and should put aside the comforts of life and look for their destiny in the struggle against evil and slavery, for good and justice, for freedom and for the triumph of the divine truth. Their aim should be, not peace at any price, but the victory of truth and justice on earth.

The subjugated nations have nothing to lose, but everything to win! They are not asking anything for themselves alone from the free world. They are fighting for their God-given rights on their soil, for free government that will guarantee them freedom and will help them to realize a just social and economic order. By helping them, the free world is helping itself, too.

Moscow talks about the independence of the African and Asian peoples, to whom the West is conceding independence to an ever-increasing degree. Why does the free West fail to talk about the rights to independence of the nations subjugated by the U.S.S.R.? About Ukraine or Turkestan, for instance?!

Why do the governments of the West refrain from advocating the idea of the disintegration of the most ruthless colonial empire in the world — namely the Russian empire, whilst, at the same time, they approve or advocate the dissolution of the Western empires which are much more humane in character than the Russian empire? Has not Russia subjugated highly civilized peoples, as for instance those of East Germany or Ukraine, Lithuania or Hungary, Georgia or Bulgaria!

WE APPEAL FOR:

The development of an offensive in the psychological war. A LIBERATION POLICY is to be actively supported.

"Captive Nations Week" should not be confined to the U.S.A., but should be introduced in all the other countries of the free world. The cause of freedom and independence of all the nations subjugated in the U.S.S.R. and in the satellite countries should be actively supported.

A co-ordination centre of psychological warfare should be set up in the free

world in joint effort with the representatives of the national liberation movements behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains.

A freedom manifesto should be drafted by this co-ordination centre and proclaimed as a Magna Charta of the independence of the nations and the freedom of individuals.

Steps should be taken to bring about the disintegration of the last empire in the world, the Russian empire, into independent national states of all the subjugated nations, as the main aim and objective of the political war of the free and the subjugated world.

The national liberation revolutions of all the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism should be supported actively and wholeheartedly.

I repeat — the free world should actively and with every means available support a co-ordinated national liberation revolution of the subjugated nations behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains and should regard this as the only possible alternative to an atomic war.

The policy of co-existence should be rejected by the peace-lowing Western world as a trap designed by Moscow, since it is bound to lead to a surprise atomic war.

The United Nations Organization, which is adjusting itself more and more to a policy of co-existence, should be reorganized:

as an anti-Bolshevist world organization, with the immediate exclusion of Russian representatives and their satellites;

as an organization in which the authorized representatives of the nations subjugated by Moscow are included.

Diplomatic, cultural, economic and other relations with Moscow and the Communist bloc should be severed. No "Summit" conferences should be held, for Russia's objective in such conferences will always be to obtain recognition of the status quo of enslavement. Such recognition can only demobilize and undermine the Western world's relations with the enslaved nations. The status quo is regarded by the Russians as merely a stepping-stone to further conquests.

The United States is already threatened not merely from Siberia, but from the very American continent, — namely, from Cuba. to quote but one example. Khrushchov aims to attack America by every possible means, and one of these means is "peaceful co-existence."

In the morass of co-existentialism he commits crimes against humanity which appear to leave the conscience of the free world unmoved. A shocking crime was committed by the Bolsheviks not long ago when they murdered the leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, Stepan Bandera, who symbolized the struggle for freedom of Ukraine.

Let all freedom-loving people in the world unite in the fight against Russian imperialism and Communism for the freedom of individuals, for the cause of justice and independence of all nations!

Let us be on guard, for the enemy is already at the gates!

FROM CONGESSIONAL RECORD

By Hon. Dominick V. Daniels
of New Jersey
In the House of Representatives
Saturday, July 2, 1960.

Mr. Daniels. Mr. Speaker, the Soviet Union's rise to the status of a great world power is the most striking phenomenon in contemporary world history, and its treacherous acts, committed in the name of world Communism, constitute one of the blackest pages in all history. One of these acts was the capture and enslavement of nearly 100 million innocent and helpless people in Eastern Europe. Since the end of the last war, under the guise of people's democracies, the Soviet Union has made captives all peoples between the Baltic and Black Seas. They have been sealed off from the free world by the Iron Curtain imposed upon them. And all efforts on the part of the West to see these peoples freed from Communist dictatorship have been of no avail. No government in the West will relinquish the hope of seeing these peoples freed. The peoples of this country will continue their efforts to that end, and the observance of the Captive Nations Week, as enacted by Congress and proclaimed by the President, is an eloquent testimony of their desire to see justice done to these millions of innocent and helpless people.

"It is ironic in the extreme that the United States should ever be cast in the role of opposing legitimate nationalist movements. Many of the ideas which motivate today's nationalists stem from American history and have been taught in American universities at home and abroad... We should be the natural champion of legitimate nationalist movements".

Vice President Nixon
(Sept., 1958, Harvard Business School Ass'n.)

Edward M. O'Connor,
former U.S. Commissioner for Displaced Persons

SEEDS OF RUSSIAN DISAFFECTION

(Conclusion)

During the period 1917-1918 the people of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, North Caucasus, Cossackia, Idel-Ural, Turkestan refused to fight in support of the Russian Empire. It was the dynamic movement of these long oppressed people for national independence of their respective countries which caused the total collapse of the empire of the Russian Tsars. The Russian aristocracy demonstrated they were incapable of holding control over the Russian nation, aside from all the other nations of the empire, and after a limited struggle the Bolsheviks took over the rein of power in Petrograd and Moscow. The treaty of Brest-Litovsk soon followed and Germany thereafter surrendered to the Allies.

These non-Russian nations, having declared their national independence, appealed to the Western powers for assistance in maintaining their independence against the armed aggression of the Russian Bolsheviks. The greatest tragedy of this period of history occurred when the Western powers turned a deaf ear to these appeals and instead threw their support behind the so-called White Russian or Monarchist movement for the reconstruction of the Russian empire. One result of this decision was that the newly independent non-Russian nations were then forced to fight on two fronts; one against the Russian Bolsheviks and the other against the Russian Monarchists. As a consequence the national independence movement was defeated and the Russian Empire was restored by 1920, but under control of the Bolsheviks. Only Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania escaped this power struggle to reconstruct the Russian prison of nations.

As a prelude to World War II, Stalin and Hitler entered into a secret agreement, part of which gave Soviet Russia the right to occupy and forceably annex Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. When the German army invaded the Soviet Union in 1941 it was treated to a general collapse of the Red Army on the Eastern Front. In Ukraine and Byelorussia the Germans were greeted by the people as liberators, that is, liberators from Russian tyranny. Millions of Red Army soldiers surrendered and begged for the opportunity to march on Moscow. It must be said for the Russians that few of them surrendered and they fought on to the gates of Moscow and Stalingrad. It was the non-Russian soldiers in the multi-national Red Army who again refused to fight in support of a Russian empire. Communist Russia was beset by internal insurrection and the mass disloyalty of the people of the captive non-Russian nations, disloyalty to the reconstructed Russian empire and its system of terror and despotism. In the Crimea the entire population rose in revolt. In Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan more revolts threatened the collapse of Stalin's empire. In the North Caucasus and in old Turkestan the oppressed people refused to lend any assistance to their tormentors in Moscow. Hanging on the brink of collapse and complete defeat, Soviet Russia was saved by the racial policies of the Nazis. The Nazis refused to allow the millions of non-Russians, who had surrendered to them, an opportunity to fight for the independence of their homelands. However, the regular German Army Commanders, as distinguished from the Nazis, sought approval from Hitler to allow these prisoners-of-war to take up common arms against Russia. Hitler refused, stating these prisoners were racial inferiors and unfit to spill their blood for the Reich. A severe winter saved

Moscow and Stalingrad from falling, as the Germans were unprepared for the type of winter warfare which confronted them. This, coupled with the flow of American supplies, saved Soviet Russia from collapse and defeat.

It is a small wonder, therefore, that Stalin should demand at Yalta the forced repatriation of what he aptly called the 'seeds of Soviet disaffection'. Nor should it seem unusual to us that these seeds who have come to our shores should be advocating the national independence of their captive homelands. They know from the hard experiences of life that Moscow cannot engage in open warfare against the free world so long as the non-Russian people of that colonial empire will rise in revolt under the favorable circumstances war would create. They also know that we will not attain our goal of a lasting peace until justice is done for the long suffering people of these captive, non-Russian nations.

It is a matter of wonderment, however, that only the Russians among the 'seeds of Soviet disaffection' have failed to advocate the cause of national independence for their homeland.

Every nation imprisoned within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, except Russia, has organizations and organs at work in the free world to this end. The spirit of nationalism which has struck at every colonial empire in the world during the past fifty years has not moved the Russian spirit. The Russian spirit remains as it has been for over 300 years, pawns of whatever power is in control of Moscow. During this long period of history the power in control has always been imperialistic, whether of the Tsars or the Communists.

One can understand the position taken in the free world by the old Russian emigration of the 1917-1918 era, particularly the aristocracy, while at the same time in disagreement with it. The old, so-called White Russian is by heritage a Monarchist, that is, an advocate of a strong Russian empire. As such he opposes the advocates of national independence for the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union. This handicap places him on the sidelines in any realistic action against the Russian Communist dictatorship which threatens the existence of free men. This is also because the most powerful political force at work behind the Iron Curtain is nationalism, that is, the dynamic movement of the people of the non-Russian nations for national independence. Any realistic policy toward the Soviet Union must take this basic fact into full account if it is to be successful. Our failure to date to do just this has deprived the free world of its most powerful weapon for peace.

There is no riddle, mystery or enigma connected with the Russian problem of our times. It is purely and simply a problem of imperialism. The mortar of the Soviet Union and its satellites in central Europe is Russian imperialism. The bricks of this unnatural edifice are the many once free and independent nations. The foundations are anchored in the centuries-long Russian dream of world empire. All the techniques of management and control of this empire are the legacy of Chengis-Khan to the old Princes of Muscovy.

This is the message of truth which the non-Russian 'seeds of Soviet disaffection' have brought to the free world. They have done well by the cause of peace and freedom in fulfilling Stalin's prophecy about them. It is, therefore, understandable that the leaders in the Kremlin are today bending every effort to discredit them and their eyewitness testimony to conditions of life behind the Iron Curtain. They are called 'warmongers,' 'separatists,' 'agents of American imperialism' by the propaganda organs of the Russians in the free world. But no name calling can prevent these dedicated supporters of peace with justice for all nations and all people from carrying out their missions in the free world. They know what it means to live under the cruel, imposed peace of the Russians, which is the miserable peace of human slavery. The memory of their own life's experiences compels them

to warn us of the dangers we face and to urge upon us a course of action which these hard experiences tell them is necessary if we, as a nation, are to remain free and independent.

It is time the American people awakened to the fact that here in the United States, the birthplace of the national independence movement, we do not have one organization advocating the national independence of Russia. For practically every subjugated nation of the world, there is an American Committee working for its liberation and national independence. The Russian nation alone lacks the distinction which is so basic to the political philosophy of our American way of life. This unnatural condition cannot be attributed to the lack of Russian nationals in the United States because large numbers of them were admitted to our country following World War I and more were admitted following World War II. We must look elsewhere for the answer. Until we hear Russian voices in the free world calling out for the national independence of their country and thereby recognizing the rights of the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union to their national independence, it will be both proper and timely to ask: what lies back of this strange silence?..

From left to right:—
Rep. Michael A. Feighan of Ohio, Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, and Mayor Sedita of Buffalo visit the Exhibition.

Gallery of Horror

Brutality by Reds is Depicted Here

Buffalo Courier Express of July 22, 1960, writes as follows about an anti-Communist exhibition in observance of Captive Nations Week held in Buffalo:

"It accomplishes its purpose readily. That purpose was described by Mrs. Nestor Procyk, wife of the assembler of the display. The visitor is guided through a gallery of horrors showing mass murder that rivals Nazi crimes against the Jews during World War II. Aside from the pictures of the opened mass graves of Guatemala, the most hideous is one of the bloody back of a man who had been bayoneted 52 times. In all, the photos show about 2,000 bodies.

"They represent about 20-million murdered by the Communists, said Dr. Procyk, a psychiatrist.

"That's conservative, counting China, Tibet and Korea." There are captured Communist photos of whole families of "reactionaries" being stabbed, another of a man beaten while tied to a tree, another of a woman being clubbed to death by a Communist trying to conserve ammunition, another of a woman shot while her baby clung to her back.

"I wonder how many people believe that this actually is true, that it actually happened," asked Mrs. Procyk. "It could happen so easily here. All the Communists start with are a few workers."

The show covered the atrocities committed by various Communist governments in Guatemala between 1948 and 1954, in Korea from 1950 to 1952, in Ukraine from 1921 to the present, in Lithuania in 1943, in Slovenia in 1944 and in Croatia.

Dr. Procyk, public relations chief for the Ukrainian Congress Committee which is cooperating in the Captive Nations Week, pointed out the forms of brutality vary but they are common to all countries dominated by the Communists.

Supporting the evidence in the pictures are a wide range of pamphlets, books and historical documents.

Dr. D. Donzov

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

II. Corinthians, VI, 9.

U.S.S.R., UN and ABN

It is the primary duty of every politician to view the world situation neither too pessimistically nor too optimistically. The former attitude engenders unfounded fears, the latter a naive optimism, — precisely of the type which in 1917 infected Ukrainian democrats and, later, Sovietophils of every kind of political colour. It is imperative that a politician should see things exactly as they are, especially in our day when mammon and falsehood prevail and when so many points of view are expressed under a pleasing disguise, which conceals their true nature. One of such fictions is the U.S.S.R., the initials of certain words, which conceal exactly the opposite of their true meaning: neither "Union", nor "Soviet", nor "Republics", but autocracy (in the sense of absolute rule) and tyranny; and, instead of separate republics, colonies under the command of servile satraps, who have obtained their powers of authority from the supreme ruler in Moscow.

Another political conception or idea — the Organization of the United Nations — is likewise based on fiction. It is in the first place a fiction that the UN is an organization of nations, for numerous nations are not represented in it at all, or else solely by Russian "gauleiters". Another fiction on which the United Nations is based is that it is actually an organization of the disunited nations that frequently even wage war amongst themselves, as for instance Korea, Algeria and China.

This self-deception would not in itself be so very harmful, if its inventors did not proclaim it explicitly to the disadvantage of those nations that really exist, but are refused the right to vote by the UN Security Council and, in the U.S.S.R., have become the victims of a systematic policy of mass extermination. The fiction of the "United Nations" is likewise extremely harmful to the said victims because of the fact that the very same Moscow that commits genocide is allowed to sit at the same conference table with other "United Nations" as an equal amongst equals and as a partner who, allegedly in joint effort with them, is to introduce "peace and justice" in the world. And, lastly, this fiction is extremely harmful since, regardless of certain more courageous opinions and various resolutions which are not binding, an invisible "mafia" exercises an enormous influence in the UN and is seeking to preserve the Russian imperium of slave-dealers at any price and refuses to permit the partition of this imperium, that is to say, the liberation of the subjugated peoples. As far as this "mafia" is concerned, the United Nations have really become a much-longed for disguise of its aims. Whenever the said peoples try to shake off the alien yoke that has been imposed on them, the members of this "mafia" accuse them of being the very persons who want to disturb the world peace, shatter the harmony of the nations and cause bloodshed; in the opinion of this "mafia", the representatives in exile of these peoples should, in the interests of peace, prosperity and democracy, keep quiet and should submit without protest to the "legitimate violence" recognized by the UN.

Those who have not yet realized what the real aims of this "mafia" are, should recall the latest developments in the political situation. Moscow, for instance, considered it necessary to persuade the West to accept a peace on the strength of the recognition of the "status quo", that is of all Moscow's conquests; thereupon,

the "mafia" began to backbite all those who opposed the idea of this kind of peace. In connection with the murder of Stepan Bandera, in particular, all sorts of Weinbaums and "Posevs" spread a lot of vile defamations both about the late leader of the Ukrainian national resistance, who was a victim of Bolshevist terrorism, and also about Ukraine, which as far as Moscow is concerned still continues to be a black sheep and to cause the "pacifists" of the Kremlin sleepless nights. Thereupon, a campaign of lies was launched against Spain allegedly because it did not respect the freedom of religion of many of its subjects, but in reality because it had refused to allow the Bolshevist sickle and hammer to triumph in Madrid. This campaign was followed by numerous accusations against Free China (Taiwan) and the ardent wish was expressed that Peking, the chief ally of Moscow, should be admitted to the UN. And, lastly, the "mafia" dealt its most recent blow against Khrushchov's main and clear-sighted opponent, Adenauer's Germany; at a sign from the conductor in the Kremlin, swastikas are now being painted on buildings and walls in various towns in West Germany. Whereupon, all the alleged "defenders of right and justice" affirm that Adenauer is another Hitler and that it is imperative that the German Federal Republic should be "neutralized," that is disarmed and, in fact, de-industrialized and turned into a country of peasants and shepherds, which was what Morgenthau planned to do in 1944-1945. The international clan of alleged "democrats" and "anti-racialists" has fallen into the trap set by Moscow; for over forty years it has been overlooking not the dead sign of hell (such as the swastika) but the living one, which hovers victorious over the graves of countless millions of persons who have been massacred; and this same clan has no intention of calling Khrushchov and his henchmen to account.

Naturally it would be easier for Khrushchov to reach the Atlantic via a disarmed Germany; and it would in this way likewise be easier to punish the "people's enemy" for having ventured to protect his country and his religious faith by armed force, in opposition to the will of the Kremlin and of the alleged democratic "mafia" of that time (that of Leon Blum and Co.).

Since the said "mafia" itself appears in the false guise of "progress", "freedom", "democracy" and "anti-racialism", it endeavours to force the defamatory and shameful disguise of "fascism," "totalitarianism" and "anti-Semitism" on all its opponents and, at the same time, conducts a publicity drive on behalf of the Moscow "democrats" and their agents, such as Castro, Mao Tse-tung, Rakoczi and Mikoyan, etc.; and shamefacedly turns its back on the Hungarian revolutionaries so as not to disturb Nikita Khrushchov in his task of establishing his "graveyard peace" in Hungary, — just as various free members of the UN did when they withheld their vote, when it was a case of expressing sympathy with the Hungarians and exposing their hangmen.

To state the case briefly, — both fictions, that of the U.S.S.R. and that of the UN, which is trying to find an "appeasement" with regard to the U.S.S.R., have the following aims: the former to achieve the realization of its policy of genocide, and the latter to bring about an understanding with Moscow, including the recognition of all its territorial annexations, at the cost of the peoples subjugated by Moscow. As far as the said "mafia" is concerned, which is seeking to set up a so-called world government (that is, after the destruction or enslavement of the nations), it is hostile to precisely those peoples, such as Spain, West Germany, Hungary and Ukraine, who put up a determined resistance against Moscow's world domination and Communism, as well as against the anti-religious forces of the "free-thinking" mafia. And, incidentally, this "mafia" regards the Organization of the United Nations as a means to the realization of its political aims and, possibly, too (together with the UNESCO), as the germ of the said world government.

None of these forces and factors of international life have inscribed on their banners either the disintegration of the monstrous Moscow imperium, the fight against Moscow, the liberation of the nations, or the latter's state independence, or the salvation of a religious culture.

And it is precisely the false watchwords of a chaotic and mendacious world that the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) opposes with its own impressive watchwords, for its fundamental principles are the destruction of the Moscow imperium, the complete secession of all the non-Russian nations from Russia and their restoration as independent states (not satellites of the Kremlin or of any other "international" major power), and, as a precondition, the union of those nations who are striving to attain independence and are actively fighting against Moscow.

The U.S.S.R. is nothing but the same old, red-dyed power of Muscovite heathen messianism. The UN is an organization of the Western powers who think they can buy security, peace and prosperity by making a pact with the devil's menials; and an international "mafia," which is hostile to the freedom of nations and individuals, is endeavouring to control this organization.

And what significance do these forces attach to Ukraine and to the other peoples subjugated by Moscow? One of their representatives recently wrote that the late Stepan Bandera had "fought for a lost cause all his life", — for according to their plans, Ukraine must die! But the ABN, in contrast to the UN, has adopted an ideologically uncompromising and actively revolutionary attitude towards Moscow, and this is indeed the course which Ukraine must follow. From this point of view, the activity of the ABN is of immeasurable importance.

THE MOSLEMS ACCUSE MOSCOW

Dear Brothers and Sisters in Islam,

We are Moslem refugees from countries which have fallen under Russian and Communist rule. We have lost our homeland and our property and have been separated from our relatives and friends.

However, we have retained one treasure: our faith in the One and Almighty Allah. We have preserved our deep faith in eternal truth and bright hopes for the final victory of justice.

Dear brothers and sisters! Sixteen years have passed since that tragic day when the Communist regime began its brutal reprisals against our peoples. The entire Karachai-Balkarian, Checheno-Ingush and Crimean Tatar peoples, were deported to the Far North. The Communist rulers did not even spare the aged, women and children. It was not only total deportation. Our brother Moslem peoples were plundered. A deportee was permitted to take only a few kilograms of luggage with him. Houses, cattle and the rest of their belongings were confiscated by the cruel Communist regime.

Many thousands of our brothers and sisters perished from hunger, cold and disease while being transported during a cold winter in unheated freight cars. More thousands perished from the forced labour in unendurable working and climatic conditions.

According to international law, these brutal reprisals against the freedom-loving Moslem peoples of the Caucasus and Crimea are given a serious criminal stamp — genocide. The practice of genocide — the extermination of entire peoples — has placed the brand of ignominy on the Communist regime. We shall never forget this atrocious crime as long as human blood flows in our veins. The Kalmyk people have suffered the same fate at the hands of the Communist rulers.

It was not until after Stalin's death, namely at the beginning of 1957, that the Khrushchov-led regime found it necessary to rehabilitate the Karachai-Balkarian and Checheno-Ingush peoples and to re-establish their autonomous territories de jure. In conjunction with the same edict, the Khrushchov regime promised to return the forcefully-deported Checheno-Ingushes and Karachai-Balkarians to their native homeland, the Caucasus, by 1960. However, with 1960

approaching, a great part of the Karachai-Balkarians and Checheno-Ingushes are still located in the areas of deportation.

There wes no mention of the Crimean Tatar people in the decision announced by the Khrushchov regime. It was as though the Crimean Tatars had never existed, as though they had never been subjected to total forced deportation. The world does not know at present where or under what conditions the long-suffering Crimean Tatar people live, a people to whom we are historically related by common religious and cultural ties.

But let us return to the fate of the Karachai-Balkarians and Checheno-Ingushes. How has the Khrushchov regime compensated for the tremendous material and moral harm which these freedom-loving peoples have suffered at the hands of the Communist regime?

We know from letters received from those who have been returned to the Caucasus, and from the Soviet press that the deportees have received neither their homes, cattle nor other belongings, which they had accumulated through the painstaking work of many generations. Before their deportation, the Communist regime, allowed them to organize so-called agricultural associations, which gave them some opportunity for economic independence. Today, the returnees are being forced into sovkhozes, i.e., they are being transformed into agricultural workers and deprived of the remnants of economic initiative.

We also know that resettled Karachai-Balkarians and Checheno-Ingushes are mixed with Russians, Cossacks and other non-Caucasian ethnic groups, in order to exterminate the Caucasians' national and freedom-loving spirit. The persecutions of national traditions and cultures are succeeded by constant attacks on their religion. The Soviet press even tries to discredit their religious holidays.

The Khrushchov regime has neither compensated for their huge material losses, nor has it given moral satisfaction to Karachai-Balkarian and Checheno-Ingush returnees to the Caucasus.

One draws the conclusion from this that Khrushchov was forced to execute the formal and juridical rehabilitation under the pressure of the discontented masses within the Soviet Union. Secondly, Khrushchov wanted to efface the infamy of genocide recognized by the Islamic peoples of the Near and Middle East by this demonstration of rehabilitation so as to strengthen the position of the Communist regime in the Islam world.

The Communist power is the worst enemy not only of our peoples and our Islamic religion. It is also Christianity's worst enemy. Our sincerest sympathy goes to the heroic Hungarian people who were so cruelly suppressed by a Communist regime, this time of the Khrushchov era, not Stalin's. Let us remember the violent suppression of the Tibetan people by Mao's China. Then we shall recognize that a cruel, godless Communist regime, whether in the Soviet Union or China, is the common enemy of all religions everywhere. We are not politicians. Our only weapon is our religion, our faith in the One Allah and in the eternal truth and justice.

Give your moral support to our peoples who are struggling for human, religious and national freedoms. Take measures which you can to relieve the hardships of our peoples.

While bearing in memory the sufferings and sorrows, the martyrdom of the Karachai-Balkarians and Checheno- Ingushes, we must not forget the other Islamic peoples living ouside the countries of the Communist Bloc. We are watching closely the struggle of the Arab people for freedom and national revival. We observe with satisfaction the courageous struggle of Abdel Nasser, President of the UAR, against the Communist threat. We hail the friendship between the United Arab Republic and other Islamic countries, especially Pakistan. We know that our Islamic peoples in the Soviet Union are united in their faith in the Great Allah, in their endeavor to shake off the godless regime. We believe that this joyful day will yet come.

We are watching with great anxiety the heroic struggle which has been carried on by the Algerian people for five years. This struggle has cost many lives and the Algerian people is bleeding profusely. May Allah help the courageous Algerian people to a deserved victory in this struggle for national freedom.

In conclusion, I would like to thank in the name of all the Islamic refugees the German people and its government for the asylum we enjoy on the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany. We are also grateful to all the social American organizations for the assistance they have given to the Islamic refugees.

Ibrahim Effendi
President of the Islamic Society

..."We will never write off the millions of people enslaved behind the Iron Curtain. Their freedom shall always be our objective. When freedom is threatened anywhere, it is threatened in Amerika..."

Vice President Richard M. Nixon

N. Ekhadieli

Moscow Increases Pressure On Georgia

Some time ago, the Moscow Party organ "Pravda" reproached Georgian scholars and writers with escaping into the past in their research and their works and neglecting the present. And what was particularly serious, so it was stressed, was the fact that the era since the sovietization of Georgia (that is to say, since the occupation of Georgia by the Russians) was not taken into account at all, or else only referred to superficially. The "cultural and economic prosperity of Georgia" since the incorporation of that country with Russia in the 19th century was likewise not mentioned and appreciated enough. Such faults, it was stressed, must be corrected and science and literature must be adjusted to the Party line.

This sharp attack by the Russians on the Georgians is understandable, for the younger generation in Georgia, though it has passed through the Komsomol and has been educated and trained by means of Communist ideas, is of a different mould. The native Communists of the older generation were either creatures with criminal tendencies, or else nihilists and cosmopolites, devoid of all moral and national feeling.

It was they who contributed to the downfall of their native countries and surrendered their own people to Moscow's tyranny. But during the forty years of Moscow's rule a new generation has grown up, the children of peasants and workers. — a generation with a strongly marked national feeling, national consciousness and national pride.

This generation is aware of the value of its people and is not in the least inclined to do Moscow a service and to cringe to it. It believes in the strength and immortality of the Georgian national element.

A young Georgian writer has aptly said: "If all earthly things pass away, why then is the bridge built by Pompey still mirrored in the River Kura, and why does the Monastery of the Holy Cross still stand on the hill nearby?!"

This younger generation believes in the future of the Georgian people and is undaunted. And it was this generation that defied the Russians in Tbilisi in March 1956 and demonstrated its national will, and for this cause sacrificed its life, when hundreds of young men were killed by Russian tanks.

The attacks by the Russians on the Georgian scholars are actually not quite justified, for there are still some pro-Moscow elements in Georgia, who toady to the Muscovites and glorify the Russians. One such type of person is the historian Melikhishwili (he is really of Greek origin and is called Xenophohtopulos, but has assumed a Georgian name). These pro-Moscow elements, incidentally, are to be found above all amongst the Georgian Party functionaries.

But Moscow has a good reason for attacking the Georgians. It knows their attitude as a whole and it realizes only too well that it has not succeeded in making the Georgians pliant and forcing them to recognize the supremacy of Moscow.

Shortly after the "Pravda" had attacked the Georgians, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, the all-powerful W. Mshavanadze, made a speech in which he affirmed that Georgian scientific research showed a "provincial nationalism" and that this must be eradicated. Historiography must be brought in line with the Communist course, and history must be presented from the entire Soviet aspect; in other words, research of ancient Georgian history must cease or be confined to certain limits, and Georgia's science of history, according to Mshavanadze, must occupy itself mainly with the era of Georgia's relations with Russia (end of the 18th century), with Georgia's incorporation

in Russia (19th century) and, in particular, with the sovietization (actual occupation) of Georgia (1921). Above all, it must stress how disastrous the era of independence was for Georgia, when the country "was sold to the capitalist major powers."

Such nonsensical propaganda as this, however, makes no impression on the Georgians, for the memory of the violation of Georgia in 1921 and the murder of thousands of persons there in the 1920's and 1930's is still fresh in their minds.

What were the reasons for the recent attacks by the Russians and what are the deviations in the works of Georgian scholars and writers that they censure?

Firstly, most of the Georgian writers take their subject-matter from the past, and novels deal with historical characters who lived in the days before the existence of the Russians as a nation and the Muscovite state. Even in stories and novels that deal with the present, specific Georgian qualities, feelings, traditions and customs, etc. are in the foreground. Georgian poetry extols its native country, the beauty of its landscape and Nature, historical persons, the people of the country in general and, in particular, mothers. Critical essays and monographs discuss the merits of the old writers, the former politicians and their struggle against the "tsarist (in other words, Russian) colonial policy of subjugation." The national trend and the national opposition to the Russians is clearly in evidence in every field.

Secondly, Russian scholars and some of their accomplices in certain non-Russian republics have attempted to falsify Georgian history and have tried to make out that certain tribes, which constitute an integral part of the Georgian nation, do not belong to the Georgians at all. They were censured so sharply on this account by Georgian scholars and their falsifications were refuted so emphatically that they were silenced.

Thirdly, certain Western scholars have gone so far as to doubt the cultural achievements of the Georgians in the past and to deny their merits. This they have done with an arrogance which is entirely out of place in a scientific discussion. The Georgian scholars replied to these attacks so violently that one could not fail to gain the impression that their embitterment was greater than usual. Of course, they had expected such allegations least of all from this quarter, and, as so often in such cases, there was a certain amount of exaggeration in their answer. But this is understandable, for they now had a chance to give vent to their feelings. They were in this case dealing with foreigners, hence they were able to express themselves freely as regards their grudge against the Russians, for they could not have risked defending themselves against the latter in this way.

There is a Georgian saying, — "The mother-in-law spoke to her daughter, but the daughter-in-law was meant to hear what she said"!

And the Russians realized for whom this answer was intended. The Georgians intended it for them; it was an innuendo directed against the Russians.

Next year, the 40th anniversary of the "sovietization" of Georgia is to be celebrated as festively as possible. Preparations for the celebration of this national day are already being made. The "blessings" which Russia has brought the Georgians and the way in which this country is "thriving and prospering" under Russia's "care" must be fittingly extolled and praised. Indeed, this is the primary obligation of the Georgian scholars and writers, and discord in this respect must not be tolerated. Terrorism directed against the intellect is put into practice in a diabolical way. Like all the other peoples subjugated by Russia, the Georgians will have to face grim times and these will probably last long.

African tribes that are only half-civilized are allowed to set up their independent states, but our ancient civilized and cultured peoples are still forced to languish under Russian Communist terrorism and tyranny.

Z. Yu.

New Campaign Against "Bourgeois Nationalism" In U.S.S.R.

The fight against nationalist deviations in the Soviet Union has recently been intensified again. It finds its expression mainly in the cultural sector and in the endeavours of the Soviet regime to reconcile the differences which exist between the Soviet theory of the furtherance of friendship among the peoples and the simultaneous flourishing of the national culture in the individual Soviet republics with each other. In addition, some of the items published in the Soviet press give one a glimpse behind the scenes, namely of the way in which the purge of the national Communist elements in the Baltic republics was — or, to be more exact, is being carried out.

The fight against nationalist deviations in the cultural sector is closely connected with the decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of USSR, of January 9, 1960, on "the tasks of Party propaganda under the present conditions." A good deal is mentioned about "bourgeois nationalism" in this decree. As was to be expected, the decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR was by no means merely of a theoretical nature, especially not as far as the anti-nationalist campaign is concerned. In connection with this decree, the Party leaders in those national republics in which, as Moscow assumes, the nationalist menace is particularly serious, received special instructions from the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR ordering them explicitly to adopt drastic measures as regards combatting all deviations in this sector.

Thus, for instance, according to a news item published in the "Zarja Vostoka" of June 8, 1960, such instructions were issued to the Party leaders in Georgia. These instructions, incidentally, constitute a decree by the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the USSR of May 6, 1960, in which publishing activity in Georgia is severely criticized. It is stated that Georgian publishers are publishing far too many books which glorify Georgia's past and that the ideological work of the creative intelligentsia is by no means of a satisfactory standard. The Party is thus advised to eliminate all the said faults.

Immediately after these instructions were issued, a meeting of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party was convened. On this occasion a decree on "serious faults in the activity of publishers" was passed, and, accordingly, a number of measures were adopted in order to end this state of affairs. The convening of a republican conference of persons employed in publishing firms and workers in the polygraphic industry can be regarded as the first step in this direction. This conference discussed the publishing problem as a whole, but the main emphasis was on the problem of nationalist deviations. The importance which the Party leaders attached to this conference can be seen from the fact that two Party secretaries, the First Secretary Mshavanadse and the Third Secretary Dshibladse, made long speeches on this occasion.

As if he were trying to excuse the Georgian Party leaders in the eyes of the Georgian public, Dshibladse stressed in his speech that the campaign against nationalist deviations in the publishing sector was being carried out at Moscow's orders. He mentioned this fact at the beginning of his speech, when he said that the decree in question of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR also pointed out that "we are not controlling the activity of the republican publishers strictly enough." He censured the faults in general of the Georgian publishing firms and then went on to discuss a number of these faults in detail. In his opinion, the books which appear in Georgia are of a poor standard. In the historical sector, so he stated, books are published which glorify the past of the Georgian nation. The intended publication of a work in six volumes on the history of Georgia, according to his view, is a dangerous undertaking, since it might evoke undesirable memories. Elsewhere in his speech Dshibladse complained about the fact that Georgian scholars avoid contemporary themes and occupy themselves exclusively with the historical past.

The First Secretary Mshavanadse dealt with the problem of nationalist deviations in the publishing sector in somewhat more detail. One of the statements in his speech was: "The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR has very rightly pointed out that in our country a large number of books are published on the past of long ago and that in numerous works the past is glorified and obvious class differences are glossed over. The glorification of

past modes of living, which is found in some works, arises out of a false conception of patriotism. For all upholders of feudal rights are bad, but our Georgian ones are good since they are at least patriotic."

In Mshavanadse's opinion, this glorification of the remote past and of the feudal order must be exterminated by the Party in the immediate future. And, so he stressed in his speech, Georgian scholars must occupy themselves somewhat more with the "history of the brotherly friendship with other peoples, above all, however, with the Russian people."

As can be seen from other reports in the Soviet press, a similar campaign against nationalist trends in the cultural sector is also being carried out in other republics of the USSR. The leading article in the "Pravda" of June 10, 1960, not only repeats the reproaches against the Georgian publishing firms, but also affirms that "political control" of the publishing firms in Armenia. too, is weaker than it was, whilst in Kazakhstan publishers are paying far too much attention to "foreign authors." The reference in this case is probably to Turkish authors and to the revival of Pan-Turkism in the Central Asian republics of the USSR. The paper "Izvestija" recently published an article by the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Kirgizstan, Kasakbajev, in which he referred to the growing intensity of nationalist trends amongst the intellectuals in that country. On the pretext of defending the purity of the Kirgiz language and safeguarding the national atmosphere of culture and customs, so he affirmed, attempts are made to "smuggle in nationalist views and to stimulate reactionary works by bourgeois nationalists."

In an article entitled "The Affinity and Golden Age of the Soviet Peoples" and published in the journal "Questions of Philosophy," No. 6, 1960, the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, Rashidov, complains about "nationalist deviations" in Uzbekistan. He writes as follows: "As regards the training of the working classes, an objective assessment of the literary and cultural heritage of the peoples, as well as a correct elucidation of its history are of great importance. In this connection it is appropriate to refer to the errors made by some authorities on literature and music as regards their explanation of the cultural heritage of the Uzbek people . . . lust recently . . . a glorification of the works of individual writers of the past, which in no way reflect the progressive ideas of their day, has been noticeable. Naturally, such an attitude is . . erroneous."

True, Rashidov does not deny the necessity of rehabilitating some authors of the feudal era in Turkestan, but he nevertheless limits the number of those to be rehabilitated to certain authors chosen by the Party, whose works do not contain too obvious expressions of nationalism and patriotism. These trends, incidentally, are also in evidence in other republics. After the so-called "thaw" and the relaxation of Party control, a wave of rehabilitations of patriotic elements of the past, or of persons who were liquidated by Bolshevist terrorism, set in in these republics. The Party immediately started a grim fight against these rehabilitation campaigns. And this fight is, of course, now assuming even more drastic forms.

Like Mshavanadse, Rashidov also advises the Uzbek historians, economists and philosophers to occupy themselves more with the question "of a right solution of the national problems in our Soviet multi-peoples' state and, above all, with the problems of a friendly coexistence with the Russian people."

In this respect, the Party, so Rashidov affirms, has recently adopted many vigorous measures. The Party, to quote his words, "severely censured certain scientific authors who, in their works, allowed themselves to be carried away to such an extent that they wrongly assessed Dshadidism — a nationalist trend which furthered the interests of the growing local bourgeoisie." In addition, the Party "has introduced a number of important measures pertaining to the intensification and furtherance of the friendship of the Uzbek people with all the peoples of our country . . . At present, the Party organization of Uzbekistan is seeing to it that more attention is paid to questions regarding the Communist training of the masses and, by adhering to the directives contained in the important document of the programme of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR in the sector of ideological work, namely 'The Tasks of Party Propaganda under the Present Conditions,' is adopting important measures in this sector; it devotes its main attention to the furtherance of the international friendship of the working classes."

If one translates these words into terms that are understandable to everyone, one is bound to come to the conclusion that the decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR on the "tasks of Party propaganda under the present conditions" and the special directives issued to the Party leaders in the various republics have as their aim to intensify the fight against the national elements in these republics and to popularize the idea of the "affinity and friendship of peoples" in its Soviet Russian interpretation, that is to say, to accelerate the Russification process.

Dr. Ctibor Pokorny

THE VITAL TASK OF OUR DAY

The development of events in Africa during the past few years, months and weeks is a process which can be described as the death-struggle of colonialism. With the consent of the Western colonial powers and, in fact, systematically, with the protection of the UNO, economically and culturally backward colonial territories are being proclaimed independent states, are being admitted to the UNO as members with full rights and are being economically supported by the Western powers.

Whatever attitude one takes as regards this process, one cannot ignore it, for to do so, would be equal to shutting one's eyes to momentous facts of world-political significance. There can be no denying the reality that colonial rule — within the non-Communist world — is in the throes of a hopeless death-struggle. The age of colonialism — outside the Russian Communist sphere of influence — is rapidly coming to an end. And nothing can alter this fact, — neither criticism, which may to some extent be objective and well-founded, nor fears.

Many arguments could be put forward against this process, and, indeed, various circumstances are quoted and various fears are expressed. Apart from the economic and cultural backwardness of the peoples concerned, to which we have already referred, it is pointed out, for instance, that it is not a question of nations in the truest sense of the world, but, as a rule, of a number of ethnical groups, who differ in race and language, and of tribes and masses, who have no common national consciousness. The frontiers of the individual colonial territories were, incidentally, established without taking any existing ethnical, lingual or geographical units into account.

In view of all these unfortunate circumstances, doubts are frequently expressed as to whether the new states in Africa will be capable of fulfilling their tasks in the cause of civilization, culture and society, and, in fact, whether they will be able to exist as political and economic structures at all. And fears that the newly created African states may be unable to put up sufficient resistance against subversive Communist propaganda and against Moscow's intrigues, cannot easily be refuted. For precisely herein lies the danger that they may some day become colonies again, — namely colonies of the Russian Communist imperium!

All these circumstances and all the fears expressed with regard to political and economic difficulties and complications, however, cannot hold up the process of the attainment of independence on the part of the colonial territories. In the non-Communist world this process continues unabated, since the governments in question, leading political circles and public opinion are in favour of the right of self-determination of the peoples — outside the Russian Communist sphere of influence.

Unfortunately, however, this truly generous and liberal attitude on the part of the leading political circles and the public of the free world is not in evidence as regards the subjugated and enslaved peoples of the Soviet Union and its satellite countries. It is surely paradoxical that the free world should be prepared to recognize the unlimited right of self-determination of the peoples in its own sphere of influence and to bear the consequences in this respect, but at the same time, is willing to allow its biggest enemy, the Russian imperium, to rule and exploit all the non-Russian peoples and countries. It is indeed incomprehensible why the free world refuses to use the noble idea of national freedom and self-determination as a weapon in its own interests in the political struggle against the expansion of Russian imperialism. For this idea would be the very weapon to crush Russian Communist tyranny — without an atomic war!

Instead of which, however, the leading political circles of the free world rashly abandon the national idea and the right of self-determination of the peoples to Moscow's despots as something worthless, to be used or abused as the latter see fit. To cover up their own illogical behaviour, their incompetency and irresoluteness, these circles even try to make it appear questionable whether the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Slovaks and other peoples in the Soviet Russian sphere of influence really want their own sovereign states to be restored again. What is assumed as a matter of course in the cause of even the most primitive negro tribes in Africa, namely that they long for freedom and independence, is here made to appear questionable by the West, in spite of the fact that the peoples concerned in the Soviet Union and its satellite countries are ancient civilized peoples, many of whom

possess a national culture which existed long before the Russians had a state of their own. In any case, all these peoples possessed their own states prior to Russian Communist aggression and occupation. Thus, it is not a question of founding new artificial states, but of liberating states which exist according to international law and are at present occupied.

For this reason, the Major Powers of the free world should, not only in the interests of the peoples subjugated by Moscow, but also in their own interests, without reservation recognize the right of self-determination of all the subjugated peoples in the Soviet Russian sphere of influence and should actively support their national fight for freedom. The essential measures to be taken by the Major Powers of the free world in keeping with such an attitude would be the following: to declare that they do not regard the Moscow government as competent for the non-Russian peoples of the Russian imperium, to sever diplomatic relations with all the Red puppet governments by the grace of Moscow, and to support the fight for freedom of all the subjugated peoples of the Soviet Russian sphere of influence, at least to the same extent as Moscow supports the independence aims directed against the Western powers in various colonial territories.

In spite of the fact that the Moscow despots make no secret of their aim to destroy the existing social order in the free world and to set up their Communist system all over the world, the majority of the leading politicians of the free world have neither the courage nor the desire to declare that their aim is the destruction of the Communist system and the disintegration of the Russian imperium. Still less have they the courage to act accordingly. On the contrary, they seem to think that because their peoples have entrusted them with the task of playing the part of their authorized spokesmen, they must not admit their own incompetency and resign.

The vital task of our day is to win the cold war, to destroy the ruthless Communist system and to help the peoples subjugated by Moscow to attain their freedom and independence. But this aim cannot be achieved by a lack of principles, by ignoring facts, by illusions, compromises, concessions and cowardice!

If the public and the leading political circles of the free world refuse to recognize this fact in time and fail to draw the necessary logical conclusions, there will be grim times in store for us.

Captive Nations Committee writes:

Nikita Khrushchov's blast in July, 1959, in which he said that "the only enslaved peoples are in the capitalist countries" boomeranged to his most sensitive spot. These nations — a constant reminder to the Kremlin that it cannot always do as it pleases, lest another Budapest occurs — can have the most effective breaking-power on any major Soviet decisions. Khrushchov and his clique realize the basic drive for freedom and independence cannot be suppressed indefinitely by brute force. Brute force does achieve secret police control but it also strengthens the will and determination of the captive peoples. It also offers them the most-prized intangible possession — HOPE! — without which everything to them would be lost. It is this which Khrushchov fears most, because it greatly affects his plans for world subjugation. He is aware that the worst enemy is the one who knows Communism. This reality has been proven time and time again during the numerous purges and the merciless liquidations of the "enemies of the state" throughout the Soviet Empire. The captives know too well the "virtues" Communism offers.

It should be called to mind that when Mr. Khrushchov speaks of "peaceful coexistence", he means nothing less than American acquiescence to the permanent security of his empire. His purpose in obtaining this guarantee of the territorial integrity of his imperialistic master-plan is to gain time for its consolidation, which would come easy with the broken wills and hopes of the captive nations. It also affords him to secure more advance bases for cold war operations in the "open field" of the Free World.

Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League Holds Conference

Report by Mr. Ku. Cheng-Kang, President

The VIth Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League

The VIth Conference of the A.P.A.C.L. was held in Taipei, Republic of China, from June 15-22, 1960.

Attending the Conference were delegations of APACL member-units from eighteen countries or localities, namely, Republic of China, Korea, Vietnam, the Philippines, Thailand, Turkey, Australia, Iran, Japan, Jordan, Singapore, Malaya, Nepal, New Zealand, Pakistan, Hongkong, Macao and the Ryukyus. The Burmese delegation was prevented from participating in the Conference, because its Government refused to issue passports to the Burmese delegates.

Also present at the Conference were observers from: Ceylon, Laos and North Borneo, Saudi Arabia and Lebanon, Cameroon, Libya, Morocco, the United States of America, Federal Republic of Germany, and the A.B.N.

Altogether, there were more than eighty representatives from a total of thirty units throughout the free world, thus making the Conference a record one in size.

At the Conference, various important issues were discussed in detail, and 19 resolutions were subsequently adopted: including those calling upon all free peoples in Asia and other parts of the world to help the peoples imprisoned behind the Iron Curtain in their fight for freedom; urging the free world to renounce neutralism and the false idea of "peaceful co-existence"; urging the Government of Japan to outlaw the Communist Party in Japan; recommending Governments of free nations in the Afro-Asian area to maintain closer contacts with each other; and urging those Powers who exercise colonial administrations in countries where the people have expressed their desire for self-determination to recognize this desire. The Conference elected Mr. Ramon D. Bagatsing, Philippine Congressman and Chief of the Philippine Delegation to the APACL Sixth Conference, as Chairman of APACL Council for the next term of office, and decided to hold the next Conference of the League in Manila next year.

From the Adopted Declaration

Since the Fifth Conference held at Seoul, Korea, a year ago,... several factors have combined to deter the further expansion of the forces of aggression. First, the free world has a better knowledge of the developed Communist plans for world domination. Secondly, there is increased strength on the part of the collective security organizations with a diminution of differences among the Western Powers, and the internal crises of Communist countries. Thirdly, there is quite obviously no sincerity in Communist disarmament proposals. Such proposals, if accepted, would lead to further Communist aggression in smaller countries now dependent for their survival on military assistance from their powerful allies.

In order to carry out their plan for domination of the whole world, the international Communists are, under present circumstances, endeavouring to divide the free world. Their strategy calls for the intensification of the cold war in Europe and the formation of so-called "united fronts" in Asia, Africa and Latin America. We believe they will launch local wars of aggression at times and localities of their own choosing.

The Chinese Communists are inseparably aligned with the Russian Communists on world strategy, and though differences in tactics may arise, they are of minor consequence and will not lead to a serious rift between the two partners...

We call upon the countries of the free world: first, to seek ways and means of restoring national territorial unity and national independence that has been lost as a result of Communist aggression; secondly, to give all possible assistance to the peoples shut behind the Iron Curtain to set up anti-Communist and anti-tyranny organizational forces, and thirdly, to promote the unity of anti-Communist forces on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Imperialism in Red Camouflage

Speech by Mr. W. Kosyk, A.B.N. representative, at A.P.A.C.L. Conference

Mr. Chairman,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and of the national organizations of Eastern Europe who are members of it, I would first wish to convey to the Sixth Conference of the A.P.A.C.L. our firm hope that the work of this Conference will contribute to the strengthening everywhere of the struggle against Communism and Russian Imperialism. We also hope the A.P.A.C.L. will continue to promote a whole-hearted policy of friendship and support to all the oppressed peoples, including those subjugated by Communist Russia within the Soviet Union, and we cordially express our thanks to the member organizations of the A.P.A.C.L., for all the understanding they have shown towards our organization as well as towards the oppressed peoples of Eastern Europe and Soviet Asia.

In fact, one can say the situation of our peoples needs perhaps more understanding than sympathy. Sympathy without understanding is a sterile thing, which could easily generate a policy full of irremediable errors.

What value is there in the sympathy of people who, while sympathizing with the oppressed peoples, believe in the so-called peaceful coexistence between the two opposite camps, a coexistence which means only a prolongation of tyrannical oppression? Not only is their sympathy false, so are their beliefs and convictions. Since, in spite of everything, it is unthinkable that the two opposite camps could coexist indefinitely; their differences of ideologies, of political, economic and social aims, as well as various political factors, such as the irresistible aspiration of peoples all over the world, including the Soviet Union, for freedom and independence will precipitate, sooner or later, the inevitable changes or else a conflagration.

Our greatest task consists in working to ensure that the results of the changes or the conflagration be not those wished by the opposite camp, namely results in favour of tyranny and oppression. It is a difficult task, if one does not know the enemy, if one does not know who he is and where his weak points are to be found.

The enemy is not only Communism. Communism is but an instrument, a very powerful means of action, a criminal hand, but not the root of the tree which poisons the life of men and of nations. To struggle against Communism without fighting against Russian Imperialism, is to struggle against the hand while letting the brain act just as it likes, it is tantamount to wishing to cut the branch without touching the infected tree.

The real enemy of liberty and peace is Russian Imperialism which, by adopting a Communist ideology and by setting up Communist regimes, has thus obtained unbelievable facilities for expansion and action. It is true that Communism is a terrible social calamity and a danger to the free world. But it merely represents an ideological danger and not a political and military one. On the other hand, Communism exists as an ideological factor only because the political and military might of Russia exists. The Communist danger on the social and ideological plane will cease to exist from the day Russian Imperialism collapses.

All imperialists nowadays need a cover to conceal their imperialism, because since the birth of nationalism or rather of the national conscience of nations, imperialism has become extremely unpopular. Hitler resorted to the slogans of a "new order," of the "great family of European nations," of a "new Europe," and so forth; — Russia, on the other hand, resorts to Communism which, far more than Fascism, enables her to expand

under the cover of universal values such as the liberation of the proletariat, the world revolution, the defence of the oppressed, liberty to colonial peoples, etc. It is Communism too which brings her so often fanatical support of people, outside the Russian Empire, who have let themselves be led into error.

On the military plane, Poland, Hungary, Communist China and the other occupied countries, including Ukraine, the Baltic countries and Turkestan, would be no danger to the world — were it not for the fact that they are under Russian control and domination. Without the domination and control of the Russians, these countries would cease to be Communist. The re-establishment of a Communist regime in Hungary after the 1956 Revolution came, not as a result of a desire of the Hungarian people or even of the Hungarian Communists, but as a result of a direct and brutal intervention by Russia.

Let us add in conclusion that Communism as a regime was born in Russia at the very moment when the territories she formerly occupied, i.e. Ukraine, Poland, Finland, Byelorussia, the Baltic countries, Armenia, Georgia, Cossackia and others, freed themselves from the Russian yoke and proclaimed their independence. It is only in Russia that Communism gained a foot-hold without foreign intervention, whereas in other countries, be it Ukraine or the Baltic states, Georgia, Turkestan, Bulgaria, Poland or other satellite countries, Communism came either in the wake of the Russian bayonets, or it was imposed in a more or less subtle manner by Russian imperialists.

The progress of Communism is due to ignorance of the real enemy who lies concealed behind it. When the victim begins to awaken to realities and is conscious of the fact that he has been duped by the Communist phraseology of the Russian ruling class, it is usually too late for him to be saved.

The problem of "how to strengthen the anti-Communist movement in order to avert the spiritual crisis of the free world" is, according to our opinion, a problem which cannot be solved without taking into consideration the above-mentioned facts. We all have to make a choice: to struggle against Communism while being blind to what is concealed behind it, or to unmask the real enemy, who is solely responsible for international tension and who is moved by a ferocious desire to bring about the Russian domination of the entire world. All of us are free to choose whichever alternative we want and it is upon the outcome of this choice that the resolution of the spiritual crisis of the free world hangs.

What we ask everyone to consider and to understand is that the struggle of our oppressed peoples against Communism must not be falsely interpreted. The fact that Sovietization and Communization of countries behind the Iron Curtain necessarily go hand in hand with forcible Russification and that the overwhelming power rests in the hands of the Russian ruling class, impels the anti-Communist sentiments of the occupied peoples, especially inside the Soviet Union, to be inextricably intermixed with anti-Russian sentiments. In reality they form but one indivisible sentiment. Demonstrators in Poland, in Hungary, in Eastern Germany, in Ukraine or in Communist China generally have but one slogan: "Down with Communism, Russians go home!"

This common characteristic of the struggle of our captive nations may be ignored or misinterpreted in the free world, but this will not change realities as they are: realities of which Russia, for one, is conscious. Lately she has started a new phase in her struggle against what she often calls "manifestations of bourgeois nationalism," or at times "particularism," "deviationism," or "revisionism." Actually the current of nationalism affects all non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union, and particularly in Ukraine, where many legal prosecutions have recently taken place against members of the Ukrainian revolutionary movement and of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. A few months ago, a serious revolt took place in Temir Tau, Kazakhstan, by young people who had either been deported or else forcibly settled in this Asian country; the majority of the young people being Ukrainians, Byelorussians or Balts. This alone is sufficient proof that the fight for freedom and liberation goes on right in the heart of the Russian Communist Empire.

In conclusion, we appeal to the VIth Conference, in order to emphasize its solidarity with the peoples under the direct and indirect oppression of Russia and to respond to the "Captive Nations Week" Movement promoted by the President Eisenhower of the United States, openly to condemn Russian colonialism and imperialism in the final Declaration. The importance of such a condemnation follows from the fact that Communist Russia makes a great deal of propaganda in favour of the independence of the subject and semi-subject peoples of Asia and Africa, while at the same time depriving of their independence many nations both within and without the Soviet Union. While carrying out such strenuous propaganda against Western colonialism, Russia, at the same time does all in her power to safeguard and expand her own colonial empire.

News and Views

KING SIMEON II OF BULGARIA IN MUNICH

During the last week of July, King Simeon II of Bulgaria paid a visit to Munich. In a private audience His Majesty received the Secretary-General of the A.B.N., Prince Niko Nakashidze, who conveyed the respectful greetings of the Central Committee of the A.B.N. to the King.

In the course of the conversation, His Majesty discussed the international situation in connection with recent political events. The King sent his greetings to the national delegations of the A.B.N. and thanked them for the friendly sympathy which they have always shown him.

The young King, whom fate has forced to live in exile, is full of courage and optimism as regards the future. Candid and friendly, the King has a very winning manner and people are readily attracted to him and deeply impressed by his intelligence and his knowledge.

As a child he was obliged to leave his country and grew up in exile without any of the pomp of court life. It was a life, however, which matured him and has fitted him to one day rule his people and lead them to prosperity.

During his stay in Munich, King Simeon II received a number of press representatives, including those of the German Press Agency (DPA) and United Press International (UPI), etc., and stated on this occasion: "I am still very young and can therefore wait patiently for the development of events."

There can be no denying the fact that though the King is in exile, he enjoys the greatest affection on the part of the Bulgarian people at home, and his people will some day restore him to the throne again.

King Simeon II is not an ex-King, as he is erroneously described by the Western press, but the constitutional and rightful sovereign of Bulgaria, for he was not dethroned and exiled from the country by the Bulgarian people, but was forced to leave as a result of the occupation of Bulgaria by Russian troops and the Communist state power which was forcibly set up there by the Russians. Like the King of Norway, the King of Serbia and the Queen of the Netherlands, who during the German occupation of their countries continued to be rightful rulers in exile, so, too, King Simeon II is the rightful ruler of Bulgaria.

The A.B.N. is happy and proud to enjoy the favour and sympathy of the young monarch.

It is our sincerest wish that His Majesty may soon be able to return to his country and lead his beloved people back to the position which is their due in the civilized Christian world.

SLOVAK POLITICAL REFUGEES UNITED IN THEIR STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

On May 28th and 29th, representatives of the main Slovak emigrant organizations assembled in New York and held the the first meetings of the Assembly and Executive Committee of the Slovak Liberation Council, which from now onwards is to represent the united effort of the Slovak political refugees for the freedom and independence of Slovakia and their fight against Communist Czech rule in their country.

The President of the Executive Committee of the Slovak Liberation Council is the former Foreign Minister of the Slovak Republic, Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky, now President of the Peoples' Council of the A.B.N. The Vice-President of the Executive Committee are: Dr. Josef Pauco, Prof. Stanislav Meciar and Dr. Karol Murin.

The Assembly of the Slovak Liberation Council is composed of 90 members, who live in some 15 countries of the free world. It is headed by a Praesidium, which consists of the following members: the President — Dr. Josef Kirschbaum, the Vice-Presidents — Eugen Urban, the Rev. Ferdinand Mondok and Dr. Ctibor Pokorny, who is the chairman of the Organizing Commission of the A.B.N., as well as the Secretary — Alois Macek, and the Vice-Secretary — Imrich Kralik.

The first session of the Assembly of the Slovak Liberation Council was also attended by the President of the Slovak League in America, Filip Hrobak. In his address he welcomed the formation of the Slovak Liberation Council as the authorized representation of the liberation aims of Slovakia and assured the Slovak Liberation Council that it could count on the wholehearted support of the Slovak League.

On the evening of May 28th, a protest rally against the enslavement of Slovakia was held in New York by the Slovak Liberation Council. The speakers on this occasion were leading members of the Slovak Liberation Council and of the other Slovak organizations in the USA, as well as representatives of Ukrainian, Cossack, Bulgarian and Croatian anti-Communist national organizations.

The creation of the Slovak Liberation Council is the result of long efforts to unite the Slovak political refugees in their struggle for the national freedom and independence of their country.

OSKAR LOORITS

In November this year Dr. Oskar Loorits, Esthonian freedom-fighter, scholar and writer, and Vice-President of the Peoples' Council of A.B.N., celebrates his 60th birthday.

Born in Esthonia in November, 1900, his life was from the start dedicated to his people. His public political activity began when Esthonia was an independent state. In his professional life he devoted himself to scientific research and from 1927 to 1940 held a lectureship at the University of Dorpat (Tartu). After the Soviets occupied Esthonia in 1940 he was dismissed from the University, and from then onwards he began to fight for the freedom of his people.

From 1942 until 1944 he was interned in a concentration camp by the Nazis. He subsequently took up residence in Sweden as a political refugee and today holds a post in the Dialect and Folklore Institute in Uppsala.

Dr. Loorits has written a large number of scientific articles and 40 books, which have been published in 16 different languages. As a cultural philosopher, he has developed the national ideology of the Esthonian people. From the outset, he has always played an active part in the cultural and political opposition to intellectual and party dictatorship and standardization and has fearlessly championed the cause of personal freedom and tolerance, social justice and ethical renascence.

Dr. Loorits has collected extensive records on the folklore of the Esthonians in many different languages. He has also helped to compile and edit the Esthonian Encyclopedia, as well as the Esthonian section of Herder's Lexicon of World Literature in the 20th Century. He has been a member of the Esthonian Academy of Sciences and of various foreign scientific institutions. He has been a foreign member of the Swedish Gustavus Adolphus Academy since 1955.

But his main energy has been devoted to the fight for freedom of his fellow-countrymen and he plays a very active part in this field in exile.

After World War II his political organization joined the A.BN. and since then he has been one of our most prominent fellow-fighters. He is a true representative of all the national qualities of his people, — a pious Christian, a man of indomitable spirit and courage, loyal and modest.

Some time ago, he had the misfortune to fall seriously ill. But thanks to his amazing spiritual tenacity and energy, he succeeded in overcoming his serious illness and is now well on the way to recovery.

Dr. Loorits enjoys our highest esteem and affection as a personality, a friend and fellow-fighter in our ranks, and we join him in the sincere wish that his people, like our peoples, too, will soon be liberated from brutal Russian subjugation and Communist oppression. We know only too well how much the Esthonian nation is forced to suffer in this respect and how much it has already suffered.

We wish this noble son of the Esthonian nation many more years of activity for the welfare of his people. May God grant that he will soon see his beloved country attain its freedom and independence again.

MUNICH RALLY FOR THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF PEOPLES

In connection with the International Week of Subjugated Peoples, German anti-Communist organizations, together with various exile representations of the peoples subjugated by Moscow, held a joint rally for the right of self-determination of the peoples in Munich, on the evening of July 14th. The rally was opened and presided over by the President of the Freedom League in Munich, Dr. Friedrich Röder.

The former German Federal Minister Waldemar Kraft, MdB, in his speech stressed the affinity of the German people with the tragic fate of the peoples subjugated by Moscow. He pointed out that the reunification of Germany could not be effected unless the peoples behind the Iron Curtain were liberated, and he demanded the realization of the right of self-determination for all peoples. Further speeches were then made by prominent

spokesmen of the subjugated peoples of Central and East Europe.

The former Foreign Minister of the Slovak Republic, Prof. Ferdinand Durcansky, President of the Peoples' Council of A.B.N., described Communism as the most reactionary ideology of our day and said that it was merely a tool of Russian imperialism. He pointed out that in the conflict between the free world and Russian Communist tyranny it was a question not of a struggle between two ideologies or two economic and social systems, but of a constant aggression on the part of Russian imperialism, which threatened the freedom of all the peoples of the world. He went on to say that the leading statesmen of the free world up to a short time ago had been prepared to buy a peaceful coexistence with Russian Communist tyranny by making further concessions, and emphasized that the free world, both in its own interests and in the interests of Western culture, should actively support the national fight for freedom of the peoples subjugated by Moscow. In this connection he affirmed that the free world should not make any distinctions as regards the realization of the right of self-determination, for if, as he stressed, one was prepared to recognize the right of the Russians, the Serbs or Czechs to independent states of their own and even went so far as to let them rule other peoples, then one should also recognize and respect the right of the Slovaks, Croats, Ukrainians, Georgians, Turkestanians and other peoples to their own independent states.

The Azerbaijanian exile politician Tenkiner pointed out in his speech that the non-Russian peoples of the former tsarist empire had asserted their right of self-determination immediately after the Russian revolution and had founded or restored their independent states. At first, Moscow had been obliged to recognize the secession of these peoples from Russia and their right of self-determination, but later it had occupied these countries again by degrees, and, in the course of time, had also enforced its rule on other states and peoples. The speaker stressed that the peoples subjugated by Moscow had constantly and still continued to put up a resistance against this tyranny.

The President of the Central Representation of the Ukrainian Emigrants in Germany, Prof. Georg von Studynskij, in his speech referred to the fact that at the end of the first world war the Russian tsarist empire and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy collapsed and that, on the strength of the right of self-determination, the peoples of these two empires proclaimed their national freedom and independence. Unfortunately, so he added, freedom in this part of Europe had not lasted long, but had been followed by a period of enslavement, which still continued even today. But the peoples who had been deprived of their freedom, so the speaker stressed, were not prepared to resign themselves to slavery, a fact which had been clearly proved by the fight carried out by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, and by the revolts in Berlin in 1953 and in Poznan, Warsaw and Hungary in 1956.

The Roumanian exile politician Dr. Ion Emilian demanded that the Western powers, if they were prepared to concede independence and sovereign rights to primitive and backward peoples in Africa, should in the first place support the freedom and independence of European Christian peoples with an ancient culture and civilization and should actively assist their fight for fredom.

A resolution was passed at the rally, appealing to the statesmen and the public of the free world to respect the right of self-determination of the peoples languishing behind the Iron Curtain and to support their fight for freedom.

"KEEP THE TORCH OF LIBERTY BURNING"

Extract from the speech of General Bethouart
(Ukrainian Mass Rally in Toronto, June 26th, 1960.)

You are commemorating today the tenth anniversary of the tragic death of one of your great contemporary leaders, General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka, who died in battle against the Communists on March 5th, 1950, in his native Ukraine.

For seven years from 1943-1950 he occupied the supreme political and military posts within the Ukrainian underground movement which fought against both Nazis and Bolsheviks.

The struggle for independence and liberty of the Ukrainian people has been one of great difficulty; nevertheless, you have continually given forth leaders worthy of your race, and their dedication and your sacrifice for the cause of freedom cannot go unnoticed.

Today as the Free World faces the threats of Communism I am able to say that amongst those nations who comprise the NATO Alliance there is a realization of purpose and a dedication, the result of which has stemmed the expansion of Communism.

I have seen a development of cooperation and understanding between the free nations of the West which makes one feel the resurging will of men to maintain their freedom and to extend it to others.

In our Parliamentarians' Conference which is composed of representatives of all the political parties of the fifteen NATO countries, I have found a sense of unity of purpose which is remarkable when one considers the geographical divisions and the vastness of distances between some of the countries.

Your representative from Canada, Dr. John Kucherepa, has the same kind of appreciation of our common problems in NATO as I have or any of the other gentlemen who represent the member nations of NATO on the Standing Committee, whether they come from Europe or from America. This is what gives to us in NATO that strength of purpose which means so much to those who desire freedom and which is disconcerting to the leaders of the Kremlin.

May I say in conclusion how much I have appreciated being with you in Toronto today and of having this opportunity of meeting this large assembly amongst whom are those with whom I have personally met in years gone by.

I trust that you will continue to keep the torch of liberty burning in your hearts and the hope that one day freedom will be the heritage of all men of good will.

REFUTATION OF A FALSIFICATION OF HISTORY

In 1958 the Latvian Legation in Washington published a brochure, entitlet "Latvia 1918—1958," in commemoration of the proclamation of Latvia's independence. Without wishing to criticize the remaining contents of this brochure, I should like to draw attention to a falsification of history as regards Slovakia which it contains.

On page 31 of the brochure there is the following false statement: "Emboldened, in March 1939, Hitler annexed all of Czechoslovakia and the Klaipeda district of Lithuania." Actually, Czecho-Slovakia ceased to exist on March 14, 1939, as a result of the proclamation of the independence of Slovakia. It was not until a day later that Hitler annexed the Czech territory of the no longer existent Czecho-Slovakian state and incorporated it in the German Reich as the "Reichs Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia." Slovakia, however, was recognized as an independent state de jure not only by Germany but also by 26 other states (including Latvia), and de facto by 3 further states. Latvia recognized the Slovak Republic de jure on April 13, 1940. This fact, moreover, should be known to the Latvian Legation in Washington. And it should therefore refrain from such mistakes in history in its semi-official publications, since in this way it depreciates its own propaganda for the liberation of Latvia.

Dr. Ctibor Pokorny,
Vice-President of the Executive Committee of the Slovak Liberation Council.

"GAUDEAMUS" AND IRON CURTAIN

From the early Middle Ages, there has always existed in Europe a spirit of friendship and community among students that transcended all national boundaries. There were exceptions, of course; the students of the Russian Empire, whether White or Red, owing to the regimes under which they lived had little contact with the rest of the student world — but, in general there was one international student body. In 1950, however, for the first time in history, the unity was broken.

At the end of the Second World War, with the founding of the International Union of Students (IUS), a firm attempt was made to put this spirit of unity on an organizational footing. In 1946, IUS was founded as a non-political body in which any country could be represented through its own National Union of Students. But the Headquarters of IUS were in Praha, and after the Communist take-over of Czechoslovakia, IUS became more and more Communist dominated, until, in 1950, many founder-members of IUS formally seceded, and together with several NUSes who had refused to join IUS when they realized the growing Communist trend, formed the International Student Conference, which was to organize co-operation between member bodies excluding "all forms of discrimination and . . . devoid of any kind of partisan policy." Attempts to re-unite IUS failed. NUSEWNI (England, Wales and Northern Ireland) tried a trial period of Associate Membership in which they were formally dissociated from the political work of the IUS, but this failed, and in 1955, NUSEWNI declared that IUS "must be regarded as the student arm of the International Communist movement," and since then has semi-openly maintained an anti-Communist policy (for example refusing to be officially represented at Communist-run Youth Festivals).

Nevertheless, many students felt the lack of unity should be remedied. IUS of course accused the members of the ISC as having caused the split by their secession. So, when the 8th ISC called for a Student Round Table Conference, an impartial observer might have expected that IUS would take up the offer eagerly.

But when the VSS (NUS Switzerland) offered to act as host country to the Round Table, the President of IUS

announced that none of his members would be attending. One does not quite see how the said President, Jiri Pelikan, can speak for the members of IUS, since there has been no IUS Congress since the 8th ISC, but the refusal was made. It is difficult to understand, from the official literature, what Mr. Pelikan's motives were. The usual accusations about its not being a truly independent gathering were brought forward, but the more significant reason was the list of NUSes to be invited. The Swiss Students had invited all known student organizations and had even specified that uninvited organizations had only been omitted by a Swiss oversight, and could consider themselves as invited but this did not suit Mr. Pelikan. His plans were for a kind of student Summit, from which would be excluded not only newly-formed student bodies not yet affiliated to either IUS or ISC, but also the very people who would be the most active opponents of IUS policy. "What," writes Mariken Vaa, International Vice-President of NSS (Norway), "about the important refugee student organizations, formed **because of the impossibility of establishing truly democratic organizations in their own countries** . . . One is led to wonder whether the IUS would, in fact, prefer that some organizations were not in attendance."[1])

Thus, as usual, Communist bleatings about "co-operation," break down when it comes to the point. But is the IUS united on this front? Recently, a determined attempt has been made by Poland to capture the friendship of Western students. Almost every educational institute in Great Britain, for example, received copious gifts of glossy cultural, artistic journals, that have no apparent political implications. ZSP (Poland) and UNEF (France) have already organized two European meetings of students, one in Paris and the second in Warsaw. Whether such meetings can really achieve anything, in view of the fact that the students from the Communist bloc are primed with fantastic information ("We were amazed to learn from the Bulgarian representative . . . that it was well-nigh impossible for the son or daughter of a worker to enter a university in Great Britain")[2]) and try to turn the discussions into a platform for propaganda, or whether even the go-slow policy of NUSEWNI, aiming at a "gradual overcoming of the barriers," is too much to hope, is not the primary issue at stake. What is of vital interest to all those interested in the problems of the Communist bloc is this: While Pelikan, in the name of IUS, follows Khrushchov's example of agitating for a conference, and then deliberately sabotaging it, the Polish students continue to press for unity. Is this a genuine desire on the part of Poland to return to the students' unity of the free world, and shall we see ZSP secede or attempt to secede from IUS? Or is this but a two-pronged weapon of the Kremlin, designed to confuse the members of ISC by proposing unity with one hand, and rejecting it with the other?

Whatever the truth of the issue, there is no doubt that it will be followed with the greatest concern by all those who uphold the right of a student to a free and democratic education.

Vera Rich

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1) "The round table on world student unity." Mariken Vaa. **The Student.** June, 1960.

2) "European Meeting in Warsaw." Robert Watson (International Vice-President NUSEWNI). **The Student.** June, 1960.

COAT-OF-ARMS OF SLOVAKIA TO BE ABOLISHED

With the setting up in June this year of a new centralist constitution for the countries of Czecho-Slovakia, it is very probable that the coat-of-arms of this artificial state structure will be replaced by one of Soviet Russian design. This can also be assumed from a letter published in the "Pravda," the central press organ of the Communist Party in Slovakia which appears in Bratislava, on May 28th. The writer of this letter affirmed:

"I am of the opinion that if we now adopt a new constitution, we should also think about the territorial coat-of-arms of our Republic. I am expressing my personal feelings when I say that the coat-of-arms used so far reminds many of our people of the days when the working classes suffered under the supremacy of the bourgeoisie and our noblest patriots were persecuted. I am referring to the Slovakian coat-of-arms in particular, the double cross worn by the Hlinka Guards on their sleeve, — a cross standing on three mountains, Tatra, Fatra, Matra, which is historically a thing of the past (the Matra Mountains are in the territory of the Hungarian People's Republic). It would, therefore, be advisable to consider the idea of introducing a new coat-of-arms for our Socialist Republic, with symbols which would express the social changes which we have experienced."

To this one can but comment as follows: the three mountains in the Slovakian coat-of-arms are not actual mountains but symbolize Slovakia as a mountainous country. The Communist intention to remove the Slovakian coat-

of-arms from the coat-of-arms of the Czecho-Slovakia state structure can only be described as an endeavour to obliterate all memory of the independent statehood of Slovakia and of the Christian traditions of the Slovak people. After the forcible restoration of the Czecho-Slovakian state structure by the Red Army, in 1945, the Prague Government only tolerated the coat-of-arms of Slovakia as part of the Czecho-Slovakian coat-of-arms, in order to illustrate the union of Slovakia with the Bohemian territories. But since the Slovakian coat-of-arms recalls the national character and state independence of Slovakia, a new coat-of-arms of Soviet Russian design is now to be introduced for so-called Czecho-Slovakia.

YOUNG INDIAN FREEDOM-FIGHTER ARRESTED IN EAST BERLIN

T. N. Zutshi, the Indian student who in October 1959 undertook a three weeks' fast in front of the Brandenburger Tor, Berlin, for the cause of freedom and the reunification of Germany, recently gave further proof of his undauntedness. He held a one-man demonstration in East Berlin, where he was, however, immediately arrested.

Zutshi had announced his intention of demonstrating in East Berlin in a letter to SED Secretary Ulbricht. In this letter he described Ulbricht as the "representative of Russian Communist imperialism in East Europe" and affirmed that, without the support of the Russian Army, "Ulbricht's puppet regime would not last much longer."

This young Indian has realized that the Russian colonial imperium rules the peoples and that Russian imperialism threatens the world, but, sad though it may seem, few people in the West are willing to admit this fact!

OBITUARY

GENERAL T. DAUKANTAS

The Lithuanian General Teodoras Daukantas died of heart-failure recently in Buenos Aires, at the age of 75, shortly after delivering a political speech. He was the chairman of the Society for the Liberation of the Subjugated Peoples of Europe, which has its headquarters in Argentina, and an active member of various other organizations. Right up to the time of his death, he held lectures and wrote articles in defence of the rights of the enslaved nations.

In his youth, General Daukantas, at that time a naval captain, led a seafaring life and visited many foreign countries, returning to Lithuania in 1922. Here, for many years, he held training courses for officers, and from 1924 to 1925 and likewise from 1927 to 1928, after having been Chief of the General Staff in the meantime, he held the office of Minister of Defence. For a number of years he was a member of the Council of State, and from 1930 to 1934, diplomatic representative of Lithuania in South America. From 1936 to 1938 he was Inspector of Navigation in Klaipėda (Memel). In 1941 he was arrested by the Bolsheviks, but subsequently, from 1941 to 1944, he held a lectureship at the University of Vilnius. He then fled to Germany, and, in 1949, emigrated to South America.

White or Red — They Speak the Same Language

In view of the fact that the Russian emigre observer at the VIth Conference of the A.P.A.C.L. in his address to the Second Plenary Meeting of the Conference both defended and denied the existence of Russian Communist Imperialism in such misleading statements as "if one speaks of Russian Imperialism, one may as well speak... of American Imperialism towards Mexico," "actually there is no such thing as Russian Imperialism, but there is an International Communism which is the sole oppressor of the nations," and "There cannot be Russian Imperialism since there is no country bearing the name of Russia," the A.B.N. Delegation considered it advisable to prepare and to issue to all Delegates the following statement:

1. The idea of the comparison of the dangerous Russian Imperialism with the so-called "American Imperialism towards Mexico," which refers to a special situation, is not new. This idea was expounded in "Foreign Affairs" by the Supreme Chief of the Russian Communist Imperialists Nikita S. Khrushchov who compared the problem of the liberation of Ukraine, Byelorussia (White Ruthenia), the Baltic states and other countries occupied by the Russian Imperialists in the Soviet Union to a so-called "liberation" of Texas, Arizona, and California "from American slavery" (See note 1).

2. The Russian Imperialism does exist and to deny it would be to take us all

for fools and complete ignoramuses. The existence of Russian Imperialism concealed behind the shield of International Communism is established beyond doubt by many different statesmen, politicians, scholars and writers. (See note 2.)

3. The Russian observer asks us to accept an obvious untruth by saying that there is no such country bearing the name of Russia. This country does exist and bears the name of Russia or more officially the name of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR), and it is one of the republics of the Soviet Union. None of us must forget however that this Russian Federative Republic is composed not only of Russia proper but also includes the subjugated non-Russian territories of Karelia, Idel-Ural, Siberia, Cossackia and North Caucasus.

4. The threatening words of the Russian observer against the supporters of the policy of independence for all nations, including those subjugated by Russian colonialists and imperialists within the Soviet Union, are not new.

It is an obvious fact and a historical truth that Hitler never promoted a policy of the "disintegration" of the Russian empire, but instead tried to realize German imperialist designs in order to occupy and oppress all the peoples of Eastern Europe. This was the reason why different nations formerly under Red Russian rule rose against Hitler. The Ukrainians, for instance, have had about 200,000 men under arms who fought many years against Nazism and afterwards, being staunch anti-Communists, against Russian Communism and Imperialism.

There have never been Russian anti-Communist partisans and the Russian anti-German partisans, (who were far less numerous than the Ukrainian partisans), were Communist and received all kinds of aid from Moscow. During the advance of the Soviet Russian armed forces they joined the Red Army.

The defeat of Hitler was due to his own political errors, to his policy of oppression of all nations, to the direct and indirect intervention of the Allies, principally the U.S.A., on all fronts including the Eastern front, and to the underground and partisan activities in Ukraine, Poland, France, Serbia and other countries.

5. The Russian observer also wanted to confuse the Honorable Delegates as to the nature of the problem. For the problem of the oppressed nations of the Soviet Union is not a problem of disintegration of one national entity, but a problem of restoring the national independence of several non-Russian nations which have lost their independence as a result of Russian Communist aggression.

Therefore it seems quite unreasonable to attempt to defend Russian Imperialism and the terrible domination of many nations by Russia with the aid of such absurd comparisons.

The ABN Delegation

Taipei, June 20, 1960.

Note 1.

Khrushchov's view on the problem of liberation of the captive nations within the Soviet Union:

"Not long ago the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives deemed it proper to pass a resolution calling for the "liberation" of the socialist countries allegedly enslaved by Communism and, moreover, of a number of Union Republics constituting part of the Soviet Union. The authors of the resolution call for the "liberation" of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and even a certain "Ural Area".

"It would be interesting to see, incidentally, how the authors of this resolution would have reacted if the parliament of Mexico, for instance, had passed a resolution demanding that Texas, Arizona, and California be "liberated from American slavery".

Nikita S. Khrushchov, "On Peaceful Coexistence," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 38, No. 1, October 1959, pp. 6-7.

Some commentaries:

"...what is most significant in these passages is Khrushchov's use of a spurious argument that is characteristically exploited by anti-Communist Russian emigres... in the hope of maintaining the territorial integrity of the basic Russian empire."

Prof. Lev E. Dobriansky (Georgetown University), "Khrushchov and his Captives," The Ukrainian Quarterly, Vol. XV, No. 4, December 1959, p. 306.

During Khrushchov's visit in U.S.A. an attempt was made to challenge him on this problem. In fact, at the tea arranged by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the following question was posed by Senator Dirksen of Illinois:

"In your article in "Foreign Affairs", you mistakenly compare Texas, Arizona, and California with certain non-Russian nations in the USSR. Would you be willing to stage, under U.N. auspices and control, free voting conditions to de-

termine whether the natives of Lithuania, Ukraine, and the Caucasian states want to remain in the USSR or be independent states and whether the residents of Arizona, Texas, and California want to remain in the USA or be completely independent states? Let's compete in ideas and action".

("Ukrainian Quarterly," ibid., p. 307) Following the tea Senator Dirksen told the press that on this and numerous other quesions "Khrushchov took a Fifth Amendment stand" (refused to answer). Note 2.

Russian Imperialism

"We know that our fight against Communism and Russian Imperialism is an all-out struggle that covers numerous fields, from ideology to way of life, from politics to economy, and from culture to force.

"We realize, of course, that the responsibility to fight Communism and Russian Imperialism is not ours alone, but the common duty of the free world".

From the Inaugural Address of **President Chiang Kai-shek,** May 20, 1960.

"During the first five years, the Government's policy was to consolidate Taiwan as a base in our struggle against Communism and Russian Imperialism...

"The revolutionary spirit against Communism and Russian Imperialism is the best assurance of victory in our war of national recovery through a counter-offensive".

President Chiang Kai-shek, Report to the National Assembly, February 20, 1960.

"What are Khrushchov's terms for "peaceful coexistence"? First of all, he wants recognition of the Soviet rule over the Baltic states and Ukraine, of Soviet domination of East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania. In Asia, this means the recognition of the Soviet Union's conquest by proxy on the Chinese mainland, in northern Korea, in northern Vietnam and in northern Laos".

Huang Shao-ku, Foreign Minister of the Republic of China, Speech before the Lions International Third Asian Convention, Taipei, October 3, 1959.

"Congressional experts said today that the Soviet regime has used 'genocide, massive discrimination and abuse of power' to suppress non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union".

UPI dispatch from Washington, July 8, 1958.

"Here I would like to quote the BBC's diplomatic correspondent in "The Listener": 'The foreign policy of the Soviet leaders conforms to a pattern that has remained unchanged since the time of Peter I and the definition of it, that Lord Palmerston supplied about one hundred years ago, remains perfectly valid: "The Russian government, he said, while perpetually declaring that they want no increase in territory, added large areas to the empire of the Tsars every year". The foreign policy of the Soviet government has much more in common with the old Russian Imperialism than with the revolutionary precepts of Karl Marx'".

Mme Chiang Kai-shek, Speech before the National Press Club, Washington, July 17, 1958.

"It thus appeared that the Allied victory over the Axis would usher in the millennium of Chinese independence and unity. But these optimistic forecasts failed to take into account the perfidy of Soviet Russia which maneuvered to join the Asian conflict at the last moment and reinstitute Russian Imperialism in the Far East on a larger scale than ever dreamed of by the Russian Tsars".

Everett F. Drumright, U.S. Ambassador to China, Speech before the Chinese Association For United Nations, January 20, 1959.

"There is first, of course, the fact that the only remaining white, Western colonial power in Asia is Russia. From the Urals to the Pacific the Muscovite Russians rule territory stolen from Asian peoples and oppress Asian peoples.

"Have Russians any more right in Siberia than Englishmen have in Kenya?

"If Moscow is really such an enemy of imperialism, why does it not give up all the territory the Russian Tsars and their successor, Stalin, conquered

these past several centuries and really free a great many people?

"Is freedom any less the right of Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Moldavians, Armenians, Georgians, and the like than it is of those about whom the Cairo meeting pretends to be so solicitous?"

"Moscow's Glass House," leading Article in **New York Times,** December 30, 1957.

"To give hope to those people behind the Iron Curtain who have kept glowing 'the flickering flame of freedom' in Ukraine, in Hungary, in Poland and in East Germany and the Balkan states... a paragraph was included in the communique assuring them that the light had been seen by the free world".

The New York Times, December 22, 1957. Report of a statement on NATO attributed to **Prime Minister John Diefenbaker of Canada.**

From Moscow's point of view, a Russian withdrawal from Central Europe "would lead to the immediate overthrow of the Russian-controlled regimes in Eastern Europe and to social changes whose repercussions within the Soviet Union would imperil the regime itself..."

Dean Acheson, "Power and Diplomacy," Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1958, p. 93.

"Since international Communism is an instrument of Russian Imperialism, the struggle against international Communism includes the struggle against Russian Imperialism with the clear understanding that the ultimate goal of the struggle for freedom and justice throughout the world is the destruction of international Communism and Russian Imperialism, the disintegration of the Russian empire, now existing under the form of the so-called USSR and satellites, and the re-establishing of national independent states in the ethnographic territories of the peoples enslaved by Russia at any period in the past in Eastern and/or Central Europe and Asia".

Convocation for the First World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation, adopted at the Preparatory Conference in Mexico on March 25, 1958.

"Since Premier Khrushchov chose to raise the issue of colonialism, the question inevitably arises whether he and his nations bring clean hands on this issue...

"The plunder which the Soviet Army took in Eastern Europe, Manchuria and North Korea at the end of World War II is too recent to require much refreshing of our memories.

"But since Mr. Khrushchov was speaking in a free and sovereign India, it is pertinent to ask why similar freedom and sovereignty are not enjoyed by the many non-Russian peoples within the Soviet Union. Are Ukrainians, Estonians, Lithuanians,Latvians, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Georgians, Armenians and other people less entitled to independence than Indians or Indonesians or Egyptians?

"The truth is that Tsarist Russia was one of the most successful imperialistic powers in all history and that the Soviet regime has followed enthusiastically along the same road. Let Premier Khrushchov put his own empire in order and give the colonial peoples subject to him independence if he wishes us to believe that his laments about other nations' 'imperialism' are more than crocodile tears".

New York Times, Editorial, February 12, 1960.

"The Kremlin has its own theories as to the future form of humanity — a slave world in the service of Moscow and the Great Russians. To do that, they will stop at no duplicity.

"It is futile to speak of International Communism for the centre of (all Communist activities in the world) is the Kremlin in Moscow with its Russian staff and its use of every available resource for the aggrandizement of the Kremlin and the Russians".

Prof. Clarence A. Manning, Columbia University, in Ukrainian Quarterly, New York, Vol. XII, 2, p. 118.

Anti-Comunist Russians and Russian Imperialism

"Could I, a product of an empire, an individual raised to believe in the impeccability of the state, still continue to denounce the present rulers of Russia?

The answer was 'yes' and 'no'... To remain loyal to Russia and to follow the example of the early Romanoffs who had never thought themselves bigger than their empire meant to admit that the Soviet Government should be helped and not hindered in its experiment and to wish it would succeed "where the Romanoffs had failed".

Grand Duke Alexander Romanoff, from "Always a Grand Duke," pp. 130-131.

"*Russia, a geographical backbone of history, should exist in all her strength and power no matter who or how he is ruling her. From this comes his (Milyukov's) testament for us; to be on watchful guard of Russia — no matter what her name is — absolutely, unconditionally, and to the last breath*".

Alexander Kerensky, "Novy Zhurnal," No. V, 1943.

"*The genuinely Russian national emigration has to recognize the present tragic situation; honestly nobody in the world has sufficient reason for having confidence in us. Around 80 per cent of the Russian emigration in the U.S.A. is embraced by Soviet patriotism. Nearly one half of the Russian generals, even "White" generals, went over to the Soviets. Nearly the whole great emigre literature, the publications of journalists and philosophy in one way or another, is merged with Sovietism: here are Bunin, Kuprin, Milyukov, and Kuskov and a whole list of professors, who for 30 years have preached about the evolution of the Cheka, GPU, NKVD, MVD, — the professors Ustrialov, Tatischev, Savitsky, Milyukov, Prokopovich — we could enumerate two dozen more. Against all that, the genuinely national camp puts forward almost nothing or even absolutely nothing. As a matter of fact, for all our tragedies we have to thank our leadership, — from Markov to Lenin, from Alekseyev to Kerensky, from Gorky to Bunin, and from the Monarchist Kozembek to the Solidarist Boldyrnev; 'as we sowed, we shall reap'*".

Russian paper **"Nasha Strana,"** Argentina, No. 48, 1950.

Russian Communism was identified by the great Russian philosopher Berdyaev as "the third appearance of Russian autocratic imperialism, its first being the Muscovite Tsardom and its second, the Petrine Empire".

Nicholas Berdyaev, "The Origin of Russian Communism," London, Geoffrey Bles, 1949, p. 118.

Soviet Regime against Disintegration of Russian Empire

"*The Great Patriotic War (that is World War II) convincingly confirmed that the freedom and independence of Soviet Ukraine and other Soviet republics is only possible in the family of brotherly peoples, united under the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.*

"*The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists are the bitterest enemies of the Ukrainian people and of all the peoples of our country. They have always been an instrument and obedient servants of international imperialist forces, trying to sever Ukraine from the Soviet Union and make it a slave of the imperialist predators. The struggle against the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists has been and remains a struggle against the dark forces of international reaction*".

"Fortieth Anniversary of the Establishment of the Communist Party of Ukraine," Soviet Ukraine, June 4, 1958, pp. 2-3.

Russification:

"*The rich Russian language, which is a powerful tool of relationship among nations, of strengthening friendship among nations, education in the feeling of internationalism, and is becoming a second native language of all non-Russian nations of the USSR...*"

"Pravda Ukrayiny," July 25, 1959, p. 3.

Imperialism:

"*There is no ruling nation in the Soviet Union and there are no subject or oppressed nations. In the USSR all nations are equal and free. At the same time, under concrete conditions in our country it is quite regular that there is a process of unification of all nations around the great Russian people.*

"Internationalism and unequivocal dedication to the cause of Socialism and Communism were those factors which gained the love and respect for the Russian people among all the peoples of the USSR and all progressive mankind.

"The attempts of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists to create a hostility between the Ukrainian and Russian people are pitiful and despicable. They wish to create an animosity toward the Russian language and toward the culture of the great Russian people. The Ukrainian people have long since discarded those curs into the garbage pit of history...

"For the first time in human history there is such a close relationship among people of different nationalities, as among the Soviet people..."

"Pravda Ukrayiny," November 3, 1959, p. 3.

BOOK - REVIEWS

Report on Venezuela. John A. Clements Associates, 959 Eighth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 183 pp.

The infiltration of Soviet Russian agents and the ceaseless intrigues of the Kremlin in Latin America prompted the publication of this book, which contains a wealth of documentary material. The unnamed author of this report on Venezuela rightly affirms in the introduction that "at no time in our history has this danger been so grave nor has the possibility of its success been so great" (p. 5).

The Red Russians are endeavouring to gain control of the strategic war-potential areas of the world, and in this connection the oil-fields of Venezuela are of primary importance. It is extremely regrettable that American businessmen are prepared to co-operate with the subversive groups from abroad. Venezuela is a key pawn in this international power game, and so far the Soviet Russians have achieved an enormous success in this respect.

The book under review deals with Soviet Russian infiltration not only in Venezuela but also throughout Latin America. In view of the Soviet Russian danger, the attitude of certain prominent persons in the USA is entirely incomprehensible.

On p. 150 the author of the report points out that during the past twenty-five years Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt has excelled herself in supporting Communist causes. Twice in recent months she has made pilgrimages to the Soviet Union and on her return to the USA has written numerous articles in praise of the Soviet Union. The author then quotes a passage from an article which she wrote in October 1958.

"We must constantly remind ourselves that we are judging people who 40 years ago under the Czars had no freedom, practically speaking. They had no education and very little opportunity for health services. Today they have education, free excellent preventive medicine, medical care which is adequate and also free, and a standard of living for the mass of the people which is far above what they had under the Czars . . ." (p. 151).

The author of the report very rightly states that unless the USA move rapidly and with determination, the Communists will win their greatest battle without using a single Soviet Russian soldier.

W. L.

Government of the Republic of Vietnam: Violations of the Geneva Agreements by the Viet-Minh Communists. Saigon, July 1959. 158 pp.

The book in question deals with the history of the armistice and the dangerous intrigues of the Viet-Minh Communists before and after the Geneva Conference in 1954 which effectuated the partition of Vietnam. The subsequent regime of terrorism in northern Vietnam brought with it countless death sentences, the confiscation of property and the ruin of the national economy of the country.

This record of the violations of the Geneva Agreements by the Viet-Minh Communists constitutes in itself a most powerful indictment against the anti-democratic and aggressive scheme of Ho Chi-Minh and his supporters.

The following statements on page 111 by the Government of the Republic of Vietnam gives the reader an insight into the methods of the Communists:

"Contrary to their official declarations, the Viet-Minh Communists have turned their back on the interests of the Vietnamese people.

It is a question of the reunification of the country? They conceived it as a simple subordination to Red Imperialism. In North Vietnam, democratic liberties are scoffed at, sacred human rights trampled under foot. How could the Vietnamese people express their real will under this reign of terror where liberty is nothing but a word?

Desirous to realize the reunification of the country through freedom and in freedom, the Government of the Republic of Vietnam has repeatedly, but in vain, summoned the Communists to re-establish and respect the fundamental liberties to which human beings are entitled. This appeal was made in order to create a favourable atmosphere for really free general elections.

Not only are the Viet-Minh Communists enemies of democracy and freedom, but they continue to mobilize their forces to sabotage peace in this part of the world.

The unceasing reinforcement of the Communist armed forces, the importation, in great numbers, of arms and ammunitions into North Vietnam, secret arm and ammunition dumps left in the territory of the Republic of Vietnam, subversive manoeuvres carried out by Communist cadres, constitute tangible and irrefutable evidence of their deliberately aggressive intentions..."

This official statement should be a warning to all those who contemplate cooperating with the Communists anywhere at all in the world.

The said publication is supplemented by a number of translations and photographs illustrating the Communist atrocities and aggression in Vietnam.

W. Luzhansky

THE KREMLIN ON A VOLCANO

by

Jaroslaw Stetzko

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

Hon. Michael A. Feighan

U.S. Congressman

A NEW BATTLEGROUND OF THE COLD WAR

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

THE TRUTH ABOUT A.B.N.

by

Niko Nakashidze

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

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Contents :

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"WITIKO UNION'S" CONFERENCE

On the occasion of its annual congress in Tübingen on October 1, 1960, the "Witiko Union" (Sudeten-German Study Group) arranged a meeting of members of the Afro-Asian peoples (India, Vietnam, United Arab Republic, Jordan and Nigeria) and representatives of the enslaved peoples of East and Central Europe (Czechs, Slovaks, Magyars, Ukrainians and Bulgarians).

In the course of a friendly exchange of ideas on the question of the right of self-determination and partnership between free peoples, the following fundamental principles were discussed:

1) The right of self-determination ensures to nations and national groups the freedom to decide their fate and their constitution themselves. On the strength of this right they have a claim to state unity and, in so far as they do not link their fate with other nations and national groups of their own free will in federalist unions, to state independence. They have a right to exploit the natural reserves of their native country themselves.

2) Powers who refuse to allow a people to have a state unity, state independence or freedom to determine their fate and constitution themselves, or who deprive a people of the right to exploit their own natural reserves and economic possibilities, or selfishly claim this right for themselves, are guilty of colonialism, irrespective of their status. To resist colonialism is a common obligation and duty. The Afro-Asian peoples who have recently attained their freedom cannot expect new independence to be permanent as long as colonialism continues to exist somewhere or other in the world.

3) Political and technical developments demand mutual aid between peoples and parts of the world, not in the sense of a "coexistence" along the Iron Curtain but in the spirit of genuine partnership. By this we mean the joint enjoyment of intellectual, cultural and economic factors and of social life. The relations between partners shall be based on strict equality of rights and on cultural and political equality. Partnership instead of class, racial and national struggle will guarantee the realization of a universal human aim, — namely freedom, not only in intellectual and political but also in social and cultural respect.

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Hon. Frank A. Sedita,
Major of Buffalo, U.S.A.

The Crusade For Peace With Justice

The members of the Buffalo Citizens Committee to Observe Captive Nations Week which I had the honour to appoint have brought great credit to our city and have won well-deserved acclaim for themselves. I am proud of what Buffalo has done to observe Captive Nations Week and to serve as Honorary Chairman of this great Committee. I say that what we have done to carry out the spirit and purpose of Public Law 86-90 is a solid and practical work of peace.

We cannot be satisfied with works which seek only the prevention of war. We must work with all the energy and ingenuity at our command to win a just peace. For only in the winning of a just peace can we prevent the outbreak of a hot war.

Prior to World War I, the prevention of war was governed by what I prefer to call the "Peace of Empires." This was the handiwork of the Conferences of the Hague. While the imperial powers attending those Conferences failed to reach full treaty agreements as to how this peace would be maintained, they did, nevertheless, arrive at an understanding of status quo. This understanding of status quo held that the territories of the then existing empires, without regard to the freely expressed will of the people concerned, were inviolate — they were not subject to change. This understanding among the imperial powers lasted but a few years. Kaiser Wilhelm found this loose understanding uncomfortable and the world was thereby plunged into its first global war. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the then Tsar of Russia first proposed the concept of a "Peace of Empires" at the Hague Conference.

World War I brought about the demise of the German, Austro-Hungarian, Tsarist Russian and Ottoman Empires. The British, French and Dutch empires suffered mortal blows from which they have never recovered, nor can they expect to recover at this mid-point of the 20th century.

The Russian Tsarist Empire, meanwhile, was reconstructed under the reactionary banner of Communism. This was done at the expense of the national independence of Ukraine, White Ruthenia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Idel-Ural and Cossackia.

In 1934 a new Dictator arose who promised the people of Germany a new and vast empire which he claimed was destined to last a thousand years. When he set about creating this promised empire the cry was heard, "We must prevent war." The voices of morality in the affairs of nations cried out then for a just peace, a just settlement of disputes which accorded with the freely expressed will of the peoples involved. But these voices went unheeded. The Munich Conference followed — a black mark in history when the demands of the tyrant on the march were met by appeasement. Prime Minister Chamberlain returned to London, an umbrella in one hand and a useless piece of paper in the other hand, — calling out to the British people "Peace in our times." The Munich appeasement of the Dictator Hitler prevented war — but for how long? A few short years thereafter all humanity was plunged into the most devastating war in all history.

Now what are the political results of World War II. The empire of Hitler is nothing more than a black mark in history. The British, French and Dutch empires are dismembered for all times. But the empire of Russian Communism is vastly

expanded, stretching like an octopus over the *newly* occupied territories of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, mainland China, Tibet, East Germany, North Korea, North Viet Nam, Croatia, Slovenia and Serbia. The tenacles of the Russian octopus now reach out to seize and strangle every free nation in the world, including the United States. Here in the Western Hemisphere one of those tenacles hangs heavy over Cuba.

Faced with the full realities of this dismal record of mankind's failure to prevent war, who can deny that the relentless quest of a just peace must be our only goal? Who can say that the present Russian demand for the recognition of a status quo is nothing but the demand of Tsar Nicholas II for a "Peace of Empires," dressed up in Twentieth Century stalking clothes? Who believes that a just peace can be won by appeasing dictators on the march — in this case Khrushchov?

We must put an end to the last remaining empire in the world. This we can do by working with all the power and skill at our command to bring about its peaceful dismemberment. This we must do, or suffer the same fate as has befallen the score of once free and independent nations now jailed in the Russian prison of nations. The leaders in the Kremlin have made it clear they leave us no other alternative.

It is these beliefs which find me shocked at the revelation made by Congressman Feighan on Hungary. I do not doubt for one moment the accuracy of the astounding charge he has placed on the doorstep of the State Department. He is a recognized authority on world Communism and a keen student of the international workings of the federal government. All who know him respect his courage and admire his fearless honesty.

But I ask you, what has happened to us as a people, as a great nation, under God, to permit such an immoral action by our State Department to go unnoticed and unpunished? My heart aches when I think about those gallant people of Hungary, with little more than their bare hands, rising up against the Russian oppressor and in five heroic days driving the Red Army from their beloved homeland. No one who loves liberty will ever forget those who paid the supreme sacrifiice in winning that historic victory over the Russians. Think of the women, from aged grandmothers to school girls not yet in their teens, who fought side by side with the manhood of Hungary. I hang my head in shame to think that our government would be a party to putting the Hungarian nation back in Russian chains. Only recently our friend Dr. John Judasz reminded me that at this very hour there are hundreds of Hungarian youths who took part in that freedom revolution now languishing in the Communist jails of Hungary. There they await death by execution, upon reaching their 21st birthday. Almost four years have passed since their incarceration, so the whole world knows the tender age of all when they rose in support of freedom's cause.

No doubt you have thought of the full meaning of that message sent by the State Department to the Red dictator Tito for relay to Moscow. That cruel message said, and I quote Congressman Feighan, "The Government of the United States does not look with favour upon governments unfriendly to the Soviet Union on the borders of the Soviet Union." Permit me to analyze the full political meaning of that message.

First, it accords a finality to the geography of the U.S.S.R. It admits of no change in the status of the captive, non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union. Such great nations as Ukraine, Armenia, White Ruthenia, Georgia, Turkestan and Cossackia are condemned to permanent slavery.

Second, it accords de facto recognition to the Communist regimes imposed by Moscow on Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. Our government has said over and over again that we will never recognize the forced incorporation of the Baltic States

into the Soviet Union. Yet the government of the United States has done exactly that by this declaration of foreign policy cabled to Tito. Could anyone imagine a legally constituted government in any of the Baltic States, a government which represents the freely expressed will of the people, being friendly toward the Soviet Union? Of course not! Only a rump Communist regime such as exists today in all three of the Baltic States could hold such friendship. Let us not forget that Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are on the borders of the Soviet Union. The State Department's declaration to Tito condemns the Baltic States to a permanent life under an alien Communist regime, despite promises to the contrary.

Next, what about Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania, Bulgaria and mainland China? All these captive nations are on the borders of the Soviet Union. I do not mention Hungary here because the State Department cable to Tito had clear and specific application to that captive country. All these nations were thus sentenced to a miserable life under Communist regimes which defy the will of the people involved and would not remain in power one hour without the Red Army standing guard over their reign of terror. No freely elected government in captive Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria or mainland China would have feelings less than utter contempt for those who rule over the Russian prison of nations nor would they stand idly by once they are free to bear silent witness to the enslavement of any nation by the Russians.

Now what about East Germany, North Korea, North Viet Nam, Albania, Yugoslavia and Tibet? They do not have common borders with the Soviet Union but they are part of the Russian Communist empire. Are they alone entitled to be free and independent? I think not by the language of the State Department policy cabled to Tito. Rather, I would read that cable to Tito to mean that our State Department had accepted a status quo with the Russian empire, with Tito-land remaining under the protection of Moscow. Congressman Feighan in his address on July 13th, called for a full scale bi-partisan Congressional investigation of our government's response to the Hungarian Freedom Revolution, including the cable sent to the Red dictator Tito. I am convinced this must be done to clear away the dark clouds of doubt which hang heavy over our national honour.

What we have done together during "Captive Nations Week" to defend the human rights of the people of the captive nations is only a beginning. It is a significant beginning but our crusade does not end here. Our fight for peace with justice for all nations and people must be maintained every hour of each day until we win through victory. We are joined in our work by millions of Americans who have taken part in similar programs throughout our country during "Captive Nations Week." We must spread this spirit of duty and dedication to freedom's cause, to every country of the free world.

I pray God's blessing upon our work, that we may have the strength, the wisdom and the courage to continue the fight for true freedom and full justice for all men, for all nations, for all time.

We have in our time, not the divided nation the Civil War was fought to unite, but a divided world in which freedom and slavery are again the issue. We honor our dead only as we stand ready to defend the principles they died for, and the tribute we pay them would be meaningless if we cherished principle less today than they did yesterday.

FRANCIS CARDINAL SPELLMAN

(Quoted from the Sermon of His Eminence, International Eucharistic Congress, August 6, 1960)

Prime Minister Diefenbaker for Freedom of the Subjugated Peoples

In addressing the United Nations Prime Minister Diefenbaker challenged Khrushchov to prove the sincerity of his demands for immediate freedom for all colonial peoples by granting open election to Soviet captive states.

Prime Minister Diefenbaker said:

"He has spoken of colonial bondage, exploitation and foreign yokes. These views, uttered by the master of the major colonial power in the world today, followed the admission of 14 new members to the United Nations—all of them former colonies".

Since the last war, he said, 17 nations have been brought to freedom by France. In the same period, 14 colonies and territories, comprising half a billion people, have achieved complete freedom in the Commonwealth.

Together, these 31 countries, most of them now members of the UN, had gained freedom through the encouragement, approval and guidance of the United Kingdom and France.

"These facts of history invite comparison whith the record of Soviet domination of peoples and territories, sometimes gained in the name of liberation, but always accompained by loss of personal and political freedom", he said.

"The Assembly is still concerned with the aftermath of the Hungarian uprising of 1956."

"How are we to reconcile that tragedy with Mr. Khrushchov's assertion a few days ago in this Assembly when he said: "It will always be the Soviet stand that countries should establish systems of their own free will and choosing?"

"What of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia? What of freedom-loving Ukrainians and other eastern European peoples?"

Khrushchov had said, at the same time, that the course of history indicated that the end of colonialism must come unconditionally and immediately.

"Then there must be no standard in international affairs", Mr. Diefenbaker said.

"I ask him here and now to give those nations under his domination the right of free election, to give them opportunity to determine the kind of government they want under genuinely free conditions. Then, indeed, will his words result in action carrying out the obligation of the United Nation charter".

President Eisenhower on Nationalism

During his address before a special joint session of the Philippine Congress on June 15, 1960, in Manila, President Eisenhower had this to say on nationalism:

Nationalism is a mighty and relentless force. No conspiracy of power, no compulsion of arms can stifle it forever. The constructive nationalism defined by President Quezon is a noble, persistent, fiery inspiration; essential to the development of a young nation. Within its ideal my own country since its earliest days has striven to achieve the American dream and destiny. We respect this quality in our sister nation.

Communist leaders fear constructive nationalism as a mortal foe. This fear is evident in the continuing efforts of the Communist conspiracy to penetrate national movements, to pervert them, and to pirate them for their own evil objectives.

To dominate—if they can—the eternal impulse of national patriotism, they use force and threats of force, subversion and bribery, propaganda and spurious promises. They deny the dignity of men and have subjected many millions to the execution of master plans dictated in farway places.

Hon. Michael A. Feighan,
US Representative of Ohio,

The Subjugated Nations — the Key to Peace

The great issue of our times is foreign policy and the conduct of our foreign affairs. This opinion is made self-evident by the realization that the question of a hot war or a just peace will be resolved by the kind of foreign policy we support and the manner in which we carry it out. There are, of course, other important national issues and grave domestic problems such as an ever-expanding free economy, full employment, civil rights, health protection for the elderly, the strengthening of our educational systems, urban renewal and the human upsets of automation. Important as all these problems are they stand in the shadow of the challenge to our survival as a nation, and as a civilization, presented by the determined forces of international Communism. If we fail to face up to this challenge and thus lose the struggle with the Russian Communists, these domestic problems will have no importance or relevance whatever. They will be disposed of summarily by the ruthless dictatorship which awaits any free nation falling under the rule or domination of imperial Communism.

The history of some forty years of Communist aggression warns us that we are in a life or death struggle with the highly organized forces of tyranny. We did not create this contest. We were forced into it in 1947 when it became crystal clear that we had no other alternative — except gradual and peaceful surrender. It was then, you will recall, the Russian Communists were attempting the take-over of Greece and Turkey by armed aggression. when the subversive task forces of Communism were gnawing away at the democratic governments of Western Europe, when Moscow was directing the Chinese Reds in the take-over of mainland China and when the Red Army stood guard over the ruthless imposition of alien regimes upon the nations of Central and North Europe. The Presidential decision to stand firmly in support of the freedom-loving people of Greece and Turkey was a far-reaching one. It went far beyond the immediate requirements of these two countries. That decision signaled a determination to hold back the Red wave of Russian aggression on all fronts. Hindsight gives perspective to the magnitude and the wisdom of that decision and the courage required to make it.

As a nation we were ill-prepared for this sudden shift to a wartime footing. We had dismantled the greatest military striking force in history within twelve months after the Japanese surrender. We had "brought the boys back home." Our defense industries had reverted to the allout production of consumer commodities and other non-military products. We had gone back to doing business as usual, in both our domestic and international affairs. We had but recently won a world-wide victory for freedom's cause, a war to end all wars. This victory promised our people a long and happy era of peace in which justice was assured for all nations and all people. All these promises were written into the charter of the United Nations. These were the war aims of the United States. These were the war aims of all the allied nations except one — Soviet Russia. The strange alliance which admitted imperial Russia into the camp of free men was exposed as a massive deception of the hopes, the rights, and the aspirations of the common man the world over. In the stark reality of this awakening we, as a nation, entered what the Honorable Winston Churchill so aptly termed "the cold war."

Many chapters of sacrifice and heroic action have been written since, by men and women and indeed by children who know the blessings of freedom. All Americans sense the importance and accomplishments of the Marshall Plan, the stand on Greece and Turkey, the Berlin airlift, and the refugee assistance programs just as they honor the resolute Presidential actions taken in Korea, the Formosa Straits and in the Middle-East crisis. The hard lessons of the past have brought home to us the imperative of the military shields against further Communist armed aggression which NATO, CENTO, and SEATO provide for ourselves and for all free people. Yes, we have learned a great deal in the days and years of the cold war. But I say we have not learned enough about the nature of the enemy who openly boast that they will bury us, that they will communize the world and thus cast upon our children — if not ourselves — a mode of life which makes death a welcome visitor.

In our national efforts to build a defensive shield against Communist aggression, a matter of first priority, we gave more attention to armaments and alliance than we did to the basic human

values and aspirations involved in the struggle. When we awakened to this shortcoming, we then limited our concern for the rights and the hopes of the common man to the free world community, thus neglecting in large measure the almost one-third of humanity behind the Russian Iron and Bamboo Curtains. By overly friendly relations and dealings with the Russian leaders and the various Communist regimes they have imposed upon once free people, we have cast serious doubts upon our willingness, our ability and our determination to weather the ideological storm which grips the world. The common man behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains has been shaken in his confidence in the United States as the citadel of human freedom. All too many leaders in the free world community have become convinced that the destiny of their nation requires a flexible position somewhere between the United States and Imperial Russia, a position which will permit them to shift gears gracefully when the winner becomes reasonably apparent. The newly emerging nations on the African Continent, the newly independent nations of North, South, and South-east Asia, and the Middle East demonstrate a restless uncertainty in setting their course toward maturity and secure sovereignty. It is this uncertainty in the camp of free men which emboldens the Russian Dictator Khrushchov to taunt, to insult, to threaten, and to pour infamy upon the United States of America.

The time has come for a deep and realistic revision of our foreign policy. The hour is late, but I believe we still have time, not a moment of which can be wasted on such meaningless catch phrases as agonizing reappraisal, realignment of relationships, and flexible adjustments. What we need is a simple recognition of the fact that those who seek to wipe out civilization as we know it, are anchored with a vulnerability which they cannot overcome and which haunts the inner sanctum of the Kremlin. That Russian vulnerability is a deeply human one. It is caused by the aspirations of hundreds of millions of non-Russian people in the captive nations for freedom and national independence. No less than twenty once free and independent nations have been over-run and occupied by the Russian Communists during the past forty odd years. The regimes imposed upon these nations do not and can not represent the freely expressed will of the people. Representative government has been denied these people and the mode of life imposed upon them generates a revolutionary spirit which can burst forth with devastating violence and retribution against the oppressor. This vulnerability is compounded by the fact that the number of people who support the Communist empire falls far short of a margin of safety. There are no more than seventy to eighty million Russians in the empire, together with some five million non-Russians who are reliable members of the Communist party. This is the mortar of the empire, just as it is a most realistic evaluation of the human resources at the command of the dictatorship which threatens to bury us. While we may and should regret the tragedy of history which has denied the Russian people a chapter of individual liberty and freedom, we must not allow our pity to cloud the honest judgment of history. Having had no experience with liberty and freedom, we must not expect the Russian people to rally to freedom's cause. Nor should we condemn them for their support of a regime which has brought greater glory to the concepts of a Russian Empire than the wildest dreams of Tsar Peter. Forgive them for they know no better! Political realism in this hour of terrible trial requires that we know the truth and face it with a feeling of compassion, accepting the duty of saving the Russian people from the evil leaders who see in them a tool to accomplish their selfish ends.

It was in this spirit that the Congress of the United States enacted Public Law 86-90, and made possible this national observance of Captive Nations Week. As sponsor of this law in the House of Representatives, I assure you that a long, deliberate, and careful study of all the evidence available, covering a span of forty years, stands behind the language and spirit of this federal law. The unanimous enactment of this law by Congress is eloquent testimony of its non-partisan character and urgency. More than anything else, it carries a message of decision and the promise to enter a new phase of the cold war by carrying the political war into the heartland of the enemy.

Permit me to examine with you the language and intent of this law.

To begin with, this law takes official recognition of the fact that Communist aggression against free and independent nations began in the period 1917-18 rather than in 1945, as all too many of our people have been led to believe. For it was during this period that a series of national independence movements, very much like that of our founding fathers, brought about the disintegration of the Russian Tsarist Empire. Many nations long oppressed and exploited by the Russian aristocracy dissolved their political bonds with the empire and declared their national independence. The only nation of the empire failing to take such action was the Russian nation. In these circumstances the Bolsheviks seized

control of the Russian nation and quickly consolidated their power. With the Russian nation as a base of operations and support, the Bolsheviks launched campaigns of subversion, terror and armed aggression against the newly independent nations. Between the years 1918 and 1921, the Russian Bolsheviks destroyed the national independence of White Ruthenia, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Turkestan, Cossackia, Idel-Ural.

The second wave of Russian Communist aggression took place in 1939. Soviet Russia, then an ally of Hitler, destroyed the national independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

The third wave of Russian Communist aggression took place in 1945 and thereafter, when in violation of the Atlantic Charter and Charter of the United Nations, the national independence of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia was destroyed.

The fourth wave of Russian Communist aggression took place in 1948 when the Red regime was imposed by military force upon the people of mainland China.

The fifth wave of Communist aggression instigated by Moscow covers the enslavement of East Germany, North Korea, North Viet-Nam, and Tibet.

Public Law 86-90 thus recognizes that all the once free and independent, non-Russian nations of this vastly expanded Russian empire have suffered a common fate. Time, in terms of the date of their captivity, no longer has any practical point. They all suffer a common captivity. None will be free until all are free. And all must be free if freedom is to be secure anywhere in this relatively small world in which we live. This is a reality of the life or death struggle in which we are engaged.

The spirit of this law recognizes that while these nations are now deprived of their independence, the hopes of their peoples have not been broken. The common man in these captive nations aspires for a return of his liberties, his freedoms and the blessings of national independence. These aspirations stand as a powerful deterrent to war and the best hope for a just and lasting peace. The scheming despots in the Kremlin will not dare to launch World War III so long as these embers of freedom burn. We dare not fail to kindle this human fire because such failure is an invitation to the Russian tyrants to launch a hot war.

These are the outlines of a new and realistic foreign policy toward the Russian Communists. These are the outlines of a foreign policy of free people, who, knowing the power of their moral and political ideals, are confident of the future and fearless in defense of justice. Public Law 86-90 is a mandate from the American people to engage the enemy on his homegrounds, to carry the political fight to the heartland of the Russian Communist empire and to exploit the human vulnerability of that empire as a positive action in support of world peace.

For all too long we have been on the defensive. Our nation has grown weary of simply reacting to Communist actions. We have too often been second best in international political situations which demanded nothing short of unquestioned victory.

The Summit Conferences were initiated by the Russians. They needed a world propaganda platform and rigged the agenda to advance their evil purposes. We reacted to their initiative, accepted the substance of their agenda rigging and ended up on the short and rather dirty end of the stick.

Personal diplomacy was initiated by Khrushchov as a means of securing a cloak of badly needed respectability. He arranged official visits to free countries and world tours for himself in order to demonstrate his contempt for the leaders of the free world. The State Department harangued and maneuvered President Eisenhower into this Russian bear-trap which, when sprung, found the subversive agents of Khrushchov showing contempt for President Eisenhower in Japan.

Khrushchov proclaims that the Monroe Doctrine no longer exists because the new Russian ruling class refuses to recognize its claims. By this he means that the entire world is his bowl of cherries and he will pick the cherry he feels is ripe regardless of in whose orchard it grows. What a contrast this is to the action taken by our State Department "Soviet Experts" at the time of the Hungarian Freedom Revolution. You will recall the revolution broke out in October 23, 1956, and that by October 28, the Hungarian patriots had rid their country of the Russian oppressors. A revolutionary regime took over and there was a political hiatus for five days. Then the State Department, allegedly concerned about the delicate feelings of the Communist dictator Tito, sent him the following cabled assurance of our national intentions in the late afternoon of Friday, November 2, 1956. "the government of the United States does not look with favour upon governments unfriendly to the Soviet Union on the borders of the Soviet Union."

It was no accident or misiudgment of consequences which led the imperial Russian army to reinvade Hungary at 4.00 a.m. on the morning of November 4, 1956. The cabled message to Tito was the go-ahead signal to the Russians

because any American schoolboy knows that Tito is Moscow's Trojan Horse. It took less than forty-eight hours for him to relay this message of treason to his superiors in the Kremlin. All the world knows the terrible consequences of that go-ahead signal. This act of infamy was buried in the noise of the 1956 Presidential campaign and the moral revulsion which followed in the wake of our failure to respond to freedom's call in captive Hungary. As we approach the promised new era in the conduct of our international affairs, I suggest the time is opportune for a full scale, bi-partisan congressional investigation of this infamy. This would provide an appropriate answer to Khrushchov's rejection of the Monroe Doctrine.

No doubt you are asking yourself what, specifically, can be done to support and advance the cause of the captive nations without plunging the world into a hot war. This is a fair question that requires a straightforward answer.

I will take the last part of this question first because it rates the highest priority. Of one thing I am certain. That is, the Russian Communists will launch a hot war when they believe that they have a fifty-fifty chance in winning. They will not start one minute sooner or hesitate one second longer. There is nothing we can do to alter this basis of judgment while the Russian leaders adhere to that what they call the doctrine of Lenin. While the Russians now appear to claim that war between Communism and capitalism is not inevitable they have not abandoned war as an instrument of imperial policy. They are simply saying they now believe they can conquer the world without a hot war. Their belief is based upon a supposition that the free world, particularly the United States, is crumbling from within up from within; though we have slipped from a position of unquestioned military superiority, and I do not believe we can convert the Russian leaders from their belief in Marxism-Leninism, I propose the following courses of action as necessary to our survival.

The first is a high-speed rebuilding of our military defense capabilities. We must regain and hold a large margin of superiority over the Russians in all fields of defense preparations. This includes the immediate strengthening of our international treaty alliances. The fifty-fifty chance factor must never be attained by the Russian leaders.

The second is a hard-hitting political action program in support of the people of the captive, non-Russian nations. I suggest the following specific actions be undertaken.

1) That the Voice of America be regarded as a political instrument, a mass media means of strengthening our alliance with all the captive peoples. Today it is nothing more than a non-political news service, lacking colour, imagination and sympathy for the oppressed. The present over-weighted broadcasting in the Russian language should be corrected, with major emphasis on the languages of the captive nations.

2) Our exchange of persons and cultural exchange programs must be revised and a note of realism interjected in their application to the Captive Nations. In particular, the exchange of persons program with the Soviet Union should be abolished because it is a fraud. They allow no one but hard-core Communists to visit the United States, most of whom are propaganda specialists rather than students, teachers, engineers, labour leaders or farmers. The public report of these so-called specialists issued upon their return to the Soviet Union are uniformly incorrect, incomplete, and generally slanderous of our free way of life. The people we send to the Soviet Union are no doubt well-intended, but they tend to pose as experts on conditions of life under Communism upon their return to the United States. Many of these eight-day or six-weeks authorities have penetrated dangerous misjudgments and illusions upon the American people. We need a rapid step-up in our exchange of persons program with the countries of the free world. I have observed these programs at work in the United States and in many countries of the free world and I am convinced of their merit. More funds are needed to expand these free world programs and the money saved by abolishing the exchange programs with the Soviet Union could be used for this purpose.

3) The United Nations should be regarded as a sounding board to expose and espouse the legitimate aspirations of all the captive nations. The Security Council, the General Assembly and all organs of this body should be regarded as tools to advance the cause of free men, including the emancipation of the captive nations.

4) The United States should test the power of sanctions held by the United Nations, the expulsion of non-conforming member nations, by causing the Russians to abide by the United Nations Resolution on Hungary or be expelled from membership in the United Nations. The United Nations Resolution on Hungary condemns the Russian aggression against Hungary and calls upon the Russians to evacuate their military, political and economic forces from that country. To date, the Russians have demonstrated a studied contempt for that Resolution. It

is time they were made to conform or be expelled from membership. The survival of the United Nations must never be regarded as more important than human rights and justice.

5) The next President of the United States should reserve the international road-posts pointing away from Washington by convening a meeting of the leaders of all free nations there to discuss our common problems and to hammer out a program of action to save the world from a third war and to win a just peace. The formula of invitation should be simple. Only those who believe in and will support the aspirations of the common man for self-government and democratic institutions should be welcomed at the conference table. This would be freedom's Summit Conference. The next President of the United States would go a great distance toward recapturing the political initiative by swift action in this direction upon assuming responsibilities of leadership.

6) We must prepare the American people psychologically for the prospect of more freedom revolutions, like that launched by the Hungarians. This does not suggest that we can or should stimulate them. It merely recognizes that such total political revolutions are a natural outcome of the oppression and human exploitation going on behind the Iron and Bomboo Curtains. We may not know when or where the next will occur, but we must know that the destiny of free men demands that we be prepared to associate our nation and other free countries with this healthy wave of the future. We must not be caught unprepared or stupefied by the power of revolt against tyranny, as we were in the case of Hungary. We are a nation born in the revolutionary spirit — we will live or die by the measure of our devotion to our political heritage.

As we face the challenge to our survival as free men, I leave you with this thought. In our daily lives we learned that time and tide wait for no man. This same law of nature born with the Divine Order of the World, exercises a compelling influence upon the affairs of all nations. There are problems which will not wait for determination, and there are situations which demand immediate and resolute decisions. We may not, we must not fail to keep our appointment with destiny. We are destined to lead the peoples of the earth out of the darkness which has fallen upon so many nations — to that golden era of peace with justice for all nations and all peoples.

From

"Our Appeal to Those Who Hold Freedom Dear"

issued by Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc.; Ukrainian American Youth Association, Inc.; Ukrainian Society of Political Prisoners, Inc.; Society of Veterans of Ukrainian Insurgent Army, Inc.; Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (Ukrainian Division), Inc.; M. Michnovskyj's Ukrainian Students Association.

September, 1960.

"Nikita S. Khrushchov, true disciple and follower of Stalin, inspires and leads the Russian-Communist imperialist tyranny in its offensive against the United States and the entire Free World...

... What is he looking for in free America, this executioner of Ukraine and the oppressor of the Ukrainian people? He is certainly not looking for peace and friendship. To be sure. Khrushchov expects here, in America, by his spectacle at the United Nations, to kill and to take away the faith and hope of the enslaved nations in the U.S.S.R. that they will ever receive any assistance from the Free World in their struggle against the Bolshevik tyranny. By his visit at the United Nations, he also wants to split the unity of the Free World in its opposition to Communism. The U.S. is the leader of that unity which the whole world needs so badly.

...Fellow Americans! Do not trust the insincere talk of Nikita S. Khrushchov about peace and friendship. Khrushchov and his imperialist general staff are preparing a conquest of Europe, beginning with Berlin; a conquest of Asia beginning with Indo-China; a penetration of America beginning with Cuba; and a domination of Africa beginning with chaos in Congo. A Communist rule over the entire world is their ultimate goal. Let us not forget it."

A. Furmann

Russian "Brain-Washing" Defeated

On the evening of August 1, 1960, the West German television showed the following scene: a delegation of former June revolutionaries placing a wreath on the grave of the "Victims of Stalinism" in West Berlin, in honour of the persons who lost their lives during the large-scale Vorkuta riot. On August 1, 1953, 64 insurgents — Ukrainians, Latvians, Turkestanians, Byelorussians and Georgians — were shot dead by an MVD tank commando. They were murdered at Rudenko's orders.

Exactly seventeen days after the wreath had been placed on the grave in West Berlin, a mock trial began in Moscow in which the accused was the American pilot, Powers. The "Public Prosecutor" was Rudenko... Now, the trial is over. The only thing which both these incidents — the proceedings of August 1, 1953, and of August 17, 1960, — have in common is the fact that in both cases Rudenko acted as "Prosecutor." Apart from this fact, however, the two cases have nothing whatever in common. The insurgents who were murdered on August 1, 1953, fought as heroes, and the whole world is aware of this. Powers, on the other hand, was not a hero. True, one cannot expect everybody to behave like a hero in the hour of danger. But the least that one can expect of a former officer of the American army is morale, if nothing else.

No one fights for himself alone, and the fighters of Vorkuta were aware of this fact. They fought not only for the cause of those sentenced to "Katorga" and of the deportees, but also for their enslaved peoples, their occupied native countries and, above all, for the sacred cause of national freedom. And because they realized this, they had the superhuman strength to defy the all-powerful enemy. The heroes of Vorkuta fought for all of us, for the entire West!

But what about Powers? Whereas Eisenhower solemnly declared that in his opinion reconnaissance flights over the Soviet Union were absolutely imperative in the interests of peace, Powers did not hesitate to affirm that he had rendered world peace an ill service by his flight. If Powers had sheltered behind Eisenhower's protection, he would perhaps have made his personal position worse, but he would, at least, have rendered his country and the entire free world a good service. Indeed, such a courageous statement on his part might even have encouraged the hopes of the subjugated peoples, namely their hopes in the moral strength of the soldiers of the free world. Powers should have taken an example from the thousands of underground soldiers of all the subjugated peoples who, during the worst years of Stalinist rule, faced tribunals and accepted their sentence — either "20 years Katorga" or the death-sentence — without so much as blanching. These men and women had no lawyers to plead their cause; none of their families, no diplomats and no foreign press correspondents were allowed to be present at their trial. But they at least showed soldierly morale, which was what Powers, unfortunately, lacked at the moment when the eyes of the whole world were turned towards him.

After the "regrets" expressed by Powers, the Western press affirmed that the American pilot was the unfortunate victim of "brain-washing." Readers were reminded of the mock trials in Moscow during the years 1936-1938, of Cardinal Mindszenty and, lastly, of the American prisoners-of-war in the Korean war. What has all this to do with "brain-washing"? Is it something to be dreaded, or is it merely a tale to scare people? It certainly strikes one as strange that the Russians submit all kinds of enemies to their "brain-washing," but do not apply this method in the case of their worst enemy, — the national revolutionary! The question inevitably presents itself; why did the Russians not secretly abduct Bandera and then bring him before a big court? One can imagine what the effect would have been: a Ukrainian leader accusing himself before a Moscow tribunal, in the light of world publicity! No, the Russians did not try to resort to this method, for they know only too well that it is useless to submit a national revolutionary to any form of "brain-washing." Moscow fights its greatest enemies with the weapons of terrorism, with bombs, poison, deportation and the gallows.

On one occasion the MVD did, in fact, resort to this method, but they paid for their experiment with a defeat. The biggest large-scale attempt at "mass brain-washing" was introduced by the MVD in the years 1944/45 amongst the underground fighters of the subjugated peoples who were imprisoned in camps.

The huge slave-labour settlements in Vorkuta, in Siberia and Kazakhstan were intended not only as labour-camps, but also as "brain-washing" camps. The purpose of these camps was four-fold: 1) to isolate the underground fighters from their armies and organizations; 2) to exploit them as cheap labour and in this way maintain the potential of the war industry; 3) to undermine their physical strength by brutal treatment; and 4) to break their moral resistance by ceaseless Russification campaigns and to turn them into obedient slaves.

In order to achieve this latter and most important aim, the MVD resorted to every possible means of "brain-washing." In practice this method was as follows: in every camp there was a so-called cultural organizer, — a high-ra nking MVD officer, with a huge staff of co-workers taken from the ranks of the Russian prisoners, who acted as informers, brigadiers, barracks supervisors, and librarians, etc. It was the task of the "cultural department" to wash away all traces of "bourgeois nationalism" from the "diseased" brain of the non-Russian prisoner. His national ideology had to be destroyed, namely by drumming into him on every possible occasion that nationalism was reactionary and criminal. It was stressed that Bandera, Donzov, General Anders and all the other nationalist leaders had formerly served the Fascists and were now in the pay of Anglo-American imperialism. This was one purpose of the Russian "brain-washing." The other was to fill the "washed" brain, after Nationalist ideas had been eradicated, with Russian rubbish. The chief slogan was "The most progressive, mightiest, most courageous and most creative people on the earth are the Russians!" From this slogan the MVD inferred that those who march with the Russians will always be on the side of the victors. But those who march against them will always be on the side of the losers.

Since 80 per cent of the prisoners were Ukrainian national revolutionaries, importance was attached in particular during the "brain-washing" campaign to instilling into the Ukrainians an inferiority complex, which would paralyse their activity. Thus, for instance, it was emphasized again and again that there has never been and is no such thing as a Ukrainian nation! Actually, there are no such persons as Ukrainians, — they are **Little Russians!** Whenever the Ukrainians were in danger, their "elder brother" came to their aid and saved them from subjugation! Mazeppa, it was alleged, and all the other independence leaders were the enemies of the Ukrainians! All the great Ukrainian writers and philosophers were pro-Russian in their feelings.

In conjunction with this "brain-washing" the MVD resorted to all kinds of modern technical means. For instance, there was the camp library, where 50 per cent of the books consisted of novels, whilst the remainder were political works. 99 per cent of the novels were by Russian authors. And works in which the "socialist achievements," the civil war and World War II were glorified were preponderant. The Russian classics, which are much read in the West, too, were, on the other hand, hardly represented at all. All the books were chosen according to the following principle: The Russian is invincible; he is far superior to all other Slavs; in fact, he is the most creative individual there is! There is no problem which he cannot solve! It is his great historic task to liberate the world from Capitalism and Nationalism! The world belongs to the Russian; he fights for the highest ideals — for "Holy Mother Russia" and for Socialism!

All the political books were works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. There was practically no modern foreign literature at all in the library, with perhaps the exception of a few propaganda pamphlets written by "anti-fascist" scribblers in the Soviet Occupied Zone of Germany, and in India and South America. Western classics were only available in the form of extracts, so as to create the impression that the West has never had any great writers.

There was practically no literature of the non-Russian "Republics" at all in the camp libraries. Nor was there any light reading matter. The newspapers available in the barracks and in the reading-room were supplied either by Party headquarters in Moscow or by the MVD headquarters of the region in which the camp was located. There were no papers or journals from Kyiv, Riga, Reval, Kaunas, Minsk, Tbilisi, Tashkent, Erivan, etc., in any of the camp libraries. It was strictly prohibited for prisoners to receive papers in non-Russian languages (even if they were Party papers!) in parcels or from persons outside the camp! Only one language was to be read — and that was Russian!

The films which were shown in the camp cinema were, of course, adapted to the propaganda theme of the "great Russian people." Films produced in Russian studios were shown, but very rarely films from Riga, Reval, Minsk and Kyiv. They consisted of the usual Russian propaganda twaddle, and positively dripped chauvinism, lies and murder. In addition to films featuring the revolution, the MVD also attached great value to "patriotic" films, intended

to show the superiority of the Russian soldiers over all the other soldiers in the world. With sadistic pleasure the MVD arranged for films to be shown which featured the fight against Baltic and Ukrainian "counter-revolutionaries"!

And what was the result of all this? Did the Ukrainians, Latvians, Armenians, Georgians and Turkestanians change into Russians? Nothing of the sort! In spite of the huge expenditure as regards agents and technical means, the "brain-washing" campaign proved a complete failure. From the outset, the MVD made a fatal mistake in assuming that isolation in camp would break the resistance of the Nationalists. Their calculations in this respect were entirely wrong. Internment in a camp did not mean the end of the National fight for freedom. The Nationalists created a new fighting front in the camps. It was a front which consisted of new forces and new methods of attack. If the MVD had realized that there is such a thing as "counter-brain-washing," which is far more intensive than their "brain-washing," they would never have embarked on their undertaking. As it was, however, they themselves provided the requisite conditions for a counter-attack on the part of the prisoners.

About the middle of 1949, the organization of various National resistance cells began in all the camps in Vorkuta. In each of the larger Nationality groups living together in the same camp, an illegal revolutionary leaders' group was formed, which, either independently or in joint effort with the groups of other leaders, began to wage a relentless war against the Russian informers and agents. The only National contingent and, at the same time, the strongest National contingent in Vorkuta which had a central leadership and thus was in a position to deal the most effective blows against the Russian agents, were the Ukrainians. It was thus obvious to the Russians that the Ukrainians were their most dangerous enemies. Hence they decided that the "brain-washing" campaign must in the first place be directed against the Ukrainians. And this they proceeded to do about the middle of 1949. On every possible occasion, — at production conferences, camp assemblies, inspections, etc., the Ukrainians were maligned, accused and defamed. The Ukrainians as a whole, as well as their National organizations were attacked in a vile manner, and their leaders — Petlura, Chuprynka, Donzov and Bandera — were decried as "Fascists" and "slaves of capitalism and imperialism."

But the result of this agitation campaign was hardly gratifying to the Russians. The Ukrainians banded together even more closely! They began to launch a counter-attack, which assumed various forms. 1) The Russian agents of the "cultural department" were either subjected to such pressure that they resigned from their posts voluntarily, or else they were liquidated physically.

2) Film performances at which anti-Ukrainian propaganda films were shown were sabotaged by the prisoners making such a din that the Russians were obliged to stop the film. Or else the performance was boycotted and the film was shown to an empty hall. In many cases, the film-projectors were given a sound beating by the prisoners and the film was thrown down the drain.

3) At production conferences and camp assemblies the prisoners started uproars and brawls, whereupon the Russians rushed out of the hall as fast as they could. Their cowardly retreat was as a rule accompanied by the singing of UPA songs on the part of the prisoners; the furniture in the hall, including the "festive decorations" (flags, banners and pictures), was then smashed to bits.

4) From deportees living in the town the Ukrainian prisoners obtained Ukrainian books, journals and other prohibited literature and started their own illegal library with this material.

But the most effective method of the Ukrainian "counter-brain-washing" was their oral agitation, passed on from man to man. As far as numbers were concerned, they were in this respect far superior to the Russian agents. There was, as a rule, in each brigade at the most only one Russian agent who openly ventured to disseminate the propaganda of the MVD. But there was not a single brigade in which not at least half the workers were Ukrainians, and of these, half of them were ideologically trained National revolutionaries.

It was not difficult to expose the Communist system as a system of exploitation, for both the Ukrainian agitator and his listener were themselves witnesses of this exploitation. And any normally intelligent person could convince himself of this fact even without listening to any propaganda. And it did not need any special skill as a propagandist to disseminate the truth, namely that the Soviet Union is in reality a colonial empire, the parts of which have been stolen by the Russian imperialists from wherever they could, that there is no profound difference between Tsarism and Bolshevism, and that the only chance of attaining personal and National freedom lies in organizing a revolution. Every non-Russian prisoner knew all this. And as far as the so-called "moral strength and

superiority of the Russian" was concerned, one only needed to take a look at those elements amongst the prisoners who were in the service of the MVD and who, as informers and overseers, violated every moral law, — to know that they were gangsters of the worst type; in other words, — the scum of mankind!

Without this systematic "counter-brain-washing" on the part of the Ukrainians, there would never have been any riots in the years 1953-1955. Why fight? For what? and against what? — the answers to these burning questions had to be firmly impressed and instilled into the masses. One can only conquer an enemy whom one hates with all one's soul. And to sow such positive hatred was the foremost task of the Ukrainian "counter-brain-washing," not only in Vorkuta but also in all other places in the Soviet Union where there were prisoners. And this task was indeed achieved in a brilliant manner!

Ed. Delaney

Soviet Russian Puppets

No better example can be spotlighted for the record today than the oft repeated lie concerning the Communist seizure of Czecho-Slovakia, which is the heading on a column in the Congressional Record of May 25, 1960, page A-4447.

In that column is the text of a letter written to the "New York Times" by Dr. Peter Zenkl. The letter makes reference to the demand by the Czecho-Slovak government that our Secretary of State, Christian Herter, apologize for a remark recently made, to the effect that Communists seized power in that country by force in February 1948.

It certainly is a brazen attempt to rewrite history, because the Communists seized power in Czecho-Slovakia in **May 1945** and **not** in February 1948. Moreover, it was not necessary to use force. Communist control was accomplished months before, when the former president of Czecho-Slovakia, Dr. Eduard Benes, went to Moscow and there signed an agreement with Josef Stalin, in which he betrayed his country and his people to Communist serfdom. As a reward for that gesture and aid to Soviet designs, Stalin permitted him to return to Prague in the guise of a "liberator." He was the "front" for the Soviet Union, contrary to volumes of words from his sychophants in an unsuccessful effort to show that he was not a willing collaborator with Moscow.

In the Prague government headed by the Communist leader Klement Gottwald, was Peter Zenkl as his deputy or vice premier.

Anti-Communists were either liquidated or imprisoned. So when Zenkl returned to Prague to begin his close association with the perfidious Benes he certainly was not one of the anti-Communists, or he would have been jailed with the genuine patriots who refused to be subservient to Moscow.

It was reported that some thirty thousand anti-Communists were rounded up and jailed. I cannot assert that number is correct, but I can declare that Bartholomew-Street Prison, one of the three largest in the city, was filled to several times its capacity, for I was among the anti-Communists incarcerated in that prison for about six weeks.

In the large cell in which I was confined, with prisoners being brought in or taken out all hours of the day and night, were, at various times, the former Mayor of Prague, leading bankers, industrialists, a colonel, a captain and two lieutenants of the local militia, who refused to bow to the Reds, professional athletes, musicians, merchants and other genuine patriots. Zenkl was not among those freedom fighters. Most of the prisoners were Czechs.

While Zenkl was vice-premier the most barbarous terrorism and atrocities were inflicted on the anti-Communists. Special inhumanities were imposed on the Slovaks who were and still are fiercely anti-Communist and on the Sudeten Germans.

Zenkl cannot wash his hands of the blood that was shed by the real patriots during the long period when he was deputy premier for the Communist dictator, Gottwald. He was a reliable collaborator and vassal of Moscow as long as the Communists needed his services.

There is a striking contrast between Zenkl and other political leaders in that country who were and are unplacable and militant foes of Communists, whether they be Soviet or of any other nationality. Proposals were made by Moscow to the President, the Foreign Minister and Prime Minister of the Republic of Slovakia — the independent state that existed from March 1939 to May 1945 — to remain in their respective offices and "front" for the Soviet Union, precisely as Benes had agreed to do in Prague. Because those leaders refused to betray their God

and their people by collaborating with atheistic Communists of the Kremlin, they were marked for liquidation. It is a disgraceful chapter in the recorded events of those days, but it is indelibly written on those pages that those Slovak patriots, those defiant anti-Communists, were delivered to Stalin and Benes by American military and civilian authorities — some to be executed and others for lifelong imprisonment.

Dr. Peter Zenkl was high in the Communist councils of Czecho-Slovakia at that time. There is no record of him working for the freedom of those valiant anti-Communists. On the contrary — he — now referred to as a leading Czech patriot — by his silence, gave tacit approval to the destruction of those genuine patriots. For the past fifteen years those of us who witnessed or are familiar with the incidents connected with the so-called seizure of Czecho-Slovakia, have stated in print and in public that it became a Soviet satellite in May 1945. The so-called "coup" said to have taken place in February 1948, was merely the consummation of a Soviet design for complete control of that country. It is also a matter of record that the delivery of that country to the Soviet Union, in 1945, was with the approval of the hierarchy of our elect in Washington. Deny that charge though they will — they cannot erase the disgraceful record.

Those like Zenkl and certain other co-collaborationists with the Communists in that oppressed country, who through devious means and through the influence of certain elements — gained admission to this country — would like to perpetuate the fiction of a "coup" in 1948, which they say resulted in the seizure of Czecho-Slovakia by the Communists. It will then appear easier for them to whitewash themselves of the guilt they shared in the Communist crimes for the three years — 1945 to 1948. Singularly enough, a coterie of those Communist collaborators from Prague has long been identified with the twin frauds, Radio Free Europe and Crusade for Freedom, — where they carried on their proselyting for what they preferred to call the "socialist" State of Czecho-Slovakia — which is their verbal camouflage for a Communist state. For that reason we spotlight that column of the Congressional Record — at this time.

W. Lenyk

Were The 17th Olympic Games Non-Political?

The International Olympic Committee and its head representatives constantly stress that the Olympic Games are a non-political, international sports event, that they represent a unique meeting of athletes from East and West and that this meeting is characterized by an atmosphere that is peaceful, friendly and chivalrous. Such statements naturally prompt one to ask whether these people are really so naive and blind, or whether they merely belong to that cathegory of agents who manage to keep calm and even try to win the game when everyone else is talking about defeat? One only needs to look at some of the Bolshevist so-called sports papers and to hear the speeches made in Moscow, Kyiv, Warsaw or Budapest in order to realize how far Moscow has abandoned the chivalrous spirit in sports, how assiduously and consistently it and its henchmen are endeavouring to transform sports into a means of the "Communist training of youth," and how thoroughly and systematically Moscow makes its preparations for the Olympic Games, which it uses to further its imperialist aims. The President of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), Avery Brundage, could easily have got hold of a few copies of the "Soviet Sports" or the "Komsomolska Pravda" ("The Truth about Communist Youth") in Rome and could have read some of the commentaries and articles (if necessary, with the aid of a translator). In these publications no secret is made of the tasks which Moscow sets its enslaved athletes and of the way in which it interprets sports. Did the "Address by Nikita Khrushchov to the Olympic Fighters" of the U.S.S.R. convey nothing at all to the official members of the IOC? Do they attach no significance whatever to the attitude of the Bolsheviks in the Soviet Zone of Germany? The Russian Bolsheviks have not the least intention of working for peace between the various peoples or of fostering friendship; on the contrary, they will not permit any friendship or fraternization amongst the young athletes of the Germany which they have partitioned. The isolation of the two sections of the allegedly only all-German Olympic team was a thing hitherto unheard of in the history of international sports events.

The conception which the Red Russians have of the Olympic Games can, for instance, be seen from the article entitled "The Fire of the Greatest Sports Competition of Our Day Has Been Lit," which was published in the "Pravda" of August 26, 1960. It contains the following state-

ments: "The storm of applause becomes more and more powerful as the Red Flag and a banner inscribed with the four letters which symbolize the U.S.S.R. appear in the stadium. The Italians greet our standard-bearer, Jurij Wlassov, enthusiastically... The applause is not only a greeting to Soviet sports, but also an expression of enthusiasm for the latest achievements of the Soviet Union... it is an expression of agreement with the policy of our State, which was so clearly formulated in the message of Comrade N. S. Khrushchov to the Olympic youth." What a poor view to take of this Italian audience, who also applauded the Americans, English, Egyptians, Swedes, Germans, Japanese, and Free Chinese, etc., and in this way thus approved of "the policy of their governments"! The Red Russian writers of such statements are undoubtedly well aware of the fact that their remarks are not only foolish but also in bad taste. Indeed, such comments are unpardonable, for they must be regarded as a product of the psychological attitude of the Russian aggressors and totalitarian leaders, who refuse to recognize any independent sentiments or close human relations. For obviously it is their aim, too, that sports should serve their "peaceful policy" and accelerate the "liberation of the working masses all over the globe."

In sending athletes to the Olympic Games, the Bolsheviks are not by any means thinking of sports competitions between individuals, such as are laid down in the Olympic rules and legal regulations, but of achieving a propagandist victory and of convincing the athletes of the Western world, the majority of whom actually want to escape from politics, that only the "socialist fatherland is in a position to train true heroes of world athletics." The press of the Soviet Occupied Zone of Germany plainly expressed this view when it wrote: "The socialist individual in his abilities and possibilities surpasses the capitalist individual. Moscow did its very utmost to win the most medals in Rome in order to excel in the eyes of the whole world, and this refers in particular to the young peoples of Asia and Africa who enter the world arena and want to return home with valuable medals and decorations. The IOC constantly stresses that not peoples but individual athletes are competing against each other in the Games and that all the lists which give the number of medals according to countries are unimportant. Such statements are disregarded by Moscow. In the official papers it was always stressed by whom the number of medals in question had been obtained and which state had gained the first places. In order to rank first in these lists, Moscow simply steals competitors from other nations and then calls them "Soviet" or even "Russian" (see "Sowjetskij Sport" of August 30, 1960, as well as other editions). Actually, the team sent by Moscow only consisted in part of genuine Russians. Most of the competitors of this team are athletes from Ukraine, Georgia, Esthonia, Lithuania and other countries subjugated by Moscow. The Kyiv periodical "Molodj Ukrayiny" ("The Youth of Ukraine") of August 24, 1960, and the Ukrainian "Literaturna Hazeta" ("The Literary Gazette") both worked out that of the 300 athletes who appeared in Rome under the name of the U.S.S.R., 54 were Ukrainians. And it is also pointed out there that 38 Ukrainians took part in the Olympic Games in Melbourne in 1956. They won 38 gold medals, 4 silver and 11 bronze ones. Incidentally, the above calculations do not take into account the Ukrainian athletes at present living ouside the borders of the Ukrainian S.S.R. These include cases of athletes who are only living outside the Ukrainian Soviet state temporarily, either because they are studying elsewhere, or have been forced to do their military service ouside their own country, or are engaged in some kind of work which takes them out of Ukraine.

On the strength of the reports in the Kyiv papers, we have calculated that the Ukrainian athletes in Rome won 14 gold medals, 9 silver and 5 bronze medals. The Ukrainian competitors in Rome included such persons as the gymnasts Borys Schachlin, Larissa Dyrij-Latynina, Polina Astachiva, M. Mykolajeva, Yuriy Tytov, the athletes Valeriy Bremely, Ludmila Lysenko-Shevtzova, Ihor Ter-Ovenysyan, Volodymyr Holubnytchy, Victor Tzybulenko, the boxer Volodymyr Syniavskv, and others. The correspondents of the Moscow paper "Trud" incidentally stated in the edition of September 1, 1960, that the Olympic Games champion Ivan Bohdan cannot even speak Russian and for this reason confuses Russian words with Ukrainian ones. This fact, however, does not prevent the Western journalists and commentators and also the functionaries of the IOC from affirming that Bohdan and all the other Ukrainian, Georgian and Byelorussian competitors are Russians. Thus, Moscow gets support from the West in a cheap way. If the IOC had insisted that the Ukrainian Soviet Republic as a member of the United Nations should send a team of its own, independent of Moscow, to the Olympic Games in Rome, Moscow would not have been able to boast that it won the most medals. In such a case Moscow would have lagged far behind and its

policy of using the Olympic Games for propaganda purposes would most certainly have failed.

We have in this article only referred to the victories gained by Ukrainian athletes at the Olympic Games in Melbourne and Rome which Moscow put down to its own account. In addition, there are also the victories gained by the Georgians and the athletes of other enslaved peoples. We know that the champions Shavlakadze, Shitladze and Rubashwili who were sent to Rome are Georgians, and that Press comes from Esthonia and Ali Ayiyev from Daghestan. But this does not by any means complete the list in this respect. The fact that the Russians do not reveal the nationality of these non-Russian competitors does not make the latter eo ipso Russians. And, incidentally, we should like to point out that some of the medals gained for team victories, which Moscow claimed for itself, were gained exclusively by non-Russians. For example, the gold and silver medals for men's and women's gymnastics were won by Ukrainian gymnasts.

This abuse of the achievements of the enslaved peoples is viewed in Ukraine and by the other enslaved peoples with growing indignation. One can form a fairly obvious conclusion from the number of Ukrainian athletes who took part in the Games in Melbourne, Rome and even in Helsinki. But what is even more significant is the fact that Moscow ventured to affirm prior to the Olympic Games that it was precisely the IOC which was preventing Ukraine from appearing independently at the Games.

We have no reason to believe Moscow. On the other hand, however, we have long had our doubts as to whether the functionaries of the IOC really are non-political and neutral. The latter have in some cases in Rome clearly shown that they do take sides and that, either knowingly or unknowingly, they support some political factors. We should merely like to mention a few striking examples in this connection.

One street in the Olympic Village was designated as Russian, even though Russia did not officially take part in the Games. On numerous occasions, the representatives of the IOC and other functionaries even referred officially to those competitors who stressed their Ukrainian, Georgian or other nationality when interviewed by the press, as Russians.

The IOC refused to allow a Hungarian refugee, Csegleli, to appear in the Austrian team in Rome, even though he is officially recognized as an Austrian. The IOC urged the Italians, with the aid of the police, to prevent every form of propaganda activity on the part of the anti-Communists, but took no steps whatever to ensure that there was no such activity on the part of the Bolsheviks who had come to Rome to take part in the Games. The Bolshevist athletes and their "sponsors" organized and arranged Communist meetings with the Italian Communists and propagated Communism not only in the city of Rome itself, but also in the Olympic Village.

In view of all these facts, can one really say that the Olympic Games are non-political?

Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington. D.C.
June 20th, 1960

Mrs. Ulana Celevych
Secretary of the American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Inc.,
7200 S. Spaulding Avenue, Chicago 29, Illinois.

Dear Mrs. Celevych:

Some time ago you had the courtesy of providing me with a copy of the letter you sent the President prior to the ill-fated Summit Conference. The time since then has proved you to be absolutely correct in your anticipation of the pitfalls facing us at the Summit Conference.

I believe that you are providing a most essential contribution to the determination of our American Foreign Policy by your firm opposition to the phony Soviet propaganda of peaceful coexistence.

May I encourage you to continue your excellent work in keeping alive the traditions and love of freedom that exist among the oppressed peoples behind the iron curtain.

Sincerely yours

Edward J. Derwinski, M.C.

"WANTED — FOR MURDER"

"Wanted for Murder — Nikita S. Khrushchov." Such was the slogan on the placards carried by freedom-loving Americans (for the most part of Byelorussian, Bulgarian, Cossack, Hungarian, Lithuanian, Slovakian or Ukrainian descent) through the streets of New York on Sunday, September 18th, 1960. Other slogans: "God Bless America — God free Ukraine," "Hands off Cuba," "Russians get out of Hungary," "Murderer, Liar, Hangman," "Red Hitler," served to reinforce the "greeting" offered by the demonstrators to the newly arrived "master-criminal."

The demonstration was organized at extremely short notice — nevertheless over 5,000 people took part. The assembly point was Fortieth Street, and the procession, when in formation, stretched the entire length of the Street. The procession was headed by the Stars and Stripes and the flags of the National divisions of the American Friends of A.B.N. Behind the flag-bearers came representatives of the National emigre organizations taking part. Almost all such organizations existing in the United States were represented — the most numerous being the Ukrainian organizations. (Note: The New York Times reports that the parade was sponsored by the United American Ukrainian Organization Committee of New York). One emigre group was, perhaps significantly, absent — there were no Russian participants.

The demonstrators marched in an orderly manner as far as Fifty-Seventh Street. Along the line of the route, young people in the uniforms of the National emigre Youth Organizations distributed leaflets and handbills to the Sunday-afternoon crowds. But greater than the effect of the leaflets was the contrast of the silent, mourning march with the usual American-style procession. The reporter of the **New York Times** writes simply and quietly, in a manner which reveals that he was deeply moved by what he saw:

"The parade was designed to be a "silent protest" against the visit here of Premier Khrushchov. There were no bands of floats. But many marchers wore black armbands, black ties, or black ribbons in their lapels.

Placards depicted the Premier as a "murderer," "liar," "hangman," a "Red Hitler," a "monster" and an "exterminator"..."

Police permission had been obtained for the demonstration to proceed as far as Fifty-Seventh Street. Nevertheless, when this point was reached, many of the demonstrators refused to disperse, and, in spite of the efforts of the New York Police, they pushed their way as far as Park Avenue, where they paraded outside the Soviet Delegation to the United Nations with their placards. One does not know how Comrade Khrushchov received this "welcome" — but it would have been impossible for him to misunderstand the demonstrators' feelings, even if he could not understand the slogans. Conspicuously displayed was a portrait of the Red dictator behind prison bars. One hardly needed the additional slogan "Khrushchov belongs here!"

WARNING TO THE FREE WORLD

(A leaflet issued by the Lithuanian Division of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations on the occasion of the visit of Nikita Khrushchov to the United States, September 1960)

LOOK OUT! **LOOK OUT!**

IN JUNE, 1960

Nikita Khrushchov accused the United States of espionage, and demanded punishment of responsible American officials.

IN JUNE, 1940

Viacheslav Molotov accused Lithuania of espionage, and demanded punishment of responsible Lithuanian officials. Lithuania was then invaded by the Soviet Army and was made a colony of the Soviet Russian Empire.

Is there any similarity in those events of 1960 and 1940?

NO!

Lithuania was only a little and virtually defenseless country in the immediate neighborhood of the Soviet Russian Empire. America is the greatest power in the world, a continent and an ocean away from the weapon-rattling dictatorship.

AND YES!

The Soviet Russian Empire has grown immensely in power and arrogance since 1940. It dares to threaten the United States now just as it threatened Lithuania twenty years ago. So, it MAY DARE again to try further action against the United States, just as it did against Lithuania in 1940.

Americans! Now is the time to speak out against the lulling idea that "this cannot happen to us"!

American Friends of the
Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations
Lithuanian Division

FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION

The Hon. Michael A. Feighan on July 22, 1960 submitted the following concurrent resolution, which was resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring).

Whereas the freedom-loving people of Hungary rose up in unison on October 23, 1956, to drive the alien occupier from their beloved homeland and to reestablish their freedom, dignity and national independence; thereby inspiring all people who love freedom and liberty, and

Whereas the Hungarian people by sheer courage, determination and united action did rid their homeland of the forces of *Russian* imperial Communism after five days of sacrifice and heroism, winning for themselves five days of freedom and independence during which they began the rebuilding of their national culture, economy and free way of life, and

Whereas the aggressive military forces of imperial *Russian* Communism did reinvade Hungary early in the morning of November 4, 1956, in violation of the spirit of international law and the letter of the United Nations Charter, killing many thousands of loyal Hungarians and robbing all the Hungarian people of their hard-won liberty, freedom and national independence, and

Whereas the conscience of all civilized mankind was shocked by the ruthless, inhuman and criminal actions taken by the imperial Red Army against the Hungarian people, causing a world-wide reaction by the common man demanding that justice be done for the Hungarian people, and

Whereas the United Nations General Assembly, moved by this demand, did on December 12, 1956, enact a Resolution on Hungary, opposed only by *imperial Russia* and her supporting Communist regimes, which condemned the brutal *Russian* Communist aggression against the Hungarian people called for the immediate removal by the *Russians* of their military, economic and political apparatus from Hungarian soil, and

Whereas the imperial *Russian* Communists have treated this United Nations Resolution with contempt, bluntly and publicly refusing to abide by its provisions thus demonstrating a dangerous disdain for the United Nations as an organization instituted among men to maintain law, prevent war, and secure justice for all nations and all peoples, and

Whereas the United Nations is limited with respect to sanctions authorized to enforce the decisions of the General Assembly, except for the privileges of membership in that body which can be withheld or withdrawn from any nation which violates persistently the letter and spirit of the Charter, and

Whereas the expulsion of the Soviet Union from membership in the United Nations for non-conformance with the provisions of the standing General Assembly Resolution on Hungary would strengthen the cause of law and justice among nations while at the same time advancing the cause of peace, and

Whereas the prospects of war are increased when an aggressor, in this case *imperial Russia*, is permitted to continue its illegal occupation and exploitation of a foreign country contrary to the expressed will of the people concerned, in this case Hungary, in violation of the United Nations Charter and the standing Resolution on Hungary.

Now, therefore, be it resolved, it is the sense of Congress that the American Ambassador to the United Nations be instructed by the President of the United States to take immediate action to cause the Soviet Union to forthwith abide by the full provisions of the standing Resolution on Hungary, *including a set time-limit for the withdrawal of all Russian military, economic and political elements from Hungary under United Nations supervision, or be expelled from membership in the United Nations.*

* * *

Congressman Feighan is a ranking member of the House of Representatives, now completing his ninth term of office. He is a member of the Judiciary Committee of the House and a member of the Joint Congressional Committee on Immigration and Nationality Policy. During the 83rd Congress, he was a member of the Select Committee to Investigate Communist Aggression. (1953-1954) and served as Chairman of the Sub-Committee to Investigate Communist Aggression Against the Non-Russian Nations of the Soviet Union. This Committee produced 27 Official Reports covering Communist methods and techniques in subverting entire nations, life under Communist rule and historic documents relating to Communist policies of aggression and expansion.

Last July, Congressman Feighan introduced the Resolution in the House of Representatives on the Captive Nations which led to the enactment of Public Law 86-90. He is regarded as an authority on political conditions behind the Iron Curtain.

In 1959, Congressman Feighan received the "Vigilant Patriots Award," given annually by the All-American Conference to Combat Communism for the outstanding speech of the year on national security.

In prior years Congressman Feighan served as an American Delegate to the Brussels Conference, as a member of the United States Delegation to the Inter-Parliamentary Union and has been a member of numerous official study missions to Europe, the U.S.S.R., South and Southeast Asia.

He is a graduate of Princeton University and Harvard Law School.

Dr. Arin Engin

FOR THE SALVATION OF TURKESTAN AND THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS

Within that vast group of the human race which is known as ethnical distribution there is a homogeneous compact nation living in Turkestan that numbers 30,000,000 Turks, who are suffering under the yoke of Russian imperialism,— the most inhuman form of imperialism that the world has ever experienced.

These 30,000,000 Turks, who live in Western and Eastern Turkestan, have been artificially divided by the Russians into Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Turkmans and Kirghiz, — the ancient tribal names; in reality, however, they are one and the same nation, speaking the same language — with only slight local variations, cherishing the same cultural and historical traditions, believing in the same Moslem religious faith, and living a strictly compact and homogeneous national life. (Further interesting information on this subject is contained in the valuable book by Ch. W. Hostler, entitled "Turkism and the Soviets," which was published in 1957.)

Russian imperialism, both "White" and "Red" alike, has always sought to devastate these Turkish territories and to exploit the population and the natural wealth of the country for its own cruel colonial aims.

In 1864 Turkestan, after a centuries-old heroic struggle, in the course of which it received no external help save morally from Turkey, was obliged to surrender. From then onwards, the Russians forced the people to cultivate cotton for their Muscovite industry and thus deprived the population of the wheat which had formerly been grown there and which constituted their daily bread.

When the Red Revolution broke out in 1917, a large-scale revolt took place in Turkestan and the new Republic was proclaimed. But in 1921 the Red Russian imperialists overran Turkestan and Azerbaijan and their armies, which were superior in number and strength to those of the Turkestanians, devastated the country. The Turks appealed to the

Western powers for help, but there was none forthcoming. As for Turkey herself, she was struggling for her own independence.

Using Communism as a means to achieve their outrageous imperialistic world-conquest aims, the Russians have at all times suppressed the Turkish nation most ruthlessly, not only in Turkestan, but also in Azerbaijan, the Crimea, Idel-Ural and Caucasia. The means to which they resort in order to achieve their aims are the most inhuman the world has ever known. They have, for instance, created artificial famines, have liquidated the intelligentsia (the massacre of 1937), have divided up the national languages into regional dialects and introduced various alphabets (in 1927 and 1938), and have enforced the use of the Russian language (in 1959) and the Russian alphabet in the national schools. These Russification methods for the purpose of crushing all national culture are also applied in the case of all the other subjugated nations, too.

During the man-made famines in Turkestan in 1927 and 1937, about 3,000,000 persons died of starvation. And the artificially created famine in Ukraine in 1933 claimed 5,000,000 victims. In 1944 the Turks who were living in the Crimea and North Caucasus were deported to the icy regions of Siberia.

As regards religious persecution, the Red Russians have likewise committed the most inhuman atrocities. In Soviet Russia 25,000 mosques have been closed down and turned into barns. Many religious leaders have been murdered; some, on the other hand, are being used as a means of disseminating propaganda. Among the most famous religious leaders who have been murdered are Sultanali (Kazan), Hodjayev (Tashkent), Atabey (Ashkhabad), Sovokos (Kazakhstan), Bunyatoglu (Azerbaijan), and Kokmaz (North Caucasus). And the same atrocities have also been perpetrated by the Russians in the other subjugated countries. On the other hand, however, passages from the Koran (the sacred book of the Moslems) are read over the Moscow radio for propaganda purposes, and many Moslems are sent to Mecca every year and religious congresses are convened for the same purpose.

It is the duty of the free world and in particular of the USA, if we wish to prevent an atomic war, to foster and support most actively and effectively the revolutionary spirit of the subjugated nations. Russian imperialism as a terrible sociological phenomenon will be destroyed by the formidable force of the enslaved nations. And this is what Russia dreads more than anything else. Hence we must act accordingly and must abandon all policy of fear, retreat and compromise, for a team that is always on the defensive and fails to take the offensive will never win a victory.

(Extracts from a speech delivered in Istanbul)

Khrushchov — a Self-Admitted Russian

Editor's Note: It has been the vogue for some time on this side of the Iron Curtain to label Nikita S. Khrushchov a Ukrainian.

On March 7, 1959, the ninth All-German Workers Conference was held in Leipzig. Attended by 1,400 delegates, N. Khrushchov, himself one of the sponsors of the affair, delivered an address. His own remarks on his origin are most enlightening — and welcome. (The full text appeared in Soviet News, published by the Press-Department of the Soviet Embassy in London).

"I MYSELF AM RUSSIAN"

After the First World War, when the young Russian republic was compelled to sign the Brest peace treaty, the counter-revolutionary Central Council in Ukraine also signed a peace treaty with Germany. The Ukrainian state was dominated by the German imperialists.

During the demarcation of the frontier the people of some frontier villages were asked which state they wanted to belong to: the Russian Federation or Ukraine. The village where I was born lies on the frontier between Ukraine and Russia. It is a Russian village, but most of its people, my father and myself included, worked in the Donbas mines, and in towns in the south of Ukraine. As a result, there were many arguments among the peasants as to which of the two states to join.

Many of the villages wanted to join Ukraine, and if there had been no Gaidamaks, there, if it had not been ruled by capitalists and landowners, the people of our village would probably have voted for joining Ukraine. But when some peasants spoke for joining Ukraine, the others said: "We, too, are for joining Ukraine. Ukraine is rich, and we have become used to it. We have lived and worked there. But there are GAIDAMAKS in Ukraine today...

And the peasants finally voted for joining the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic.

To return to the question of German reunification, I myself am Russian. (Emphasis ours — Ed.) I come from among the workers and I naturally respect my nation, and I respect other nations too. But when it comes to class solidarity, to class struggle, I uphold the interests of the class of workers, the interests of the working people.

Dr. D. Waltscheff

The Situation on the Balkans

There is no overlooking the fact that the Bulgarian satellite republic is intended to occupy an important position on the Balkans as the vanguard of Soviet strategy. Indeed, as far as Moscow is concerned, the strategic importance of this country has steadily increased since the breach with Tito and in particular since the conclusion of the Balkan pact, by means of which Bulgaria is surrounded on three sides.

It is by no means a coincidence that the Soviets have always been intent upon transforming the Bulgarian Republic into a bastion for their own advantage which would put up a firm resistance in the future. Their efforts in this respect have not been confined solely to the military sector, but have at the same time also aimed to influence the people, above all, psychologically. The methods of Communist propaganda in Bulgaria, in particular with regard to the Balkan pact and the military alliance of the three countries which are neighbours of Bulgaria, are of special interest at the present time.

In view of the fact that the general watchwords about the "Anglo-American warmongers and imperialists" have not proved much of a success in Bulgaria and that, on the contrary, the subjugated Bulgarian people hope for liberation by the Western powers, the Communists are resorting to more effective methods. In addition to their agitatory slogans about the "Turkish reactionaries," the "Greek monarchist fascists" and the "Yugoslav revisionists," they appeal to the **national feeling** of the Bulgarians by making out that the Balkan pact partners regard Bulgaria as booty which they intend dividing amongst themselves in the event of war.

In keeping with this method — and in contrast to the peaceable and conciliatory line of Bulgarian foreign policy — the entire schooling and training system in Bulgaria in particular as regards the younger generation in barracks and schools and the semi-military youth and sports organizations show the same trend. In other words a "holy patriotic war" against envious and predatory neighbours is propagated and it is stressed that the Balkan pact affords them a means of realizing their aggressive aims. **It is pointed out that Bulgaria can only escape this fate for which it is intended with the aid of the mighty Soviet Union to which it must now bind itself more firmly and more permanently than ever.**

But what helps this perfidious propaganda to thrive is above all the fact that the Bulgarian people not only have painful memories of a fairly recent past which consisted of territorial clashes and fierce wars with these neighbouring countries, but also that there are at present acute and explosive differences. Thus, Tito, for instance, has repeatedly made it plain that he intends to incorporate the Bulgarian Pirin Macedonia in his "Macedonian Republic," inasmuch as he wants to make out that the Macedonians who regard the Bulgarians as a national group of their own are a separate nation. Similar tensions are also in evidence in Bulgaria's relations with other neighbours, namely with Greece: whilst the Bulgarians refuse to give up their long-cherished claim to access to the Aegean, the Greeks have countered this aspiration by their claim to "strategic frontier corrections" in a northerly direction and at the last peace treaty with Bulgaria in Paris even raised a claim in this connection with regard to Bulgarian territory. It is therefore hardly surprising that Moscow, in view of the Balkan military alliance between the three neighbours of Bulgaria, skilfully makes use of all these factors and lets Communist propaganda run up and down the gamut of Bulgarian nationalism in order to keep the Bulgarian people on its side in the event of war.

And even the appointment of a Bulgarian Patriarch by the grace of Moscow — a step which is in direct contrast to the otherwise atheistic tendencies of Bolshevism and can only be explained by the notorious dialectic methods applied by Moscow — is undoubtedly connected with this tripartite pact. Incidentally, all the dioceses with a Christian population in Thrace and Macedonia, that is to say outside the state frontiers of the Bulgarian People's Republic, too, come under the administra-

tion of the Bulgarian Church, in accordance with the decree issued by the Sublime Porte in 1870 on the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate. By installing the new Patriarch in Sofia, Moscow obviously intended to arouse and strengthen irredentist trends on the ecclesiastical level; hence this step can also be assessed as a direct reaction to the Balkan pact.

In view of these Soviet methods to influence Bulgaria, Bulgarian emigrant circles are constantly endeavouring to neutralize the national factor in Communist propaganda in order to spare the people, who it is true, oppose Communist tyranny but nevertheless under the influence of this propaganda fear for the existence of their national territory, a moral conflict. In this connection a kind of **guarantee declaration for the territorial integrity of Bulgaria** is regarded as desirable, for this would psychologically undermine the position of the Soviets in Bulgaria and would decisively influence the attitude of the Bulgarian army in the event of war.

One could, of course, counter this with the argument that the three Balkan pact states as members of the United Nations support the principles of the UN Charter and also recognize this organization as an institution which controls their actions, a fact which refutes the speculations of Communist propaganda and should dispel fears for the territorial integrity of Bulgaria. Nevertheless, the problems which the Balkan pact brings with it **from the point of view of psychological warfare** are worth considering. All the more so, since this pact is not merely intended as a temporary and promising measure for defense purposes. As the "Permanent Parliamentary Council," called into being at the same time, and above all the "Scientific Balkan Institute" for the study of geographical, economic, historical and ethnical questions in this region indicate, this pact is also intended as an institution for the future, which the remaining Balkan states are to join, in order to settle the situation in this stormy corner of Europe permanently and satisfactorily.

Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens

The Communist Subversion in Latin America

Not long ago, the brillant and distinguished Argentine writer and journalist, D. Alberto Daniel Faleroni, Permanent Delegate of the "Inter-American Confederation of Continental Defense" in Buenos Aires, brought out an absorbingly interesting and well informed document written upon the subject of the title of this article. Mr. Faleroni's work was presented by its author at the "First Rio de la Plata Congress of Subjugated Peoples" which took place in Montevideo, capital city of the Republic of Uruguay.

It gives me great pleasure to be able to summarize and comment upon this theme, at the request of the important publication "ABN-Correspondence," of our ABN friends, veterans in the battle against the Communist imperialism of Soviet Russia.

Communist infiltration in Latin America has reached a climax. There is already a "critical" zone where Soviet intervention openly flourishes: the Carribean zone, where Russia and Red China have already established their beach-heads, openly in Cuba, and in a veiled form in Venezuela. The Communists have strong allies within the administrations in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Haiti, and Mexico.

I quote concrete data taken from Faleroni's investigation: **"Latin America Directorate:**

The Latin American Communist Bureau, is at present made up of the following:

Vincente Lombardo Toledano and Antonio Garcia Moreno, from Mexico; Victorio Codovilla and Rodolfo Ghioldi, from Argentina; Lázaro Peña, Blas Roca, and Juan Marinello, from Cuba; Gustavo Machado, from Venezuela; Juan José Arévalo and José Manuel Fortuny, from Guatemala; Luis Carlos Prestes, from Brazil; Antonio Marchand, César Godoy Urrutia, and Elias Lafferte, from Chile; Enrique Pastorino, Julia Arévalo de Rocha, and Rodney Arismendi, from Uruguay."

"Latin Americans in the World Directorate:

According to well-known confidential information, the Latin Americans who from part of the World Communist Directorate, which, in turn, is dependent of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, are:

Rodolfo Ghioldi and Victorio Codovilla (also Paulino González Alberdi, permanent resident of Moscow), from Argentina; Luis Carlos Prestes, from Brazil; Pable Neruda, from Chile; C. Vieira White, from Colombia; Manuel Mora, from Costa Rica; Juan Marinello, from Cuba; Vicente Lombardo Toledano, from Mexico; D. Marroquin, from El Salvador; Eugenio Gómez, from Uruguay; Gusto Machado, from Venezuela; Pedro Saad, from

Ecuador; José Manuel Fortuny, from Guatemala."

"Active Party Men and National Directorate:

Argentina: 160.118 militants, plus some 200.000 sympathizers; led by the "troika" Victorio Codovilla, Vicente Marischi, and Domingo Varone.

Bolivia: 32.165 militants, plus some 50.000 sympathizers (and about 50.000 Trotskists); led by Pedro Gamacho and Luis Arze.

Ecuador: 36.226 members, plus some 50.000 sympathizers; led by Victor Manuel Zúñiga, Luis Salinas, and Roberto Plaza.

Peru: 29.000 members, plus some 30.000 sympathizers, led by Salustio Hurtado, Roberto Narvarte, Pedro Quezada, Manuel Moya S., and Rosa Latorre.

Chile: 45.890 members, plus some 200.000 sympathizers, led by Elias Lafferte Gavino, Luis Corvalán Leepe, Domiciano Soto Vergara, Juan Vargas Puebla, Bernardo Araya Zuleta, Clotario Blest Riffo, Luis Varela Gaete, José Emilio Mora, César Godoy Urrutia, and Salvador Ocampo. All these parties belong to the **"South Pacific Organization"** which operates from Moscow.

Colombia: 52.480 militants, plus some 30.000 sympathizers; directed by Gilberto Vieites Carlos Mesa and Victor Vargas.

Costa Rica: 4.211 members, plus some 5.000 sympathizers; led by José Meléndez Ibarra, and Onofre Sáenz Zunbado.

Haiti: 5.387 members, plus some 3.000 sympathizers; led by Henry Lereaux, Phul Crillére, Charles Dipré and Helene Duxieaux.

Dominican Republic: 2.384 members, with some 3.000 sympathizers; led by Juan Basch, Juana Mella, Altagracia Alvarez, and Germán Ornés.

Jamaica: 1.210 members, plus some 3.000 sympathizers; led by Ferdin and Smith, and Herbert Sinclair.

Puerto Rico: 3.850 members, plus some 10.000 sympathizers; led by Germán Inostroza, Albert Reed, Robert Sanders, and Carolina Spaillat.

Venezuela: 79.528 party men, plus some 150.000 sympathizers; led by Gustavo Machado, Rafael Bracca, José Rosario Diaz, Servando Garcia Ponce, Olga Luzardo, and Mercedes Fermin.

Curaçao: (West Dutch Indies) with 539 members, plus some 1.000 sympathizers; led by Albert Zuamann, Robert Ecclefield, and Herbert Van Dogtz.

Cuba: 67.834 members, plus some 100.000 sympathizers; led by Lázaro Peña, Rafael Avila González, Ernesto Raúl Guevara (Ché Guevara), José Rodriguez Peláez, Raúl Castro Ruz, Fidel Castro's brother — and Maria Sartori Otero. All these parties belong to the **"Carribean Organization."**

Honduras: 2.400 members, plus some 3.000 sympathizers; led by Francisco Mellado, Julio Morales, and Carlos Santana W.

Nicaragua: 5.329 members, plus some 5.000 sympathizers; led by Pablo Ruz, José Maria Herrera, and Victor Márquez G.

Panama: 4.124 members, plus some 10.000 sympathizers; led by José Elisondo, Francisco Guerrero, and Manuel Palma.

El Salvador: 614 members, plus some 500 sympathizers; led by Antonio Morales, and Felipe Fuentes.

Guatemala: 61.236 members, plus some 50.000 sympathizers; led by Victor Manuel Gutiérrez, Juan José Arévalo, Antonio Torielli, Jacobi Arbenz Guzmán, Emilio Pardilla Jr., and Manuel Orasco. All these parties belong to the **"Central American Organization."**

Mexico: 185.820 members, plus some 200.000 sympathizers (and the strong Trotskist forces); led by Vicente Lombardo Toledano, Dionisio Encinas, Valentin Campa, David Alfaro Siqueiros, Manuel Marcué Pardiñas, Jorge L. Tamayo, Jorge Carrión, Victor Manuel Villaseñor, Ricardo J. Zevada, Enrique González Casanova, Horacio Labastiada, Demetro Vallejo, Ramón Danzos Palaminos, Antonio Garcia Moreno, Jacinto López, Lázaro Cárdenas, and Rosario Guadalupe Medina. All these parties belong to the **"North Pacific Organization."**

Brazil: 251.387 members, plus some 300.000 sympathizers; led by Luis Carlos Prestes, Benedicto Cerqueira, and Antonio dos Santos Pinto.

Paraguay: 1.193 members, plus some 5.000 sympathizers; led by Saúl Miranda, Daniel López T., and Germán González.

Uruguay: 7.713 members, plus some 35.000 sympathizers; led by Gerardo Cuesta, Ramón Freire Pizzano, and Enrique Pastorino. All these parties belong to the **"South Atlantic Organization."**

It is a well known fact that the danger presented by the Red hordes does not lie in their number but rather in their form of work, since they have the strong moral and material backing of the chiefs in Moscow and Peking.

The blindness prevailing among some American statesmen has permitted the overpowering advance of Communist penetration. This is aided and abetted, as Faleroni states, by the social, economical and political situation of our peoples. The Communists are clever in taking advantage of rebellions, of impositions, of natural feelings of unrest, and of the frequently exaggerated demands of the leaders of our popular masses.

The United States of America, who because of their moral and material

strength should be the vanguard of this Hemisphere, being as they are careful guardians of private initiative and enemies of State intervention, have only too often been mistaken in their policies in this matter. They have thought to solve the problem by enlisting the not always effective collaboration of the governments of the American nations (Central, South America, and the Antilles), and have forgotten to take into account the true feelings of the peoples of these nations. The recent Meetings of Chancellors in Caracas, Venezuela, in San José, Costa Rica, and in Bogotá, Colombia, have been a total failure for the North American diplomacy. The only ones who have profited from this are the agents of Communist imperialism from Russia and China, who have gleefully accomplished a weakening and division in the midst of the Bloc of United Nations.

The Subjugated Peoples As The Third Force

Congressman Flood suggests setting up of a commission for the affairs of the enslaved peoples

Last month Congressman Daniel I. Flood, Democrat, Pennsylvania, moved a resolution in the House of Representatives proposing the setting up of a special Congress commission to deal with the affairs of the peoples enslaved by Moscow. Referring to the big success of the celebrations held in observance of the "Captive Nations Week" approved by the U.S. Congress and proclaimed by President Eisenhower, Congressman Flood stressed that the clearest proof of the success of this action was the violent reaction on the part of Moscow. He affirmed that Khrushchov was undoubtedly well aware of the fact that the so-called Soviet Union was nothing but a political fiction, a compulsory union of peoples with an illustrious history, great culture and natural reserves. He added that the Soviet leaders knew better than anyone else to what extent they must resort to measures of violence in order to keep these peoples in slavery, and pointed out that in the event of another war the free world would have a powerful "third force," represented by these peoples subjugated by Moscow, on its side.

In moving his resolution, in which he listed all the peoples subjugated by Moscow (and he mentioned Ukraine as one of the first of these peoples), Congressman Flood stressed that the Americans must show these peoples that America has not forgotten them, that their fight for freedom is also the concern of the American people, that the latter would never resign themselves to the wretched conditions under which these peoples are forced to languish, and that the American people will endeavour to use to advantage every peaceful opportunity which could lead to their liberation. In connection with his resolution, Congressman Flood expressed his high esteem for Professor Lev Dobriansky, the President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and the initiator of the resolution on "Captive Nations Week," who at the same time is the chairman of the committee which organizes this "Week." A number of Congressmen have declared themselves prepared to support Congressman Flood's resolution.

Hon. John Diefenbaker
Prime Minister of Canada.

Sep. 26, 1960

Please accept our sincere gratitude and congratulations for your courageous stand in favour of Ukraine, Baltic and other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and colonialism. All the nations represented by Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations say to you, Sir, — Thank you very much.

ABN — CANADA.

Rt. Honourable
John G. Diefenbaker
Prime Minister of Canada
United Nations, New York.

Toronto, Sept. 26, 1960

On behalf of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations I send Your Excellency our sincere gratitude for your defense of the rights of our nations to freedom and independence.

JAROSLAW STETZKO,
President of the A.B.N.

The New Imperialism

A courageous Editorial expressing correct views about Moscow's imperialism as well as problems of East Europe and printed in the "New York Times" (August 8, 1960) is a rarity and deserves to be reprinted. In publishing this Editorial we should like to express our hope that the views of this Editorial will be shared in the near future also by the Government of the United States and the State Department in particular. *Editors of "ABN Correspondence."*

If the possibilities were not so grave, there would be much for the world to laugh at in Moscow's posturing over both Cuba and the Congo. In both these situations the Soviet Union is trying to appear before humanity as the great enemy of imperialism, the friend of oppressed peoples everywhere. The sad truth, apparent to anyone with an elementary knowledge of Soviet history, is that the Soviet Union is today the last remaining great imperialist state, the only colonial power which today rules more conquered territory and more subject peoples than it did a quarter of a century ago.

When Americans think of the captive nations, their thoughts normally turn first to the countries of Eastern Europe upon which Communist dictatorship was imposed by the Red Army a decade and a half ago. Of the Eastern European nations, only Yugoslavia today can claim to be truly independent and sovereign, having survived almost a decade of Stalinist political, economic and subversive warfare aimed at turning it into a satellite. The bitterness of the Hungarian people at their enslavement broke out fiercely in the revolution less than four years ago, a revolution drowned in blood by Soviet troops. The real feelings of the Polish people were expressed a year ago by the tremendous ovation Vice President Nixon received when he visited Warsaw, but the Gomulka regime has to conduct itself in cognizance of the reality of Soviet military forces on either side of Poland.

But if the Eastern European satellites are still allowed to keep the trappings of outward sovereignty, the same cannot be said of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union. Twenty years ago the independence of the Baltic States — Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia — was extinguished by acts of crude aggression. Red Army invasion of those states was followed by farcical "elections" which ended those nations' freedom, though not their love of liberty.

The list of other nations imprisoned in the Soviet Union is long. The Ukrainians are today one of the advanced people of Europe, yet Kiev is a mere provincial capital ruled from Moscow. In the Trans-Caucasus, the Georgians, Armenians and Azerbaidshanis have known freedom in their history, but know it no longer. In Central Asia the Kazakhs, the Uzbeks, the Kirghiz, the Turkmenes, the Tadjiks and other smaller peoples are denied independence and liberty.

If Moscow really were an enemy of imperialism it would give liberty to the non-Russian peoples now subject to its will. But in this era when the former Western colonial powers have been and are rapidly making their former colonies sovereign nations, there is no evidence of a similar trend in Moscow's empire. Rather, the witch hunt against true patriots among the Soviet subject peoples goes on unceasingly, as does the campaign to Russify these peoples, their cultures and their histories. On the issue of imperialism, therefore, Moscow stands at the bar of world opinion with blood and dirt on her own hands.

..."We will never write off the millions of people enslaved behind the Iron Curtain. Their freedom shall always be our objective. When freedom is threatened anywhere, it is threatened in America..."
Vice President Richard M. Nixon

Mr. Khrushchov's Big Lie

The use of lies and falsehoods by Communists is nothing new and normally does not require special comment. But Nikita Khrushchov's use of the Big Lie technique before the United Nations General Assembly yesterday had a breath-taking impudence which made it a special insult to the intelligence of all mankind. The lie was as simple as it was enormous: The head of the greatest colonial empire of the present day told the people of the world he has no colonies, and spoke sanctimoniously as the enemy of colonialism. The man who ordered the Hungarian Revolution throttled in blood dared weep crocodile tears over the fate of the many states now members of the United Nations who have been given their freedom with no struggle of any kind in recent years. It was a shameless performance.

Let us look at the Soviet colonial empire. It consists of two parts. One part is made up of states nominally independent, but enmeshed so completely in Moscow's military, political and economic power that they cannot act with true independence. These states are:

Poland
East Germany
Hungary
Czechoslovakia
Rumania
Albania
Bulgaria
Outer Mongolia
North Korea

The other part of the Soviet colonial empire is made up of the non-Russian peoples and lands which were first subjugated by the Czars, incorporated into their empire and then resubjugated by Lenin and Stalin so that today they are still vassals of Moscow. Many peoples live in the prison of nations that is the Soviet Union today, but the chief ones among them are the following:

Ukrainians
Byelorussians
Lithuanians
Latvians
Estonians
Armenians
Georgians
Azerbaijanis
Uzbeks
Turkmen
Kirgiz
Tadzhiks
Kazakhs
Tartars
Yakuts
Buryats

By all means let all colonialism be ended as soon as possible. But let the United Nations and the world make sure that the Soviet colonial empire be included. That empire, unfortunately, has grown while the other empires of the past have been dissolving before our eyes.

"The New York Times",
September 27, 1960.

The "Bulletin" of the German Federal Government on the Problem of the Subjugated Peoples

In three July numbers of the "Bulletin" published by the Press and Information Department of the German Federal Government, there are interesting articles which deal at length with the problem of the peoples subjugated by Soviet Russia. Very favourable comments are also made on "Captive Nations Week." The said articles clearly expose the aggressive policy pursued by Russia and the latter's ruthless violation of the subjugated peoples. This attitude on the part of the "Bulletin" is most commendable, since the German press on the whole does not devote much attention to these questions.

The July 20th edition of the "Bulletin" reports in detail on the observation of "Captive Nations Week" in the USA and writes:

"The German people have every reason to wish this week of commemoration the best of success," and, further,

"... it is therefore the duty of Germany, too, to allow the spirit which emanates from 'Captive Nations Week' to become effective and productive everywhere."

Extract from:

Open Letter to the Delegates of the General Assembly of United Nations

...We feel obliged to plead with you in the name of the silent millions — our oppressed brethren under Communist domination. Here is a partial list of the oppressed peoples:

Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Cossakia, North Caucasians, Croatia, Czechia, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Idel-Ural, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Roumania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Turkestan, Ukraine, East Germany, Mainland of China, North Korea, North Vietnam, Tibet. They, too, would like to be free, to chose their government and way of life, to join the peaceful community of free nations, to be able to advance in culture and economy free and naturally without being crippled by antiquated and absurd theories imposed by a handful of oppressing maniacs.

In their name we protest the absolutely unlawful and unfounded pretense on the part of Khrushchov that he represents "my people." What people? No people ever chose him as its spokesman. His fake credentials should be torn to pieces on the threshold of that sanctuary of the world's hope that the United Nations Organization should be.

... The following should be demanded from Khrushchov and his cohorts:

1. All the concentration camps and slave labour should be abolished in the Soviet Union and all the satellites.
2. All the mass deportations as well as the forced resettlement of populations from Baltic States, Ukraine, Byelorussia and other countries to Siberia, Turkestan, Kazakhstan and other territories should be stopped immediately.
3. The new form of genocide where foreign element is flooded into countries weakened by constant deportations, so that a foreign majority is imposed, should be stopped immediately.
4. a. To return all the deported and resettled to their home countries.
   b. To withdraw the forces of occupation, puppet governments, army police and secret police.
   c. To conduct free elections under supervision of UNO in the whole territory of USSR, China, Yugoslavia, North Korea and all the satellites.
5. To stop the undermining of the free world by Communist agents who, while using freedom of their countries, are blind and irresponsible tools for the deadly purposes of Communism...

Signed by:

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF A.B.N.
William S. Diduch
Chairman
Ulana Celewych
Secretary

Croatian Representative
Lithuanian Representative
Volga Germans Representative
Cossack Representative
Byelorussian Representative
Hungarian Mindszenty Movement — USA
Bulgarian Representative
Ukrainian Representative
Slovak Representative
Albanian Representative
Estonian Representative

Khrushchov's Typically Russian Hatred

At the reception given by the Soviet Embassy in New York for the UN delegates, Khrushchov, in answer to the question as to how he had fared with Hammerskjöld, replied:

"Oh, very well; the same as amongst the mountain inhabitants of the Caucasus. The guest is sacred. One has to accord him the usual honours. But as soon as he leaves the house, one again has the right to cut his throat."

This answer on the part of the Russian dictator and proletarian is a disgusting lie, but not in the least insulting to the ancient civilized people of the North Caucasus, since the words of the Kremlin ruler express the traditional hatred of the Russians. At the same time they also reveal the Russian attitude of insolence and arrogance towards the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union.

In the Soviet Union all peoples are allegedly equal and every national peculiarity of each people is respected.

But how far this respect goes, we know only too well. Like the tsarist rulers, the Soviet Communist Russians, too, regard the peoples of the Caucasus merely as the "savage Caucasians." But

Brutal Khrushchov has a good reason to hate the Caucasians, for the Russians have not succeeded in making them submissive and are well aware that the Caucasians regard them with great contempt.

it is an established fact that when the Russians were still attired in skins and ate raw meat, the peoples of the Caucasus already possessed a high standard of culture, as is proved by historical monuments and literary works.

Khrushchov Said . . .

"IF YOU DON'T LIKE US, DON'T ACCEPT OUR INVITATION AND DON'T INVITE US TO COME TO SEE YOU. WHETHER YOU LIKE IT OR NOT, HISTORY IS ON OUR SIDE. WE WILL BURY YOU."

(To Western diplomats at a Moscow reception, Nov. 18, 1956)

. . . And Ike Replied

"Now, once again, we hear an expansionist regime declaring, 'We will bury you!' "In a pit of American vernacular — 'Oh, yeah?' "

"Seriously, it would be a grave error not to take this kind of threat literally. This theme has been communist doctrine for a hundred years.

"You will recall that there was once a dictator named Hitler who also said he would bury us. He wrote a long dull book telling precisely how he was going to do it. Not enough people took him at his word.

"We shall not make that mistake again."

(Radio-TV address, Oklahoma City, Nov. 13, 1957)

To The General Assembly Of The
United Nations Organization
New York, N.Y., U.S.A.

In the name of freedom and basic principles of human rights, and human dignity, and referring to the Charter of the United Nations Organization of the 25th June 1945, and to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the 10th December, 1948, we beg to present to the honourable Representatives of all freedom loving nations, members of that supreme international body, the following memorandum:

1) We who are living in the free world express in the name of the Croat nation now enslaved by the Communist dictatorship in so-called "Yugoslavia" our most energetic protest agaists the participation at the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization of the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia dictator Josip Broz Tito.

2) We most emphatically deny that dictator any right to either represent or speak in the name of the Croat nation, for the Croats have against their will and in flagrant violation of the democratic principle of self-determination of nations been by force deprived of their freedom and national independence in 1945, and incorporated into the multi-national state called "Yugoslavia." They have been by force submitted to the totalitarian regime of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia headed by its general secretary Josip Broz Tito.

3) We accuse Josip Broz Tito of the unparallelled crime committed after World War II when 150,000 members of the regular Croatian Army and an overwhelming number of civilian population who had been extradited to Tito's partisan bands as prisoners-of-war, were massacred in the most brutal way.

4) We ask that the Croatian Nation be recognized its democratic right to self-determination, to be given the opportunity on the grounds of its historical and national rights to elect a government of its choice under the supervision of the supreme international body, the United Nations Organization, and to establish its own independent Croatian State.

FOR THE CROATIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT

President:
Dr. Stjepan Hefer
National Deputy

Secretary of the Supreme
Council of the C.L.M.
Emil Klaic

Chairman of the Supreme
Council of the C.L.M.
Ivan Asancaic

From Behind the Iron Curtain

LITHUANIA

LITHUANIANS REFUSE TO GIVE UP MOTHER-TONGUE

According to the statistics of the last Soviet census, 97.8 per cent of all the Lithuanians living under Soviet rule gave "Lithuanian" as their mother-tongue. In the case of the Latvians and Estnonians under Soviet rule who opted for their mother-tongue the percentage was 95.1 each, whilst in the case of the Germans it was 75, Poles 45.5, and Jews only 20.8.

LITHUANIA AT A DISADVANTAGE IN EDUCATION

Soviet statistics ("Izvestija" of February 4, 1960) show that Lithuania as compared to a number of other Soviet republics is at a disadvantage as far as secondary and higher education is concerned. This state of affairs, incidentally, reminds one of the days of the Russian tsarist regime. In those days, too, the Russian central government endeavoured to keep the standard of education of the Lithuanian population as low as possible in order to undermine national aspirations.

According to the Soviet statistics of 1959, only 13 persons in a thousand completed a course of higher education, whilst 175 in a thousand attended a vocational or a secondary school and had a seven-class education.

In four other of the 15 Soviet republics the number of persons who have completed a course of higher education is even less than in Lithuania, whilst in three other republics the percentage is the same as in Lithuania.

THE RESULTS OF FAULTY SOVIET PLANNING

Although Lithuania is still predominantly an agricultural country, Soviet economic and distribution planning is so faulty that even the Party organs are obliged to admit this fact openly. The Party organ "Tiesa", for instance, recently published a number of complaints to the effect that patients and holiday-visitors in the famous spa for rheumatism, Birstonas, were receiving no fresh vegetables. Similar conditions were reported from other places. At the same time, however, vegetable producers (nurseries, kolkhozes, sovchozes) complained that they could not always sell their fresh vegetables because means of transport were not available or because of other errors in planning. Thus, whereas the population in some places reveives no fresh vegetables at all, in other places the vegetables are left to rot.

ATHEISTIC FILMS

Atheistic films, with such titles as "The Creation of the World" and "The Essence of Life," etc., are at present being shown in various towns of Lithuania.

HUNGARY

REPORT FROM HUNGARY

At the Party Congress of the Hungarian Communists, 108 functionaries were elected. Most of them are persons of little or no significance, who have merely advanced to a higher position through the Party. These functionaries decide the fate of the 10 million people of Hungary, regardless of the actual wishes of the latter; they merely consider and obey the directives issued by Moscow as to what measures are to be introduced with regard to the political, economic and cultural sphere and even in the private and personal life of the Hungarian people.

* * *

The Communist Party of Hungary, which prior to the Hungarian revolution numbered over 800,000 members, has now, according to the estimate of certain circles within the Party, at the most 200,000 "convinced" Communists as members, that is to say 5 per cent of the population, though actually the number is probably only about 2 per cent. The Party thus rules the country with the aid of police and military forces, jurisdiction, press and radio functionaries.

* * *

Soviet experts have now completed the general draft for the pipeline which is to supply Poland, Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia with Russian oil. The total length of this pipeline will be over 2,500 miles, of which 80 miles will be laid in Hungary. Construction is to be completed in the course of 1961. From about the middle of 1962 onwards, Hungary will receive about 300 million tons of Russian oil every year through this pipeline.

* * *

"Empty Pioneer Hostels" is the title of an article in the organ of the Hungarian Communist Party, the daily "Népszabadság," which discusses the question as to whether the pioneer hostels, erected at considerable expense, are attractive enough for the schoolchildren of Hungary, who have been organized in brigades.

Of the 3,000 to 6,000 pioneers in the district of the capital, at least 2,000, so the paper points out, continue to live with their parents or relatives.

* * *

The Iron Curtain in Western Hungary, between Kőszeg and Szt. Gothard, is being fortified still further at great speed, namely by additional technical obstructions and high iron watch-towers, etc.

GEORGIA

NEW WAVE OF TERRORISM AGAINST CLERGY

As can be seen from reports in the Soviet press of June and July this year and, above all, in the "Komsomolskaja Pravda" and "Sovjetskaja Russija," a new wave of persecutions against the clergy, who are being defamed and accused of all sorts of crimes in an infamous way, has started in the Soviet Union.

The Catholic priests are, for instance, accused of trying to appropriate the property of the churches for their own use, of deceiving their parishioners and enriching themselves at the expense of the latter.

As a result of this wave of terrorism, mock trials have recently been held in the territories ruled by the atheists, at which the accused were members of the clergy. At one of such trials which was held in Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia, a priest, Shidingarov-Veridze, was accused of having robbed the church. The reason for his persecution was that he had been ordained in Rome. Allegedly, he affirmed that on earth he was only under the supreme authority of the Vatican. He is also said to have stated that in church he was the master and no one else. Shidingarov-Veridze was sentenced to three years' imprisonment and his property was confiscated.

We have also received reports of similar persecutions against the clergy from other regions of the U.S.S.R. These persecutions are being carried out throughout the entire territory of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and, in particular, in Galicia, which was occupied by Russia after World War II and where the anti-Russian feeling amongst the Ukrainian population has not yet been completely crushed.

RUMANIA

NEW TRADE UNION STATUTES

The new statutes provide that trade union members shall be entitled to have curative treatment in Rumanian spas, or may spend a holiday there. Their children can be placed in kindergartens, children's hostels or pioneer camps. Together with their families, the Rumanian trade union members are to be allowed to use the cultural and athletics institutions of this organization, provided that they observe the house-rules and regulations, etc., laid down by the organization. According to the same statutes, cases of dire need shall be entitled to receive a special maintenance allowance, to be paid out to them in one sum.

Those responsible for propaganda in the Rumanian People's Republic are naturally using this opportunity to emphasize, in countless press articles, broadcast programmes and lectures, etc., the sacrifices which the Red state makes for its alleged protégés. Actually, these "new institutions" are rights and privileges which were defined in the old statutes, but which were disregarded in the past in much the same way as they will not be applied in the future. Subscriptions have to be paid by everybody. But as is only right in a "socialist" state with a "class-less" society, after the exploiting class has been eliminated, only the genuine, true, loyal... subjects, namely the Communists, are entitled to enjoy these rights and privileges. All the rest must take an example from them as to what one must be able to do, what one must want to do and what one must do in order to become one of the privileged and must practise how to wait for better times.

BOOKS

The commencement of the new school-year always provides the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Rumanian Workers' Party (Communist Party) with an opportunity and material to occupy itself thoroughly with the cultural mission of the Party and the proletarian state. Statistics are collected, reports of achievements are published, and comparisons are drawn with the ("backward") countries abroad and with the days of "capitalist" exploitation, etc. The results, at least on paper, are very flattering for the Communist regime, even though one knows that next year — likewise quite systematically — the "faults, omissions, deviations and other crimes" now being committed against the intelligence and the proletarian souls of the youth of the country" will again be severely censured and criticized. Apparently this is part of dialectic development!

The impressive figures given for the achievements accomplished so far are: about 170,000,000 copies of books were printed (including books which for some reason or other have already been confiscated and destroyed, — though this fact is not indicated in the statictics).

At present there are about 18,500 libraries in the Rumanian People's Republic (most of them contain little else save Party pamphlets and other reading matter, novels, etc., which extol the present regime). The pupils in the schools with a seven-year training receive all their textbooks free. The reason for this is explained by a propagandist who is apparently not very astute: "The pupils who find the ten textbooks on their desks realize that this measure is the first Party decree in their life." Incidentally, they will later on in life often have an opportunity to realize the generosity of the Party, or, rather, to remind themselves of it again and again.

As regards the reading matter perused by the average person in the Rumanian People's Republic today, this anxious question is answered for us by a "Scanteia Tineretului" article which lists the most popular books. They are the works of such famous champions of the socialist revolution as Jules Verne, Alexandre Dumas, Victor Hugo, etc. The sale of these books is, in fact, said to have saved the state publishing firms from bankruptcy.

THE RUMANIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC DELEGATION AT THE UNO GENERAL ASSEMBLY

is headed by Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Stefan Voitec, Leonte Rautu, Eduard Mezincescu, Silviu Brucan, etc. They left Rumania on September 7th and arrive in New York, by the same ship as the head boss of the Communist Party, Khrushchov, on October 19th.

A week before their departure, the Rumanian Party leader, Gheorghiu-Dej, delivered a report on foreign policy before the General Assembly. The themes of this report were the slogans of his teacher Khrushchov, which he had learnt by heart or carefully copied, — "political coexistence," "peace policy," "disarmament policy," etc. Rumania would like to submit and support two proposals at the UNO General Assembly: firstly, the improvement of relations between all the states of the world, regardless of the regimes which rule there and by preserving the present forms of government, frontiers, etc. (that is to say, by perpetuating the political status quo to obtain the moral support and consolidation terms from the free world which are so urgently needed by the tottering Eastern autocracies), and, secondly, an explicit declaration on the part of the free world to the effect that it will refrain from intervening in the affairs of other states, which has the same aim as the first proposal, but, in addition, is also identical with a renunciation of their own security. These "demands" are not new. The only thing that is new is that the Communist Party of Rumania, probably the weakest Communist Party organization in the world, is now trying to have a say in world political affairs. We can be prepared for glorious times if this experiment should succeed.

SLOVAKIA

NEWS FROM SLOVAKIA

At the end of August a group of 34 Russian Communist ideologists and agitators visited Slovakia. They held conferences with their Slovak comrades and then undertook a pleasure trip into the Tatra region.

* * *

As every year since the end of World War II, the Communists in this year, too, again celebrated the anniversary of the Communist partisan revolt organized and led by Soviet Russian paratroops and political commissars in Slovakia in the summer of 1944. At this year's celebrations further monuments were erected to Communist partisans and Soviet Russian "heroes." But the police is obliged to stand guard in front of these monuments the whole time in order to prevent them from being destroyed or damaged by the population.

BOOK-REVIEWS

Charles Jelavich: Tsarist Russia and Nationalism (Russian Influence in the Internal Affairs of Bulgaria and Serbia, 1879-1886). Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1958. University of California Press. 304 pp.

In 1870, Liuben Karavelov, an outstanding Bulgarian author, expressed the following prophetic words: "If Russia comes to liberate us, she will be received with great sympathy; if, on the other hand, she comes to rule us, she will have to reckon with many enemies," and thus gave voice to the sentiments of the Balkan peoples towards tsarist Russia. Jelavich in this book has undertaken the difficult task of showing how Russian policy, which above all was determined to make Russia a major power in Europe, was involved in a fierce conflict with Bulgarian nationalism, but, on the other hand, met with sympathy on the part of the Serbs.

In the eleven chapters of his book, two of which are devoted exclusively to Serbia, the author gives a detailed account of events from the Congress of Berlin in 1878, by which Russia, thanks to the united pressure of the major powers, was forced to relinquish her dominating

position and influence in Serbia in favour of Austria, up to the severance of diplomatic relations between Russia and Bulgaria in 1886.

In the introduction, in which the author explains the ideological basis of Russian — Bulgarian relations, he stresses the similarity of events during the said period with those of our day, that is since World War II. The Russians formerly upheld traditional autocracy, orthodoxy and Slavophilism; today they uphold the Communist ideal and the ethnical affinity of the Slavs.

The book is based mainly on hitherto unpublished material, excerpts of the diplomatic notes of the British Foreign Office and Public Record Office and of the Austrian archives (Domestic, Court and State Archives), as well as on extracts from the works of various historians. The author also had an opportunity to gain an insight into the interesting correspondence between Giers and A. P. Davidov, A. G. Ionini, A. E. Vlangali and I. A. Zinoviev.

The five-page bibliography, in which not a single Croat author is mentioned, clearly shows the onesided and erroneous sources referred to by Jalevich with regard to Serbian aspirations as far as the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina were concerned. The arbitrary statement made by the author, for instance, that Bosnia and Herzegovina, which were ceded to Austria-Hungary at the Congress of Berlin, were national Serbian territories, is historically entirely unfounded. Had he used Croat sources, he would not have made such an error.

But be that as it may, — this book by Prof. Jelavich is nevertheless a valuable contribution towards a study of Russia's policy and her intentions on the Balkan peninsula. And the author certainly deserves great credit for the scientific method which he applies in examining his subject, for his clear and flowing style and the care with which he has devoted himself to the task of giving the reader a graphic account.

Milan Blazekovic

Mindia Laschauri: **"Gegen die Entstellung der Geschichte des georgischen Volkes."** ("Against the Misrepresentation of the History of the Georgian People"). Munich, 1960. 39 pp.

Various tendentious articles which distort the ancient history of Georgia have in recent times appeared in allegedly scientific journals such as "The Armenian Review" and "The Caucasian Review," published by the American Institute for the Study of the Soviet Union, Munich. We have already expressed our opinion on these articles on a former occasion and have exposed the political motive behind them (see ("ABN Correspondence," July 1959, No. 7/8).

An attempt to misrepresent the history of Georgia was first of all undertaken by the Russians in the Soviet Union, but the answer which they received from scholars in Georgia, who even included Communists, was such that it left them speechless. Subsequently, the same kind of tendentious misrepresentation of Georgian history appeared in the above-mentioned periodicals in the West.

A scientific examination of these problems, in which the theories expounded by these alleged scholars are clearly refuted, has now been undertaken by a Georgian.

In this book, the young Georgian scholar, **Mindia Laschauri**, on the strength of the sources of ancient Greek, Roman, Persian and other historians and geographers and the scientific research of German, French, Georgian and even Armenian and Russian scholars, has exposed the authors of the said tendentious articles and has shown how completely worthless their publications are. In fact, he has proved that they are not even informed as regards actual historical events.

Although this book is written in a strictly scientific and condensed style, it nevertheless deals exhaustively with the problems in question. For certain reasons it has been published in Russian; in order to make it accessible to scientific and political circles in the West, however, it most certainly should also be published in English, for it clearly proves that an attempt is being made to mislead these circles in the West under the guise of scientific research.

N. Ekhadieli

Slavische Geisteswelt. Bd. I: Russland. Herausgegeben von Martin Winkler, 1959; Bd. II: West- und Südslaven. Herausgegeben von St. Hafner, O. Turecek und G. Wytrzens, 1959. Holle Verlag, Baden-Baden. (The Slavonic Cultural and Intellectual World. Vol. I: Russia. Edited by Martin Winkler, 1955; Vol. II: The Western and Southern Slavs. Edited by St. Hafner, O. Turecek and G. Wytrzens, 1959.)

It certainly attests to a success on the part of the Ukrainian national fight for freedom that in this series of chrestomathies on the history of Slav culture (or, to be more exact, on the history "of the statehood and national element," as the editors affirm), which have been presented most comprehensively and chosen with competent care, Ukraine at last appears as something entirely distinct from Russia and is neither mentioned nor taken into account at all in Vol. I of the series (apart from reference in the foreword to Hryhoriy Skovoroda, who is, however, explicitly described as a "Ukrainian philosopher"). It is true that the Kyivan epoch (that of the principalities before the rise to power of Moscow) is included in the history of the Russian cultural and intellectual world, and the historical continuity of the Ruthenian Ukraine Rus' is thus not taken into consideration; but this, on the one hand, was unavoidable in a work intended for such a wide circle of readers: in all the West and Central European languages there is only one word for "Rus'" and "Rosiya," and it will undoubtedly be decades before people realize that two different conceptions are contained in this one word; and, on the other hand, the earliest beginnings of the history of Russian (Muscovite) culture would simply be incomprehensible without a

picture of the Kyivan cultural prototype. Furthermore, the editor has revealed a rare historical discretion inasmuch as he has only selected from the texts of the Kyivan epoch what was absolutely necessary, — namely, small fragments of the Kyiv Chronicles, which are religious and historical in contents, and the famous "Advice to His Sons" by Prince Volodymyr Monomakh (Monomachus); he is entirely justified in choosing both, since the ancient Suzdal, the later Muscovite territory, received the Christian religion and also the dynasty of the Monomachidas direct from Kyiv.

The history of Ukrainian culture is thus — even in a more or less popular work —, in principle detached from the history of Russian culture, at least from the time when Ukraine began to be called "Ukraine," — and this certainly is no mean triumph for the Ukrainian national fight for freedom. True, the history of Ukrainan culture is included in the 2nd volume of the series, that is in the one entitled "The Western and Southern Slavs," and it certainly strikes one as rather strange that the national Ukrainian element of the 19th century is represented in this second volume mainly by Kostomarov and Drahomanov, who, as is known, were never in any way connected with the Western or the Southern Slavs.

One could, of course, accept this purely formal absurdity without more ado; but what is a more serious fault is the fact that the choice of texts which are supposed to illustrate the growth of the Ukrainian "statehood" and the "national element" in question, is extremely unfortunate. Actually, only a single Ukrainian author is represented in a worthy manner, — namely, Kostomarov with his "Book of the Genesis of the Ukrainian People"; as regards Drahomanov, it is really depressing to read his "federalist" discussions, with his logical conclusion that Ukraine should content itself with the "mission" of a "small or provincial nationality"; and this side by side with the chauvinistic effusions of a Count Alexander Wielopolski, who in his well-known open letter to Metternich in 1846, the year which proved so fatal for the Polish feudal lords in Galicia, ardently defends serfdom in Galicia, which was preponderantly Ukrainian, and in every way seeks to glorify the "paternalism" of the Polish magnates; that this Count Wielopolski finished up as a high-ranking tsarist administrative official, goes without saying; apparently the preservation of serfdom meant more to him than his own country.

As far as all the other Ukrainian texts quoted are concerned, here, too, the choice is extremely unfortunate and has probably been prompted by tendentiousness; for example, a very obscurantist passage from the works of Ivan Vyshynsky (about 1550—1625), in which the famous controversialist condemns all "secular" education, — and the editors' comment to this is: "In this way one of the intellectual preconditions was created for the union of Ukraine with Moscow, which was soon to follow." This is an entirely false argument: for in the first place, the Byzantine asceticism adopted by Vyshynsky in the Monastery of Athos was entirely alien to Ukrainian national consciousness in the 16th to 17th century, as can be clearly seen from the educational activity of the bourgeois "brotherhoods" in all the larger towns of Ukraine and the growth and prosperity of the Theological Academy in Kyiv, which was definitely humanistic in trend; and, secondly, there is no connection whatever with the so-called "union of Ukraine with Moscow," since it had no "intellectual predominations," but solely foreign political and, to a lesser degree, social political ones. And, incidentally, the editors endeavour to show this "union" in a Russophil light, since, in the account which they present of the treaty of Pereyaslav (1654), they use a source influenced by Moscow (and, it is characteristic that it is taken from a Soviet Russian history book), which is obviously not representative of Ukrainian public opinion in the middle of the 17th century, but, rather, a later falsification of this opinion by the Muscovites and their Ukrainian hirelings.

There can thus be no denying the fact that the Ukrainian nation is treated very badly, without insight and understanding, in the first two volumes of this "Slavonic Cultural and Intellectual World," — indeed, much worse than, say, the Croats and the Slovenes (the Slovaks, incidentally, are left out completely); but the main point is that the Ukrainian nation is treated as an independent nation, in no way connected with the Russian nation; and this is undoubtedly a gratifying step forward.

V. D.

Proof of the Communist Domination of Venezuela. Published by the Anti-Communist Liberation Movement of Venezuela. Caracas, 1959. 81 pp.

This pamphlet contains extremely interesting and valuable information on the grave Communist menace that exists in Venezuela. The preface stresses that this country is dominated by the Reds; and on pages 54-55 it is pointed out that the Venezuelan trade unions have been infiltrated by Moscow's agents. The true purpose of Communist aims in Latin America were, incidentally, clearly revealed during the recent visit there of U.S. Vice-President Nixon.

The reason for Communist penetration in Venezuela is twofold: the proximity of the Venezuelan bases to the Panama Canal and control of Venezuelan oil in order to deprive the USA of supplies in the event of war.

The seeds of reaction against everything that is North American which the Reds have sown among the people of Venezuela are apparent everywhere. It is to be hoped that Venezuela will not become a second Cuba.

Russia has taken advantage of the fact that the U.S. government is occupied with grave problems in the Middle East, Far East, South-Eastern Asia and Eastern Germany and is engrossed in combatting Communist doctrine throughout the world, to establish Red bases, above all, in the Caribbean area, which is so close to Venezuela.

This interesting and informative pamphlet concludes with a list of prominent officers who belong to the Communist Party.

V. Ivonivsky

Extract from Letters to A.B.N.

Dear Mr. Stetzko,

I receive occasional copies of the "ABN Correspondence," published in München. I find it an excellent publication.

I enjoyed meeting you again and congratulate you on your energy and success in keeping alive the crimes of the Kremlin.

Sincerely,

Maj. Gen. C. A. Willoughby,
Washington, D.C.

THE KREMLIN ON A VOLCANO

by

Jaroslaw Stetzko

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

Hon. Michael A. Feighan

U.S. Congressman

A NEW BATTLEGROUND OF THE COLD WAR

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

THE TRUTH ABOUT A.B.N.

by

Niko Nakashidze

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