

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Dr. Josef Tiso

President of the Slovak Republic



**Died as a Martyr for the Christian Faith and for the
Freedom and Independence of his Nation**

A.B.N. Rejects Compromises With Russian Colonialism

(Two statements made at the International Conference in Rome in November 1961)

Since the general motion does not say anything at all about the liberation and the restoration of independent states of the subjugated peoples in the Soviet Union, we are obliged to vote against it, all the more so as we have not been consulted with regard to the principles according to which the organizations proposed in the motion should function.

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We ascertain with embitterment that the organizers are not disposed to let the Conference declare in plain and unmistakable terms that the peoples subjugated by Soviet Russia have the inviolable right to national independence. This being the case, we have nothing to seek here. We shall continue our struggle alone against tyranny, against Russian imperialism and Communism. We shall seek our friends where one is not afraid of declaring emphatically that the last colonial empire — the Russian Communist empire — must be disintegrated and must be replaced by the national states of the peoples at present subjugated in the USSR.

O N C O M M U N I S M

A well known British pinko said.

"It's better to be Red than dead."

Too bad he wasn't there to see

The streets run red in Hungary.

"Let's coexist!" The cowards cry . . .

"The price of Freedom comes too high!"

Try telling that to Cuban slaves . . .

You cannot coexist with knaves!

We all love Peace — no one likes war —

But Liberty's worth fighting for!

And after all is done and said

IT'S BETTER TO BE DEAD . . . THAN RED!

Nick Kenny

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Monsignore Dr. Josef Tiso

President of the Slovak Republic

When Soviet Russian dictator Khrushchov hypocritically condemned the crimes of his predecessor Stalin at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party in Moscow and even urged that a monument should be set up in Moscow to the memory of the victims of Stalinism, the world press made no mention whatever of the fact that of these countless victims Monsignore Dr. Josef Tiso, the President of the Slovak Republic, was surely one of the most prominent and most outstanding. Of course, Khrushchov's gesture is by no means an attempt at restitution in the case of the victims of that criminal politician Stalin; still less does it indicate any renunciation of the success achieved by this policy for the Russian Communist imperium.

The late President of the Slovak Republic, Monsignore Dr. J. Tiso, will always be remembered in the history of Slovakia and by the Slovak people as a symbol of their national freedom and their struggle against Moscow.

Dr. Josef Tiso was born in the town of Velka Bytca (northwest Slovakia) on October 13, 1887. He chose the priesthood as his profession and after completing his education at a grammar school began to study theology in Vienna. After completion of his studies he was ordained as a Roman Catholic priest. He not only devoted himself to his ecclesiastical tasks, however, but even as a young man and before the outbreak of the first world war showed a lively interest in politics and advocated the rights of the Slovak people. After the first world war, when the state of Czecho-Slovakia was founded without the consent of the Slovak people, Dr. Josef Tiso engaged in political activity on a large scale in the framework of Hlinka's Slovak People's Party. This party became the most important party in Slovakia and fought for the national self-determination of the Slovak people and for the state independence of Slovakia. Dr. Josef Tiso soon became one of the closest co-workers of the President of the party, Monsignore Andreas Hlinka, who was likewise a Roman Catholic priest. When the Slovak People's Party temporarily participated in the Prague government in 1925 in order to try to achieve some positive results for Slovakia, Dr. Josef Tiso was appointed Minister of Public Health Administration and Social Welfare. In this capacity he did a great deal towards improving the health resorts in Slovakia. The participation of the Slovak People's Party in the Prague government, however, proved a political failure. For this reason it left the government in 1929. Apart from this period of participation in the government, the Slovak People's Party was always in the Opposition until October 1939. When Andreas Hlinka died in 1938, Dr. Josef Tiso assumed the leadership of the Slovak People's Party. At that time the artificial state structure, Czecho-Slovakia, was undergoing an acute internal and external crisis as a result of the Sudeten question. After the Munich Agreement, which incidentally did not concern the Slovak people, Czecho-Slovakia was so weak that the Slovak People's Party was able to assume governmental power without meeting with any opposition. Under the leadership of Dr. Josef Tiso, the Slovak People's Party on October 6, 1938, decided to assume governmental power in Slovakia and also in favour of the later autonomy in the framework of the Czecho-Slovakian state. The independence of Slovakia could not, however, be proclaimed since the entire state administration was in the hands of Czech state officials and the country was occupied by Czech troops. In addition, the leading Slovak politicians were of the opinion that it was in the first place essential to make diplomatic preparations and to carry on discussions regarding the founding of an independent state. It was, above all, necessary to ascertain the attitude of the

major European powers in this respect, that is to say, to win them over for the idea of an independent Slovakian state. In addition, various preparations had of course also to be made in Slovakia itself with regard to the founding of an independent state.

As Prime Minister of the Autonomous Slovak Government, Dr. Josef Tiso devoted himself above all to the internal construction of Slovakia. But he also took part in the most important diplomatic conferences which led up to the proclamation of the independence of Slovakia. On March 13, 1939, for instance, together with his co-worker, Prof. Dr. Durcansky, he negotiated with Adolf Hitler in Berlin regarding the founding of an independent Slovakian state. On the following day, March 14, 1939, after Dr. Tiso had reported on the results of these negotiations, the Slovak parliament in Bratislava announced the founding of the sovereign and independent state of Slovakia. In the first government of the Slovak Republic Dr. Tiso held the office of Prime Minister. At the same time he also exercised the function of head of the state. After parliament had passed the Constitution of the Slovak Republic. Dr. Josef Tiso was elected its President. He pursued a moderate policy in the Christian conservative sense. Under his presidency Slovakia enjoyed a period of prosperity both in the cultural and economic sector such as it had never before experienced. Conditions remained stable and the population enjoyed the benefits of a rapid social progress.

As regards foreign policy, Dr. Tiso endeavoured to keep Slovakia out of the war. Although the Slovak Republic was an ally of the German Reich, it did not take part in Germany's wars against the Western powers, nor did it declare war on the latter. It only declared war on Soviet Russia and fought on Germany's side against that country. The decisive factors which prompted Slovakia to declare war on Soviet Russia were the desire to defend Western culture and the aim to liberate the subjugated peoples of the Russian Communist imperium.

The anti-Communist policy of Monsignore Dr. Josef Tiso and of the Slovak government cost him his life and Slovakia its state independence.

Even during the last few weeks of the war, when it was already obvious that Slovakia on the side of Germany would lose the war against Soviet Russia, President Dr. Tiso refused to capitulate to Moscow. And he explicitly rejected an offer of political cooperation made by Moscow.

Before the Russian troops entered Bratislava Dr. Josef Tiso and his government went into exile. Together with other representatives of the Slovak Republic, he was, however, extradited to the Communists by organs of the American occupation forces,—a step which was a violation of international law.

After a mock trial before the so-called National Law Court in Bratislava, President Dr. Tiso was sentenced to death. He could have saved his life if he had abnegated his principles and his policy. But he affirmed before the Communist court that if he had his choice again, he would in general still pursue the same policy as before.

On April 18, 1947, Monsignore Dr. Josef Tiso was executed in Bratislava.

Some days before his execution Red police units and troops of the Russian army were posted in readiness all over Slovakia in order to prevent a national revolt. His body was cremated so as to deprive the Slovak people of any memory of his personality.

But in spite of this, the Slovak people still remember their President Dr. Josef Tiso with veneration and gratitude. And they have remained loyal to the spirit which inspired him and his work and, above all, to the Slovak Republic, whose head representative Dr. Josef Tiso was.

C. P.

Prime Minister Diefenbaker Attacks Soviet Russian Imperialism

(From a speech to the ethnic groups, in Toronto, November 22, 1961)

The United Nations has before it resolutions placed there by the newly emerging states of Africa and Asia advocating freedom, self-determination and independence of colonial peoples.

The USSR, with its awful record for denying national freedom, self-determination and independence of so many peoples behind the Iron Curtain, has put forward a resolution.

For Communist Russia to pose as the champion of human liberty and the liberator of captive peoples is a complete travesty of truth.

The tirades of abuse by the USSR on colonialism are designed to promote disturbance and furtherance of Communist domination abroad and to hide the subjugation of captive peoples.

Canada's concern over the problem of these persons is based on the demand that fundamental human rights and freedoms should be fully respected, including the national right of self-determination on grounds of race, colour and creed.

Although Canada has no direct involvement in colonial administration, Canadians have a genuine interest in wishing to promote the evolution from colony to nationhood for all subject peoples everywhere who desire that status and at a rate of development which is governed only by practical considerations of internal stability.

The preoccupation of new states with their problems of economic and social development is fully understandable. It is incumbent on all governments to be concerned with the well-being of their people and to seek for them improved standards of living. It is incumbent on Western nations to be conscious, moreover, of the responsibility which rests on the highly developed countries to give assistance to the new nations striving for economic and social betterment.

As one of the industrialized countries, Canada has accepted its share of that responsibility. Our action in this regard is motivated quite simply by a desire to help the less-developed states to achieve that degree of independence which can be a political reality only if it rests solidly on economic stability.

What is the record?

Among the Western nations there has been tremendous progress among their colonies towards freedom and independence, while on the Soviet side there has been progressive annexation of helpless states and people. A comparison of the Western and Communist countries reveals two cavalcades of political change since the end of World War I moving in opposite directions, — the one among the Western nations towards the light of freedom, the other into the darkness of subjugation.

The Soviet Union at the UN contends that 88 territories under the sovereignty of other nations having a total population of 71,100,000 will still be under colonial rule on January 1, 1962. But it says nothing about the progress that has been made in recent years. The Soviets do not mention the 850 million people in some 37 countries which have achieved political independence since 1945 from non-Communist countries. The Soviets are significantly silent about the 96 million non-Russian people living under Soviet rule who have never been given an opportunity to decide whether they wished to remain part of the Soviet empire.

The Soviets present a lurid picture of bloodshed and violence in non-Communist colonial areas but they take no account of the peaceful development within the

Commonwealth, under the leadership of the United Kingdom, which has made freedom and independence a living reality for 586 million people in India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Malaya, Ghana, Nigeria, Cyprus, Sierra Leone and Tanganyika. The Soviet version ignores completely the political freedoms, the administrative experience and the material resources which the Commonwealth countries of Asia and Africa have derived from their association in the Commonwealth.

In 1939 more than one-third of all mankind lived in dependent status under the colonial rule of Western European countries. Today fewer than two per cent remain in that status. In the United Nations, no less than one-third of the members are states which have attained their independence since 1945. This is an impressive story of achievement and it is continuing.

The Soviet Union, while pretending otherwise, is a colonial power and a colossus of empires.

It dominates, subjugates and exploits vast areas of Asia and of the Caucasus, initially colonized in the nineteenth century and earlier by Imperial Russia, using them as a source of cheap raw materials, cheap labour and as a captive market.

Furthermore, the Soviet Union, by force of arms, has deprived highly developed countries of their independence, deported tens of thousands of their citizens to misery and death, exploited their riches and ruthlessly suppressed every attempt on the part of their people to maintain any semblance of national identity.

The facts are well-known: after seeking and obtaining Hitler's agreement, the Soviet Army in 1940 marched into Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, into Eastern Poland and into Bessarabia, and by military and police power transformed these countries and parts of countries into colonial provinces of the Soviet Union.

This was the course followed in 1919 when the Red Army trampled on the newly attained independence of Ukraine. This occurred while the new Bolshevik Government of Russia was piously declaring that, under its new nationality policy, every part of the former Russian Empire was free to go its own way. The same story could be told of Trans-Caucasia and Central Asia.

Soviet representatives will tell us that the peoples of these subject countries invited the Soviet Army to invade them because what they wanted most was to become part of the Soviet Union.

Is there any sovereign state in the world, — independent, democratic, economically vigorous and having a high standard of living — which would willingly invite military occupation and political subjugation by a large neighbour? Would such subjugation be welcomed when that neighbour had a lower living standard, had no democratic institutions and was under the rule of dictatorship?

No free country would invite such invasion and subjugation. The peoples of Ukraine, the Baltic countries, or other Eastern European countries, of Trans-Caucasia and Central Asia did not invite it. They had it thrust upon them. They were never given an opportunity to choose freedom. They are still being denied the right by the U.S.S.R. which the U.S.S.R. contends should be the right of all peoples.

Is the Soviet Union to be the only colonial power remaining in the world? Why should the Soviet empire be more sacrosanct than any other? Different rules do not and should not apply to Soviet imperialists. There must be no double standards in the United Nations.

The United Nations Declaration makes no distinction as to the colour or race of people subjected to alien domination and exploitation; it does not qualify the right of peoples to self-determination. It uses the all-embracing word "all" in the preamble that "all peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of their sovereignty and the integrity of their national territory."

It does not exclude the Soviet Union from the injunction against "all armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples."

The Soviet Union has issued an explanatory memorandum in connection with the debate on granting independence to colonial countries. I draw your attention to one passage in the Soviet memorandum which I consider not only inaccurate but so monstrous in its hypocrisy. I quote from the document:

"The United Nations organization must demand that the population of each colony immediately be given . . . universal suffrage, freedom of speech, press, assembly, and the freedom to create their national political parties, trade unions, and other public organizations."

In the countries under Soviet rule and domination, there is no freedom of speech, no press except that controlled by the government, no political party but the ruling one, no trade unions with the power to make and enforce demands against management. These rights and institutions, so much a part of the democratic way of life, are not only systematically denied in the Soviet empire; it is part of Soviet doctrine that they must be subverted in other lands, if the Communist revolution is to achieve its world-wide aims. Yet the Soviet Union uses the language of freedom to promote the aims of Communist slavery.

"He who accuses another man of shameful conduct should take care to keep himself blameless." (Plautus)

History will judge each nation by the efforts it makes to eradicate what remains of injustice and discrimination in its internal and external dealings.

Within the last several days there have been discussions in the United Nations on resolutions regarding colonialism. These discussions are related to countries other than the U.S.S.R., and the U.S.S.R. is giving its support to the Asian and African nations which sponsor these resolutions.

I believe that there should be brought before the Assembly the whole problem of Soviet colonialism which I dealt with at the United Nations in September 1960.

For too long the U.S.S.R. and its satellites have been permitted to take the offensive against colonialism elsewhere while concealing their own.

Consideration has been given by me to the proposing of a resolution in the United Nations in condemnation of Soviet Communist enslavement of many nations and peoples.

I have concluded that such a resolution would not have been opportune or effective this year as the other resolutions in this field before the present session of the Assembly have focussed the attention of member states on progress towards independence of the remaining dependent territories in Africa and Asia. However, I hope that the Canadian Government can through consultation secure sufficient international support to bring about United Nations consideration of Soviet colonialism at the next session of the Assembly.

It is both astonishing and amusing to observe that the Soviet Union, the greatest colonial power in the twentieth century, should thump its chest and pose as the world's greatest champion of the oppressed peoples . . . Colonialism is colonialism, no matter where it happens, no matter who is the perpetrator, and no matter what the color of the skin of the oppressed may be. In struggling against colonial domination we cannot close our eyes to Soviet imperialism, the worst type of imperialism the world has ever seen. We cannot allow the Soviet Union to strike a cynical pose of superior rectitude and look noble.

(Mr. Chang-Huan, Minister of Foreign Affairs of China, in U.N. General Assembly on October 4, 1961.)

To Condemn Russian Colonialism – Yes but Now, and to Follow in with Action

WINDSOR, Ont., Canada — *Hon. Paul Martin*, M. P. for Essex East, Liberal Party spokesman on External Affairs, made the following comments in his speech broadcasted by Radio Station CKLW in Windsor, on November 25, 1961 at 6 : 15 p.m.:

“Now, I want to say a few words in connection with some remarks and proposals contained in a recent speech of the Prime Minister.

We all agree in condemning Soviet colonialism. We agree that today in the world there is no more colonial-minded power than the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist regime.

While we agree on that, we however disagree in methods which to employ in fighting this new colonial menace of our day. We from the Liberal Party think that to merely condemn the enslavement of Eastern European countries by Communist colonialism is not sufficient. We feel that some positive steps have to be taken toward the liberation of these peoples. And when I speak of peoples enslaved by Communism and deprived of their freedom I certainly include the peoples of Yugoslavia too.

In our country there are many men and women from Ukraine, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria, Albania, and the Baltic states, some of whom I consider my personal friends. They have relatives and members of their families behind the Iron Curtain. When I think of them and of the great cultural contribution of those peoples to our civilization, I realize how important it is to us all that these nations be once again brought into the family of free, independent, and prosperous peoples.

We agree with the Prime Minister that the resolution condemning Soviet colonialism should be put before the General Assembly of the United Nations. But, it should and could be done, not next year, as the Prime Minister proposes, but now. General Assembly is in session and such a resolution could be dealt with right now, this week, and certainly this year. Why delay it? There will be enough support. I have certain suspicion as to the proposed delay.

The Premier proposed nothing new. Even the resolutions condemning the enslavement of other people by Soviet colonialism have been proposed before. Proposals of this nature, however, will accomplish nothing. They have to be followed by a positive action. Cause of achieving full national independence and freedom of the enslaved Eastern European countries is certainly worth pursuing. It should be made crystal clear that our national objectives include: liberation of these peoples from the Communist colonial rule.

In all our dealings with the Soviet bloc we should pursue this course of action. And to that effect we should influence the United States and our other Western partners.

We from the Free World are entering now an era of negotiations. It will be centered around Berlin, and Western Powers will condition every solution to that problem with a guarantee for the free access to that city. But it should not be enough. In forthcoming negotiations we should insist that the freedom of peoples from Hungary, Poland, Ukraine, Yugoslavia, Rumania, etc., should be condition to any agreement on Germany and Berlin. The whole question of East-West relations should be discussed, not just one aspect of it.

In short, part of our long-range national policy should be: that peoples from Eastern Europe, enslaved by Communist colonialism, must get their freedom as we have it now in this country.

And I call upon the Prime Minister to put the Canadian resolution condemning Communist colonialism now, at this session of the General Assembly, not to delay this action until next year”.

Prof. J. Kitaoka

Defense of Liberty Requires a Joint International Action

How we can undo what Russian propaganda did

I should like to concentrate my remarks on two points. The first is what the well organized Communist propaganda did; how it made the Japanese believe distorted facts or complete lies. The second point is how we can undo what Communist propaganda did.

The overwhelming majority of the Japanese want to stand on the side of the free camp. We believe that we could recover from the complete destruction thanks to U. S. aid, and we want to maintain peace, freedom and independence in cooperation with the U.S.A. and other free nations. But there are in Japan, as I explained in my previous report, many strong Communist Front organizations. The propaganda of the Communists, through these Front organizations, infiltrates the workers, students, government employees and masses in general. They propagate neither Communism nor despotism. On the contrary, they always proclaim peace, freedom, independence. Their first target of propaganda seems to be the expulsion of U.S. force from Japan. According to their slogans, Japan is half subjugated by the American imperialists and exploited by the American capitalists. We should evict the American bases and should cooperate with the peace forces, that is the Soviet Union and Red China.

As the U.S.A. and the liberal and democratic Japanese do not take the trouble to deny such ridiculous falsehoods, the Japanese people, especially the students and the workers, take it for granted that the U.S.A. is an aggressive imperialist, whilst the Soviet Union and Red China are peace-loving forces. The U.S.A. scorn propaganda and also consider counter-propaganda to be contemptible work. We agree with them; but the fact remains that the U.S.A. is designated by the newspapers as an aggressive imperialist force, and the Japanese are thus pushed, step by step, stopping some time at neutrality, or directly, towards the side of the Communist camp. That is what Communist propaganda is doing in Japan.

The next point is how we can undo what the Communists have done there. The best way by which to undo their propaganda is to expose how the Soviet Union has conquered many nations and how it is still oppressing them today. For this purpose we organized the Japanese Friends of European Captive Nations, and, following the example of the U.S.A., we observed Captive Nations Week. But this is not enough. It is not merely 6 satellite countries and 3 Baltic countries but also Ukraine, Georgia, Byelorussia, the Tatars and other nations that have been conquered and are being oppressed by the brutal force of Soviet Russia. Not only have they no freedom inside the Soviet Union, but their movement for liberty and independence outside USSR is also suppressed by terrorism. Many well-known leaders of the independence movement

have been assassinated. On Nov. 18th all the German newspapers reported that the German police had arrested the assassin of Stefan Bandera, the well-known leader of the independence movement of Ukraine, and it was disclosed that the murderer was an agent of the secret police of the Soviet Union, a fact which everybody had already assumed long since. Now it is perfectly obvious that Khrushchov is as brutal an oppressor as the old tsars or as Stalin, whom he criticizes so sharply. How can these people or this government, who have conquered and are oppressing neighbouring nations with such brutal terrorism, urge peace, freedom and independence for other nations! Brutal subjugation of nations is the Achilles' heel of Soviet Russia. And to cut this Achilles' tendon is one of the best ways to undo what Soviet propaganda has done not only in Japan but also all over the world.

We shall do our utmost in Japan to expose the cruel subjugation of Russia over countless nations, but the Japanese are neither well informed nor interested in regard to the situation in East Europe. This exposure must be done by all the Western nations. It is not enough that Captive Nations Week be observed by the U.S.A. All the free European nations should follow the example of the U.S.A. It must include all the subjugated nations behind the Iron Curtain. By observing the extended Captive Nations Week all the Western free countries would help the movements of the subjugated nations for freedom and independence, morally and economically. And by thus helping these subjugated nations, the West would compel the Soviet Union to give up these nations, or stop its propagating peace, independence, freedom, anti-colonialism, and so forth. Thus, if we cut the Achilles' tendon of this giant, Soviet propaganda will be robbed of its mysterious power.

O B I T U A R Y

The death occurred shortly before Christmas 1961 of the Slovak Roman Catholic Bishop Michael Buzalka, at the age of 76. Monsignore Buzalka was suffragan bishop of the Apostolic Administrator of Trnava, West Slovakia. Because of his loyalty to the Vatican and to the Slovak Republic he was sentenced to imprisonment for life as a "public enemy" and "spy of the Vatican" by the Communist dictatorship in 1951. In 1956 he was released from prison, but was placed under compulsory domicile and police surveillance. He was not allowed to assume office as a bishop again.

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On January 23, 1962, the well-known Georgian politician and national freedom fighter, David Vachnadze, passed away in Munich.

He was a co-founder of the National Democratic Party in Georgia, an outstanding publicist and, during the period of Georgia's independence, a member of the Georgian parliament.

The Subjugated Peoples – the Key Position in the Anti-Bolshevist World Fight

*(Speech held in Rome in November 1961 at the Conference on the
Political War of the Soviets)*

On Nov. 18th we read the following notice in the newspapers: the German police investigation authorities have succeeded in exposing the murderer of the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Stefan Bandera, who for many years was interned in Nazi concentration camps and was an arch-enemy of Moscow, and of another Ukrainian anti-Communist, Prof. Dr. Lev Rebet. With the aid of a poison pistol, Moscow's agent, at the orders of the then chief of the Soviet state security service, Alexander Shelepin, on October 15, 1959, murdered the Ukrainian freedom fighter Stefan Bandera. When I held a speech at Bandera's funeral two years ago, I challenged the attempt made by certain Western circles to represent this brutal murder as suicide and accused Khrushchov, the so-called de-Stalinizator, as the murderer of Bandera.

The solution of the mysterious murder in Munich is far more than merely the solution of a crime. It is once more proof of the fact that orders to murder are issued in Khrushchov's imperium just as they were in Stalin's day. And the man who attacked Stalin even more violently than Khrushchov did at the last Communist Party Congress in Moscow, namely his right-hand man Shelepin, himself issued orders that this murder was to be committed. For murdering Stefan Bandera the murderer was awarded the "Order of the Red Banner" by Shelepin. Hypocrisy unparalleled! Stalin lives on, even if his corpse was buried!

It is indeed regrettable that esteemed statesmen should deign to sit at the same conference table with Khrushchov, the mass-murderer of peoples, the hangman of Ukraine, who for twelve years pursued a policy of extermination and terrorism as provincial governor of Ukraine.

The list of the freedom-fighters of the various subjugated peoples who in the course of time have been murdered by Moscow can be continued ad infinitum. We are however at this point interested in the question as to wherein lies the strength of these heroes, these Banderas of the subjugated peoples, as to *what* ideas they championed, and as to why they were so dangerous for the Russian colonial empire that they had to die — at the hands of the Bolsheviks?

They were not only anti-Communists but, at the same time, also *national* freedom-fighters. The idea of national independence, the idea of the disintegration of the last colonial empire in the world into independent, national, democratic states, is the guiding and vital idea of our era!

We are at present witnessing two opposing processes: on the one hand, the aim to form a world colonial imperium, that is to say a world union of the Soviet Socialist Republics; and on the other hand, a universal fight to form independent states. Either the national liberation idea will be victorious throughout the whole world, that is not only in the disintegrating Western imperiums through the furtherance of the former Western mother countries, but above all in the Russian prison of peoples, too, or else Russian colonialism will, for an historic period, triumph all over the world.

Paragraph 6 of the new programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which bears the heading "the national liberation movement", contains the following statements:

"The world is experiencing an epoch of stormy national liberation revolutions. The mighty wave of the national liberation revolutions is sweeping the colonial system away and is undermining the pillars of imperialism. In place of former colonies and semi-colonies, young sovereign states have been and are being created."

"... Imperialism continues to be the main enemy and the main hindrance on the path to the solution of the general national tasks which confront the young sovereign states and all independent countries..."

So much for the programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

If we now add the little word "Russian", that is to say Russian imperialism, in the right place, we have the precise diagnosis of the world situation, for it is nowadays ridiculous to talk about Western imperialism, which no longer exists.

There is a glaring contradiction to the excerpts quoted above in the words of Paragraph 4 of the programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which refer to combatting nationalism in the interior of the Soviet Union. Here the demand is expressed: "to combat all phenomena and remnants of every kind of nationalism and also to endeavour to bring about the liquidation of nationalist phenomena." Further the demand is made "to overcome the trends of local patriotism and national egoism, as well as to relentlessly combat the trends to national narrow-mindedness and exclusiveness, to idealization of the past, and outmoded customs and usage."

This is additional proof of how powerful and how dangerous liberation nationalism is in the interior of the Soviet Russian imperium.

It is indeed regrettable that Western policy does not support the liberation nationalism in the countries in the most ruthless and largest colonial empire of all times. Only occasionally does the West realize the importance of liberation nationalism in the fight against Russian imperialistic subjugation. At a press conference on August 5, 1958, President Eisenhower himself declared: "I believe in nationalism and I support it for the good of all the peoples". And Ex-President Harry S. Truman wrote in an article on August 26, 1959: "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 by the US Congress in July 1959 on "Captive Nations Week" and on the necessity for the disintegration of the Russian imperium into independent states of all the subjugated peoples is of decisive importance in the political war. I suggest that the US Congress Resolution on "Captive Nations Week" should be included in detail in the resolutions adopted by this Conference today, and that it should be actively supported by this Conference.

In his recent book "The New Imperialism" the famous British historian Hugh Seton-Watson writes as follows:

"In view of the past experience of all colonial empires, and the role played by the intelligentsia in so many countries of Asia and Africa in the last decades, it would be astounding if the intelligentsia of the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union were not affected by nationalism, did not cherish the hope that one day they may achieve independence."

The famous British military theoretician, Major-General J. F. C. Fuller, expresses the view:

"No power the world has ever seen has been more vulnerable to internal attack than the Bolshevik Empire. It is not a national State, but a State of nationalities. As Theodor Mommsen wrote nearly a century back: 'The Russian Empire is a dust-bin that is held together by the rusty hoop of Tsardom'. Break that hoop and its Imperium is at an end... The most explosive force in the world is not to be found in the hydrogen-bomb, but in the hearts of the subjugated peoples crushed under Moscow's iron heel..."

Major-General Fuller also stresses:

"Be it remembered that during the first few months of Hitler's invasion of Russia in 1941 well over 2,000,000 prisoners were claimed by the Germans. This is an unbelievable figure until it is realized that the vast majority of these men were deserters — Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Cossacks, Tartars, Turkestanians, and other subjugated peoples. There can be no doubt that, had Hitler welcomed these droves of deserters as allies, and had proclaimed that his policy was to liberate their countries, the Soviet Imperium would have collapsed through lack of fighting manpower." And further, "The Western politicians look upon Russia as the land of 200,000,000 Russians, whereas actually over half her population consists of non-Russians, the majority of whom are violently opposed to Russian rule. Thus, though in this age in which the self-determination of nations has become a leading political ideal, the disintegration of the British and French Empires is welcomed by the liberal-minded peoples of the West, their ignorance of Russia and her history like an iron curtain obscures from them the truth that Russia is not only the most extensive colonial empire in the world, but also the most brutal since the days of the Assyrians . . . If the West really believes in freedom, then the Russian Empire must go."

So much for the national idea, the most important idea in the fight against the Bolshevik colonial imperium.

To sum up in brief, since I am obliged to curtail my arguments: the West and, in fact, the free world will never achieve a lasting success if it only defends itself on the peripheries. The centre of the evil, the metropolis of the imperium, — Moscow — must be attacked! The first front of the freedom-loving world is the front of the subjugated nations. They constitute the key position in the anti-Bolshevik world fight. And the liberation idea is more powerful than any atomic bomb!

As a spokesman of the subjugated peoples I put the following demands to the Western powers and suggest that these demands be included in the resolutions adopted by this Conference:

An offensive should be developed in the political war. A liberation policy is to be actively supported.

"Captive Nations Week" should not be confined solely to the USA, but should be extended to all the other countries of the free world. The cause of freedom and independence of all the peoples subjugated by Russian colonialism and Communism in Europe and Asia and — Cuba — should be actively supported.

A co-ordination centre of psychological, political warfare should be set up in the free world in joint effort with the representatives of the national liberation movements behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains.

A freedom manifesto should be drafted by the governments of the free world and proclaimed as a Magna Carta of the independence of all peoples and freedom of individuals and social justice.

Steps should be taken to bring about the disintegration of the Russian imperium into independent national states of all the subjugated peoples, as the main and common aim of the political war of the free and subjugated world.

The free world should actively and with every means available, including military means, support the co-ordinated national liberation revolutions of the subjugated peoples behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains and should regard this as the possible alternative to an atomic war.

The policy of so-called peaceful coexistence should be rejected by the free world as a trap designed by Moscow, since it is bound to lead to a surprise atomic war and its temporary aim is recognition of the status quo as the basis for world conquest.

An anti-materialistic and spiritual revolution constitutes the essential precondition for an offensive advance on the part of the West.

Failings of the West – Chances for Moscow

(Excerpts from a Speech by Dr. Dimiter Waltcheff, Bulgaria, at the 2nd Congress of the "Conference on the Political Warfare of the Soviets" in Rome, November 18th—22nd, 1961)

The success achieved by Bolshevism in its political offensive against the free world is by no means due to any ideological superiority of Communism, but, rather, the direct result of certain failings on the part of the Western democracies.

At this point the speaker stressed the fact that the split of the anti-Communist camp into leftist and rightist factions and the mutual animosity in the West are preventing the latter from effectively countering the Bolshevik world menace with united forces and, at the same time, are affording Communist subversive activity easy access in the Western democracies.

The speaker then went on to deal in particular with the German question and the role of the German factor in the common Western defence front.

In Moscow's political warfare the spectre of the German danger is exaggerated in order to perpetuate the partition of Germany, to annul the German potential in the NATO and to cause a strategic vacuum in the heart of Europe.

We publish the third part of Dr. Waltcheff's speech verbatim.

Thirdly: It is, after all, a fundamentally acknowledged fact and also one of far-reaching significance that Communism, which in its global expansion is commonly designated again and again as "international Communism", is in practice not a competitive social and political system, but in reality merely an infernal, expedient *instrument* in the hands of an aggressive *foreign power* which is used to effect the permanent subjugation and domination of *conquered countries* under the pretext of a feigned ideological affinity. In no country of the Soviet Russian sphere of influence has Communism of its own strength asserted itself through the attractive appeal of its ideology. On the contrary, — enforced by means of the bayonets and tanks of the Soviet-Russian war-machine, the Communist regimes in all these countries have only been maintained up to the present time by means of executions, gallows, concentration camps, constant terrorism, and, above all, *by Moscow's admonishing and threatening finger*. This state of affairs was clearly evident in Hungary when the national revolution successfully overthrew the Communist rule there and the latter was only re-established there by Russian tanks. What the people in the sphere of influence of the so-called "East bloc", which in reality is a monstrous *Russian colonial empire*, lack is not only individual freedom, which has been restricted by the Communist system, but also and above all *national sovereignty*, which has been forcibly taken from them and crushed by a foreign imperialistic power, whose metropolis is Moscow. And all the controversies between Moscow and Peking cannot be explained as ideological differences in pursuing a common ideological aim, but are, rather, the expression of political ambitions to acquire power and of the rival expansion of imperialistic colonial empires that have set themselves the aim of spiritually sterilizing the *national character* of the subjugated peoples and of physically decimating their leading classes. The fate of the deeply religious and proud people of Tibet which we are now witnessing is but a further example and link in the long chain of barbarous genocides.

From these arguments one can, however, draw the logical conclusion that the so-called "Communist world aggression" cannot be combatted solely with ideological

weapons and with arguments from the arsenal of state and social and political doctrines. So-called "international Communism" must in the first place be attacked as a *camouflage of sheer, imperialistic, alien rule*. As far as psychological warfare against Bolshevism is concerned, the logical conclusion to be drawn from all this is that it is, above all, the *national liberation idea* which must be mobilized and used as the *main and supporting factor of insurrection* in the entire Soviet Russian sphere of influence. In this respect it is not merely a question of the so-called satellite countries which only came under Moscow's despotic rule in the course of World War II. Within the so-called "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" itself there are a dozen subjugated peoples, as for instance the Lithuanians and Estonians, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Turkestanians, Georgians, North Caucasians, Azerbaijanians, Armenians, and Cossacks, *who are not Russians and do not want to be Russians*. During the years of the revolution, i. e. 1918 to 1921, all these peoples proclaimed their independent states and they were only forced under Moscow's knout again by the Red Army and its military means. Together with the subjugated peoples in the Soviet satellite countries, they represent a human potential of over 200 million, a potential which, under certain circumstances, may prove far more dangerous to Moscow's despotic regime than any nuclear or atomic weapons of the West.

Little attention has been paid by the Western public to the fact that the least hint of a possible activation of this huge front of peoples who desire national freedom, such as was given in the *resolution adopted by the US Congress* on "Captive Nations Week", causes the *greatest alarm* in Moscow and in all the headquarters of its puppet governments. For this very reason it seems fitting that this Conference should devote closer attention to the question of the urge of all the peoples of the Soviet Russian sphere of influence to *national statehood and independence* as the *decisive components of political warfare* and to assign an appropriate place to the national idea in planning this warfare.

From this position alone it would be possible to combat effectively Khrushchov's mendacious campaign against colonialism and imperialism and to prevent the ever-increasing attempts to mislead the politically unenlightened peoples. The manner in which a political campaign of this kind would have to be drawn up is a question which cannot be dealt with in detail in this short speech. I should, however, at this point like to stress that the setting up of a common global front by the free world and all our subjugated peoples represents the basic precondition for a successful political warfare against Bolshevism and that in this respect a decisive role should be assigned to the national political exiles from these countries, whose human potential has, strange to say, hitherto been regarded by the West as dead capital.

To recapitulate in brief what I have already said: Moscow has at present three main chances in its political war against the free world: firstly, the internal political split of the anti-Communist camp into leftist and rightist parties in practically all the democracies; secondly, the undermining of Western strategy by spreading the deceptive idea of a "German danger"; and, thirdly, the withdrawal of the free world to the positions of an anti-Communism which merely ignores foreign Russian colonial rule as the primary and fundamental evil.

Beatus populus, cuius Deus est Dominus

(Ps. 144, 15)

The Russian Communist Myth

II

Up to the end of 1937 Khrushchov was First Secretary of the "Gorkom" (Party committee of the city of Moscow) and thus Party chief of the capital. It was during this period that the atrocious purges in the Party and mass executions took place, which Khrushchov himself at the 20th Party Congress in 1956 condemned as the vilest of crimes.

But what was he himself doing at that time?

At the election meeting in Moscow on November 30, 1937, he declared: "I swear that I will not diverge one step from the line which is followed by our Party of Lenin and Stalin, by our great leader Stalin... I exhort all of you to close your ranks more firmly and to deal even more drastically and ruthlessly with the enemies of the working class and with the enemies of the people, with this scum, with these weeds in the Soviet fields, with these traitors... and with all other rabble. Comrades, this scum has tried to hand over our country to our enemies; it is precisely this scum that has joined forces with the fascists, with the Japanese, German, Polish and other secret services against our country; it is this very same scum that has hartered the blood of the working class and that has been exposed by our valiant Cheka and by the organs of the NKVD, headed by Comrade N. I. Yezov, — and this scum is now no longer to be found in our country. We have crushed this vermin to dust. Comrades, we affirm and we shall continue to affirm that we shall not allow a single enemy of ours to breathe in freedom on Soviet soil and that we shall relentlessly exterminate and destroy all such enemies... I exhort you to intensify your hatred of our enemies even more. Let us love our Bolshevik Party, our leader, the great Stalin, even more" ("Pravda" of December 2, 1937).

And the present loyal follower and henchman of Khrushchov, that vile toady, Anastas Mikoyan, in those days acclaimed the hangmen who carried out these mass-murders and massacred human beings as if they were animals.

On the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Cheka organization (= GPU = NKVD) Mikoyan addressed a speech to these hangmen. The Party organ "Pravda" reported as follows on this occasion:

"... Comrade Mikoyan dealt at length with the recent period of the Narkomwudjel (NKVD), when the Party set the talented and devoted pupil of Stalin, Nikolai Ivanovich Yezov, a man who does not differentiate between deeds and words, at the head of the

Soviet penal organs. The NKVD has done excellent work in this period..."

"Learn the Stalinist way of working from Comrade Yezov! — Comrade Mikoyan exhorts the Chekists — Just as he learnt and is still learning from Comrade Stalin.

"... Comrade Yezov — so Comrade Mikoyan continued — has created an outstanding stock of Chekists, of Soviet propaganda men, in the NKVD!..." ("Pravda" of December 21, 1937).

This was how these two gangsters in those days wiped out thousands of persons, and now they affirm that they are innocent! And their comrades acclaim them enthusiastically at the Party Congress. People can only become so idiotic and depraved under a Communist regime! Miserable creatures, with no courage, no human dignity, and no self-respect!

Because of his devoted loyalty and servility, Khrushchov was appointed to the most responsible Party post by Stalin. In January 1938 he was appointed First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, the second largest Republic of the Soviet Union. He was now the dictator of Ukraine, and his only superior was Stalin. He certainly deserved the confidence Stalin placed in him, for he proved his worth in this office. He drastically and relentlessly carried out purges in Ukraine; thousands of persons were shot and thousands were deported to Siberia. He was rewarded for his services in this respect a year later, in March 1939, at the 18th Party Congress held by that "criminal and mad despot" Stalin (as he himself designated the latter at the 20th Party Congress in 1956), on which occasion he was promoted to a post in the highest Party leadership, namely in the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The behaviour of Khrushchov and Mikoyan at this Party Congress and the manner in which they toadied to Stalin, whom they later called a "madman and murderer", was typical of their vile character. Khrushchov said: "The Communist Party of the Bolsheviks in Ukraine has been welded into a whole and is stronger than it ever was before. It is consanguineous with all the branches of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, and it protects the Stalinist Central Committee and its beloved leader, the great Stalin, with walls of steel. Long live the greatest genius of mankind, the teacher and leader who is victoriously guiding us to Communism, our beloved Stalin!" ("Pravda" of March 14, 1939, No. 72).

In his report on the Communist Party of Ukraine, Khrushchov said at the 18th Party Congress of the U.S.S.R. in March, 1939: "Since the Ukrainian people destroyed its enemies and traitors, it has become even more closely united to the Bolshevik Party and to our great leader, J. V. Stalin... Our triumphs must sharpen our perception and our weapons in order to ruthlessly destroy our enemies".

And on the same occasion, namely at the evening session on March 13, 1939, that servile toady Mikoyan said: "The victory achieved by socialism in the Soviet Union binds us to be loyal to the worthy successor to Lenin's cause, Stalin, who in the name of the Party and of the entire Soviet people swore a sacred oath at Lenin's coffin to hold up the great banner of Communism, to remain loyal to Lenin's commandments to the very end and to continue his cause untiringly. There is no denying that Comrade Stalin is fulfilling his sacred oath unswervingly at the head of the Party".

This same man, in those days still a faithful Stalinist, affirmed at the 19th Party Congress, the last one held under Stalin's rule: "The report of the Central Committee of the Party, the draft of the directives for the Five-Year Plan, the draft of the amended Party statutes, and the talented work by Comrade Stalin on the economic problems of socialism in the Soviet Union, which was published shortly before the Party Congress, clearly shed light in a Stalinist, gifted way on the historical path which has been pursued and also on the path to the future of Communism, a future which is becoming more and more evident. Our mighty Party, assembled here at this 19th Party Congress, pays fitting homage to the man who has trained us, organized us, has guided us safely through all obstacles and temptations, and is now leading us towards the complete victory of Communism. Praised be the gifted Stalin, the great builder of Communism!" (Documents on the 19th Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union).

Khrushchov, however, continued to remain the dictator of Ukraine. During the war he was a member of the Defense Commissariat of the military district of Kyiv and of the First Ukrainian Front (in the meantime also of the Stalingrad front and the south front).

When the German troops invaded Ukraine a mass-grave was discovered in Vinnytsia; it contained the bodies of 35,000 Ukrainians, who had been shot at the orders of the First Party Secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party and Commissar of War, Khrushchov. This fact alone would have sufficed to brand Khrushchov as a mass-murderer, not to mention the mass-terrorism to which he had resorted during the years of his rule in Ukraine, years which the delegate of the Com-

munist Party of Ukraine described as black years at this Party Congress.

From 1944 to 1949 Khrushchov was again permanently stationed in Kyiv, and from 1947-48 he was Prime Minister of Ukraine. During this period he raged in Ukraine and purged it of "enemies". He must have done his work very thoroughly, for at the end of 1949 Stalin appointed him a secretary of the Central Committee of the Party; at the same time he was also transferred to Moscow and was appointed Party chief of the entire region of Moscow.

At the 19th Party Congress in October 1952, the last one held under Stalin's rule, Khrushchov submitted a report on questions pertaining to organization and said: "The victories and achievements of the Party are the result of the wise policy of our beloved leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin". And then he praised "the new invaluable contribution towards the theory of Marxism and Leninism in the shape of the work by Comrade Stalin on the economic problems of socialism in the U.S.S.R." But at the 20th Party Congress in 1956 he described this work as the ravings of a madman!

Such is Khrushchov, the man who is now posing as the champion of the true Communist ideas, as a humanist and as the creator of the Communist paradise!

The alleged purpose of the 22nd Party Congress was to discuss the Party programme announced by Khrushchov, as well as questions pertaining to the Soviet economy, the Seven-Year Plan, and foreign policy, etc.

But what did it develop into? The entire Congress was devoted to criticizing and censuring Stalin and those of his co-workers who are still alive. — Molotov, Kaganovich, Voroshilov, Bulganin and Malenkov. Stalin, though dead, was liquidated for all time, and his mortal remains were removed from the mausoleum and interred in a grave. The demand was voiced that the guilty persons should be brought to trial before the Party court. This idea was, however, rejected, since Molotov & Co. might reveal all sorts of things that would be very embarrassing for Khrushchov and would spell his ruin.

Khrushchov blames Kaganovich for the "black years" in Ukraine, and no one ventures to point out that Khrushchov himself was the Party chief, Prime Minister and dictator of Ukraine at that time. And no one ventured to ask him at the 22nd Party Congress whether he had not known Bulganin, whom he appointed Prime Minister and with whom he visited various Western countries, in former days and whether he had no inkling of his crimes! He could surely not have been ignorant of the fact that Bulganin was a Chekist as early as 1918/19 in Gorki and later in Turkestan, too. A man, therefore, who had himself shot others! Bulganin's most

atrocious crime was the massacre, during his period of office, of the starving children, the so-called "besprisorni" (= waifs and strays), who driven by hunger wandered as far as Turkestan. Did Khrushchov only learn these facts later, after he had assumed power! Was he not acquainted with Marshal Voroshilov, either? When he kept him on as President and sent him to various countries as the highest representative of the Soviet Union, was he ignorant of the fact that Voroshilov had had a hand in the murder of various Soviet military leaders, including Marshal Tuchatshevsky, etc. Khrushchov condemns Stalin for having had trustworthy military leaders executed, but he does exactly the same himself! He liquidates marshals such as Voroshilov and Zuckov who have served Russia well and deprives them of all human dignity. What he himself is now doing with others is surely in conformity with Stalin's methods!

Only the executions of the Party functionaries and members are regretted and condemned, but no one troubles to remember the millions of innocent persons who have been shot and who have perished in the concentration camps.

In reality Khrushchov and his comrades, like their predecessors, are rogues and rabble, devoid of all conscience and sense of shame!

According to Khrushchov's statements, the following functionaries are criminals and murderers: 1) the former President, Minister of Defense and military leader, Marshal Voroshilov; 2) the former Prime Ministers, Foreign Ministers and Ministers of Defence, Molotov, Malenkov and Bulganin; 3) the former Foreign Minister Shepilov; 4) the former Minister and economist, Kaganovich; 5) the chiefs of the Planning Bureau, Pervuchin and Saburov.

Who then was the decent statesman in this Russian Communist empire? Those in power in this empire were and are gangsters, murderers, rogues and robbers!

Khrushchov announces the abolition of colonialism and the liberation of the peoples. But in reality it is Russia that has subjugated foreign peoples and has enforced its alien rule on them. Russia is the only existing colonial empire at the present time.

And now it intends subjecting the small country of Finland to its power and is demanding military bases in that country. Everyone knows what happens to a country in which the Russians gain a foothold. It was Khrushchov who sent Russian troops and tanks to Berlin, Poland and Hungary and ruthlessly crushed the revolts there. And now he poses as the liberator of the peoples. It is he who is frightening the world with atomic bomb explosions.

In what respect is he better than Stalin? And in what respect is he to blame for all the crimes than Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov, and Bulganin, etc.?

He was always involved like the others and he was just as faithful a servant of Stalin as they were. True, Stalin issued the orders, but it was Khrushchov who carried out the murders. His hands were stained with the blood of thousands of Ukrainians!

Why did Khrushchov now bring up this old story at the 22nd Party Congress? What prompted him to settle up accounts once more with the dead Stalin? He already did this at the 20th Party Congress and, if all this had been necessary again, why was it not done at the 21st Party Congress? Stalin has been dead a long time, and Molotov, Voroshilov, Malenkov, Kaganovich and Bulganin have been deprived of their power; they no longer represent a danger, for they were liquidated long ago. Why has he now revived all this again, without any connection — as the Russians say — to either the village or the town! He certainly must have had some reason for doing so.

Since the 20th Party Congress and Khrushchov's disclosures about Stalin and the subsequent punishment of leading men of the Communist Party and Soviet state, such as Molotov, etc., there is something astir in the Party and amongst the people, particularly in the non-Russian countries of the Soviet Union. It is something which is in no way connected with Stalinism and the Stalin cult.

Everyone in the Soviet Union knows that Khrushchov is just as much to blame for all the crimes as the other leading functionaries. They also know that political and economic conditions in the Soviet Union have not improved, and that Khrushchov's promises are merely empty phrases. There is a Russian saying which fits this case: "Don't feed a nightingale with stories!"

Thousands of persons are deprived of their homes and native countries and are deported and sent to work in far-distant regions. The non-Russian countries are over-populated with Russians. The process of Russification is conducted by every means available; Russians are appointed to all the leading posts in these countries. The governments of these countries are mere puppets and receive their orders from Moscow.

In the new Party programme Khrushchov announced that in 20 years' time the Soviet Union would be a Communist paradise, where people would no longer need to pay anything at all for dwellings, food, theatres, etc.

This promise reminds us of a story of the Orient: a certain sultan promised a priceless reward to anyone who could teach his donkey to speak and read. Molah-Nasr-Edin appeared before the sultan and told him that he could

teach the donkey not only to speak and read, but also singing and writing. On being asked how long this would take him, he replied — 15 years.

"Very well — said the sultan — but woe betide you if you do not keep your promise. I will have your head chopped off." The agreement was signed. When Molah returned home, his friends said to him: "Molah, you must be mad to have made such a promise!" "Oh, replied Molah, — in 15 years' time either the sultan, or the donkey, or I will be dead. And till then I can lead a pleasant life!"

This certainly is one philosophy of life, but it is one which only such rogues as Khrushchov are likely to adopt. The standard of living of the people in the Soviet Union is not even equal to the standard of living of the unemployed in the U.S.A. and Europe, or even in the South American states. Thus the poor peoples of the Soviet Union are misled and deceived. But what is most deplorable is that so many people in the free world applaud Khrushchov. The poor people therefore have no other alternative but to go on hoping. The great Russian poet Pushkin says: "Hopes nourish youth, they make old people happy, and they console one in unhappiness..." And so people go on living in hope!

Khrushchov enjoys no authority in the Party circles of the non-Russian peoples, for they are too well acquainted with his past to believe his promises and assurances.

But in Russia itself, on the other hand, the younger generation is asserting itself. It is Bolshevik brutal and Russian chauvinist in its attitude. It is obsessed by the idea of Russia's greatness and power. But, at the same time, it also wants to cast off Communist coercion and to attain comparative freedom for the Russian people. It only accepts coercion and subjugation as far as foreign peoples are concerned.

And it was precisely the representatives of this generation — the Leningrad group — who brought up the whole matter of the crimes committed by Stalin and his loyal henchmen at the recent Party Congress. Khrushchov had no intention of referring to this matter, since it was likely to cause him considerable embarrassment. But the reins slipped out of his hands, as it were, on this occasion, and he therefore had no other choice but to vindicate himself and to make it appear as though his henchmen were justified in accusing others. The attack of the Leningrad group was indirectly aimed at Khrushchov. He was directly concerned in the mass-murders. He sanctioned these crimes, as can be seen from the speech which he held in 1937, to which we have referred above. In those days he ruthlessly had innocent per-

sons murdered by the thousands, and in this way he rose to power in his Party career.

When terrorism raged, Khrushchov affirmed at the Congress of the Soviets of the All-Union: "The punishing hand of the proletarian law crushed this gang of murderers, and with the general consent of the workers wiped this scum from the face of the earth". (Quoted in the journal "Partijnoe Stroitelstvo" = "The Construction of the Party", December 1936.)

On August 23, 1936, the paper "Pravda" stated that the assembly of the Executive Committee of the Moscow Organization, after hearing the report of Comrade Khrushchov on the terrorist activity of the counter-revolutionary agents in the Moscow Organization, had decided that it "explicitly insists on the unconditional execution of the demands on the part of the Bolsheviks and workers of Moscow and of the Moscow region, that the contemptible gang of murderers should be shot".

After the trial of Radek and other persons, Khrushchov on January 30, 1937, said at the congress of the active Party members in Moscow: "Let this be a warning to everyone who takes it into their head to raise a hand against Stalin... The working class and all the workers of our country will courageously oppose such an attempt and will ruthlessly wipe the enemies of the people from the face of the earth!" And, further: "In raising their hand against Comrade Stalin, they have attacked the finest thing that mankind possesses, for Stalin is the hope, the yearning and the beacon of all progressive mankind. Stalin is our banner! Stalin is our will! Stalin is our victory!" ("Pravda" of January 31, 1937).

During the trial of Marshal Tuhatshevsky, Khrushchov made the following comments in his speech before the members of the Party Conference of the Moscow region: "Our Party will destroy this beast"... "We shall wipe out the enemy completely and scatter his ashes to the winds..." ("Pravda" of June 7, 1937).

And the resolution adopted at this conference states: "We shall smoke out these vilest enemies of our people, who have sold themselves to foreign intelligence services, from their dens and shall destroy them like mad dogs..." And the solemn vow is made to rally round the "great leader Stalin" even more closely and to destroy the traitors, "these German and Japanese spies and agents" ("Pravda" of June 14, 1937).

And now Khrushchov is shedding crocodile tears over Tuhatshevsky and other victims of Stalin!

The situation in the Soviet Union is extremely critical in every respect. And Khrushchov is not the man who can master a crisis. But it is entirely erroneous to ima-

gine that the Russians will oppose the regime. The collapse of the regime will be followed by the collapse of the Russian imperium, the Soviet Union. The Russians are only too well aware of this fact, and no Russian would undertake any action which might lead to the downfall of his empire. But if Khrushchov's place should be taken by the younger generation, the latter will be just as ruthless and tyrannical as he is, for it believes fanatically in Russian messianism and will therefore hate all foreign elements.

It is time the West realized at last that the peoples subjugated by Russia are its allies and must be supported in their fight. It is only these peoples who can bring about the downfall of the Russian colonial imperium. It is ridiculous to appeal to the

Russians to fight the Communist regime. The Russians will never rise up in revolt against the power of their empire; on the contrary, they will fight grimly and tenaciously for its preservation.

The West must appeal to the subjugated peoples and must win them over. The West must accuse the Moscow government on every possible occasion; it must expose Russia as a colonial imperium, and must demand the liberation of the peoples subjugated by Moscow.

The Western powers are constantly being attacked by Moscow as colonial rulers, imperialists and subjugators. But they content themselves with merely denying this charge, instead of accusing Moscow of its flagrant crimes. Further hesitancy on the part of the free world will spell disaster for it!

Solidarity In Fighting Common Enemy

January 8, 1962

Dear Mr. Ku Cheng-lang,

On the occasion of the "Freedom Day" which Free China celebrates every year on January 23rd, we send you our sincerest greetings in the name of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and wish to assure the freedom-loving Chinese people of our solidarity with their fight for freedom.

We also wish to assure you that the national liberation organizations of the peoples subjugated by Russian colonialism and Communism, which are members of A.B.N., will loyally stand by the Chinese people and will fight our common enemy until an ultimate victory has been achieved over Communist tyranny and Russian colonial rule.

The "Day of Freedom", which free Asia celebrates thanks to the initiative of Free China, has a profound historical and political meaning and significance. When the freedom-loving Chinese forced to serve in the attacking army of Mao Tse-tung during the Korean war went over to the side of national Korea, they gave proof by this action of wherein lies the weakest spot of the Communist regime. The national feelings of the subjugated peoples constitute the most vulnerable spot of the tyrants. But the Western world unfortunately does not realize this fact.

Just as "Captive Nations Week" proclaimed by the US Congress reveals the weakest spot in the Russian colonial imperium, as does the national independence idea of all the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism, so, too, the "Freedom Day" initiated by Free China reveals the most vulnerable spot of Communism on the Chinese mainland. In the West the danger which threatens from Red China is now regarded as far more serious than the danger which threatens from Communist Russia. The West speculates on differences of opinion between Moscow and Peking. It hopes for a future common front with Russia against Red China in order to banish the so-called "yellow peril".

But the most important factor is overlooked, namely the life-and-death struggle of the Chinese people against the Red Peking tyrants. It is not the conflict between the Moscow and Peking tyrants that is of decisive importance, but the conflict between the Chinese masses and Mao-Tse-tung's clique. The Chinese masses are on the side of the free world and herein lies the real hope for the overthrow of Communism in

Asia. The Chinese masses on the mainland are on the side of the government of the Republic of China under the presidency of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. And by supporting this government, the question as to how the downfall of Mao Tse-tung's clique can be brought about can be solved.

It is not the "yellow peril" but the Red Russian peril which threatens the world. Communism is not an indigenous Chinese invention. It is a Russian plague which has been imported by force into China, just as it has into Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, East Germany, Slovakia, and Korea, etc.

The West should stop speculating on the family differences between the tyrants and should concentrate all its strength and means of power on universal, wholehearted support, including military support, for the fight of the people against the Red tyrants. It is indeed regrettable that the West overlooks the most important fact: the deadly enmity between the Chinese people on the mainland and the Communist system, and instead, magnifies the significance of small and unimportant differences between the tyrants. As far as these differences are concerned, it is — as a drunken Russian diplomat once said — merely a question of whether the remaining free persons should be hanged or guillotined.

The West must not allow itself to become involved in defensive peripheral wars, but must, of its own initiative, attack the course of the evil, the centre of world aggression, — Russian colonialism — in Moscow. The exposure of Russian colonialism, as has already been stressed by the Chinese Ambassador to the UNO, His Excellency Tsiang, by Canadian Prime Minister Diefenbaker and by the Foreign Minister of the Philippines, Felixberto Serrano, is of the utmost importance in the interests of the newly founded states of Africa and Asia, namely in order to prevent them from falling a prey to the most ruthless colonialism which the world has ever known, — Russian colonialism.

We share a common fate. It is only by joint effort that we can achieve the liberation of our peoples. Without a free China there can be no independent Georgia, Rumania, Estonia, Azerbaijan, or Ukraine.

To you and to the Chinese people we send our greetings on the "Day of Freedom".

Yours sincerely,

(Prince Niko Nakashidze)
Secretary-General

(Jaroslav Stetzko)
President

E. Hyder

"Powder-keg in the South"

No matter where one looks today there seems to be trouble (of one kind or another) in every country on this ever-whirling globe. Most of the civil unrest and varied of the small wars — all these national eruptions have been kindled and then (at the right moment) set afire by Communists with their headquarters in Moscow. And always to disconcert or to befuddle and so mislead the West, — so the World Communists in their Directorates try to focus the West's attention on one spot (for instance — the Congo) while actually working like beavers in quite another section of the universe. This is now known as Cold War strategy by

some of our keenly alert, but for a time the Muscovites and Red Chinese really had Western leaders in a maze. Then slowly, as the old saying goes — "we smartened up" and began to "get wise". When the new President in the U.S.A. began to focus attention on Latin American relations then (all of a sudden) our trade entered the picture and then inter-hemispheric co-operation came more sharply to the fore. If the Reds (now working like termites in every land from Mexico to the tip-end of South America and also on every strategic island in the Caribbean and in all Southern waters) get an order either from Castro or his Master

in the Kremlin to stage a flashfire to start a Civil war in any of these linch-pin countries (linking North and South America), then the West's troubles will increase a thousand-fold in 1962 and this *could* happen just when we have need to focus our attention on African and Asian troubles.

And now to enlarge on my title — Powder-keg in the South. All the while bearing in mind these fore-running *basic* facts. Soviet Russia is now stepping up its drive to win South America while (acting on Red orders without a doubt) Castro now wages an all-out campaign to subvert all Central American countries. Right next door to the free U.S.A., as it were, Moscow is spending (it has been estimated by U.S. foreign observers) about 100 million dollars a year on espionage, on breeding strikes, riots and small wars or on stirring up national revolutions. The prize for all this lavish and cunning expenditure is a whole continent — that of South America. If they win that leaves the North American continent alone (like a ripe and juicy peach) hanging there — the next to be picked, if possible. This has been Moscow's logic and reasoning — ever since Hitler failed in his evil attempt to conquer the entire world. To this end there has been established in every Latin American country real stout Communist-run Parties, some, of course, operating under misleading names. In eight countries there these Red Parties have legal status; in twelve they are illegal but in active operation. Virtually all the Red leaders in S. America and Central American countries have been trained in Moscow or in Moscow controlled Prague, Czedcho-Slovakia, and they go back each year for refresher courses. Today (in Central and South America) the Reds play down the creed of Communism but seek to form political alliances with other parties, even as in Canada they now will openly align themselves with the *New* Party here. This is actually (in passing) our old C.C.F. Party amalgamating with Labour and (if possible) our Farmers; this to promulgate the idea that it is a *New, new* Party. The main targets of the Latin American Communists are — labour and intellectuals as well — tillers of the soil. In all Latin American Countries the Reds are now making strong drives for the interest of professors, students and writers. This (by the way) they are also doing very quietly in the U.S.A. and in Canada, as well, for much spade-work must be done before real Red "seeding" enters any national picture. To be thorough and to follow in detail is always — Moscow's orders to its subversive operators — world-wide and woe be unto any who become careless!

No matter which way one looks into S. America these days or into the turbulence of the Caribbean and into the fearful, fluc-

tuating Central American lands, there always arises, as it were the Dragon with three heads, Communism — Castroism and Poverty. The East-West struggle is slowly coming to a real boil there and stealthy attempts by unpredictable Soviet Russia and by sneaky Red China help this clever subversion to go on apace. The great U.S.A. and Canada meanwhile are currently "stepping up" their interest in every country there and in turn are rapidly opening up new avenues of trade and commerce. At long last, we see that this delayed move is now an imperative **MUST** unless we are prepared to lose all our friends in *all* of Latin America. As far back as in 1950 I told my radio audience (and many Club Groups) that *this was* in the over-all, major plan for world conquest, the plan then resting in Muscovite hands. No one wanted to believe me and many called me a fanatic. Today these earlier prophecies are **ACTUAL TRUTHS!**

And now remember that South America (a much wanted Communist prize) is the globe's fourth largest continent and — it is nearly twice as big as the United States. Its composite people number about 135 million with the whites estimated to compose about 50% of the populace. Important immigrant and exile-groups contain Germans, Spaniards, Italians, Balts, Portuguese, Japanese, Ukrainians and many Chinese. There are, of course, many other national peoples in exile there and negroes number about 10% of the racial population figures. Added are native Indians about 20% and also many of mixed races. Education in most of the South American lands is much needed as about 50% are illiterate, quite unable to read or write. It is a potentially rich, unexplored continent with a rapidly-rising population and luckily with adequate living-room, if areas hitherto not populated could be quickly opened up and made sanitary. South America to date has less than one-third the rail-mileage of United States. While it has only one trans-continental highway and its roads in rated over-all mileage are less than those in the State of Texas alone. Motor cars (in late 1960) numbered about 1.5 million, which is fewer than were owned and run in Chicago in 1960. All these facts and figures apply to *only* South American countries as I have not yet touched on such revelations which in many ways apply also to Central America and reveal a like picture. It has been said by observers (who know how and where to look for such information) that South America as a whole stands today about where the United States stood a century ago! Here in the world's fourth largest continent lie some of the world's greatest reservoirs of undeveloped *natural* resources. Its oil wealth alone has hardly been touched and only a beginning has been made in mining copper, tin, iron-ore, etc., and

titanium as well; lumber of many varied kinds is available in almost limitless quantities. Yet South America's people are (in the main masses) impoverished and sadly illiterate and so an easy prey for "isms" and Red exploiters, now masquerading as friends and liberators. Mal-distribution of wealth is a most serious problem there, for from this springs dire poverty, often starvation and in turn — terrible mal-nutrition. This involves (not just a few) but actually millions, most of whom it has been found (by the West's observers) earn less than 30 cents a day working on huge plantations or projects. These people (in these South American countries) are then often tied by *debt* to their native wealthy employers for life! So you see what fertile ground the Communists have in which to operate there — and believe me — they are in these areas and — 100% active today. And despite the fact that U.S. businesses there *are* creating jobs and paying the highest wages, all Moscow's Leftists are upsetting this good by whispering to the illiterate there: "These filthy imperialists are exploiting you" and they add "with us in charge we will show you how to take over everything for yourselves". I've had this information from many sources, but only now could broadcast it opportunely. Castro (and his active henchmen) are to blame for this last idea and he works so to become if possible Dictator of Central and South America or —

grandiosely in mind (no doubt) — Dictator of The America's!

And now briefly regarding the dangerous Powder-keg in the South — here are flash-statements as time will allow. Reports say that the next few months are likely to see Communist-inspired uprisings in Guatemala, revolts in Nicaragua, and Panama today is exactly like a powder-keg all set to explode. The Honduras are (it has been found by U.S. Intelligence) a Castro-Red *base* for use for a complete penetration (by Castro's Reds, ordered no doubt from Moscow) into all of Central America. Costa Rica is about the only small country there "standing up" to Castro-ism. In Costa Rica the Communist Party is illegal and Costa Ricans are tough on the Reds whenever possible.

I close my arguments with Pres. Luis Somoza's recent words from Nicaragua. "The United States and Canada are now *in* the battle-line. They must not try to use kid gloves for they are not playing with children! The West cannot let itself be forced against a wall today! Take a firm position — tell Latin Americans of the rank, evil danger of Communism and — tell them openly! For the day the West *fails* to defend Democracy we are all finished". So spoke Pres. Luis Somoza early this year from Nicaragua, Central America.

There lies our newest powder-keg, and we can't permit it to be ignited! The chips are indeed DOWN!

Stoyan S. Nicolov

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The Challenge of Survival

In these times we are confronted with a challenge unprecedented since the beginning of history. This challenge is said to be the ideological struggle between two social systems but actually it transcends the antagonism between the Communist and the Free Democratic doctrine. A deeper division is difficult to imagine. From both sides the pressure is global. The human suffering caused by it is immeasurable.

It is a striking phenomenon that the Russians and Communist Chinese branching out in two streams from their homelands, should pretend to have not only discovered their own kind of life, but endeavour to impose it as the best pattern for the whole world — from the most underdeveloped to the most highly developed countries. The cost does not matter, because for Communism the end justifies the means.

Communism, divested from its ideological raiments of the past century, revealed itself as a reality which shocked the world. The Soviet Union spent the first two decades, until the second World War, isolated as an enigma for the outside world. The rumors about gory purges, massacres and deportations of millions of men into Siberia, rumors which succeeded to pass its hermetic shell, were easily rejected by the Communist propaganda, since control from outside was impossible. The war

forced the Soviet Sphinx to talk, but there were very few during the state of war of that time who recognized that it was the voice of a siren. After the end of the war the iron curtain dropped down again. The crimes of the Russian Communist dictatorship spread out behind the curtain all over small nations in Central and South-East Europe. The Free Democratic world was not able to get a true picture of the fate which was in store for it, too, after the conquest of the helpless nations, geographically close to the Soviet Union. At last, eight years after the end of the war, the very close accomplices in the deadly work of Soviet Russian Communism exposed before the world the Soviet hell. It was not, of course, to deny it but to try to put to sleep again the revolted conscience of the world against the modern cannibalism of Communism. The new masters of the Kremlin did not free themselves from the responsibility which they have borne all their lives together with their idol Stalin, and continued their oppression of the industrial workmen in East Germany, Hungary and everywhere else.

In spite of these irrefutable facts, there are still people who preach love and brotherhood with a concrete aim having a political character, namely, to spread among the people in the Free Democratic world love toward the Communists, and specifically, toward Soviet Russia. This love is supposedly the world's last hope to survive — to avoid its destruction by nuclear war.

Yet, while we heard so much about denouncing the hatred toward Communism, we did not until now hear from these 'preachers' a word of condemnation for the hatred that fills the Communists toward the Free Democratic world. It is well known that the schools in Communist countries foster hatred for the West at the earliest age in the innocent children's souls. All ideas of Marxism-Leninism are built on the irreconcilable hatred of the Communists toward all freedom-loving mankind. Khrushchov's threat to bury the Free Democratic world is not an accidental slip of the tongue, as certain persons interpret it. "The knell of capitalist private property sounds," said, even more drastically, Marx himself. "What the bourgeoisie produces are its own grave-diggers" is said with the same hatred toward the 'bourgeoisie', i. e. toward free mankind, in the 'Communist Manifesto' by Marx and Engels. If we have to recollect the hatred which Lenin and Stalin, Khrushchov, or Mao, unleashed toward the anti-Communist world, thousands of pages would not suffice.

These same preachers advocate, even more fervently, peace and disarmament to preserve the peace and prevent the annihilation of mankind by a possible nuclear war. The USA and the Western Democracies are devoting attention to armament because they believe that the Communist bloc led by the USSR and Red China represents a serious threat of a possible military attack. The numerous incidents of Russian Communist aggression and shipments of arms from the Communist bloc to maintain almost everywhere the fire of war with the aim to sweep the whole world, should convince any unbiased observer that Communism is a militant movement. Could anybody indeed believe in good faith that the peace will be preserved with love and bare hands against the nuclear weapons of the Communists? Peace is not preserved with idealism (in this case a more appropriate word would be defeatism) but with realism. Mankind paid dearly for the idealism of statesmen during World War II. Some people who never suffered under Communist tyranny do not always understand this and are still likely to listen to the lullaby of love and brotherly cooperation between the lamb and the wolf. Why were these people enraged against the ethnic groups on this Continent? It is because these ethnic groups know Communism better than they do.

During the years I have spent on this Continent I have become convinced that it is more likely to see the globe spin the other way around than to believe that the people of the USA and Canada and their democratic governments are arming with

the purpose of attacking anybody at all. The warmongers are not in the White House but in the Kremlin and Peking.

A deeper insight into this bitter struggle could open a vast vista of progress for the world. This struggle is reaching its climax, and either democracy will negotiate its own surrender or else Communism will become a disrupted, discredited and disintegrating force.

It is time for the free nations to make it irrevocably clear that they are determined to win the Cold War and see the end of Communist efforts directed from Moscow to dominate the world. It is a faithful challenge — a challenge of survival.

M. Dankewych

Siberia and its Historical Background

The earliest-known inhabitants of Siberia¹ were the Yukagirs, Chukchis, Koryaks, Kamchadalis, Goliaks, and Eskimos of the north-eastern part of Siberia, and in the western part were the Finno-Ugrian Nentsy or Samoyeds,² Khanty (Ostyaks) and Mansi (Voguls). They came from the Mongolian plateau in the third century B. C. To them must be assigned the remains dating from the Bronze period which are scattered over Southern Siberia. Iron was unknown to them, but they were expert in bronze, silver, and gold work. They also practised irrigation.³

One of the most noticeable of the aboriginal cultures of the earliest inhabitants of Siberia was the worship of the bear. It was believed that after death the deceased person turned into a bear. This animal, therefore, was worshipped as a deity, the lord of the forests.⁴

Yet another curious feature of the spiritual life was their belief in an underground kingdom. The severe climate of Siberia hardly encouraged a man to believe in the next world of the cold northern heaven; he was bound to the earth, covered with snow, where he built his hut and found a refuge during a severe winter.⁵

In the fifth century A. D., the Turkic peoples, Khakass or Kirghiz and Uigurs, were compelled to migrate northeastward from their homes. They subdued the Finno-Ugrians and established themselves on the upper Yenisey. They were acquainted with iron and learned from their subjects the art of bronze-casting, which they used for decorative purposes and which they raised to a still higher artistic level. The Khakass empire lasted until the beginning of the thirteenth century when it was destroyed by the Mongols.⁶

At the end of the fifteenth century Tartar fugitives from Turkistan subdued the loosely associated tribes of Voguls and Khanty inhabiting the lowlands east of the Urals and founded the Khanate of Sibir with its capital at Kashlyk (or Sibir) on the Irtysh River, near the present town of Tobolsk.

¹) The name "Siberia" is apparently derived from the word "Sibir" (in Tartar, the word "bir" means "one," "first," and "chiefly") or from the verb "sibirmak" which means "to clean" or "a place covered by forest." N. Potanin states that the word "Sibir" was brought from Mongolia to south Siberia where, in folk poetry, we can find the fabulous mountains Sinbur, Symyr, or Sumbur, which means the Polar Star.

²) "Samoyeds" in Russian is the name of the aborigines.

³) V. I. Ogorodnikov, *Ocherk Istorii Sibiri / Outline History of Siberia / Part I* (Vladivostok, 1924), pp. 116-85.

⁴) *Ibid.*, pp. 148-94.

⁵) Ogorodnikov, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-50.

⁶) The name "mongol" derives from two powerful tribes, the "mongols" and the "tartars," which ruled in Mongolia, around Lake Baikal and the Sayan Mountains, for centuries.

The organization of the nomadic states was very similar to the internal system of each separate tribe. At the head of the State Union was the Khan or Kahan; his family and adherents were his subordinates and simultaneously leaders of their own tribes.⁷

According to the Russian historian V. I. Ogorodnikov, Siberia was known long before the thirteenth century. The hunters, trappers and enterprising traders of Novgorod penetrated the Khanate of Sibir in search of valuable furs.⁸ This was before any official Muscovite action was taken in Siberia's segment of Moscow's growth.

The first serious official attempt to dominate Siberia was undertaken by Czar Ivan the Terrible. He actually commanded the Stroganov family, "merchant-marcher lords on the Ural frontier,"⁹ to invade the Khanate of Sibir by force. To them he issued an ukase to erect fortifications along the Tobol River and arm them with "fire guns" or artillery. Moreover, he conferred on them the right to administer justice and levy troops.¹⁰

The Stroganovs had the funds for the conquest, but they needed men to fight and for the defense of their frontiers. A Cossack, Yarmak, with eight hundred Cossacks, who were known as steppe traders, as freebooters, and as soldiers hired by the governors of frontier towns for use in expeditions against Turkish forts, were called in to help. And in 1581, with the Stroganovs' aid, Yarmak finally conquered the Khanate of Sibir.¹¹

For the next eighty years, up to the middle of the seventeenth century, the continued conquest of Siberia was planned in Moscow and government forces were used. Since 1586, Moscow constantly sent their soldiers and Cossacks for further conquest. The sables and guns led them on and on, using the great river routes to Mangazeya in 1600, to the Yenisey in 1607, to the Lena in 1632, to the extreme north-east, till finally the Cossack Semyon Dezhnev in 1648 passed from the Arctic Sea into the Pacific.¹²

Their rapid movement can be accounted for by the circumstance that the Tartars could not offer any serious resistance. The native tribes, the Tunguses, and the Buriats around Lake Baikal, fought for their independence but were subdued. In the Amur valley the Chinese resisted, and by the treaty of Nerchinsk in 1689 brought Russian conquest to a stop.¹³ The further conquest along the Amur River had to wait till the middle of the nineteenth century, when by the treaty of Aigun in 1858 China ceded to Russia all territory on the left bank of the Amur River, from the Argum to the Sea.

Parallel with the conquest, colonization of the vast Siberian territory proceeded. Muscovy czarist governments sent people to Siberia "by summons and by selection" (*po vyzovu i po priboru*), a number of officials who were to administer the colossal domain and act as agents of Imperial policy; also a certain number of peasants to colonize Siberia.¹⁴

Many freedom-loving people left their homes and went to Siberia in search of freedom and a fresh start in life. They were called *samovolnye* — people who went "by their own will" — mostly peasants who went to Siberia to seek free land or who were unwilling to submit to the iron rule of the Moscow czars and made their way

⁷) Ogorodnikov, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-35.

⁸) Ogorodnikov, *Ocherk Istorii Sibiri*, Part II, pp. 8-20.

⁹) B. H. Sumner, *Survey of Russian History* (Duckworth, 1944), p. 14.

¹⁰) Ogorodnikov, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

¹¹) Ogorodnikov, *Ocherk Istorii Sibiri*, pp. 22-23.

¹²) *Ibid.*, pp. 46-61.

¹³) *Ibid.*, p. 102.

¹⁴) Donald Treadgold, *The Great Siberian Migration* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1957), p. 24.

to Siberia.¹⁵ Siberia was for them what the Far West of the U.S.A. was to the early settlers. Mostly they were farmers, hunters, seekers of gold and silver, merchants and industrial laborers.

The compulsory settlers were primarily prisoners of war, all kinds of revolutionaries, convicts and members of religious sects, who were well educated and had a strict code of ethics. Among them were the Old Believers or *starovery* who, under the leadership of the Protopope Avvakum, maintained the superiority of old customs and traditions in the Russian Orthodox Church. They opposed the reforms of the Patriarch Nikon, who aimed to subordinate the Russian Orthodox Church to the imperialist policies of the Russian czars. Because of their firm stand they were severely persecuted and exiled to Siberia in mass. The Transbaikalia and the Altai mountains are entirely populated by their descendants.¹⁶

In the period of the seventeenth century Siberia became full of people exiled as a result of the immense movements of revolt on the Don, in Ukraine, in the regions of the Volga-Don Cossacks, Russians, Ukrainians, Tartars, Bashkirs, Cheremisses. . . .¹⁷

Such enormous revolts shook the czarist throne, and the Katorga¹⁸ was introduced by the Government. Czar Peter the First used these insurgents as unpaid laborers "for the building of ports, Azov, St. Petersburg, the canals between Volga and Neva. . . ." ¹⁹ Later, in order to enrich the Czar's treasure, the Katorga was transplanted to Siberia. The prisoners were used primarily in mining iron ore, zinc, silver and copper. All these mining areas had been declared the private property of the Czar's family.²⁰

As more natural resources were found, more prisoners were needed. "Peasants — the serfs of His Imperial Majesty — were 'allocated' to perform the same kind of forced labor as the Katorga, though innocent of any crimes."²¹

To colonize sparsely settled Siberia, Russia employed a milder form of compulsory labor: sentence to exile. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, deportations attained considerable proportions and the colonization of Siberia and the Far East was in some measure accomplished by exiles and prisoners.

This institution of Czarist Russian totalitarianism has been carried over wholesale into the present period of Russian Communist totalitarianism and, with considerable technological innovation, has been developed into a major instrument of authoritarian control, relying heavily on organized terror as an instrument of rule.

The Kremlin planners developed huge economic enterprises where labor forces are used for the exploitation of raw resources in remote regions. Thus, the planned use of forced labor has become an important aspect of the Soviet economic system. Such labor has been used in the "construction and maintenance of roads, railways, and canals; in coal, iron, gold and other mines; in the building of airfields and underground installations; in the timber and pulp industries; in brickworks, quarries, fisheries, canneries, tanneries, and the manufacture of wood products; and in the construction of fortifications, harbor works, and other military projects."²²

¹⁵) *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹⁶) Yuri Semyonov, *The Conquest of Siberia* (London: George Routledge and Sons Ltd., 1944), pp. 210-11.

¹⁷) *Ibid.*, p. 210.

¹⁸) The word "Katorga" means "work" in Greek and in Byzantium it mean "the galley" — a vessel rowed by prisoners.

¹⁹) Semyonov, *The Conquest of Siberia*, p. 212.

²⁰) *Ibid.*

²¹) Semyonov, *The Conquest of Siberia*, p. 212.

²²) "Gulag" — *Slavery, Inc. The Documented Map of Forced Labor Camps in Soviet Russia*. New Edition (1951) Prepared for the Free Trade Union Committee of the American Federation of Labor.

Many important economic projects have been assigned directly to the MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs, formerly NKVD, People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs), which controls forced labor camps.

The chief organ, Gulag — the Soviet Slave Labor Trust — is an abbreviation of *Glavnoye Upravlenye Lagerei*, or Department of Penal Labor Camps in Moscow. These systems under the supervision of the above-mentioned Gulag are divided into districts (*otdyelnyye*), and these into several points of camps (*lagpunkti*) or labor columns.

The vastly extended organization of these camps divides Siberia into a certain number of camp systems, whose borders are often the same as those of the administrative districts (*oblasti*).

The total number of camps is not known, and the exact population of Soviet forced labor camps is not known; it fluctuates constantly. According to the Documented Map of Forced Labor Camps in Soviet Russia, there are over 14,000,000 forced laborers in Gulag.²³

On September 17, 1955, the Soviet government announced an amnesty for a large category of political prisoners. But in those days this was only a clever Moscow tactic, creating a great urge for freedom aimed at the oligarchical dictatorship and great hope and comfort to the millions rotting away in the forced labor camps of the Soviet Union.

All the released political prisoners were assigned to an area of resettlement and to a type of heavy work similar to that performed in the camp.

They are rarely allowed to choose even whether they prefer to work in the gold mines of Kolyma, the coal pits of Vorkuta, or the copper mines of Kazakhstan: assignment takes place according to the needs of the plan, and their only chance to influence the decision is by bribery.²⁴

Striving desperately to catch up with the output of the Western democracies, Khrushchov's "collective leadership," staged in June 1954, has used every trick and dodge they could legally get away with in order to extort the maximum amount of work and effort possible from their peoples.

Population

The population of Siberia consists of aboriginal tribes and many strains of European Slavs: Cossacks, Ukrainians, Poles, Russians and many descendants of prisoners of war, such as the Swedes.

According to the census of 1910, the natives of Siberia numbered 2,200,000. There are about 140 native groups, some of them very numerous, such as the Buriat Mongols, who number about 900,000.²⁵ The Buriats, occupying regions around Lake Baikal, raise livestock and crops; some have become industrial workers in the nearby cities. Buddhism is the religion of most; others have adopted the Russian Orthodox religion.

The Chukchis, Koryaks, Kamchadalis, Yukagirs, and Eskimos, living in the extreme north-east of Siberia, are hunters, fishermen, and reindeer breeders, as are also the Nentsy, or Samoyeds, who inhabit the northern region of Western Siberia.

The Evenky, or Tunguses, who are spread all over Eastern Siberia, are hunters; the Yakuts, in the Lena Basin, are by far the largest and most advanced minority

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Alfred Burmeister, "The End of Forced Labour? The Silent Reform," *Encounter* (April, 1956), Vol. VI, No. 4, p. 51.

²⁵ Emil Lengyel, *Siberia* (New York: Garden City Publishing Company, 1943), p. 24.

group. More than 250,000 of them live in the Yakut ASSR, an area about as large as India.²⁶ They were livestock breeders; recently they practise collectivized farming.

The Tartars and Ostyaks inhabit Western Siberia and the Oirots live in the mountainous Mountain-Altai Autonomous Oblast adjoining the Mongolian and Kazakh borders. Trapping, logging, and stock raising are among their other activities.

At the beginning, the Slavs' penetration into Siberia's wilderness was a very slow process. But from 1897, when the first census was taken, to the beginning of World War I, the number of colonists mounted to over 6,000,000.²⁷ This eastward movement of Slavs into Siberia was stimulated by the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railroad. People have settled mostly in the black-soil belt along the Trans-Siberian Railroad of Western Siberia and the mountains to the east. From it they have moved northward along the river valleys.²⁸

According to Emil Lengyel:

The immigrants usually settled in regions that had some similarity to their abandoned homes. The people of the forest country sought to establish themselves in forest regions while the people of the black soil built their log cabins in the black-soil regions of Western Siberia. Large Ukrainian settlements were established in the Ussuri River valley of the Far East. The Great Russians preferred Western Siberia and the Amur Region; the White Russians favored the Far East.²⁹

The large-scale population movement to Siberia has served political and economic aims of Russian governments for centuries.

The Soviet regime has developed a new technique to populate the remote area of Siberia to a point previously unknown. The political goals have been reached by forcible transfer of dissident groups, such as Ukrainian farmers who resisted collectivization and the "unreliables" such as the Crimean Tartars, the Volga Germans, the Baltic peoples and the peoples of many other subjugated nations.

Thus, in 1956, the population of Siberia was estimated at 29,195,000.³⁰ However, this figure is misleading; "the population of Siberia numbers 40-43 million since political prisoners and members of the Soviet armed forces have not been included."³¹

Since the death of Stalin there has been some relaxation in labor discipline but, in general, the policy of the regime toward migration remains the same. This new migration policy was cited by Tass on February 2, 1956:

In 1955, 100,000 working settlers, including 60,000 from factories and offices, entered agriculture and went to collective farms in the virgin lands area and the Far East.

This year it is planned to send more than 36,000 families to settle on collective farms in the Far East, Siberia, the Urals. . . . Several hundred families will go to fishing communities in the Maritime Kray. . . .³²

Within the last few years, the planned development announced in the Sixth Five-Year Plan and the Seven-Year Plan involves the transfer of manpower needed for the development of Siberia either by the attraction of economic advantages or by fiat.

(To be continued)

²⁶) Thomas Fitzsimmons (ed.), *RSFSR: Country Survey Series, Human Relation Area Files* (New Haven, 1957), Vol. I, p. 101.

²⁷) Lengyel, *Siberia*, p. 27.

²⁸) Fitzsimmons, *RSFSR*, Vol. I, p. 50.

²⁹) Lengyel, *Siberia*, p. 27.

³⁰) *Narodnoye Khoziaistvo RSFSR / National Economy of RSFSR / (State Statistical Board of RSFSR, Moscow, 1957)*, p. 58.

³¹) Lew Shankowsky, "Siberia", *Marine Corps Gazette* (December, 1955), Vol. 39, No. 12, p. 58.

³²) Quoted in Fitzsimmons, *RSFSR*, p. 55.

Resolution of Protest

by the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) against the acts of murder perpetrated by the Moscow government

The Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) regards it as essential that the attention of the public should be drawn to the following facts:

1. At the instructions of the Soviet state security service, the leader of the Ukrainian revolutionary movement, Stefan Bandera, the president of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), was murdered in the entrance-hall of the house in which he lived in Munich, on October 15, 1959.

The man who carried out these instructions, Bogdan Stashinsky, an agent of the Soviet security service, who has in the meantime given himself up voluntarily to the authorities of the German Federal Republic because he feared for his life in the Soviet Union on account of his knowledge of this crime, has admitted that he received these orders to murder Stefan Bandera from the then chief of the Soviet state security service, Alexander Scheljepin, personally. He also confessed that he had carried out the murder by means of a poison pistol loaded with cyanide, and that he was decorated with the high "Order of the Red Banner" for this deed by Scheljepin. The correctness of his statements has already been investigated, and the murderer Stashinsky will be called to account in a trial in the near future before the courts of the Federal Republic of Germany.

2. This same agent of the Soviet secret service, B. Stashinsky, also confessed to having murdered the well-known Ukrainian emigrant politician Dr. Lev Rebet in the entrance-hall of the office in Munich where he worked, in the year 1957, by the same method and at the orders of his chief, the above-mentioned Alexander Scheljepin.

3. It has also been learnt from American sources that B. Stashinsky, who committed the two aforesaid murders, finally admitted at his interrogation that he had likewise received orders to murder the former Ukrainian Prime Minister, Jaroslaw Stetzko, another prominent personality of the Ukrainian liberation struggle and the President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. This murder was to be carried out in 1960, but it could not be perpetrated for reasons which have as yet not been clarified.

4. The person who issued the orders in all three cases, Alexander Scheljepin, on the strength of his office as chief of the Soviet secret service was one of the closest co-workers and right-hand men of the Party Secretary and Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchov. The confidence which Scheljepin enjoys was, furthermore, corroborated at the recent 22nd Party Congress in Moscow, when, at Khrushchov's suggestion, he was entrusted with the post of a secretary for security matters in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Since it was a question of liquidating leading personalities of the Ukrainian national movement and thus of important political decisions in each of the murder cases mentioned above, there can be no doubt that these orders were issued with the knowledge and approval of the Soviet government and Party leaders, and were in fact issued directly by the Party and government leader Khrushchov in the first place. This can also be seen from the conferment of a high order on B. Stashinsky for the murders, since application for this conferment had to be made by Stashinsky's superior, Scheljepin, to the head of the government, Khrushchov, and adequate reasons for this application had to be given, and, furthermore, the conferment had to be approved by the state presidium.

5. After the agent Stashinsky fled to the West, the Moscow government, since it was afraid of disclosures on his part, tried to escape such exposure by means of a propaganda trick. On October 13, 1961, it arranged a press conference in East Berlin

at which another agent of the Soviet secret service, named Stefan Lippholz, appeared in order to make certain "disclosures" regarding the murder of Stefan Bandera. He blamed the murder onto the cashier of Bandera's own organization, Dmytro *Myskiv*, who has died in the meantime. This diversion manoeuvre, however, was a failure since it is an established fact that the "fictitious" murderer was not in Munich when Bandera was murdered, but was in Rome at the time, where he stayed for several days.

These facts which have already been established are by far more significant than the mere facts of an ordinary trial, in which only the physical perpetrator and executor of these terrorist murders would be called to account. Even if mass-murders have always been a traditional method of the Bolshevik regime and the world seems to have become accustomed to overlooking individual cases of this type as minor offences, the flagrant cases mentioned above and the attendant circumstances force one to draw far-reaching conclusions both of a juridical and of a moral and political nature, precisely because of the proof which they offer:

1. Not only the direct murderer Stashinsky must be accused by the German court as the hired tool for these vile murders, committed at the orders of the highest Soviet authority and carried out in the territory of the German Federal Republic. But the following co-accused should also be tried, before a German court, — the person who gave the orders, the chief of the Soviet secret service, Alexander Scheljepin, on account of instigation and aiding and abetting, namely, among other things, by supplying the weapon which had been specially constructed for this purpose; and, further, the Soviet government and Party chief, Nikita Khrushchov, in whose name the orders were issued and who must be regarded as the principle instigator and main guilty party. If the Moscow government now has the audacity to demand the extradition of General Heusinger on account of fictitious war crimes imputed to the latter, then there is no reason why the government of a legal state should not demand the extradition of the accomplices and main accused in a planned murder and bring them to trial, especially as these crimes were committed during peace-times in the free world.

2. The murders listed above should be used as precedents in order to expose before the whole world the Bolshevik system of murder and the practices of the Party and government chief, Khrushchov, personally, who today makes a great show of his so-called "de-Stalinization" measures and his alleged "socialist legislation". In this respect it would suffice to shed light on the atrocities which he committed during his terrorist rule in Ukraine as the first Party Secretary and Prime Minister of that country from 1938 to 1949.

Khrushchov has the mass-murders of thousands of so-called "bourgeois nationalists", who prior to and at the outbreak of World War II bestirred themselves in the cause of Ukrainian independence, on his conscience. Mass-graves containing the bodies of thousands of Ukrainian patriots of those days in Lemberg, Vinnitsia, Umanj, Luzk and elsewhere are definite proof of his crimes.

The destruction campaign directed against Ukrainian insurgents after the war was over, a campaign which was carried out by means of dreadful chemical and bacteriological weapons, as well as the mass-deportation of Ukrainian youth to death-camps, was likewise the work of Khrushchov.

And, finally, Khrushchov was also responsible for the ruthless persecution and destruction of both the Catholic United Church in West Ukraine and also the Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Kyiv, which refused to subordinate itself to the Moscow Patriarchate. Amongst the martyrs who were victimized by this persecution campaign were the Ukrainian primates Josephat Kocylovsky, C. Chomyshyn, N. Budka, and Th. Romza.

In addition, it is in accordance with the will of Khrushchov that at present mock trials are still being held before courts in Kyiv, Luzk, Stanislav, Kolomya, Krasnoarysk and other places, in which the accused are Ukrainian patriots, who are accused of being "enemies of the state" and "traitors to Soviet patriotism" and are either hanged or sent to prison as "Banderovzi", that is supporters of Bandera.

Furthermore, the ruthless suppression of the liberation revolts in the Soviet Occupied Zone of Germany on June 17, 1953, the riots in Poznan in 1956, and, above all, the massacre of Budapest, when the victorious Hungarian liberation revolution, which had already shaken off the fetters of the Communist regime, was crushed by Russian tanks, were also the result of Khrushchov's "liberalization course".

It was likewise under Khrushchov's rule that during the years 1953 to 1956 revolts were ruthlessly crushed in the mass-concentration camps of Vorkuta, Norylsk, Magadan, Mordovia, Karaganda, Taishet, Kolyma and Kingir, where thousands of internees, the majority of them Ukrainian women, were, according to eyewitness testimony, mown down by tanks. The same fate also befell the young people in the concentration camp in Temir Tau who revolted in the cause of freedom in 1959.

3. The terrorist murders of political emigrants in the free world, which we mentioned in the foregoing, are by no means individual cases. It is an established fact that there have been countless victims of cases of this type not only in Munich and in the Federal Republic of Germany but also amongst the active freedom fighters and representatives of the political emigrants of Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Georgia, Hungary, Slovakia, and Rumania, etc., who were found murdered or were deported. In practically all these cases of murder, abduction and attempts to assassinate persons by laying explosives, which have been directed against emigrants and have obviously been carried out by agents of Moscow and its puppet governments, the competent authorities and the press of the country in which the emigrants resided quite plainly endeavoured to protect the persons who had issued the orders, to make light of these crimes, and to explain away the deaths of the victims either as "suicide", or as the result of "internal differences" amongst the emigrants. Protests have also been voiced against the activity of the emigrants, which has frequently been designated as "questionable" and stamped as a disturbance of law and order, or even as a danger to the country in which they reside.

4. Such an attitude on the part of the public of the country in which the political refugees from the Bolshevik-ruled countries have sought asylum, is, in our opinion, a distortion of the idea of asylum and degrades the political emigrants to the rank of an undesirable, or, at best, an inevitable evil. Such an attitude towards the victims of Russian Bolshevik alien rule, whose duty it is, as representatives in the free world of their oppressed peoples to demand freedom and justice for the latter, is indeed reprehensible, and, moreover, strikes us as particularly strange since some of the countries in which the emigrants have sought asylum, as for instance Germany, are themselves in part already languishing under the same alien rule, or are themselves seriously threatened by the Bolshevik world danger. It is a strange paradox that the once so sacred right of asylum, even for the spokesmen of hostile ideologies and political trends, nowadays does not even include the protection of the fundamental rights of life of the natural allies of the West in the fight against the common Russian Bolshevik world danger.

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In view of all these alarming and significant facts, the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations regards it as its duty to appeal to the competent authorities, institutions and organizations of the free world with the following petition, namely that:

1. THE JUDICIAL AUTHORITIES OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, in whose territory the murders by poison mentioned above were committed and attempts to murder were carried out at the orders of members of the Soviet Russian government, should demand the extradition of the accomplices of the murderers, regardless of their rank and person, and should sentence such persons, if necessary in their absence, as accessories to crime.

2. We propose the setting up of an INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL to deal with the Bolshevik mass-murders committed since Stalin's day and in which the victims were non-Communists, and to call the present rulers of the Kremlin to account for their crimes against humanity.

3. We demand that THE COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS in the United Nations Organization should apply the statutes of its own Charter and, in connection with the murders in Munich of spokesmen of the Ukrainian fight for freedom, should take legal proceedings as regards all the mass-murders perpetrated by the Moscow government, to which reference has been made in this petition, and should publicly condemn the perpetrators.

4. We demand that THE COURT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS of the European Council should take proceedings as regards the above-mentioned murders and should sentence the Moscow government on account of these vile crimes committed at its orders.

5. We appeal to THE INTERNATIONAL JURISTS' COMMISSION, which has set itself the task of protecting legal, state principles and combatting the system of injustice, to take proceedings as regards these vile violations of the fundamental rights and protective measures for the life of the political refugees from the Bolshevik-ruled countries and their subjugated peoples, and to condemn these violations by issuing appropriate resolutions and declarations.

6. We exhort the PUBLIC OF THE WEST to see to it that the confused attitude which prevails to a large extent in the press and broadcasting services of the free world as regards the political emigrants from the Bolshevik sphere of influence is rectified and the sacred right of asylum is restored; and in doing so, to recognize the fact that it is imperative that there should be absolute solidarity between the free world and the subjugated peoples and the refugees of the latter, in the joint and decisive fight against Moscow's despotism.

7. We demand that THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE FREE WORLD should launch a large-scale counter-offensive on a moral and political level against the criminal Moscow government and its bloodthirsty dictator, Nikita Khrushchev, who, in view of the countless atrocities and intentional mass-murders that he has committed, should be exposed in his role as "anti-Stalinist", in the interests of the free world.

8. And, finally, we trust that THE POLITICAL AUTHORITIES IN THE WEST will draw the logical conclusions, necessary for the psychological and political war against Moscow's despotic rule, from the terrorist murders perpetrated against the spokesmen of the national fight for freedom of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain — and not from any murders which may have been perpetrated against former collaborators of the Communists. The atrocious murders prove more convincingly than anything else that the main threat to the preservation of the Russian Bolshevik despotic rule lies in the activation of the NATIONAL LIBERATION IDEA, and also reveal the enormous potential of this idea in Moscow's opinion. It would be irresponsible of the West to fail to interpret this omen rightly and to continue not only to ignore the national political emigrants, but also to adopt an indifferent attitude towards the physical liquidation of their leading representatives.

Munich, December 1961.

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

Mr. Stevenson Castigates Russian Colonialism

On November 25, Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson, U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., addressed a letter to the President of the General Assembly in which he gave comments of the United States Delegation on the Soviet Memorandum regarding colonialism. This letter is a significant exposure of Soviet Russian imperialism and colonialism in Eastern Europe and Asia. We are printing here some excerpts of this letter:

We are told that the peoples of the Soviet Union enjoy the right of self-determination. Indeed, the Soviet regime at its inception issued a Declaration of Rights which proclaimed "the right of the nations of Russia to free self-determination, including the right to secede and form independent states."

How did this "right" work in practice? An independent Ukrainian Republic was recognized by the Bolsheviks in 1917, but in 1917 they established a rival Republic in Kharkov. In July 1923, with the help of the Red Army, a Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was established and incorporated into the U.S.S.R. In 1920, the independent Republic of Azerbaijan was invaded by the Red Army and a Soviet Socialist Republic was proclaimed. In the same year, the Khanate of Khiva was invaded by the Red Army and a puppet Soviet People's Republic of Khorezm was established. With the conquest of Khiva, the approaches to its neighbor, the Emirate of Bokhara, were opened to the Soviet forces which invaded it in September, 1920. In 1918, Armenia declared its independence from Russia and a mandate offered to the United States Government was refused by President Wilson. In 1920, the Soviet army invaded, and Armenian independence, so long awaited, was snuffed out. In 1921, the Red Army came to the aid of Communists rebelling against the independent State of Georgia and installed a Soviet regime . . .

The Soviet system of coping with disaffected populations in Soviet colonies is simple and effective, but shocking in the twentieth century. During the war, the Soviets deported entire ethnic groups to the East, fearful that they would use the occasion to fight for their independence. These groups included the Volga Germans (405,000), the Crimean Tatars (259,000), the Kalmuks of the Northern Caspian area (130,000) and the Ingush (74,000). These deportations were admitted by Chairman Khrushchov in his speech before the Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union . . .

Even more shocking was the series of deportations undertaken by the Soviets following their ruthless subjugation of the independent nations of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. In June of 1941, more than 200,000 persons were deported from the Baltic States, and the total now approaches 700,000 . . .

As another indication of the fate of annexed ethnic groups in the Soviet Union, the case of the Kazakhs is instructive. The Moslem Kazakhs are the largest Asian nation subject to the colonial rule of Soviet Russia. In 1920 the Soviet census listed 3,968,829 Kazakhs. In 1939 their number had dwindled to 3,096,164. They comprise less than 30 per cent of the population in what Mr. Khrushchov describes as their national republic . . .

The disgrace, barbarity and savagery—to cite the words used by Chairman Khrushchov—of Soviet imperialist rule is indicated by the never-ending flow of refugees from the countries made colonies of the Soviet Union. More than 12 million persons have escaped since the Second World War from the Soviet Union, Communist China and the areas they control . . .

The greatest sustained movement of refugees in modern history continues for the fourteenth year out of Soviet East Germany. Since the end of the Second World

War, more than 3 million Germans have fled from their homes and businesses in the Soviet-controlled zone and East Berlin in order to live and work in the free world...

The right to self-determination has never been accepted for its own dependent areas by the Soviet government... On the contrary, rather than assisting the development towards greater independence and self-determination of the nations under their domination, the announced Soviet design is to eradicate all national (including linguistic) differences that exist between these diverse nationalities and the Great Russian model... Khrushchov, in his October 18, 1961, speech to the 22nd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, left no question as to his design towards peoples dominated by the Soviet Union when he said: "It is essential that we stress the education of the masses in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and Soviet patriotism. Even the slightest vestiges of nationalism should be eradicated with uncompromising Bolshevik determination..."

This is the unique aspect of Soviet colonialism — an aspect that differentiates it from all other historical examples of one State's suppression of another's freedom. Through the total State controls of mass culture, propaganda, education and movement, the Soviets seek to wipe out for ever the national characteristics that differentiate the Turk from the Ukrainian, the Kazakh from the Armenian, the non-Russian from the Russian. They not only seek the eradication of differences and the suppression of freedom, but the eradication of the desire for freedom.

U.S. State Department and Russian Empire

In July, 1959, American Congress unanimously enacted the Captive Nations Week Resolution, recognizing the 22 captive nations within the present Soviet Russian totalitarian empire. The attempts by Hon. Daniel J. Flood of Pennsylvania to have a special Committee on the Captive Nations in the House of Representatives were strongly opposed by the Executive Branch of American Government.

The views of the State Department were expressed by Secretary of State Dean Rusk to Rep. Howard W. Smith, chairman of the House Rules Committee recently. In stressing the general objections of the State Department to such a captive nations committee "at this time" (the Berlin crisis, etc.), Mr. Rusk singled out Ukraine, Armenia and Georgia as "traditional parts of the Soviet Union", and said that any references to these "areas places the United States Government in the undesirable position of seeming to advocate the dismemberment of an historical state".

One wonders who in the State Department advised to write such a letter. The Soviet Union as an "historical state", if it can be given that designation, came into being only forty-odd years ago, and it was established by the conquest and genocide of free and independent non-Russian nations, among them Ukraine, Armenia and Georgia. Even if some experts in the State Department consider the Soviet Union to be a successor to Czarist Russia, there, too, they are entirely wrong. Ukraine was under Russian enslavement only some 250 years, which certainly does not make it an "historical part" of Russia. The same is true with regard to Armenia and Georgia. Bulgaria was under Turkish domination more than 400 years before it gained its independence, but no informed person could ever call Bulgaria "an historical part of Turkey."

The "historical state" of Russia fell apart in 1917 as an artificial despotic empire and all the enslaved nations proceeded swiftly to establish their own free and

sovereign states. Communist Russia, which resubjugated these nations, could not suppress them totally and was forced to grant them at least nominal independence. Khrushchov is hoarse from telling the captive non-Russian nations that they are "free, sovereign and independent". Why? Because he knows the truth, namely, that they never considered themselves to be "historical parts" of Russia, that only sheer force and oppression keep them together under the boot of the Kremlin.

Now, a high official of the great, powerful and free United States asserts that they are "part of Russia", their historical oppressor and enslaver! And this after President Kennedy said that the United States supports "the just aspirations of all people for national independence and freedom"; this, after the Congress of the United States passed a resolution by which it recognized the legitimate claims of these captive nations to their national freedom and political sovereignty!

One wonders why American foreign policy is, at times, so contradictory. U.S.A. follows Moscow in attacking Portugal for its colonial policy in Angola. But U.S.A. is afraid to point a finger at the greatest colonial empire -- the U.S.S.R.!

Moreover, it appears U.S. State Department makes itself a defender and sanctifier of this despotic colonial prison house of nations!

We want to believe that Mr. Rusk did not write this letter himself, but that it was prepared by one of his advisers. It would be interesting to know who this "specialist" is, who operates on falsified "historical data", who makes the Department of State a custodian of the outmoded, barbarous Russian totalitarian empire.

Perhaps this display of biased thinking in favor of the Russian Empire may induce a Congressional inquiry which may try to determine what is the real policy toward the U.S.S.R., and why the United States, the very living example of freedom and self-determination, seemingly lends support to Russian colonial slavery and oppression.

Russian Colonial Policy in Captive Nations

The American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.F.-A.B.N.), Inc. with headquarters in New York issued a memorandum under the headline "Freedom is Indivisible" and sent it to the United Nations General Assembly 16th Session.

The introductory letter to the memorandum was signed by Chairman Ignatius M. Bilinsky and General Secretary Charles Andreanszky.

We are publishing below some excerpts of this memorandum.

Your Excellency! We appeal to you for the support of your free voice for the cause of freedom and genuine liberation of the captive nations of Europe and Asia in the forum of this august international assembly.

You would perform a great service to the cause of freedom and humanity itself, should you challenge the unbridled and inhuman Russian Communist colonialism during the forthcoming debates in the 16th session of the U.N. General Assembly.

We especially appeal to those representatives at the 16th session of the U.N. General Assembly who represent the so-called neutral nations, those nations whose spokesmen recently held a conference in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. It is a matter of regret that the outcome of the conference was not such that could be construed as emanating from truly neutral nations. If it did anything, the conference on the whole supported the policies of Khrushchov, thus helping the Kremlin in its relentless drive to conquer the world for Russian Communism.

These neutral nations must learn and acknowledge what is going on in the U.S.S.R. and in other Communist-controlled nations of Eastern and Central Europe and Asia. Have they not heard of the persecution, oppression, and enslavement of the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Armenians, Cossacks, Georgians, Idel-Uralians, Turkestanians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Slovaks, Czechs, Bulgarians, Poles, Hungarians, Rumanians, Albanians, East Germans, Serbs, Croats and Slovenes? The latter three peoples, although not under direct Soviet Russian rule, suffer from the Communist regime of Tito, who is also firmly in Khrushchov's corner as far as Russian Communist colonialism is concerned.

Common Action of All U.N. Members—Imperative

Your Excellency! The present membership of the United Nations barely contains one-tenth of the Communist states, while the overwhelming majority of U.N. members are anti-Communist or "neutral" or "unaligned". By a combined majority of votes the free and "neutral" states can easily defeat any and all ventures proposed by the Soviet Union in the United Nations.

Therefore, you have a unique opportunity to unmask the Bolshevik colonialists and enslavers by pointing to the criminal and inhuman policies which they inflict on the captive nations from East Berlin to Central Asia.

You have this chance when the report on the brutal suppression of the Hungarian freedom fighters in 1956 by the Russians will come up for discussion during this session of the U.N. General Assembly.

You will recall that during last year's session of the U.N. General Assembly the Rt. Hon. John G. Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada, valiantly challenged Mr. Khrushchov by advising him that before he embarks upon the "liberation" of the peoples of Asia and Africa, he should grant freedom to the Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians and other captive nations held under the Communist dictatorship of the Kremlin. Mr. Diefenbaker, in his speeches in the Canadian Parliament, continues to support the cause of freedom for the captive non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R. and its satellite colonial dependencies.

You can do likewise, Sir, if you would fearlessly challenge the Russian Communist colonialists and put them before the panel of world public opinion to answer for the crimes and inhumanities they are perpetrating upon the captive nations.

Only the final emancipation and liberation of all the captive nations of Asia and Africa, and only upon the dissolution of the totalitarian and terror-ridden empire of the Kremlin can the United Nations and humanity at large hope for a genuine peace and for justice in the world.

Red Poland Sentences Former Members Of UPA

The Polish district court of Riashiv recently investigated the charge against Jaroslaw Mudryk, Ivan and Omclan Fedak, members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, in Peremyschl. All three were arrested in 1960 in the so-called "regained regions", where they had been living under aliases since the end of the war. The charge stated that all three of them had been active members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which operated in the districts of Lisko, Ustryky, Peremyschl and Beresiv, from 1945 to 1947. The company in which they served was stated to have taken an active part in the retaliation action of the UPA against the Polish population in the village of Borovezia in the district of Peremyschl. 30 persons were alleged to have perished during this action, and 150 houses burnt down. Each of the accused was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment, a sentence which was however reduced to 10 years on the strength of the amnesty of 1956.

The Moral Bankruptcy of the UNO

Many of the illusions cherished by the world as regards the UNO have been shattered during the past year. The war waged by the UNO in Katanga, in particular, as far as its nature and far-reaching significance is concerned, can be regarded as equal to the complete moral bankruptcy of this questionable institution.

The UNO decided to wage a war against Katanga and in fact realized this decision. Troops of the UNO, in reality Indian soldiers equipped with American arms, fought and are still fighting Katanga's independence.

This case, too, has clearly shown what a paradox can ensue if one confuses the concepts people and state. Many of the delegates of the UNO are of the opinion that there is only one Congo people since the Congo is shown on the map as a unit. They overlook the fact that the former Belgian colony of the Congo is inhabited not by one people but by a number of different peoples. If the entire population of the Congo had the right to secede from Belgium, then the population of Katanga surely has the right to secede from the Congo. For the subjects of the right of self-determination are not state and colonial structures but peoples.

The UNO, whose duty it should be to preserve peace in the world and to assert the right of self-determination of the peoples, is itself violating the peace and the right of self-determination.

But there are also other aspects to the war waged by the UNO in Katanga. The soldiers of that Indian apostle of peace, Nehru, who are disguised as UNO police troops, are committing dreadful atrocities every day against the population of Katanga, — atrocities which very closely resemble those that happened during World War II. After this war various politicians and military leaders of the conquered states were branded and sentenced as war criminals. But who is going to call the UNO war criminals to account?

What opinion is one likely to have of a representative of the UNO who declares in Africa that, in the scope of the UNO campaign, white persons are not to be taken prisoner but must be killed! Is this not a case of racial discrimination and a crime against humanity!

It is not only tragic but also paradoxical and, in fact, utterly senseless for the governments of the USA and other Western powers to declare themselves in favour of this war against Katanga. For this war is not only immoral and senseless, but is also serving the interests of Russia and Communism. For the first time since the outbreak of the cold war, the United States of America are in effect aiding Soviet Russia and world Communism. The consequences of this grave political error and mistake will make themselves felt later on.

In the meantime, world peace apostle and moralist No. 1 — Pandit Nehru — has also revealed himself to be a hypocrite. This pupil of Gandhi preached peaceful passivity all over the world, whether one wanted to listen to him or not. He wanted to teach the statesmen of the world and he criticized everything and everyone, even the Pope. He has constantly meddled in international matters as an adviser and mediator. Many of his admirers were no doubt greatly disappointed when this international moralist suddenly entered Goa with his army with the intention of taking this territory, without any previous declaration of war. He was suddenly no longer interested in the role of mediator and abandoned the principle of peaceful passivity

as something worthless. He refused to allow a plebiscite to be held because he was afraid that it would then transpire that the population of Goa did not want to be incorporated in India. The pacifist Nehru has suddenly become an uncompromising militarist. Actually, this was what he already was in earlier days, for the attack on Goa is not his first. But the world has forgotten the earlier attacks he carried out. And perhaps it will forget this attack, too. In that case he will be able to continue posing as a peace apostle and as the head representative of the UNO ideology before the world. It can hardly be a coincidence that his Minister of War Krishna Menon was formerly a member of the Communist Party.

We are opposed to every form of colonialism, whether Indian or Portuguese, and, above all, to Russian colonialism. We are on the side of the population of Goa and we morally support their wishes. We have serious doubts as to whether Nehru's wishes are identical with those of the people of Goa. Nehru, the alleged humanist, let the leaders of the Sikhs starve to death and did not consider their demands. Perhaps Goa wanted to be independent of both Portugal and India.

On the strength of all these facts it should be evident to every clear-sighted person that the UNO in its present form is not in a position to fulfil the hopes of the freedom-loving people in the world. This institution, which from the outset was very questionable, is to an ever-increasing degree becoming an instrument of Russian intrigue and Communist propaganda. How long will it be before the leading statesmen of the free world realize this fact?

Can the World be Safe if Murderers Rule Half of it?

Khrushchov is Guilty of Bandera's Death!

(From the leaflet published by the Ukrainian Committee in London)

The murder of Bandera by an agent of the State Security Committee of the USSR at the instigation of the Chairman of that Committee, Alexander Shelepin (now promoted to the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the USSR Communist Party), directly responsible to the Head of the Government of the USSR and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchov, makes the highest leaders of the Russian empire personally guilty of that heinous crime, for which they must be made to answer before an international tribunal.

The murder of Bandera demonstrates that the essence and the system of the Russian tyranny remain unchanged through the ages, and the regime of Khrushchov is a consistent continuation of the criminal traditions of Stalin. An award of the Red Banner Order to the murderer of Bandera proves once more that the Communist Russian empire is ruled by criminals and this fact must serve as a warning to the entire world.

Ukrainians All Over the World Join in Protest

Picketing at Soviet U.N. Mission over Murder of Bandera by the K.G.B.

Hundreds of Ukrainians and Americans, members of the Ukrainian Liberation Front, staged a mass picketing of the Soviet Mission to the United Nations at East 68th Street and Park Avenue, New York City, on Saturday, December 2, 1961, in protest against the assassination on October 15, 1959 in Munich of Stepan Bandera, outstanding Ukrainian freedom fighter and head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

Ukrainians the world over were aroused by these acts of political murder, especially as they are conceived and manipulated by the Soviet Russian government.

The anti-Soviet picket demonstration was orderly and patriotic. Signs were carried denouncing Khrushchov and his murderous regime, which is responsible for the brutal and cowardly assassination of Bandera.

Similar protest demonstrations took place in other American cities, as well as in Canada, Europe and South America.

Organizations which took part in the protest picketing were the Organization for the Defence of Four Freedoms of Ukraine; Ukrainian American Youth Association; American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (AF-ABN — Ukrainian Division); Society of Veterans of Ukrainian Insurgent Army and Society of Ukrainian Political Prisoners.

Ukrainians in Great Britain Demand:

Excerpts from the resolution passed by the participants of the Ukrainian Meeting and demonstration held on the 26th of November, 1961, Hyde Park, London, against Moscow Bolshevik terror and enslavement of Ukraine, against the ignominious destruction of the leaders of the Ukrainian Nation, as confirmed by the revelations of the Moscow hired murderer of Stepan Bandera, a leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement.

That N. Khrushchov, A. Shelepin, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Government of the U.S.S.R. should be put on trial before a tribunal of the Free World and should bear the responsibility for their criminal and political acts as adopted against the Ukrainian and other enslaved nations within the U.S.S.R.

That their bloody crime committed against Stepan Bandera should be condemned by all institutions for the Defence of Rights of Mankind and by the voiced opinion of the whole of the Free World.

That the murderer of Stepan Bandera, the agent of K.G.B., Stashynsky must stand trial

and accept the consequences for this and other foul deeds, which were directed not only against Ukrainian political leaders but also in the main against the entire Ukrainian nation.

That because the murder took place in German Federal territory, the Government apply the appropriate diplomatic sanctions against the Moscow Government and in future guarantee to political emigrant leaders a safe sojourn in the country.

We appeal to all Governments of the Free World:

To direct their attention to the fate of the enslaved nations within the U.S.S.R. and to help them in their struggle for liberation.

To discontinue their false hopes for a change in Moscow-Bolshevism and to continue by all possible means the break up of Moscow's tyrannical empire.

To mobilise all spiritual and material forces for the victory of the Free World over the tyranny as personified by Russian empire.

From the resolution of the rally of the Association of Ukrainian Former Combatants in Great Britain.

In its struggle against the aspirations of the Ukrainian people, Moscow throughout its history, has used the most cruel and base methods for the preservation of its dominant and imperialist positions.

With this end in view, many prominent leaders of the Ukrainian people have been liquidated, most recently the leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, Stepan Bandera, by means of a shameful method, unheard of in the civilised world.

The perpetrator of this crime, the K.G.B., agent Bohdan Stashynsky, must be put on trial before a criminal court and made responsible for the murders directed not only against Ukrainian political figures, but mainly against the entire Ukrainian people.

The commission of these crimes and the awarding of an Order of the "Red Banner" to the murderer are one more proof that the Muscovite empire is ruled by criminals and this fact must be a warning to the entire Free World.

In view of the fact that the above crimes were committed on the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany, we ask her Government to apply appropriate diplomatic sanctions with regard to Moscow and to guarantee the political emigrant leaders the safety of sojourn in future.

An Unsuccessful Initiative

The organizers of the Conference on the Political Warfare of the Soviets refused to vote on the motion to support the U.S. Congress Resolution on "Captive Nations Week"

From November 18th to 22nd, 1961, an "International Conference on the Political Warfare of the Soviets" was held in Rome, which was attended by representatives of various countries of the free peoples and representatives in exile of the subjugated peoples. The idea of uniting all sincere anti-Communist initiative and action on the part of the free and the subjugated world against Communism and Russian imperialism, has been propagated by the A.B.N. for years. The initiative for such a congress can only be welcomed if the right political principles and democratic rights are respected in convening and holding the conference.

Unsound political principles

The organizers of the conference, Mme. Suzanne Labin and Hon. Ivan Matteo Lombardo, refused to oppose the Russian colonial imperium and to support the idea of the national independence of the peoples subjugated in the U.S.S.R. by Russia. The motion for a resolution to this effect, which was signed by about 20 nations, was ignored by them and was not put to the vote because those who had signed the draft resolution, in clear and definite terms, advocated the disintegration of the Russian imperium and demanded the national independence of all the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism, including the peoples of Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, North Caucasia, Slovakia, etc. British, US, Vietnamese, French, Polish, Chinese, Japanese and other national delegates had signed the draft. But Mme. Labin did not regard this fact as worthy of notice.

During a plenary meeting under the chairmanship of the German delegate Neumann, M.P. (CDU), the President of the A.B.N., Jaroslav Stetzko, proposed that the Resolution of the U.S. Congress on "Captive Nations Week" should be included in detail in the resolutions of the conference in Rome and adopted as a guiding principle of the political warfare against the Russian colonial empire. This proposal was approved by the plenary meeting with thunderous applause, and the chairman of the meeting, Mr. Neumann, stated that the conference wished to include the U.S. Congress Resolution on "Captive Nations Week" in its programme. In spite of this fact, however, Mme. Labin & Co. ignored the wish of the conference. At the final vo-

ting they made no mention whatever of this wish as expressed during the plenary meeting. And the second attempt, i. e. the one with the resolution of the 20 nations, which was only an amended version of the U.S. Congress Resolution, likewise failed as a result of the malicious attitude of the organizers of the conference. Mme. Labin & Co., towards the problem of the liberation of the subjugated peoples as well as towards the historical initiative of the U.S. Congress.

It looked as though Mme. Labin and co-workers were acting in the service of the white Russian imperialists rather than on behalf of the cause of freedom. Incidentally, Mme. Labin talked at length about the "Missionaries of Freedom" and about various institutes to combat Communism; she criticized everything and everybody, in particular the United States of America, and she tried to convert the Americans to anti-Communism.

At the same time, however, she made the worst mistake possible: she rejected the national liberation idea for the U.S.S.R. and, in fact, for the entire Bolshevik sphere of influence. With its Resolution on "Captive Nations Week" the U.S. Congress has clearly and definitely stressed the idea of the disintegration of the Russian colonial empire and has recognized this idea as the only possible solution of the world crisis. Instead of accepting this fact, Mme. Labin and the Hon. Lombardo did their utmost to prevent the resolution to this effect by the 20 nations from being put to the vote.

Mme. Labin and other co-organizers would do well in this respect to take an example from the Americans. The U.S. Congress is far in advance of the whole of West Europe in this respect, for no parliament of any West European state has so far had the courage to issue a declaration of solidarity with the U.S. Congress as regards the matter of "Captive Nations Week". Not a single West European state has had the courage to reiterate and approve of the unique and historical ideas of the U. S. Congress. Hence it is ridiculous for Mme. Labin to try to teach the Americans how they should conduct the political fight against the Russian colonial empire. But that is not all. At the same time, she also tries to disarm them politically by wanting to take the most decisive weapon, that is the national liberation idea, out of their hands.

We have certainly been criticizing the policy of the U.S. State Department with regard to the subjugated peoples for years. But, on the other hand, we wholeheartedly support the wise and farsighted resolutions of

the U.S. Congress in the cause of the subjugated peoples. It is not the State Department but the U. S. Congress that represents the will of the American people.

The "Missionaries of Freedom" in Africa will not achieve any successful results as long as the citadel of evil, i. e. Moscow, is not exposed and attacked. It does not suffice to talk about democracy if the preconditions for the realization of democratic ideas are lacking. Democratic ideas cannot be realized in a colonial imperium as long as national independence is not established as a precondition for the democratic freedoms. If the "Missionaries of Freedom" in a colonial country only talk about human rights on paper and ignore national independence, then they might as well give up and head for home again, for the insincerity of their doctrine will soon be exposed. Mme. Labin has apparently forgotten that the French government, after the downfall of Napoleon, always supported democratic rights in its colonial countries. (Or does Mme. Labin think that this was not the case?). Why and for what are the Algerians now fighting? For democracy, or, as a precondition for the realization of democracy, for national independence? Do Mme. Labin & Co. really believe that the "democratic" Russian colonial imperium will be more democratic towards the subjugated countries than the most progressive democracy in the world, France, was towards its colonies? The subjugated peoples are no longer so gullible as to accept the democratic phrases used by the Russian colonial empire as the literal truth. If Mme. Labin is a sincere democrat, she should draw the logical conclusion from her democratic philosophy of the world. If she regards liberty, equality and fraternity as a sacred cause, she should cease advocating racialism, for the logical conclusion to be drawn from the idea of the democratic freedoms is the concession of the right to national independence for every individual as a member of a nation. The non-realization of the national idea in a subjugated country is equal to human discrimination, which fundamentally is identical with racial arrogance.

We should like to put a plain question to Mme. Labin and the co-organizers of the conference in Rome:

Are you in favour of the preservation of the most ruthless colonial imperium in the world, the Russian imperium, that is to say against the national independence of Ukraine, Turkestan, Georgia, Armenia, North Caucasia, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia and other countries, — that is, are you in favour of the further enslavement of these countries under Russian colonial rule?

Are Mme. Labin and her friends in favour of the realization of the democratic freedoms in the countries concerned, including and,

above all, the realization of the *right to national independence* of these countries, or are they in favour of the fictitious democratic rights that are enumerated in the Soviet constitution?

We should like to have a clear answer to these questions!

Undemocratic principles of organization

If one receives funds for some political initiative or other, one is not entitled to draw the conclusion that one can do exactly as one pleases and, for instance, humiliate other participants at a conference, claim all rights for oneself, and dictate to others, etc.

Mme. Labin and also other co-organizers of the conference in Rome committed various undemocratic offences of this kind. We should like to stress that no resolution committee was elected by this congress, at which representatives from 51 nations were present. Proposals to this effect were rejected on the grounds that such a committee would be elected at some later date.

Apparently a resolution committee, whose existence was not made known and consisted solely of one person, held a session. The resolution proposed by 20 nations was written off, but the proposal made by Mme. Labin as one person was accepted as the proposal of the resolution committee.

Who elected Mme. Labin or authorized her to act as chairman of a resolution committee that was not elected? Even Hitler was voted at some time or other, — incidentally, by democratic means with a majority of the German Reichstag. But in spite of that fact he was a dictator.

Mme. Labin was not voted by anyone; but she tries to force her personal proposals on the majority. And she describes herself as a democrat!

The draft resolution of 20 nations, however, was not put to the vote because it was rejected by a resolution committee appointed by unknown circles and consisting of one person. When and where did the plenum of the congress authorize Mme. Labin to reject the resolution proposed by 20 nations?

To begin with, Mr. Lombardo as chairman of the Preparatory Committee declared that the participants of the congress were to be regarded as individuals and not as representatives of the various organizations. In the resolution drafted by Mme. Labin on the formation of a world league it was suggested that the latter should be formed by the organizations represented at the conference. — The organizers of the conference act as they see fit at a given moment, and not in accordance with democratic rules. Mme. Labin refused to include the idea of supporting the fight of the peoples subjugated by Russian colonialism for national independence in her

proposed resolution, since she had apparently decided to keep to the line followed by the NTS, namely the preservation of the Russian imperium. If this was not the case, let Mme. Labin openly say so.

It was planned to form a world league without, however, previously discussing the political and statutory principles of such a league with the representatives of the leading international anti-Bolshevist organizations of the free and the subjugated world. Two hours before the conference was terminated, a fait accompli was to be established, when the participators were already tired. No one was given a chance to see the draft resolution beforehand. And what is more, the questions as to who should constitute the institutes for psychological warfare suggested by Mme. Labin, as to who should found these institutes in each of the free countries, as to who should elect the members, and as to who should constitute the leadership of such a world league and of such institutes, etc., were not put to the vote at all.

To mention another small detail, which was, however, typical of the manner in which the conference was conducted: at the last session Mme. Labin, without consulting anyone or putting the matter to the vote before the plenum, appointed the NTS representative Mr. Lazareff a member of the honorary presidium.

The members of the conference included

trustworthy politicians, statesmen, leaders of the underground movement, generals and admirals, etc., who have all proved their worth in the fight against Communism and Russian colonialism. But none of them were given a chance to hold a reasonably long speech on the problems of political warfare. Mme. Labin was the only person who enjoyed the privilege of giving an account of the main problems in her own onesided version and for as long as and whenever she wanted.

No joint platform was formed and no joint expression of will was manifested.

It is indeed regrettable that a good idea should be taken up in the wrong manner and that an attempt should be made to form an anti-Bolshevist world front from the wrong positions.

If the initiative of the conference in Rome was, however, only determined by this tendency, and its main field of attack against Bolshevism is, for instance, transferred to Africa (perhaps the so-called satellite countries will also be included in the action later), whilst the mobilization of the peoples subjugated in the U.S.S.R. is not taken into account at all, then this initiative will suffer the same fate as Free Europe or Radio Liberty.

It is a pity to waste so much time, so much energy and so much money!

Trial of Ukrainian Insurgent

In its edition of December 2, 1961, the Moscow paper "Trud" reported that a court in Stanislaw had sentenced the former deputy commander of a UPA detachment, Peter Malaniuk (known as Lys, i. e. "the fox"), who was later a member of the OUN and responsible for its propaganda section, to imprisonment for life. Peter Malaniuk was arrested in his native village Mykytyntzi, near Tysjmenytza in the district of Stanislaw.

The above-mentioned report was entitled "End of the Old Fox". The two correspondents who wrote the report both have Russian names, — Korotkov and Jurejev.

In 1949 the UPA detachment in which Peter Malaniuk was serving was put to rout in the Carpathians by Cheka units. Malaniuk, so the Russian paper reported, disguised himself in Huzul dress and managed to get through to his native village where he lay in hiding until 1961. There he built a hide-out and his mother used to provide him with food. For years he lay in this hide-out, armed with a pistol, and kept watch by looking through a small spyhole. Every evening he listened in to the programmes of the "Voice of America" and waited for better times to come.

Although the Moscow government promised the UPA and OUN members who surrender and ask for pardon an amnesty, Malaniuk did not surrender to the NKVD men.

According to the Russian press report, Malaniuk did not confess during his trial and was sentenced solely on the strength of "witnesses' testimony".

Russian Penetration in South America

With world attention focused on Communist activities in Cuba and throughout Central and South America, it becomes increasingly important to understand the earliest beginnings of Russian penetration into these areas.

To make it evident, Dr. T. J. Barragy gives facts concerning the Russian plan for penetration into South America in 1787, in *"The Diplomatic Penetration of Imperial Russia in South America"*, published by the Slavic Institute, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

In Russia Catherine II ruled and her chosen tool for this purpose was Francisco de Miranda. He was a Venezuelan dedicated to the liberation of his people through the destruction of the Spanish Empire in South America. The Communist Party chose to expose a plan between Catherine II and Francisco de Miranda for Russian penetration into South America in order to display to the world the long history of Russian "humanitarian" interest in the peoples of South America.

It was during his world travels that M. arrived in Russia in 1786 and there formulated plans with Catherine II for the Russian invasion of South America to be carried out in 1787. When these plans were postponed by the declaration of war on Russia by Turkey and Sweden, he continued his travels throughout Europe. In 1792, he joined the French Revolution and fought in various important battles as a general in the French forces. He later became an important political rival of Napoleon Bonaparte and was banished from France. In his later years he served for a time as generalissimo of the newly-formed Republic of Venezuela. After being defeated by Spanish forces, he was betrayed by an officer under his command, the later famous Simón Bolívar, and thrown in prison. He died in a Spanish prison at Cadiz in the year 1816.

During the period 1939—1940 an order was issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. for the publication of certain previously secret documents. These documents concerned relations between Catherine II, Czarina of Russia, and Francisco de Miranda.

What kind of humanitarianism prompted Catherine II is shown in a letter of Catherine's to Dyershavin written several years before her death:

"If I could live to be a hundred I should wish to unite the whole of Europe under the sceptre of Russia. But I have no intention

of dying before I have driven the Turks out of Constantinople, broken the pride of the Chinese and established trade relations with India."

She felt that if her imperialistic ventures concerning the Turkish Empire should bring about a conflict with Spain, she could use Miranda to fan the flames of revolt in Spain's colonial empire in South America, thus hitting the Spanish in their most vulnerable area. He could be used against Spain and her allies if a European war should break out.

Unknown to her, her plans were to be defeated by an element beyond her control, this element being the Sultan of the Turkish Empire, Abdul Hamid, with his declaration of war.

The limited size of the Russian fleet, both in the Black Sea and the Baltic, made it impossible for Catherine to invade South America and carry on a war with Turkey at the same time.

And thus the plan concerning South America was still delayed. Peace had been signed on August 17, 1790, with Sweden and on December 29, 1791, with Turkey, but the release of a portion of the Baltic fleet for an expedition to South America was impossible. Added to this, the threatening revolutionary atmosphere in Poland was one which could not be ignored.

Unknown to the inhabitants of the American Continent, Russian plans for direct imperial penetration into Central and South America, and later penetration in the form of a powerful pincers movement into North America, were diverted only by the declaration of war against the Russian Empire by the Turkish Empire and Sweden.

Lastly, the Russian plans in 1787, rather than serving as a precedent for present day Communist penetration into Central and South America, serve to show that Russian plans for imperial expansion have changed little if any over approximately the past one hundred and seventy-five years.

S. S.

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

H. Corinthians. VI. 9

From Behind the Iron Curtain



SLOVAKIA

Population Now Numbers Over 4 Million

According to the last census on March 1, 1961, the population of Slovakia now numbers 4,175,017. As compared to the census of 1950 this figure represents an increase of 19.5 per cent. The capital Bratislava has a population of 242,091.



UKRAINE

Terrorism and Misery in Ukraine

On March 17, 1961, the New York daily paper "Svoboda" published the following item: "We only finished the beet harvest in January. We delivered over 6,000 cwts. But there is no one available to count them. And there is no money and no sugar. My husband and I received 3 cwts of grain for last summer's work. They have promised to give us another cwt. My dear sister, you probably cannot imagine what life is like here. Our son has completed his studies at a grammar school and is now working as a shepherd since it is very hard for him to get permission to study at a college. Only those who are regarded as trustworthy by the rulers are admitted to colleges. If one is not a member of the Party, one can pay to get in. But that is out of the question in our case".

On March 12, 1961, the following letter was reprinted in "Schlach Peremohy": "My dear brother, I should like to thank you for the Christmas card, which is not to be had here at any price. We frame them and hang them on the wall as an icon. The pictures of the saints that we have are getting faded, and there are no new ones to be had... As you know, I am now 64 and my husband is 71. We receive 100 lbs of grain from the kolkhoz to live on. Our proudest possession is our cow, but we have to deliver some of the milk to the state, as we are to overtake America. We never have meat, since 2 lbs cost 20 roubles, and that is too dear for us old people. We also have to buy fodder for the cow, and a sheaf of hay or maize stalks costs us 1 rouble".

A fourteen-year old girl writes as follows about the only cow that the collective far-

mers and old people are allowed to possess, in a letter published in "Svoboda" on May 26, 1961: "They have taken our last cow from us and given it to the kolkhoz. All we have left now is the young calf". The paper points out in this connection that this family consists of 5 persons, three grown-ups and three children, and that the cow was their only economic means of subsistence.

The following excerpts from two letters were published in "Schlach Peremohy" on November 5, 1961: "Our father is now 70 years old. He works on the railway and will be pensioned off in the very near future. But his pension will only be sufficient to buy tobacco with it. If we children do not help him, he will die of starvation. The only thing to be had in plenty in the cooperative stores in the village is schnaps. When new supplies of goods arrive, the Party members and their faithful henchmen are given priority, and the kolhoz farmers only get what is left over. There is also a black market, but there everything is very dear; some people even sell their wedding-rings in order to be able to buy food for the money. No wonder that theft has become a necessity in life. People show no respect at all for public property. The feeling of hatred toward the state is steadily growing, and everyone is longing for a change in conditions. The villages look a dreadful sight. Houses are not repaired and are dilapidated and tumbledown. The straw-thatched roofs are falling to bits. And windows nailed up with boards are a frequent sight, for no one has any money and there is no glass to be had. A lot of people live in loam huts. The help which some people receive in the form of gift parcels from abroad is not much good, for post office and censor department employees frequently steal things out of the parcels. And by the time a parcel reaches the recipient, it is usually half empty, and it is useless to try and assert one's rights in this respect, since the damaged party is immediately intimidated on making a complaint and is told that he is in contact with foreign agents, and will do best to say nothing at all. In fact, these gift parcels have proved fatal in the case of many a recipient".

An old kolkhoz farmer writes: "I receive a pension of 30 roubles a month. Naturally I am dependent on help from my children. In any case they are obliged to support me, according to the state. If they do not help voluntarily, the public prosecutor forces each child to pay 10 roubles".

Interesting information on the true con-

ditions in subjugated Ukraine is given by individual persons who during recent years have returned to Ukraine from abroad and have been dreadfully disappointed by what they found there and, after a lot of difficulty, have then finally received permission to leave again as subjects of Western countries. The Ukrainian weekly in Buenos Aires, "Ukrainske Slowo", in its edition No. 29, published the following report by a woman who had returned from Ukraine: "I was so homesick that in 1957 I decided to leave Argentina and return to my native country. The Soviet guide who accompanied us was very friendly until after we left Italy, but then we were suddenly treated like prisoners. Our identity papers were taken from us and we were not allowed to leave the group without permission. We were obliged to sign a blank form, which was later submitted to the authorities, together with our 'accounts' of the wretched life in the capitalist countries and the paradisaic conditions in the USSR. During the last stage of our journey on the ship, we already realized what we were in for. One Ukrainian who had sold all his property abroad for 2 million pesetas and had bought various transportable goods for the money, took a chance and managed to get aboard a ship bound for the Argentine when we were transferred from one vessel to another, as he wanted to try and get back to that country. He left his possessions behind. But in spite of this, he was fetched off the Argentinian ship by force, and we never saw him again. And what misery I saw in my native village! It was a dreadful sight! The people are starving and depressed; their clothes are shabby and made of the worst possible material. Everything is standardized. — the same colour and the same style. Where there is no man in the family, poverty is greatest. Everyone works in the kolkhoz from dawn to night. Of the crops that are harvested, the major part goes first of all to the functionaries and then to their henchmen. Deliveries then have to be made to the state, and if there is anything left at all by that time, then the kolkhoz farmers get it. There was a case in our village where a thirty-year old woman, who was obliged to keep her seven-year old daughter and her 65-year old mother, only received 90 lbs of grain for the whole year. All the villagers from the age of 15 onwards are obliged to work in the kolkhoz. The old people of over 55 "are not obliged" to work. They are to be kept by their children. But those who have no children, are forced to work until they die, for the old age pension which the kolkhoz farmers receive is not enough for them to live on. The Bolshevik motto is: "Those who do not work, shall not eat!" Those who do not work are not allowed to buy goods in the cooperative stores. For in order to be able to buy anything there,

one has to produce a certificate of employment. Even women of over 75 look after cattle and clean stables in order to earn a little money to live on. Every farmer is given a loudspeaker for his home, but his consent is not asked when it is installed. And he has to pay 4 roubles a month for it. In spring these loudspeakers constantly announced how much grain of this year's harvest was to be handed over to the state, how much milk each cow must yield, how many eggs each hen must lay, and how many schoolboys and schoolgirls would be going to Kazakhstan and Siberia "voluntarily" in order to cultivate virgin regions there. But practically no mention whatever is made of any events that are happening in the world and in the USSR.

The schools start at 8 o'clock, but after two or three hours of lessons a lorry drives up from the kolkhoz, and all the children, together with their teachers, ride along "voluntarily" to the fields in order to clear the plots of potatoes, maize and beet of weeds and to harvest these crops in the autumn. Everything is done "voluntarily" in the USSR. All this is kept a secret. If a tourist happens to visit such a village, he is not allowed to see life there as it really is. On one occasion an American tourist arrived in our village and wanted to take a look at one of the houses. He was held up at the station until the kolkhoz supervisor had had a chance to take some furniture along to the house, which was inhabited by a kolkhoz farmer. The shabby furniture belonging to the latter was hurriedly removed, and when the American and his MVD escort arrived there they found a pleasantly furnished room, in which they were given a meal.

The food on which the kolkhoz farmers live is very meagre. As a rule it consists solely of vegetables, with an occasional addition of bread on Sundays and holidays. Meat is only eaten very rarely. Sometimes the cooperative stores sell bones obtained from the slaughterhouse. On such occasions the people stand in long queues in order to buy some. They are always very pleased if the summer is damp and warm, for then they can gather mushrooms, which they either eat fresh, or dry and store for the winter months. Berries that grow in the hedges are also a staple food in winter. The food situation is somewhat better in the summer months, for then there is always a chance of being able to steal a few ears of grain in the fields. The only consoling thought for the kolkhoz farmers is that there is on the whole a great solidarity between all of them and no one would think of denouncing anybody else for stealing the bare necessities of life. The functionaries, and practically all of them are Russians, are excluded from this solidarity?.

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

IMAM SHAMIL NATIONAL HERO OF NORTH CAUCASIA



FREEDOM FIGHTER
AGAINST RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

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Shamil's Struggle Against Russian Colonialism

Obsessed by the desire for colonial expansion and for an outlet to the "warm seas", the Russian tsarist government was determined to continue its aggression until the Northern Caucasus accepted a Russian protectorate.

The beginnings of this war go back to the year 1763, when Catherine II's troops, without any provocation, attacked the Northern Caucasus and crossed the frontiers fixed by the Treaty of Belgrade (1739), according to the terms of which both the tsarist and the Ottoman Empire undertook to respect the independence of this country.

During the first phase of the war, the theatre of operations was the Kabarda region, north of the Great Caucasian range. In one day alone, five thousand North Caucasians, who on account of their attire became known as the "knights in armour", met their death in a celebrated engagement with Catherine's troops. Despite these heavy losses, resistance to the Russian armies continued, assisted for a while by Bonaparte's invasion of Russia.

But as soon she was free from the burden of the Napoleonic Wars, Russia once more resumed her policy of terrorization against the Caucasus with renewed vigour. The new Russian commander-in-chief was General Yermolov, whose watchword was, "My sword is law for the Caucasus". The second phase of the Caucasian war now began and it engulfed the territory of Chechnya and Daghestan.

As a result of the events of war the religious movement Muridism, which was based on the principles of Islam and until that time had been more or less a religious fraternity of pious Moslems, decided to resist the invaders.

Popular religious leaders known as imams emerged; the first of them was Ghazi Mohammed, who was killed in battle in 1832; then came Hamzat Bek, who was assassinated, and, finally, Shamil. He was elected Imam in 1834. On the subject of Shamil there exists a considerable literature written in many languages, in which even his enemies emphasize his remarkable qualities as a military and political leader. It was these qualities that enabled him to carry on for twenty-five years the defensive war against the numerically superior and better equipped Russian army.

Shamil succeeded in uniting the inhabitants of the Caucasian mountains and in founding a North Caucasian state, based on the principles of Islam. But when, after the conquest of Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia, Russia established herself as ruler of the Southern Caucasus, Shamil was cut off from the outside world. Forced to rely on his own resources, he organized the country's finances, the exploitation of mineral reserves, the production of gunpowder and the manufacture of weapons. By his democratic reforms he strengthened the bond between himself and the people. The morale of Shamil's army, which included many volunteers, among them several Polish officers, was very high.

In 1845 the Russian armies under the commander-in-chief Vorontsov suffered a complete defeat and under the pressure of Shamil's troops were obliged to withdraw completely from Daghestan. These military setbacks enraged Nicholas I, who ordered the Caucasian rebels to be "put down or else destroyed". The execution of this order was, however, for a time, at least, suspended owing to the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1853.

After the Treaty of Paris, however, Russia renewed her final campaign against the North Caucasus. An army of 280,000 men was sent to fight Shamil, who resisted

for another three years. But the forces were unequal. The Russian army was now better armed and equipped, whereas the Caucasians, wearied by the protracted struggle, could no longer put up an effective resistance. Retreating little by little, Shamil decided to take a last stand in the fortress of Gunib, where, after a prolonged siege, he finally surrendered. The struggle for national liberation which Shamil had led did not, in fact, come to an end immediately after his fall. The war continued until May 1864, when the resistance of the Circassians was finally broken by the Russian troops.

But to this day Shamil still lives on in the memory of his fellow-countrymen as the hero of this struggle, which, indeed, is still being waged against Russian colonialism.

The Front Against Russian Colonialism

In the recent sessions of the United Nations and, in fact, in political opinion all over the world the question of Red Russian colonialism became fairly acute. The national fight for freedom of the peoples enslaved by Russian imperialism, who regardless of the terrorism and genocide to which they are subjected continue to fight for the complete disintegration of the Russian imperium into independent, national states, is causing the problem of Red Russian colonialism to assume more and more significance on the agenda of international politics. Indeed, the problems connected with colonialism at present constitute the main problems of international politics. The national principle of a world order and the Russian idea of a colonial empire of global dimensions clash in various continents. Russia is at present the personification and ruthless executor of the only existing world imperium — of the idea of a world U.S.S.R., an idea which is a direct contradiction of the idea of the disintegration of empires into national states of all the peoples hitherto enslaved. Moscow, however, endeavours to conceal the colonial character of the U.S.S.R. and of its satellites and attempts to pose as the protector of the colonial peoples who are still dependent on the Western mother countries, in spite of the fact that the majority of the Western powers are voluntarily complying with the freedom aspirations of the peoples who have so far not been independent, that is to say without starting wars and revolutions. With its usual, old-established methods of deception, diversion and cunning, as well as by illusory hopes, Soviet Russia is trying to win over the colonial peoples of the Western empires in order to assume, under the pretext of protecting freedom-loving nationalism as regards the peoples of Asia and Africa, the place formerly occupied by the Western empires and in this way to set up a global Russian colonial empire, a U.S.S.R. which embraces the whole world. At the same time, in an unheard-of ruthless manner it combats every indication of the fight for freedom, kindled by nationalism, on the part of the subjugated peoples. There is no middle course between Soviet Russia's aim to set up its world empire and the universal striving of the enslaved and as yet dependent peoples for national freedom and their desire to establish their own independent national states. Either the national freedom idea will be victorious in the whole world, above all, on the ruins of the Russian peoples' prison, or for a transitory period Russian colonialism, under the guise of Communism, will triumph. There is no third alternative. From this aspect, the national fight for freedom of the peoples enslaved by Russian imperialism assumes the significance of a global, historical problem.

On account of the concatenation of the above-mentioned factors, the campaign against Russian colonialism should become particularly acute in the international forum in this year and should continue to remain a current main problem of international politics until such time as Russian colonialism is liquidated by the common efforts of the free and the enslaved world, and national states within the ethnographical territories of the subjugated peoples are set up on the ruins of the Russian imperium.

The activity of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) in this respect has been carried on for some time in various forms and in various international forums; its methods have in recent years been intensified and increased, and so far considerable success has been achieved. It includes the adoption of an anti-Russian and anti-colonial resolution by the international conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) in Manila in May 1961, a resolution moved by the ABN delegation to this conference (and which also demanded that practical measures should be taken), the informative diplomatic campaign and a number of significant publications by the ABN/AFABN, various publications in foreign languages, the mass campaigns initiated and continued by the supporters of ABN, the informative activity of the ABN delegates at the International Conference in Rome in November 1961, which was attended by representatives from 51 nations of different continents and at which the ABN delegates emphasized the menace of Russian colonialism and the vital necessity of adopting practical counter-measures. In this connection we should also like to mention the international conference in Mexico in 1958, which was attended by representatives from 64 countries and at which a resolution opposing Russian colonialism was adopted. Other measures to combat Russian colonialism and to expose it in all its existing forms include two memorandums by the American Friends of ABN in 1961, which were sent to all the delegations of the United Nations, to statesmen of the Western and neutral world, to the press and to ecclesiastical dignitaries. — The attitude adopted by U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk aroused considerable indignation amongst the emigrants of the enslaved peoples.*) Mass demonstrations were organized in the USA, and at public rallies those present protested by resolutions against the erroneous attitude of the U.S. State Department towards the enslaved peoples in the U.S.S.R. Similar campaigns were also carried out in Canada and Australia. All these measures and a whole lot of other campaigns had as their aim the exposure of the grave danger which Russian historical colonialism and its henchmen represent to the free world, and were intended as an indication to the counter-measures to be adopted.

But all this does not suffice. It is imperative that, together with our friends in the free world, we should extend the front against Russian colonialism still further. This campaign must be intensified and increased by various methods and in various forms; it must include all our friends and supporters, as well as persons who have so far played no part in it, so that the problems connected with Russian colonialism constantly remain on the agenda of international politics and practical measures are adopted to liquidate this colonialism.

Let us therefore concentrate all our efforts and all our energy in one direction: namely, to break down the wall of ignorance and of suppression of the affairs of the enslaved peoples in the U.S.S.R. and in the Soviet Russian sphere of influence in general, and to effect the purpose of making the governments of the anti-Communist states demand the liquidation of Russian colonialism in the international forum. Let us conduct our action of whatever kind it may be — meetings, mass demonstrations, rallies, etc., under the watchword of the liquidation of Russian colonialism.

We wholeheartedly support the resolution of the U.S. Congress on Captive Nations Week, which insists on the liquidation of Russian colonialism, but at the same time we feel in duty bound to express our great indignation and our opposition as regards the recent statement made by U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk (sent to Congressman Smith), inasmuch as it appears from said statement that the question of the independence of Ukraine, Armenia and Georgia as "historical parts" of the U.S.S.R. puts the government of the U.S.A. in an unpleasant position, since one might assume that it was in favour of the disintegration of an "historical state".

We are indeed extremely surprised at the fact that a Minister for Foreign Affairs in a democratic state can oppose the will of parliament sanctioned by the law, without being obliged to tender his resignation!

Supporters of Russian colonialism still hold the highest posts in the Western states. And this being the case, our action regarding the mobilization and support of the Western supporters of the disintegration of the Russian imperium seems all the more urgent.

The motto of our action will continue to be the liquidation not only of Russian Communist colonialism but of Russian colonialism as a whole, in all its forms and hues.

The principle conceived by ABN, which is the common principle of all enslaved peoples, that is to say the disintegration of the Russian imperium in every form into national states within the ethnographical territories of the subjugated peoples, is also a principle of all freedom-loving mankind.

We exhort all freedom-loving people, regardless of the political party to which they belong, all institutions and political organizations, such as youth organizations, combatant, cultural and social organizations, etc., to strengthen and consolidate our front against Russian colonialism by their active participation, for this is a cause which concerns all freedom-loving people.

*) See p. 27.

Ukrainians and the Hungarian Revolution

It is now a well-known fact that the reason why the Russians had so much difficulty in suppressing the Hungarian Revolution was the presence of Ukrainians in the Soviet Army who were sent to Hungary. This fact was again confirmed by *Bela Fabian*, Chairman of the Federation of Former Hungarian Political Prisoners, of New York, who in a letter to "Svoboda" recalled that the Soviet Armies massacred 30,000 Hungarians, most of them young boys and girls. *"On the tragic anniversary of November 4, 1956, we wish to pay tribute to the courage of the 5 Ukrainian divisions which joined the Hungarian revolutionaries, and fought bravely on their side until they were overpowered by Soviet tanks. The remnants of this army were imprisoned and later deported to Siberia. BLESSED BE THEIR MEMORY!"*

No Example For The Orient

Tadzhik Soviet Republic, one of the youngest and most important colonies of Russia, — a propaganda centre for the Islamic world.

Tadzhikistan, the southern region of Turkestan, is a purely Moslem country. On account of its geographical position this Soviet Republic is nowadays of the utmost strategical importance to Moscow. With an area about as large as Greece and bounded in the south by the mighty ranges of the Pamirs, Tadzhikistan represents a land-bridge leading to India, Pakistan and Afghanistan and borders on East Turkestan which is occupied by Red China. Up to 1939 the Russians were only able to maintain their military rule by means of a network of bases. Then, however, the Red Army succeeded in crushing the revolts of the freedom-loving Tadzhiks to such an extent that Russian settlers were at last able to flock into this "pacified" country and the process of Russification could begin on a large scale. Today there are already 265,000 Russian functionaries, administrative officials and settlers living in Tadzhikistan. Their number, and thus their percentage in proportion to the one and a half million Tadzhiks registered here in 1939, is increasing from year to year.

The mountain regions of the Pamirs were always a stronghold of the national movement of the Turkestanian peoples. It was only in 1922 that Frunse, the commander-in-chief of the Red Army on the Turkestanian front, succeeded in occupying the capital Duchambe, now called Stalinabad, after a grim fight with Turkestanian freedom-fighters, namely after their leader Enver Pasha had been killed. But even after this tragic end of Tadzhik independence, the "Basmatchi", or "Robbers" as the Russians designated the Turkestanian freedom-fighters, continued to put up a courageous resistance for fifteen years. The population actively supported the "Basmatchi", and in this respect they were not in the least impressed by the fact that in 1929 their country was simply declared a Soviet Republic. It was not until the years 1935 to 1937 that the Russian invaders managed to wipe out the last nests of resistance in this southern region of Turkestan by throwing in huge military forces.

As in the case of Uzbekistan, the Russians are only too eager to make Tadzhikistan a shopwindow and a base for Soviet propaganda in Asia and Africa. To this end a whole series of contact organizations have been founded, as for instance, in March 1961, the Tadzhik Solidarity Committee for the Asian and African countries. Whenever Afro-Asian delegations visit the country, Tadzhikistan is shown off to them as the model example of Soviet Russian tolerance towards minorities and above all towards Islam. They are taken to see factories, kolkhozes and clubs, but care is taken to conceal the real facts from them. In 1960 there were only 48,000 members of the Communist Party in the whole of Tadzhikistan. The majority of them are, in any case, Russians and not Tadzhiks, for the latter tenaciously adhere to their national traditions and their Islamic religion. Unfortunately, Soviet statistics give no insight into the composition of this group of 48,000 Party members in Tadzhikistan. But similar conditions prevail as in the neighbouring regions of Turkestan, where as in Kazakhstan, for instance, 318,000 Party members were registered, but only 15,000 of them, i. e. barely 5 per cent, were Kazakhs. In 1960

there were only 676,000 Communists in the whole of Turkestan, a fact which clearly reflects the true attitude of the Turkestanian people towards Communism.

In spite of all this resistance, however, the Russians are doing their utmost to speed up the sovietization of industry and agriculture in Tadzhikistan. Factories, sovchozes and kolkhozes have been built. Since the beginning of 1961 an electric power station, which is to be the largest in the Soviet Union, is being erected on the River Vatch, close to the Afghan frontier. It is affirmed that its capacity will be even greater than that of the electric power station in Stalingrad on the Volga, so far the largest in the Soviet Union.

Tadzhikistan, however, is a mountainous country which does not possess such a large number of industrial concerns as to justify the erection of such a big electric power station. But for propagandist reasons the Soviet Russians are anxious to demonstrate Soviet achievements at the gateway to the free Orient, that is to say here on the Afghan frontier, and to assert Moscow's influence in the free neighbouring countries. True, the Soviet Russians are endeavouring to expand the industrial plants and also agriculture in Tadzhikistan by every possible means, and 11 milliard new roubles have been set aside in the present Seven-Year Plan (1959-1965) for the expansion of Tadzhikistan's economy. But these are merely figures and plans; in reality Russia has suffered a defeat in the economic, political, ideological and cultural sectors, which has, however, for propaganda reasons been kept secret so far in the Soviet Union as well as in Asia and Africa.

In the course of the many years during which the Russians have occupied Turkestan they have not succeeded in training the population to become pro-Russian; on the contrary, they continue to be regarded by the Turkestanians as a colonial power and as intruders. Actually, anti-Russian trends and mismanagement, instigated by the people and supported by high-ranking Party secretaries, influential persons in industry and agriculture, and persons entrusted with the task of training the population in the spirit of the Communist ideology, have prevailed for years in Tadzhikistan as in the other Soviet Republics of Turkestan.

The campaign of purges which was carried out from April to July 1961 and has, in fact, not yet been terminated, and in the course of which high-ranking Party functionaries and members of the government, as for instance the First Party Secretary *Uldchabay*(ev), the Prime Minister *Dodhudo*(yev), numerous Ministers, officials, employees, kolkhoz supervisors, and directors of industrial concerns, etc., were dismissed from their posts, clearly proves that the Soviet Russians are by no means in a position to rule the Moslem country of Tadzhikistan as they would wish. The Tadzhik functionaries and officials have been working hand in hand with the people and in this way have seriously damaged the Soviet economy. For this reason *Koslov*, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and *Khrushchov's* deputy, was obliged to come to Stalinabad from Moscow in order to carry out the purges at the instructions of the central government in Moscow. The functionaries and officials of the so-called independent Soviet Republic of Tadzhikistan were thus liquidated by a Russian from Moscow overnight, as it were. This fact proves that Tadzhikistan—like the other Soviet Republics of Turkestan—cannot be an example for the free Asian and African peoples, which is, however, what Khrushchov tries to stress on every possible occasion. But these young peoples have no desire to be under the tutelage of any other power, but want to be free and independent. What is held up as an example to them in Turkestan, however, is in reality the worst form of colonialism.

“Our Forces Must Be Drawn From The People”

My interposition can be taken as coming from one who has militated for more than twenty-five years in the organizations known as democratic. My statement of facts will be frank and will admit of no concessions. And now to come to the point,— my reply to the introductory speech held here. I think it would be dangerous to continue to repeat that the Communist system is only based on enormous material means. It is affirmed that 500,000 Soviet agents are permanently working for Soviet Russia. There may perhaps be even more, but one must admit that the millions of members of the Communist Party are inspired by one ideal and one faith which incite them to every sacrifice and to every excess, not omitting the betrayal of their own country. For the Communists the work is unpaid and voluntary, and the work of the paid agents would hardly be effective if information were not communicated to them regularly by the network of the political departments . . .

Money does not solve everything. The piles of dollars distributed by the West have not prevented the incrustation of Communism on the whole surface of the globe. In this respect it must be emphasized that those who have dispensed the said dollars have not given proof of much discernment in the choice of their allies and their agents . . .

In the sphere of propaganda, initiative concentrated rather on friendship with everyone and on political circles than on a rational choice of appropriate methods. Exclusive phrases were disseminated under the most fantastic pretexts. In the resistance front of anti-Communism there are some cliques who want to preserve, at any price, the quasi-monopoly which they have claimed for themselves thanks to the ignorance of certain financial backers and to the congenital indolence of the middle classes and of numerous democrats, who have never known the grim reality of the anti-Communist fight in enterprises and in places frequented by the people.

When one talks on every occasion of democracy, it is hard to admit that some democratic governments have exposed their people to the experiments of the Communists. Have not these governments favoured the latter's plans by often eliminating militant or political persons in the course of witch-hunts? In some democracies the mere fact of emphatically declaring oneself to be an anti-Communist is enough to make oneself be classified as a fanatic Mac-Carthyist.

Have not the Communists laid hands on important sectors of industrial and commercial life which thus provide them with an easy income to help them to realize their policy? Has anyone denounced these practices? Now and again the veil is raised; but it quickly falls again in consequence of the intervention of the Party apparatus, which in turn employs persuasion, charm and terrorism in order to make those who might be tempted to acquaint the public with the secret mechanism of the Party hold their tongue . . .

The strength of Communism lies in a universalist ideology artfully set up by an imperialism which is continuing the work of its Russian predecessors.

That is why what appear to us to be internal differences are often only minor court revolutions which leave the huge apparatus of surveillance, informers, spies and repression intact. The tsarist governors have been replaced by potentates in

caps who owe their power to the central power. The Communist parties follow suit, whether they want to or not, according to the international scale, and after a period of discussion order is again restored. The servility of Thorez is surely an obvious example, is it not? And where eddies are stirred up, as for instance at the moment by the Italian Communist Party, are they really a danger to Moscow? In spite of its crises and its tactical errors, Communism never retreats. The gory incidents in Hungary were soon forgotten. A year after events in Budapest 150 persons held a demonstration for the inauguration of a Kossuth square in Paris, in front of the premises of the Communist Party, whilst the leaders of this Party looked out of the windows and sneered at the meagre anti-Communist league. A fortnight later, at a memorial meeting for Hungary there were only about ten French persons present...

What have the democrats, who are all tarred with the same brush, done? Apart from some academical articles, nothing serious has been undertaken in the official general staffs, however democratic they may be in name. If one criticizes M. Mauriac—and I approve of this—why keep quiet when democrats visit Moscow? Are the errors made by M. Spaak excusable because he is a democrat? And does not M. Paul Reynaud deserve to be criticized on the same grounds as M. Fanfani? And cannot M. Mattéi, whose commercial dynamism is on a par with ideological acrobatics, likewise be censured? All these democrats are deceiving themselves in the same way as the President of the French Republic is deceiving himself in refusing to acknowledge the subversive character of Communist propaganda.

And why should I now refrain from deploring the fickleness of one of my compatriots, a member of your invitation committee, who was so imprudent (?) as to give friendly hospitality to the Soviet Ambassador, M. Vinogradov, at his home for several days. Was it this meeting, inopportune, to say the least, which prompted M. Maurice Faure to write in a liberal paper that one could envisage the opposition of the government of Peking to an agreement on Berlin?

In the military sphere, the officers who have read, reflected on and comprehended the doctrine of Communism and its application have been relieved of their responsibilities and ridiculed as incorrigible dreamers, have they not? Has not their action been condemned by the democrats, and have not the trade unionists favoured the underhand dealings of the agitators directed at long range by Moscow?

In Germany an American general, Mr. Edwin Walker, was recently dismissed from his post and assigned to another command (which he rightly refused) for having authorized the distribution of articles on Communist subversion amongst his soldiers. And yet Mr. Kennedy is a democrat who is strongly supported by the American trade union leaders who, moreover, are endeavouring to put up a barrage against Communism by financing numerous trade unions all over the world. It is true that they have been incapable of serious work in this sphere. Outside the Communist organizations the members of the trade unions are divided into two currents: socialists and Christians. These trends determine the aspect of their differences. On the pretext of an overture to the leftist camp, the socialist and Christian leaders favour the practice of unity of action in the industrial enterprises. Is this type of attitude not likely to accelerate the setting up of popular fronts? Moreover, the controlling apparatuses of social democracy and of Christian democracy should terminate their alliances with branches of the Communist Party.

Certain members of this congress reproach my immigrant friends with a severe attitude as regards Russia.

I agree with the courageous action taken by the Ukrainians, Georgians, Byelorussians, Cossacks and Armenians, etc., against the Russian imperialists. It is extremely regrettable that certain small groups denounce our friends as reactionaries

because they cling to their country which has been colonized by Russian imperialists. The sacrosanct unity of Russia is a joke in bad taste which is on a par with the disastrous decisions of men such as Roosevelt and Churchill at the time of Yalta...

In her introductory speech Mme. Labin claimed that by cutting off the telephone of the NKVD, one would be cutting off the apparatus of the Communist Party with one blow. I will leave her the responsibility for a remark which can only make those smile who have become acquainted with the substructure of the Party elsewhere than in the intellectual circles dear to the speaker. In my opinion it would be dangerous to spread this boast...

The strength of Communism is, most certainly, the consequence of the attitude of resignation on the part of the West, but it is in equal measure also determined by the egoism of the capitalists, who, moreover, agree to conclude pacts of non-aggression with the Communist leaders at any price. The strength of Communism is also the result of the romantic nature of a large number of democrats and liberals who continue to adhere to slogans which are erroneously humanitarian and which paralyse them in front of their Marxist cousins. The segregation to which the Catholic militants are subjected when they want to combat Communism is a sign which helps to give the latter a winning hand. For want of agreement at a world level between the democrats and the spiritual forces, we shall be doomed to destruction. Since the Crusades, history has proved that the masses allowed themselves to be guided by leaders capable of winning them over, towards ideals which were not always characterized by materialism.

From the miracle of Stalingrad to the resistance of Warsaw, Potsdam and Budapest, it has always been the man in the street who realizes that the spirit which mocks at political and diplomatic contingencies soars above material things. It is he who takes up arms when the mind of the intellectual is ready to adapt itself to the whims of a dictator. In the catacombs of Rome to which the bloody repressive measures of the Caesars relegated them, the Christians found hope in their faith and finally triumphed over the dark forces that wanted to make them slaves to their idols. In drawing-rooms and hovels alike, contrary to what Mme. Labin may think, the adherents are the same,—namely, a band of neutralists, who are neither bad nor good, but quite simply cowards or hypocrites.

In conclusion I should like to express my regret at the fact that this assembly here today does not represent the contingents of the militant. There are very few young people in our midst. I cannot believe in a movement which slavishly seeks to copy methods inspired by certain well-intentioned Americans.

The missionaries of peace, so dear to the heart of Mr. Kennedy, have already been sadly disillusioned in the African continent. It is not by the creation of a substitute for moral rearmament that we shall win over the masses for action against Communism. Moreover, the sectarianism of certain democrats is hardly likely to favour the organization of a powerful movement. The fact that so little importance was attached to spiritual matters here creates a feeling of uneasiness which should be dispelled. We have the impression that certain persons present here in our midst were invited for the sake of their moral security without, however, having the right to discuss the decisions reached by an indeterminate committee which was elected before this meeting by a mysterious supreme tribunal. This is yet another conception of democracy which arouses our distrust...

(The speech quoted above was made by our friend Raymond Le Bourre at the Conference on the Political War of the Soviets, which was held in Rome from November 18th to 22nd, 1961. The general theme of this conference was: "The Communist menace in the world".)

Slovakia Is A Russian Colony

In order to understand the present situation in Slovakia, one must above all bear in mind the fact that this country has been in the Soviet Russian sphere of influence since the end of World War II. After the entry of the Soviet Russian army it was not incorporated formally and directly in the Russian imperium but was made part of the state of Czecho-Slovakia, which is itself under the domination of Moscow since its forcible reconstruction.

Consequently, Slovakia, like the other countries incorporated in the Soviet Russian empire after World War II, has since that date been exposed to a steady sovietization in all spheres of national life. This process of sovietization has already assumed such dimensions in Slovakia that its regime by the grace of Moscow since 1960 no longer designates itself as a "People's Democracy" but as a "Dictatorship of the Proletariat".

Above all, the economy of Slovakia has been almost completely collectivized on Russian Communist lines. None of the mines, factories and other industrial concerns are now in private hands. For years trade concerns, too, have been under state-control. Collectivization of all the arable land has practically been completed. There are only very few private farmers left and they only possess very small farms, for which reason they have not yet been forced to join the kolkhozes. But the regime is nevertheless trying to degrade these private farmers, too, to the status of kolkhoz workers.

Slovakia's entire economy is in the first place obliged to work for Russia's benefit. Economically, the country is being exploited to an ever-increasing degree by the Russians. Actually, Slovakia has thus become a Russian colony.

The result of this economic policy and of the whole economic system has been a proletarianization of the entire native population of Slovakia. After the economic prosperity which it enjoyed during the brief period of its state independence, Slovakia has now for years been suffering the greatest hardship and poverty in the whole of its modern history. And it cannot be foreseen how much lower the standard of living of the Slovak people will sink as long as they continue to remain under Russian domination.

It is impossible in the scope of this article to enumerate all the changes which have been carried out in every sphere of public and private life since Slovakia was deprived of its state independence. Suffice it to say in brief that the state administration, judicature, schools and cultural life are all organized and controlled on Russian Communist lines.

In all the schools the Marxist-Leninist atheistic and materialistic ideology, Russian Pan-Slavism and the idea of the coexistence of the Slovaks and Czechs in one common state structure are propagated. The Russian language is taught as the main foreign language in all the schools and in special courses and is glorified as the "world language of socialism".

As a result of the war lost against Soviet Russia, the Slovak people have been deprived not only of their national freedom and state independence, but also of their religious, cultural and social freedom. As in all Communist systems everywhere, the people of Slovakia enjoy no personal freedoms whatever.

What differentiates the situation in Slovakia from that in the other countries within the Soviet Russian sphere of influence, however, is the fact, already mentioned

above, that Slovakia is not directly governed by Moscow but is administered by Prague. Since the end of World War II, Slovakia neither formally nor theoretically possesses its own state sovereignty, like other peoples in the Soviet Russian sphere of influence do. Since 1945 the Red puppet government in Prague has been doing its utmost to eradicate all memories of the free and independent Slovak Republic in the minds of the Slovak people. And since 1945 the government installed by Moscow in Slovakia has been conducting a constant defamation campaign against the Slovak Republic and its former representatives. The idea of the state independence of Slovakia is constantly condemned and distorted by the Communist rulers and their henchmen. Naturally, all Slovak patriots and anti-Communist emigrants are the butt of intrigues and defamations.

In an endeavour to wipe out all traces of the state independence of Slovakia and the Christian occidental traditions of the Slovak people, the Prague government even abolished and prohibited the traditional coat-of-arms of Slovakia.

But in spite of all agitation campaigns and terrorist measures, Moscow and Prague have not succeeded in winning over the Slovak people for the Russian Communist system, the Red dictatorship and the artificial Czecho-Slovak state structure.

Since the end of World War II the Slovaks have incessantly put up either an active or a passive resistance against the Communist system and also against the artificial Czecho-Slovak state.

The aims of the anti-Communist resistance movement of the Slovak people are obvious: the liberation of Slovakia from foreign rule and from inhuman Communist dictatorship, the re-establishment of its state independence and the restoration of democratic freedom in the Slovak state.

The situation in Slovakia is so grave that even the Communists there are deeply disappointed and alarmed. The Communist Party as a mass-organization is at present, to all practical purposes, almost non-existent there. Only the paid functionaries of the Party are carrying on their work. Not only is it extremely difficult to recruit new members for the Party, but the old members no longer bother about the Party unless they are forced or paid to do so. Hence the Communist Party in Slovakia is merely a fiction used solely by paid functionaries, agents of Moscow and Prague, for the purpose of terrorizing the people.

The situation in Slovakia, as in all the subjugated countries behind the Iron Curtain, is unbearable. The people are languishing under foreign rule and are yearning for freedom and independence. Unfortunately, the unwise policy of the governments of the free world and, in particular, of the UNO has a depressing effect on the Slovak people and paralyses their resistance against Moscow. Since the West failed to come to the aid of Hungary when the revolution there was crushed by the Russians, the people of Slovakia have been extremely disappointed. They feel they have been betrayed and left in the lurch by the West.

16 Anti-Communist Leaders Died The Death of Bandera

The American intelligence service CIA has recently investigated the deaths of 150 political personalities who have died during the past five years in the territory of the NATO states and in South America. The reason for this investigation was the solving of the murder of Stefan Bandera, who was killed by a shot fired with a poison pistol, which leaves no traces. CIA investigations have revealed that 16 of the above-mentioned persons met their death in the same way as Bandera and did not die of natural causes, as had been assumed so far.



General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka

(1907—1950)

The Ukrainian liberation movement of recent period bears the deep and indestructible imprint of the personality of General *Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka*, who for seven years (1943-1950) held supreme political and military posts within the Ukrainian underground.

Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka was Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) which numbered up to 200,000 soldiers, Chairman of the General Secretariat of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.W.R.), and Leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.).

It was after the re-establishment of the independent Ukrainian State was proclaimed on June 30th, 1941, that an armed fight against Nazi Germany and later on against Russia began and still is going on by means and methods appropriate to given circumstances.

March 5th, 1962, is the 12th anniversary of the day when General Shukhevych-Chuprynka fell in the battle against Soviet Russian troops in the Ukrainian village Bilohorshcha near Lwiw. His death was hailed by the Soviet authorities as the end of Ukrainian resistance against the Soviet Russian regime in Ukraine. Shortly after this fateful battle in Bilohorshcha on March 5th, 1950, a statement was issued boasting that "the armed opposition in Western Ukraine has been liquidated".

It is obvious that the Soviet regime expected the collapse of the Ukrainian liberation struggle with the death of its leader. Further events in Ukraine, however, proved that the expectations of the Soviet regime would not materialize. The Ukrainian liberation movement was prepared for such eventuality by Gen. Shukhevych-Chuprynka himself and immediately after his death necessary changes and adjustments were made to secure the continuance of the resistance.

It is still premature to evaluate fully the deeds of Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka and the importance of his contribution to the cause of freedom. Leaving aside the details we would like to indicate the most significant facts:

Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka was successful in creating inside the Soviet Union a very important and well-organized political nucleus of anti-Soviet resistance which, notwithstanding all Soviet attempts, was not only preserved but became a focal point for all anti-imperialist and anti-totalitarian forces and tendencies within the Russian empire.

Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka formulated the principles of liberation struggle under specific conditions of the totalitarian state. It was his belief that the resistance against the police regime in a totalitarian state is not only possible but necessary if a nation is willing to regain its freedom.

Accordingly, the following goals were set by Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka for the Ukrainian underground:

Preventing the enemy from blunting the morale of the people and supporting its confidence in the cause of freedom;

Spreading of the revolutionary ideas and helping to gain new followers among all enslaved nations of Central and Eastern Europe and Asia with the aim of creating a common front of all enslaved peoples against the oppressors;

Concentrating on the struggle along well-defined political ideas and certain actions which will help to preserve national human resources from the destruction by the enemy;

Resisting deportations, economic plundering, collectivisation;

Terrorizing the most hated representatives of the Soviet regime and forcing them to be more lenient in dealing with the population.

Gen. Shukhevych-Chuprynka was convinced that the dynamic law of terror has its fatal inverse. If its rhythm will be broken, if the opponents will be determined and ready to respond to terroristic measures of the enemy in their own proper way, then the current of terror could be reversed, and with the same impetus would sweep back through the whole structure of the totalitarian state.

The late General acted to bring as near as possible the beginning of this reverse process. He planted a spark which, as we can observe now, the Soviet regime has no power to extinguish.

Ukrainians throughout the world recall the Proclamation issued by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in Ukraine under the leadership of Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka shortly after the end of the Second World War in May 1945:

"We are conscious of the fact that our liberation struggle has entered its most difficult stage. It is true that the road toward liberation of a subjugated nation is not an easy one and there are days of triumph and days of sorrow, but our activities and our struggle cannot be stipulated by the future possibilities and outlooks."

"We, the acting generation of our people, are ready to fulfil our honourable obligations regardless of what our personal fate will be. We believe in the strength and the future of the Ukrainian nation and we know that by our deeds we are bringing nearer the day of national and social freedom for our people. Even if we die in the struggle, then new fighters will arise who will continue our work as we are continuing the great work of our fathers."

The struggle for a free and independent Ukrainian state is continued notwithstanding the heavy losses in the past or present. The fierce uprising of the Ukrainian youth at Temir-Tau in Kazakhstan in October 1959 against the Russian oppressors

is most striking evidence of the willingness of the Ukrainian people to continue their fight for freedom.

During the years 1953, 1954, 1955 and 1956 there occurred insurrections in the concentration camps of Vorkuta, Mordovia, Kingiri, Norylsk and Taishet.

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army are constantly active in Ukraine. The murder by Bolshevik agents on October 15th, 1959, of Stepan *Bandera*, the leader of Ukrainian Nationalists who became a banner and watchword of the Ukrainian liberation struggle, did not stop the fight for independence of the Ukrainian people. There is no such power as to break up the will of a nation which craves and fights for its freedom.

When the time comes and the destruction of the Soviet Russian empire is accomplished, then all mankind will realize the important service rendered by General *Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka* not only to Ukraine but to the entire world.

Eternal glory to the hero of the great Ukrainian liberation struggle!

Troop Concentrations in the Vicinity of Laos and Vietnam

According to reports by the military information service of the Republic of China, about 300,000 soldiers of the Chinese Red Army have been drawn up in readiness for action along the frontier between Red China, Laos and Vietnam and are now waiting for orders to start operations in Laos or Vietnam. It is further stated that in the frontier region in southwest Red China new military bases have recently been set up which are to ensure communication with the bases in southeast Red China and the transportation of reinforcements to North Vietnam. According to the above-mentioned reports, Red Chinese air force units are stationed at these bases. Naval units are stationed in the harbour of Yunlin on the island of Hainan. Soviet submarines are also said to be stationed at Yunlin. It is pointed out that the Red Chinese preparations can be regarded as indicative of an open attack on Vietnam, but it is very likely that the Communists will mainly concentrate on guerilla action and infiltration tactics in southeast Asia in future, too.

It is further reported by well-informed military circles in Taipei that Ho Chi-minh, the Communist leader of North Vietnam, has asked Red China for reinforcements of Red Chinese military units. Peking, it is added, has not however complied with this request since it is of the opinion that guerilla warfare is the most advantageous tactics for the Communists at the moment. Peking is, however, prepared to attack openly, if this should be necessary, in the Vietnamese conflict. The commander-in-chief of the Red Chinese intervention units is Marshal Yeh

Chieh-ying, who recently visited North Vietnam with a Red Chinese delegation. Marshal Yeh, who has an intimate knowledge of southeast Asia, is said to have also been in command of the Vietminh units during the operations at Dienbienphou eight years ago. The military delegation headed by Yeh, so it is affirmed, played an important part in Hanoi. The above-mentioned military circles in Taipei stress that there is every indication that Red China will move its troops into Vietnam at once if the American military units start operations to support Ngo Dinh Diem, the President of South Vietnam.

"Die Presse", an independent paper for Austria, Vienna, in its edition of January 19, 1962, comments on the resolution of protest by the A.B.N. against the murders perpetrated by the Moscow government, in its "Politics" column and stresses that Soviet crimes should be investigated.

MUNICH (DPA). *The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.)*, which comprises 17 emigrant organizations, demanded that the "murders perpetrated by the Moscow government" should be dealt with by a court. In its resolution which is worded in emphatic terms, the Central Committee of the A.B.N. suggests the forming of an international court of justice "to deal with the Bolshevik mass-murders committed since Stalin's day and in which the victims were non-Communists, and to call the present rulers of the Kremlin to account for their crimes against humanity".



O B I T U A R Y

Dr. Oskar Loorits, Estonian freedom-fighter, scholar and writer, and Vice-President of the Peoples' Council of A.B.N. died at the age of 61 years in Uppsala (Sweden) in January this year.

Born in Estonia in November, 1900, his life was from the start dedicated to his people. His public political activity began when Estonia 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 Russians occupied Estonia 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 for years held a post in the Dialect and Folklore Institute in Uppsala.

Dr. Loorits wrote a large number of scientific articles and 40 books, which have been published in 16 different languages. As a cultural philosopher, he developed the national ideology of the Estonian people. From the outset, he always played an active part in the cultural and political opposition to intellectual and party dictatorship and standardization and fearlessly championed the cause of personal freedom and tolerance, social justice and ethical renaissance.

Dr. Loorits collected extensive records on the folklore of the Estonians in many different languages. He also helped to compile and edit the Estonian Encyclopedia, as well as the Estonian section of Herder's Lexicon of World Literature in the 20th Century. He was a member of the Estonian Academy of Sciences and of various foreign scientific institutions. He was also a foreign member of the Swedish Gustavus Adolphus Academy from 1955 onwards.

But his main energy was devoted to the fight for freedom of his fellow-countrymen and he played a very active part in this field in exile.

After World War II his political organization joined the A.B.N. and from then onwards he was one of our most prominent fellow-fighters. He was a true representative of all the national qualities of his people, — a pious Christian, a man of indomitable spirit and courage, loyal and modest.

With his death we have lost an ardent Estonian patriot and a courageous champion of the rights and freedom of his people. He was our sincere and loyal fellow-fighter and friend.

To the very end he remained loyal to his principles and endeavoured to serve the common cause to the best of his ability, even though his failing health made it difficult for him to fulfil this noble task.

We shall always honour his memory.

The Central Committee of the A.B.N.

Lord Home Attacks Russian Imperialism

British Foreign Minister Lord Home designated Russian colonialism as the "most cruel in history", saying that the "Russian empire was built by means of military aggression and is upheld by fear". The following statement was made according to the London newspaper "The Daily Telegraph", Dec. 29, 1961, by Lord Home, during the meeting of the Association of United Nations in Berwick on Tweed on December 28, 1961. The Minister spoke about the present grave crisis in the Organization of United Nations. This crisis is mainly caused by Moscow's subversive activities and by other nations which propagate peace, and in practice use brutality in order to achieve their aims. Therefore the peoples have lost their confidence in the U.N. and in all its resolutions and appeals. While castigating Russian colonialism, Lord Home emphasized that during the last 15 years Great Britain gave national independence to 600 million peoples.

Letter of the Central Committee of the Ukrainians in Canada to US Secretary of State Dean Rusk

On the occasion of the 44th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of Ukraine on January 22, 1962, the Central Committee of Ukrainians in Canada sent a letter to US Secretary of State Dean Rusk, in which it protested on behalf of half a million Ukrainians in Canada against his attitude towards the Ukrainian problem — "Ukraine is an historic part of the Soviet Union".

The Future Potentialities Of Siberia

II

Siberia occupies the northern part of Asia. It has an area of 5,116,371 square miles¹⁾, which is one-fourth the area of all Asia, one and one-half times the area of Europe, and nearly twice as large as the United States of America.

On the north and east Siberia is bounded by the Arctic and Pacific Oceans, on the west by the Ural Mountains, and on the southwest by the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic. On the south, Siberia has a common boundary with Outer Mongolia and Manchuria and, near the Pacific, for a few miles with Korea. Its southern boundary approximates the latitude of the northern boundary of the United States.

Siberia can be divided into three unequal parts: Western Siberia with the Trans-Ural regions, Eastern Siberia, and the Far East.

All three of these parts have one common characteristic; that is, an Arctic region consisting of the tundra which stretches from the Urals to the Bering Strait, forming a belt of swampy land covered by coarse grass and moss. In the spring, when the ice surface thaws and water is not absorbed by the frozen subsoil, the rivers are overburdened with water; then the tundra looks like a sea. The only trees are birches and low bushes of heath, azalea, and arbutus. The tundra freezes and turns white for eight or nine months of the year.

The Urals. The Ural Mountains are not a real line of division between Europe and Asia; they can be crossed easily at several points. The ancient Finnish tribes crossed the Urals on their way to northern Europe. The early explorers and traders of Novgorod found no difficulty in making their way across the Urals into Siberia. The general physical conditions of Western Siberia are very similar to those of the country to the west of the Urals.²⁾

The northern part of the region has already been described. The center and south together comprise a region very similar to those regions of Southern Siberia which embrace coniferous forests, wooded steppes, and steppe lauds, lying astride the great east-west line of communication served by the tributaries of the larger rivers and by the Trans-Siberian Railway.³⁾

The eastern slope of the Ural Mountains is regarded as the conventional dividing line between Europe and Asia⁴⁾, but this tradition has little geographic validity.⁵⁾

On the eastern slopes of the Urals, commonly known as the Trans-Ural region, lie the Chelyabinskaya Oblast, with an area of 34,242 square miles, and the Sverdlovskaya Oblast, with an area of 75,192 square miles.⁶⁾

These Trans-Ural regions, or *Zauralye*, are closely linked economically with the Novosibirsk region by means of the Ural-Kuznetsk industrial "Combine".⁷⁾

¹⁾ *Narodnoye Khoziaistvo RSFSR* [National Economy of RSFSR] (State Statistical Board of RSFSR, Moscow, 1957), pp. 59—60.

²⁾ I. Stepanov, *Ural* (Moscow, 1957), pp. 35—39.

³⁾ *Ibid.*

⁴⁾ *Ibid.*

⁵⁾ George Cressey, *The Basis of Soviet Strength* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1945), p. 30.

⁶⁾ *Narodnoye Khoziaistvo RSFSR*, p. 59.

⁷⁾ Mikhail I. Pomus, *Zapadnaya Sibir* [Western Siberia] (Moscow, 1956), p. 14.

Western Siberia. Western Siberia stretches from the Urals to the Yenisey and from the Arctic Ocean to the foothills of the Altai Mountains. It has an area of 967,317 square miles.⁸⁾ This plain, the West Siberian Lowland, slopes almost imperceptibly towards the Arctic Ocean. On the divide between the Ob and the Irtysh, the Lowland forms a vast waterlogged area of about 1,131 square miles, the so-called "Vasyugane".⁹⁾

The southern corner of Western Siberia is occupied by the Altai Mountains, while the remaining territory is occupied by the Siberian Lowland.

The Altai system itself consists of a complex of high snowy-ridged mountains and deep valleys. It occupies almost one-tenth of the territory of Western Siberia. The highest peak, Belukha, in the Katun Range, rises to 17,000 feet. The predominant tree types are larch, pine, fir, and cedar, with an admixture of aspen and birch.¹⁰⁾

The southern part of Western Siberia consists of forested steppe lands. Further north, these give place to rich meadow lands and black earth which afford the best conditions for corn growing and cattle-raising. The central zone is a taiga (coniferous forest) composed mainly of birch, fir, and spruce; on its loamy soil cedar forests grow, and on its sandy soil, pine forests. The large trees are concentrated near the rivers, while in the marshy divides low-tree vegetation prevails. Further north, the tundra predominates, alternating with swamps and sand glades; near the Arctic the lowland disappears into the swamps which are useless for cultivation and settlement.¹¹⁾

Eastern Siberia. Eastern Siberia is a region of plateaus and mountains. It stretches east from the Yenisey to the Aldan and Maya rivers and extends beyond the Lena to the Verkhoyansk Range on the north-west; and north from the state frontier of the Mongolian People's Republic and Manchuria to the Arctic Ocean. It has an area of 2,815,878 square miles.¹²⁾

The Central Siberian Uplands occupy the greater portion of Eastern Siberia, which, further north, passes into the North Siberian Lowland and, towards the south, into the Sayan and Yablonovy Mountains. It is a great unexploited virgin forest, with sufficient timber to supply the world's demand for many years to come.¹³⁾

The Far East. The Far East stretches along the entire Pacific coastline of Siberia, from Possyet Bay in the south, near the intersection of the frontiers of the Soviet Union, China, and Korea, to the north-east, up to Bering Strait, which separates the Soviet Union from the United States. It has an area of 1,223,742 square miles.¹⁴⁾

Almost the entire territory of the Far East is occupied by mountain ranges which extend parallel to the sea coast.

The Far East occupies the Khabarovsk and Primorye territories and the Amur, Magadan, Kamchatka and Sakhalin Regions.¹⁵⁾

On the whole, Siberia is well supplied with rivers. The three largest rivers in Siberia are the Ob, Yenisey, and Lena. They flow from south to north, emptying their waters into the Arctic Ocean, which is frozen most of the year. The Amur, another large river, flows into the Pacific. Most of these rivers are navigable for nearly their entire length.

⁸⁾ *Narodnoye Khoziaistvo RSFSR*, p. 60.

⁹⁾ M. Struve, *U.S.S.R.* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1957), p. 8.

¹⁰⁾ Nicholas Mikhailiv, *Sibir* (Moscow, 1956), p. 64.

¹¹⁾ Pomus, *Zapadnaya Sibir*, pp. 1932.

¹²⁾ *Narodnoye Khoziaistvo RSFSR*, p. 60.

¹³⁾ I. V. Nikolsky, *Vostochnaya Sibir* [Eastern Siberia] (Moscow, 1953), pp. 10—11.

¹⁴⁾ *Narodnoye Khoziaistvo RSFSR*, p. 60.

¹⁵⁾ V. N. Udovenko, *Dalny Vostok* [The Far East] (Moscow, 1957), p. 5.

During winter, most of the rivers of Siberia are closed from six to eight months. Many of them are frozen to the bottom. This phenomenon has a great influence on the lives of the people, because of the closing of most of the Siberian ports.

The Ob takes its source in the Altai Mountains, flows across the West Siberian Lowland and deposits its waters in the Arctic Ocean. It is 3,200 miles long¹⁶⁾ and navigable for about 2,000 of those miles¹⁷⁾

The Ob's main tributary, the Irtysh, rises in China, on the western slope of the Mongolian Altai. Between Semipalatinsk and Omsk, it traverses steppe plains and, near the Tobolsk, it receives the Ishim and Tobol Rivers.

The Yenisey, which takes its source from two mountain rivers in the territory of the Tuva Autonomous Region, the Beikhem and Khanand, cuts Siberia from south to north. Its upper course flows through very remote and sparsely populated regions and, after confluence with the Angara, the Yenisey becomes still mightier, dashing through a series of narrow gorges in which the river reaches a depth of 234 feet. Having travelled through the taiga, through plains and hills, it reaches the tundra where it widens considerably. Its total length is 2,800 miles.¹⁸⁾

The importance of the Yenisey lies primarily in its tremendous flow. This river pours 131 cubic miles of water each year into the Kara Sea.¹⁹⁾

Among its main tributaries are the three Tunguskas. Two of them flow to the Yenisey from the Central Siberian Uplands. The Verkhnyaya Tunguska, commonly called the Angara, flows out of Lake Baikal. In the middle are the Podkamennaya or Stony Tunguska and the Nizhnaya or Lower Tunguska. The name Yenisey comes from a native Evenk word which means "big waters".²⁰⁾

The Lena is the third largest river of Siberia. It rises near the north-western shore of Lake Baikal, on the northern slope of the Baikal Mountains. In the upper course, the Lena runs through rugged mountains, then cuts through the Central Siberian Uplands and, after joining with the Vitim and the Olekma tributaries, the Lena becomes quieter and forms many river islands. After receiving the Aldan and the Vilyuy tributaries, the Lena becomes a great navigable stream and enters the Laptev Sea of the Arctic Ocean through a huge delta of about 7,000 square miles. The Lena is 2,800 miles in length, and the period of navigation is from 180 to 152 days.²¹⁾

There are other lesser rivers of Siberia, also quite large, which, since the establishment of the Northern Sea Route Administration, are also being opened to navigation. They include, between the Yenisey and the Lena, the Khatanga, the Anabar and the Olenek Rivers, and, east of the Lena, the Yana, the Indigirka, and the Kolyma Rivers. These rivers flow through a region of perpetually frozen subsoil in a region where long severe winters prevail.

The Amur has its origin at the junction of the Argun and Shilka. Its total length is approximately 2,900 miles.²²⁾ It is formed by the union of the Argun and the Shilka rivers on the USSR-China border and connects the Amur area with the Maritime Region, forming a through route from Eastern Siberia to the Pacific Ocean. It serves as the boundary between Siberia and Manchuria. The supply of water to this river depends mostly on summer rains. It reaches its highest level in

¹⁶⁾ *Information Please Almanac*. Journal American Edition (New York City, 1958), p. 734.

¹⁷⁾ James S. Gregory and D. W. Shave, *The U.S.S.R.* (New York, 1944), p. 64.

¹⁸⁾ *Information Please Almanac*, p. 374.

¹⁹⁾ Struve, *U.S.S.R.*, p. 8.

²⁰⁾ M. Tsunts, *Siberia's Hydro-Power Projects* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1957), p. 29.

²¹⁾ *Information Please Almanac*, p. 734.

²²⁾ *Ibid.*

July and August. The Amur provides an excellent waterway for ocean ships along its lower course up to Khabarovsk. It is navigable from 175 to 211 days.

The Amur's chief tributaries are the Zeya, Bureya and Amgun on the left, and the Ussuri on the right. The Ussuri flows northward from Lake Khanka, along the Manchurian border, and falls into the Amur at Khabarovsk.

Lake Baikal is the hub of industry in Eastern Siberia and the biggest fresh-water lake in Eurasia. It lies between the Khamar-Daban and Barguza Mountains and it occupies an area of 13,300 square miles. It is 385 miles in length²³⁾, and contains more water than the Baltic Sea. It is fed by 336 greater and lesser rivers. Baikal's depth is 5,413 feet, the deepest lake in the world. It is famous for its clear water and the beauty of its shores and is known for its fish resources.²⁴⁾

The climate of Siberia is typically continental. The Urals form no climatic barrier, but their height is sufficient to hold up the air masses advancing eastward from the Atlantic Ocean. The chief feature is the heavier precipitation on the western slope.²⁵⁾

Siberia's south-eastern boundaries are covered by high massive mountains which prevent the influx of warm and humid winds from the seas lying in the south-eastern part of Asia. It is from the north, from the Arctic Ocean, especially in winter, that the impact of the cold air masses penetrates deep into the inland areas of Siberia.²⁶⁾

The climate of Siberia, due to the great latitudinal extent of the country, varies considerably from place to place. However, the following four common characteristics of climatic regions can be determined:

The Arctic region extends southwards to 64° north latitude in Western Siberia and 67° north in Eastern Siberia. The Arctic winter is long and cold. The average January and February mean is from -40° to -10° F. The summer is very short and the polar day lasts for three months. Rainfall and snowfall are light, the annual total being from 10 to 15 inches.²⁷⁾ On the upper reaches of the Indigirka River lies the small Yakut settlement of Oimyakon. This place is believed to be the coldest spot on earth. In December and January the temperature there frequently reaches -94° F.²⁸⁾

Western Central Siberia consists of the Chelyabinsk, Tyumen, Omsk, Tomsk, Novosibirsk and Irkutsk Regions and the Krasnoyarsk Territory. The average temperature in January is from zero to -10° F. In Tomsk it is -3° F. and in Irkutsk -5° F. The July temperatures range from 63° to 69° F. Annual precipitation is about 16 to 20 inches. This part of Siberia is thickly populated and the soil is fertile and suitable for agriculture.²⁹⁾

Eastern Central Siberia is comprised of the Transbaikalian Territory, the southern part of the Yakutsk Territory and the northern part of the Irkutsk Region. Here the climate is more continental and more severe than that of Western Central Siberia. In January the average temperature ranges from -4° to 60° F. and in July from 60° to 70°. Almost everywhere here, about 180 days of the year, the average daily temperature is below freezing. Snowfall is not heavy, and the Transbaikalian Territory is practically snowless. Precipitation varies from 5 to 18 inches.³⁰⁾

²³⁾ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁾ Struve, *U.S.S.R.*, p. 9.

²⁵⁾ Pomus, *Zapadnaya Sibir*, p. 97.

²⁶⁾ Mikhailov, *Sibir*, p. 97.

²⁷⁾ Boris P. Alysov, *Klimat SSSR* [Climate of the USSR] (Moscow University Press, 1956), pp. 31-41.

²⁸⁾ Struve, *U.S.S.R.*, pp. 6-7.

²⁹⁾ Alysov, *Klimat SSSR*, pp. 73-84.

³⁰⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 90-94.

The Amur and south-eastern region occupies the Amur, Kamchatka and Sakhalin Regions and the Maritime Territory. This is the only Siberian region which is influenced by the ocean to any marked degree. Here the winter is dry, almost snowless, clear, and very cold. The average January temperature approaches 5° F. at Vladivostok and July temperatures are from 65° to 70° F.

Summers are hot and humid. At the end of the summer, monsoon influences cause heavy summer rainfall. The rivers are overburdened with water and devastate the lowlands.

Autumn is clear and quite warm. Spring is cold and windy. In the southern region of Primorye, at the end of the summer and in the beginning of autumn typhoons often strike.

Sakhalin Island, next to the Maritime region, has a colder and more severe climate. The Tartar Strait, along the west coast, freezes over in winter and, during the summer, the Sea of Okhotsk, which maintains floating ice as late as June, cools the eastern half of the island. Cold, rain-bearing winds occur in the summer and snow usually remains on the ground from early autumn till the beginning of summer.

Spring arrives late in the Kamchatka peninsula and is followed by a short summer. The western half of Kamchatka, oriented toward the Sea of Okhotsk, is colder than the eastern part. The central section of Kamchatka, along the Kamchatka River, has a warmer and drier climate. The eastern part receives much more precipitation. Heavy snow and dense fogs are common on the coast.³¹⁾

The Siberian winters are severe and rarely broken by thaws, but are generally dry with so little cloudiness that it hardly interferes with the bright sunshine. The summer is comparatively warm, except in the regions close to the Arctic Ocean where it is cool.

The time of vegetative growth is from May to October, the temperature during these months ranging from 53° to 60° F. At the end of May and, in the north, in June, the earth heats up very rapidly under the hot bright sun. Most of the precipitation occurs during this period.³²⁾

One month, September, can be called autumn, when the temperature begins to fall rapidly. Spring and fall are so short that their duration is hardly distinguishable, except in the south where the climate is somewhat more moderate. There is a cold spring and a warm, though short, autumn.

Siberia has definite limits to the development of its agriculture. The area suitable for cultivation is restricted by an unfavorable physical structure. The entire north and north-east is covered by frozen tundra. The south-east is too wet and the south-west too dry. The large area of Western Siberia is too moist and swampy, while Eastern Siberia is too high, rocky, and cold. Agriculture is largely confined to the black-soil area, which is traversed through its center for about 1,200 miles by the Trans-Siberian Railway from the Urals to the Yenisey.³³⁾ This belt, which is a continuation of the black-soil triangle, tapers eastward to a point at Lake Baikal in southern Siberia.

Large expanses of undeveloped lands of ash-colored soil, the taiga and the tundra, are situated north of the black-soil belt and a narrower mountain belt of chestnut-colored soil lies on the south.

Agriculture is most highly developed in the black-soil belt. The neighboring belts, the belts of ash-colored or *podzol* soil to the north and the belt of chestnut soils

³¹⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 95—101.

³²⁾ Mikhailov, *Sibir*, pp. 97—106.

³³⁾ Cressey, *The Basis of Soviet Strength*, p. 204.

to the south, are considerably less cultivated. In the belt of *podzol* soils, the predominant part of the land area is covered by forests, while in the zone of chestnut soil it is under pasture.

In the Soviet era these formerly unbroken lands are now being cultivated. A number of new types of agricultural machines have been introduced and new varieties of plants and new breeds of draught and productive animals have been raised.

During the Second World War the importance of the West Siberian farmlands increased considerably because of the loss of the rich agricultural regions occupied by the Germans in the west (especially Ukraine). The greatest increase in the cultivated areas of vegetables and potatoes in 1942, as against 1940, occurred in Siberia where it was 44 percent; the Urals increased 37 percent, and the Far East 30 percent.³⁴⁾

The granary of Western Siberia is the Kulunda steppes, whose wealth is derived from its fields of splendid spring wheat, its plantations of sugar beet and its herds of cattle and sheep. The fertile soil would give far greater yields if it were not for the scarcity of water and frequent droughts caused by sultry winds. The annual rainfall in this area varies from 11 to 12 inches.

The creation of the Kamen Hydro-Power Station, with its great reservoir, opens up prospects for irrigation of this area. By checking spring floods, the Kamen reservoir will prevent the river from bursting its banks and preclude the inundation of the meadow lands in the flood plain.³⁵⁾

In the Soviet reconstruction plans, attention has been paid to the Krasnoyarsk Territory, the Irkutsk Region and the Khabarovsk and Primorye Territories. On July 11, 1947, "Izvestia" pointed out that as a result of the Five-Year Plans the Irkutsk region "is gradually turning from rye to wheat, and from the production of grains alone, which were insufficient even for the peasants, to the production of a variety of agricultural products. Although in 1920 there were only 64,300 hectares of spring wheat in this region, the area planted with this crop amounted to 232,000 hectares in 1941. In 1928 the proportion of vegetables in the suburban zones of the Irkutsk, Cheremkhovo, and Usolye districts comprised less than one percent, and that of potatoes less than 2.3 percent, of the area under cultivation. In 1946 crops of potatoes and vegetables in the suburban zones rose to 14.7 percent."

Another article in this same newspaper on November 12, 1952, stated that "the local inhabitants—Yakuts, Kotyaks, Evenki, and Yukagirs—began to clear the taiga and to cultivate small plots and seed beds. Later kolkhozes and sovhozes were established in the Indigirka and Kolyma taiga. The main occupation of many residents is now gardening and stock raising".

Since 1953, the regime has pushed the development of these non-black regions, the so-called "virgin lands"³⁶⁾, by the draining and clearing of the taiga in the north and by irrigation and fertilization in the south. As a result of the cultivation of the virgin lands in Siberia hundreds of large state farms have sprung up. Many skilled industrial machine and tractor station engineers, agronomists and thousands of collective farmers' families from Ukraine, Byelorussia and other republics were

³⁴⁾ Nikolai A. Voznesensky, *The Economy of the USSR During World War II* (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1948), p. 57.

³⁵⁾ Tsunts, *Siberia's Hydro-Power Projects*, p. 38.

³⁶⁾ *Measures from the Development of Agriculture in the U.S.S.R. Decision Adopted September 7, 1953, at a Plenary Meeting of the C. C., C. P. S. U. On the Report of N. S. Khrushchov* (Moscow, 1954), p. 23.

forced to settle in those areas.³⁷⁾ Within two years 30 million hectares of new land were put to the plough in the virgin and long-fallow land areas.³⁸⁾

Much of the Amur Valley is still suited to farming, but maritime conditions bring a slightly moderating influence to the climate.

Siberian forests, commonly called the taiga, stretch from the Urals to the Pacific and beyond the Arctic Circle, excluding the tundra region in the north, the black-soil belt and steppes in the south-west, Irkutsk and Transbaikal. They occupy about 3,000,000 square miles and constitute about 70 percent of the taiga's territory of Siberia. No other single state in the world has such a colossal forest area.

The forest zone has great economic significance. The most important species of trees in the taiga are the Siberian spruce, pine, larch, Siberian and Dahurian fir, Siberian and Japanese stone pine and, in the Far East, Yeddo spruce. Deciduous trees are represented principally by birch and aspen in Western Siberia, to which are added the velvet tree, ash, maple, and elm in the Amur and Maritime Territories on the east.³⁹⁾

Reserves of timber in Siberia are greater than those of the United States and Canada combined.⁴⁰⁾ Krasnoyarsk Territory alone, for instance, can give the country 10,000 million cubic meters of building timbers. In the Irkutsk Region the forests are larger than the combined forests of Finland, Norway and Sweden. Besides, there are forests in the Altai Territory, Tomsk, Chita, Tymen and other regions.⁴¹⁾

Siberia's timber provides raw material for the paper, wood pulp, and wood-working industries, serves as building material and fuel, and is also an article for export to the countries bordering on the Pacific Ocean—China, Japan, India—as well as to South Africa and Europe.

³⁷⁾ N. Anisimov, *Soviet Agriculture* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1957), p. 64.

³⁸⁾ N. S. Khrushchov, *Report to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at the 20th Party Congress* (Moscow, February 14, 1956), p. 64.

³⁹⁾ Mikhailov, *Sibir*, pp. 7—8.

⁴⁰⁾ *New York World-Telegram and Sun*, June 27, 1959, p. 8.

⁴¹⁾ M. Postolovsky, *U.S.S.R. in 1960* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1957), pp. 62—63.

(To be continued)

M. Threecross

O Sancta Simplicitas!

The prominent American journalist Walter Lippman is, without doubt, a man who has marked influence on the common sense of Americans as regards appeasement toward Russia. It was W. Lippman who at the beginning of World War II published a book about principles of American politics. This book, somewhat like the Bible in its scope, with a very friendly part of it toward Russia, was printed in millions of copies, and every American soldier was obliged to read it. It was the same W. Lippman who, discussing the problem of "resistance against the aggression of USSR" in 1947—48, came to the conclusion about the "necessity" of surrounding Russia with a wide strip of radioactive clouds, which should be driven on to the territories of Ukraine, Poland and other non-Russian countries.

Yes, in order to preserve Russia herself, W. Lippman advised making a no-mans-land out of the said subjugated nations, — to bring them more sufferings in addition to those committed by Russian colonialism — genocide.

Lippman's entire journalist activity after the war was devoted to the same friendly politics towards Russia. But in face of the steadily growing threat to the West, W. Lippman appeared more and more cautious, although "the needle could not be hidden even in a nylon bag".

Let us now look more closely at some of W. Lippman's articles published in 1961. In "Quiet Diplomacy World's Best Hope" (Chicago Sun-Times, Jan. 10, 1961) W. Lippman ardently advised secrecy on negotiations bet-

ween the USA and Russia, namely, as he states: "It follows that the two countries must cultivate the habit of talking to each other through their embassies. These can, of course, be supplemented by unofficial meetings of experts like the ones held recently at Dartmouth and in Moscow". Who is interested in hiding the truth? — Only the one who fears it! Only gangsters, of course, are interested in keeping their crimes and evil intentions secret. The Iron Curtain is serving precisely this purpose. Thus, W. Lippman with his "Quiet Diplomacy" appears as a friend of Russia par excellence. The advice of secret negotiations apparently results from the idea of dividing the world into two areas of influence — Russian and American. Needless to say, this idea meets Russian intentions perfectly. Russia merely wants "coexistence" in order to gain time to gather strength for the final blow against the West, and "to bury it". The advice of such secrecy could also bring unrest among American friends — allied powers, and this is also welcomed by Russia.

In the article "U.S. Must Decide Stand On Berlin" (Chicago Sun-Times, Sept. 12, 1961), W. Lippman launches an idea that the status quo of divided Germany, but not sealed by any treaty, is better than anything else which can be negotiated. In other words, W. Lippman advocates the status of uncertainty, a status of permanent fear of the Russian experiments of tomorrow. Such uncertainty plays in favour of Russia who under this "screen of smoke" can advance in creating a "socialistic belt" around the USA, making them tired psychologically and thus more vulnerable in the event of the final showdown.

In the article "Attitude Toward Neutral Nations" (Chicago Sun-Times, Nov. 30, 1961), W. Lippman, discussing neutrality, states that to be disengaged in our time of great conflicts is immoral. It is perfectly right. But W. Lippman's discussion concerning the aid to Tito, despite his stand against the USA at the Belgrade meeting on Sept. 1, 1961, is conducted in favour of this Red dictator. Of course, it is "smart" to say that "with self-respect to ourselves we can pay continual respect to others". It would perhaps be right towards really neutral nations, but who can seriously think that Tito is not indeed on the side of Russia?

Evidently, W. Lippman is one of such believers. O, Sancta Simplicitas! Yes, W. Lippman believes in sincerity in Tito's neutrality despite the many signs of his hostility to the USA and despite the opinion of many Americans, namely that the aid to Tito is nothing but a Bickford fuse to the bomb under the USA themselves. The American aid to Tito is a burning match in his hand to set the said fuse alight.

Premier Diefenbaker Attacked By Bolsheviks

In its edition of January 12, 1962, the official paper of the Communist Party of Ukraine, "Radianska Ukraina", published an article entitled "The Liberation Delirium of Mr. Diefenbaker" by Mykhailo Hrynj. This article is a reply to the outstanding speech made by Premier Diefenbaker before the ethnic groups in Toronto on November 22nd last year.

In this speech Premier Diefenbaker sharply condemned Russian imperialism and Communism and spoke in defence of the non-Russian peoples. The speech infuriated the Russian fellow-travellers in Kyiv. At instructions received from higher quarters, they published this boring and unconvincing article, which is full of lies and cynicism. In order to lend more authority to his article, this second-rate Kyiv writer refers to the Communist prophet of Moscow, Lenin, and to the Russian critic and publicist Herzen. In accordance with the usual Russian Bolshevik tricks, he gives an entirely false account of the life and character of Premier Diefenbaker at the beginning of his article. He depicts him as a person out for publicity, as a demagogue who is eager to make a political career for himself as fast as possible. The writer endeavours to create an unfavourable picture of the Premier in order to show up the idea of liberation, which the Premier has set himself as his task, in the wrong light. He affirms that Diefenbaker is a dreamer and is suffering from delirium, that he is trying to win over the Ukrainian people by his fine phrases and persuade them to sever their connections with the Soviet state in order to become a neophyte of the capitalistic world, which is personified by Canada. He goes on to say: "Mr. Diefenbaker, loyal to his informers, ascertains that the solution of the Ukrainian question is connected with the overthrow of the Communist dictatorship in Russia." It can be said for certain that such an article as this has exactly the opposite effect to that desired among the peoples behind the Iron Curtain. It serves to make Premier Diefenbaker even more popular among these peoples and wins their sympathy for him. And in addition, it also encourages the hope that there are statesmen in the West who wish to help the Ukrainian and other enslaved peoples. The said article also attacks William Randorf Horst on account of his article in the New York "Journal American", which advocates a propagandist offensive against Communism, as well as Henry Lodge, the Secretary of the Atlantic Institute, who exhorted the free world to intensify the ideological fight against Communism.

New Campaign Against Slovak National Emigrants

After the Slovak Liberation Council sent a petition to the United Nations requesting that independence be conceded to Slovakia (we reported on this in the last issue of "ABN Correspondence"), the Communist government in Prague started a new agitation and defamation campaign against the Slovak national emigrants. In the course of this campaign the Prague government has again demanded the extradition of Dr. Jan Durcansky, who is living in Buenos Aires as an emigrant, by the Argentine government. For no reason whatever Prague designates this Slovak patriot, who is the brother of the President of the Slovak Liberation Council, Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky, as a "war criminal".

The purpose of this infamous action on the part of the Prague puppet government by the grace of Moscow is actually to bring disrepute upon the President of the Slovak Liberation Council and of the Peoples' Council of A.B.N., Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky, and the Slovak national emigrants in general. In order to achieve this end, the Prague Communist government resorts to the same kind of vile lies and falsifications as the Moscow Bolshevik government does in the case of General Heusinger.

There is nothing new about the Communists trying to defame the anti-Communist exile organizations and their prominent representatives by means of lies, intrigues and falsifications. But it is, however, regrettable that various papers in the free world repeat such assertions by Communist propaganda without any misgivings and without making any comments on them. In this way they are, either knowingly or unknowingly, rendering Moscow and world Communism a service.

Political Denouncement Rally in Chicago

The Organizations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front in Chicago organized a Rally against:

1) Russian-Communist terror, applied against Ukraine's statesmen and political leaders in the Free World and lastly against the assassination of the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Stepan Bandera.

2) The standing adopted by Secretary of State Dean Rusk in the case of the creation of a Permanent Committee of the House for the Captive Nations and his attitude regarding Ukraine, Byelorussia, Armenia and other nations enslaved by Moscow.

The Rally, held on December 31, 1961, in the auditorium of SUMA's Building, opened with the American and Ukrainian anthems performed by the orchestra of the American Ukrainian Youth Association (SUMA) under the direction of Prof. I. Povalaczek.

The opening words were spoken by Dr. R. Kobylecky, who introduced the master of ceremonies of the Rally, Attorney Julian Kulas.

Mr. Kulas called the 15 members of the Presidium and secretaries and in turn pre-

sented the first speaker Prof. I. Wowczuk, editor of the "Ukrainian Word", from Pittsburgh.

In his short speech Prof. Wowczuk pointed out that the aim of this Rally was to realize how dangerous for the Russian Empire are independence movements of nations and what means are used to keep these nations in the Soviet grasp, such as terror, persecutions, the destruction of the intelligentsia, and deportations. The political philosophy, the above-mentioned methodology of the Soviet government, has remained essentially the same as those of its predecessors — the czars. Only the official name of the Russian Empire has changed, said Prof. Wowczuk. In order to placate the Ukrainian people and to keep up appearances the Russian dictators created a fictitious "Ukrainian Republic". However, all these methods are part of Russia's elaborate plan in creating and maintaining her empire. In spite of this, Ukraine's desire for freedom is so overpowering that Moscow had to eliminate before the very eyes of the Ukrainian people

the important figures of such men as Otaman Simon Petlura, Colonel Eugen Konovalets and Stepan Bandera, symbols of Ukraine's aspirations towards liberty and national sovereignty, in order to destroy a dangerous leader of the people whom they are trying to hold in captivity. Moscow murdered Stepan Bandera on October 15, 1959, hoping in vain to destroy the bearer of the present spirit of liberty, by the hands of its agent, only to fail because his spirit still lives among Ukrainians not only in the Free World, but also behind the Iron Curtain. Bandera's spirit is a constant threat and avenger of the wrongs done to Ukraine. His spirit, Moscow knows, will rise and lead the people to vengeance. The people will fight, as has done the U.P.A. (Ukrainian Insurgent Army), with the names of their spiritual leaders Petlura, Konovalets, and Bandera, all victims of the Red assassins, a living memory, to guide them.

It is a tragedy, said Prof. Wowczuk at the end of his speech, that the press of the Free World fails to realize the *significance* of the murders of the Ukrainian leaders. They fail to realize that their policy of calm acceptance of Russia's bloody deeds may lead to a similar tragedy for the leaders of the Free World.

The second speaker was Bob Siegrist, radio commentator and member of the College of Lecturers from Milwaukee. Mr. Siegrist opened his speech by conveying greetings from the Hon. C. J. Kersten and by apologizing for not being able to speak Ukrainian.

However, Mr. Siegrist pointed out that he speaks the language of Freedom — Svoboda. This language, with which the Declaration of Independence was written, says that Ukraine and all the other Captive Nations must be free one day under God. He also criticized Secretary of State Dean Rusk for not being able to understand and speak this language of Freedom.

Mr. Siegrist affirmed that Khrushchov, Stalin's butcher of Ukraine, should be made to hear and answer the language of Freedom, which did not lose its meaning to many Americans. Furthermore he added that if Mr. Rusk and his associates from the Department of State had been in power in 1776 they would have smeared Jefferson and Washington as extremists. They would not agree with Patrick Henry's immortal words: "Give me liberty or give me death." Mr. Siegrist recognized the State Department as being to blame for the stealing of the A-bomb secret by the Russians. He said the State Department lets the Communists get stronger and stronger and become a threat to the United States. Mr. Siegrist reproached this Department for saying that Communists in China were not conspirators of Communism but

merely agrarian reformers, for deposing a great American general, who wanted to win the war, Gen. D. MacArthur, for agreeing with Khrushchov that problems should be solved through evolution and not revolution, for helping Castro to rise to power, saying that he was not a Communist, for making the anti-Castro invasion and abandoning the Cuba revolutionaries, and for helping dictator Tito of Yugoslavia. He reproached the State Department also for leading an action against all those who speak against Communism (Gen. Walker), for refusing to let the military win the war in Korea, for aiding U. N. troops to fight against a friend of the United States, Tsombe in Katanga, and for censoring everything that deals with anti-Communism. Mr. Siegrist then said that Dean Rusk was opposed to a Congressional Committee for Captive Nations because Moscow would resent such a committee. He designated Mr. Rusk's expression of "historic state", relating to the Russian Empire in the letter to Congressman Smith, as a sign of the fact that Mr. Rusk does not know the history, tradition and sentiments of the Ukrainian people. Mr. Siegrist called the Secretary's letter "a classic example on how to lose the war", and added that each of those countries mentioned in this letter were independent after the First World War and were even recognized by the Soviet government.

Only when one recognizes the butchery committed by Khrushchov in Ukraine, does one see why the position of Ukraine in Rusk's letter is so inappropriate, added Mr. Siegrist. Khrushchov was allowed to come into power through the blood of Ukraine. Mr. Siegrist then denied that Khrushchov wants self-determination for the Ukrainians, If he does, why doesn't he give it to Ukraine now? There could not be a clearer demonstration of Khrushchov's appreciation of the killing of Stepan Bandera, leader of Ukrainian nationalism, than the decoration given to killer Stashinsky by his boss Sheljepin. Bandera was threat enough for the modern Russian "czar" because he spoke for all freedom-loving Ukrainians. Murder is murder, said Mr. Siegrist, no matter how scientifically it is done, and the United States should not negotiate with a murderer — Russia. He expressed his belief that the United States should sever its diplomatic relations with all Communist governments, including Yugoslavia and Albania. India and Indonesia are not anti-Communist friends of the United States. Their real friends are the peoples behind the iron and bamboo curtains. These peoples know Communism and therefore they hate it.

Only when Washington ends its friendship with Moscow will the peoples of the Captive Nations know that Washington's hand is extended to them. Only then the soldiers of

Ukraine and other Captive Nations will know which way to point their arms.

Concluding his speech, Mr. Siegrist declared that the shadows of Ukraine and Hungary are overshadowing Washington, Chicago and San Francisco today. Unless the Americans get on the march immediately, then there will be another Yalta and part of the United States will be given to Russia. He end-

ed his speech by saying in Ukrainian: Freedom to the nations, freedom to man!

Attorney Julian Kulas then proceeded to read two resolutions.

The participants of the Rally approved both resolutions by standing up and by applauding. (We publish the text below.)

The Rally ended with the participants singing the Ukrainian hymn "Ne Pora."

Soviet Russian Regime Accused Of Murder

Whereas, the Ukrainian people continue in their struggle in their native land against the Russian Communist occupation and regime and whereas their struggle presents a deadly menace to the Soviet Russian colonial empire;

Whereas, both the Czarist and now the Communist Russian Empire has been engaged in a criminal conspiracy against the Ukrainian state and political leaders, victims of which were leaders exiled in the West, to wit: in the past 25 years the Russians have assassinated the President of the Ukrainian National Republic, Simon Petlura (assassinated in Paris in 1926); Leader of the Ukrainian Nationalists, Col. Ewhen Konowalec (assassinated in Rotterdam in 1938); a noted Ukrainian journalist, Dr. Lew Rebet (assassinated in Munich 1957), and lastly the Leader of the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement, Stepan Bandera (assassinated in Munich in 1959), and whereas these assassinations were perpetrated by Soviet agents in the free world upon direct orders of Joseph Stalin and later Nikita Khrushchov as was proved recently by the confession of a KGB agent, Bogdan Stashynsky, to German authorities who released his confession wherein he admitted murdering Dr. Lew Rebet and Stepan Bandera;

Whereas, the Russians have perfected a new murder weapon, that is a cyanide spray pistol, which is being used for political assassinations and leaves behind no evidence of crime, and it appears to be a perfect substitute for clock bombs and pistols used previously;

THEREFORE:

We appeal to the United Nations and the Governments of the free world for the support of their free voice for the cause of freedom and genuine liberation of the Ukrainian people and other Captive Nations from the inhuman Russian Communist oppression.

We ask the United Nations to challenge the Russian Communist regime and to put its leaders before the International Tribunal to answer for the crimes and murders committed, for the recent murder of Stepan Bandera and other Ukrainian state and political leaders, and leaders of other Captive Nations.

We appeal to Chancellor Konrad Adenauer to have the West German Court hold a public trial in the case of the murder of Stepan Bandera, and we further ask that correspondents, lawyers and experts on international criminal law be permitted to be present at this trial, and that the Ukrainian exiled political immigrants and the

family of the late Stepan Bandera be permitted to be represented by legal counsel of their choice.

We appeal to Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Chairman of the United Nations Committee on Human Rights, to warn the free world of the newly adopted murder weapon which is used by the Russians to liquidate state leaders of the Captive Nations and further that Russia be put before the panel of world public opinion to answer for the international crimes and inhumanities that its leaders have perpetrated.

U.S. State Department Should Change Its Views

That we, Americans of Ukrainian descent, Democrats and Republicans alike, and members of the American Ukrainian Community in Chicago in general, are astounded and dismayed, and we consider the views expressed by Secretary Dean Rusk as faulty thinking, historically incorrect and detrimental to American foreign policy.

That views expressed by Secretary Dean Rusk are serving the interests of the Russians from the political, propaganda and imperialistic point of view in their struggle with Captive Nations, and the Russians are using Secretary Rusk's views as an example wherein the United States, as champion of freedom and liberty, denies Ukraine, Byelorussia, Armenia, Georgia and the Baltic States the right of self-determination and national independence by considering these states as "traditional parts of the Soviet Union", when even the Constitution of the USSR makes the above-named states separate Republics of the USSR and where Ukraine and Byelorussia are chartered members of the United Nations.

That reference made to Ukraine and its historical past by the State Department in its bulletin "Soviet Affairs Notes" indicates that Secretary Dean Rusk is misinformed, and the so-called experts of the State Department on East European Affairs are unqualified in these matters, and one may have suspicions that their actions have a tendency to preserve and protect the Russian Communist Empire at a time when former colonial peoples of Africa and Asia, without any historical state tradition, have been recognized as independent nations.

THEREFORE:

We appeal to Secretary Dean Rusk to issue a separate communiqué correcting his views which cause moral and political harm to the Ukrainians and the other Captive Nations in question.

We appeal to Secretary Dean Rusk to give his consent and support to the resolution of Congressman Flood proposing the establishment of a Special House Committee on Captive Nations.

We further appeal to our President John F. Kennedy and Secretary Dean Rusk to screen and investigate the experts and advisers on East European Affairs in the State Department.

We appeal to the United States Congress to undertake a full-scale Congressional inquiry into the United States foreign policy and the policy regarding the Captive Nations, and this inquiry should be held in the interest of American security and success in the present cold war.

Protest Meeting in Sydney

Against Soviet Russian Organised Liquidations of Anti-Bolshevik Leaders

On 14th January 1962 a Protest Meeting was held in Sydney against the worldwide known Soviet practice of organised political assassinations.

The reason that moved the leaders of ABN Central Delegation for Australia to call a mass meeting was the information through the press concerning the disappearances and "suicides" of well known Anti-Bolshevik leaders who actually have been liquidated by various Soviet-Russian methods.

The meeting was very well attended by a large audience of many nationalities and prominent personalities, among them the Consul of Nationalist China. After Dr. C. I. Untaru (Roumanian), President of ABN, Australia, officially opened the meeting and briefly outlined the subject, he called on Professor R. Dragan (Ukrainian) who told the audience in a very clear and factual speech about the methods used by the Bolsheviks to achieve a world Communist Russian Empire. Prof. R. Dragan mentioned that these methods have been used since Lenin seized power in Russia. Some of these methods: hunger, terror, concentration camps, forced labor, deportations, brainwashing, tortures, mass massacres, assassinations, secret police, etc. are fuel for the enormous Soviet steam roller, that crushed the liberty of many nations, who rose to independence after the downfall of Czarist Russia. It took only 25 years and the Soviet steam roller was in full operation again, crushing independent states in Eastern and Central Europe, also near East and Far East. The arms of the Red octopus reach as far as South America, Africa and Cuba, and one could very well ask the question without being out of line, whether an individual is safe enough in New York, Munich, Buenos Aires or Sydney. To back up this statement, we can recall the cases, only some of the ones which have been proved as being assassinations by Soviet Secret Police agents: Stefan Bandera, the leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Prof. Dr. Lev Rebet, a well known Ukrainian patriot, the Slovak exile politician, Matus Czernak, all of whom were murdered in Munich. Bang Jensen, Danish diplomat, was murdered in New York, the national hero of the Croats, Dr. Ante Pavelic, was found with five bullets in his back in a street in Buenos Aires. During the speech of Prof. R. Dragan the audience had the opportunity to listen to actual evidence given by persons who know the facts about some of the most typical cases of Russian liquidations of Anti-Bolshevik leaders; Mr. F. Lovokovic (Croat) who returned

recently from a visit to South and North America, Mr. O. Megay (Hungarian) and Mr. Heima (Slovak). Professor R. Dragan recalled the sorrowful happenings of the reprisal of the Hungarian revolution in 1956, and finally denounced the godless and merciless ways of the Russians, who are trying to grab world domination through Communist infiltrations.

The guest Speaker Mr. E. Willis, Member of Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, gave us a first-hand account of the differences between East and West Berlin which he visited recently. Mr. Willis expressed his happiness to be able to address such a large meeting composed of many different nationalities, still united in one cause to protest against Soviet Russian colonialism. Such a movement in Australia is very much needed, because of the near presence of Communist danger. Besides raising its voice, the ABN is taking a very active role all over the world, — as he found during his world tour — in fighting for national and individual freedom. He also expressed his opinion that political representations of subjugated nations should be practised by political emigrant leaders on all diplomatic levels even in the U.N. At the end of the meeting, the following Resolution was adopted unanimously:

A public protest meeting, held in the Latvian Hall (32 Parnell St., Strathfield, NSW, Australia), on Sunday, Jan. 14, 1962, under the sponsorship of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, after having considered the murders of national anti-Communist leaders living in exile, by agents of the Soviet Russian government, has adopted the following resolution:

Whereas,

Soviet Russia is the only colonial empire today based on the most cruel political system of slave labour, concentration camps and secret police by which the Soviet Russians endeavour to keep the different nationalities under their dictatorship, denying them the right of self-determination and personal liberty,

Whereas,

to maintain the said dictatorial system the Soviet Russian government would not even refrain from using political assassinations as a weapon to liquidate the anti-Communist nationalist leaders living in exile, such as has been proved in the case of the late Ukrainians, S. Bandera and Dr. L. Rebet,

The Common Front Against Moscow

The news that the murderer of that great son of the Ukrainian people, Stefan Bandera, has given himself up to the German authorities, prompts us to express our solidarity with the Ukrainian people in their fight for freedom and our admiration for the courage of the Ukrainian freedom fighters who have laid down their lives, as well as our indignation at Russian Bolshevik terrorism.

We have never been in any doubt as to the fact that the actual murderers of Bandera were to be found in the Kremlin. It has now however become evident that these murderers are called Nikita Khrushchov and A. Sheljepin, and that Stashinsky was only their vile tool. The diabolical attitude of these murderers is corroborated by the fact that they themselves had designs on the life of their hired tool and that Stashinsky could only escape from their clutches by fleeing to the free West, where, as he well knew, a prison sentence awaited him.

Stalin is long since dead but his spirit still lives on in the terrorist regime of his loyal pupils and successors, who are carrying on their political brigandism not only in the Soviet Union but also everywhere in the free world.

We appeal to all freedom-loving persons in the civilized world to condemn the methods of the present Kremlin rulers most sharply. We appeal to all statesmen in the world to recognize the Bolshevik danger at last and to take adequate measures against Communist terrorism. The murderers of the Kremlin must no longer be permitted to

take part in international conferences, at which the humanist spirit, freedom and human dignity prevail. By their bloody deeds they have already excluded themselves from the society of civilized mankind.

Stefan Bandera was murdered, but his murderers know that every new-born Ukrainian is an anti-Communist. Only a few succumb to Red terrorism or sell their conscience for money and privileges. The fight against Bolshevik tyranny will only come to an end when Bolshevik terrorist rule is broken. In this fight we Bulgarians feel that we are one with the brave Ukrainian people and that we shall fight side by side with them until our peoples are liberated from the Communist yoke.

Dr. Alexander Lübenoff,
Secretary-General of the
Bulgarian National Front.

*

The arrest of the murderer of Bandera, Bogdan Stashinsky, a Soviet subject, who has confessed to having murdered the leader of the Ukrainian nationalists, S. Bandera, on October 15, 1959, a confession which was published in many daily papers, prompts us to express our indignation at this crime and also our solidarity with our Ukrainian friends and fellow-fighters.

To this end we make the following declarations and demands:

1) The public condemnation of the assassins of Bandera: Khrushchov, Sheljepin and Stashinsky.

2) We declare our solidarity with the fight for freedom of the Ukrainians.

3) We demand that the free world should morally condemn those who gave orders that this murder was to be carried out, namely the Moscow government, and that it should break off all connections with the latter and should exclude it from all international institutions.

4) We take this opportunity of stressing that the assassination of national leaders and freedom fighters will strengthen our A.B.N. front still more and will intensify our fighting spirit, and that our idea is immortal and will continue to be so, and that it cannot be destroyed by the physical death of the champions of this idea, but will continue to live on in the future.

Long live the brave and noble Ukrainian people!

Hrvatín,
Croat Member of the Central Committee
of A.B.N.

Protest Meeting in Sydney

(From Page 28)

Now, therefore,

we, the undersigned duly authorised by the meeting, request the government of Australia and other governments of the free world as follows:

1.)

expose and condemn Soviet Russia at all international gatherings for being one of the most tyrannical colonial powers in modern history.

2.)

take the necessary and effective measures to protect the national leaders living in the West and whose countries have been enslaved by Soviet Russia.

Dated 14th of January 1962.

In the name of the Croatian delegation of A.B.N. we condemn this vile murder and also the three murderers, Khrushchov, Sheljepin and Stashinsky. We demand that the assassin Stashinsky and the two persons from whom he received his orders, namely Khrushchov and Sheljepin, should be brought to trial before an international tribunal. If the two latter persons do not appear before such a tribunal, then they should be sentenced in their absence. If these murderers are not brought to trial before an international court, then they should be tried by a special court of the Ukrainian organizations and their sentence should be made known to the entire free world.

We Croats share the same fate as the Ukrainians. Yugoslavia is a small "Soviet country" and a servant of Russia. In 1957 the Serbian Communists tried to assassinate the head of the Croatian state, Dr. Ante Pavelic, who died two years later. It is interesting to note that shortly before his death in 1959 a second attempt to murder him was carried out, namely a few months before Bandera's death. This is undoubtedly proof of the cooperation between Russian and Serbian Communists.

We appeal to all the major powers of the free world to condemn this senseless and vile murderous activity of the Moscow and Belgrade imperialists and to punish the criminals.

The death of Stefan Bandera has strengthened the ranks of the A.B.N. still more. Our lives are in danger in the free world and we must take the necessary steps to defend ourselves and the rights of our native countries.

The unity of all the subjugated peoples is indestructible. Every Croat will fight for Ukraine, just as every Ukrainian will do so for Croatia.

Down with the Red imperialism of Russia and of Yugoslavia!

Long live Ukraine and Croatia!

Dr. Andrija Ilic, President
Mile Rukavina, Secretary
Central Committee of the Croatian
Associations of Europe.

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On behalf of my co-workers I should like to express our indignation at the vile murder of the great Ukrainian freedom fighter Stefan Bandera.

The confession made by the murderer Stashinsky, who at Khrushchov's orders murdered the Ukrainians Lev Rebet and Stefan Bandera, will prove to the whole world that the methods of the Communists have re-

mained the same as they were prior to the so-called de-stalinization, and it is to be hoped that this confession will open the eyes of the world. So far the free world has failed to realize the true nature of the aims and methods of the criminal Communists and does not counteract them with adequate means.

Stefan Bandera will remain a great Ukrainian martyr, and we are convinced that his fellow-countrymen will now devote themselves even more intensely to working and fighting for the attainment of freedom for their people and for all subjugated peoples.

With best wishes for your future work for the cause of freedom.

Milos Svoboda,
"Czech News"

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Since it recently became clear that the Ukrainian national hero *Bandera* was murdered by the Communists, I should, in the name of the Hungarian Liberation Movement, like to express our profoundest contempt for these persons.

We hope that the free world will not only morally condemn these Bolshevik methods, but will also take the necessary steps to deal with the murderers and with those persons who gave orders that these crimes were to be carried out.

The murders of national leaders are a sign of the moral weakness and depravity of our enemies.

Our joint fight for freedom will be strengthened by these murders.

General Farkas de Kisbarnak,
The "Hungarian Liberation Movement"

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Moscow exterminates its enemies living in the Western countries with the same ruthlessness with which it liquidates them in its own territory. These enemies are tracked down, pursued and then "liquidated" by trained assassins and by means of complicated weapons of murder. It almost seems as though there is no longer any frontier between Moscow, Bonn, Munich and other towns. The assassins hired by Khrushchov and his subordinate, Sheljepin, are allowed to walk about unhindered amongst us and enjoy the protection of the bosses in whose pay they are. This fact is obvious from the confession which the murderer of Stefan Bandera and of Lev Rebet recently made to the German authorities. It is not a question of the usual kind of political murder committed by a fanatic, or of "differences between emigrant organizations", as certain Munich papers frequently affirm, but of intentional murders carefully planned beforehand in the headquarters of Communism and

coldbloodedly carried out by assassination experts. In view of such methods, the Roumanians, too, who have fled to the Federal Republic of Germany because they refused to bow to Communist terrorism feel that their life is endangered. Stefan Bandera died in the fight against Communism, which threatens each one of us. All of us who are fighting for the liberation of our peoples from Communism feel a close affinity with the sacrifice of Bandera. And we know that our salvation can only be effected through the unity of the anti-Bolshevist front.

But this unity must include more than merely the ranks of those persons who come from the subjugated countries. It must embrace the entire Western world. We wish to take this opportunity of addressing our protest to all the peoples of the free world. They should realize that they will in the very near future dearly have to pay for their present indifference towards our sufferings. We ask them to join us in our protest, namely to condemn the murders committed at Moscow's orders and to exclude the Moscow clique of murderers from all international organizations, which they merely use to expand their power.

Every attempt to toady to Communism helps to consolidate it still more and gives support to its murderous plans. Those who today serve Communism because they hope that they will be spared tomorrow, should realize that in the event of a Russian conquest they will suffer the same fate as those who are killed at the barricades and will moreover die in shame and dishonour because they have allied themselves with the Devil.

The murderers in Moscow and their "servants" in the West will realize that the death of Bandera and of all the other persons who died in the same way as he did cannot scare us, since we are determined to be victorious. We shall continue our fight as tenaciously as ever until the godless have been destroyed. Our strength is not based on atomic bombs or on a certain number of nuclear weapons, but rests in "our own ashes", in our colossal spirit of self-sacrifice, as the Roumanian hero Ion Mota, who was killed in Spain whilst fighting against the Communist devil, once said. And our ashes are the most powerful explosive, — far more powerful than Moscow's nuclear weapons.

Khrushchov's hired assassins and his nuclear weapons may kill us physically, but they can never kill our faith in the teachings of Christ and in the idea of freedom. The reaction of the subjugated peoples will one day be so terrible that the apparatus on which Moscow has built up its power will collapse like a house of cards.

**Basil Mailat,
Roumanian Freedom Front**

With great indignation the leaders and members of the Slovak Liberation Committee as well as the entire Slovak public in the free world have taken note of the fact that the vile murder of the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Stefan Bandera, has been solved. Although from the outset we never had any doubts as to the fact that this outstanding Ukrainian patriot and freedom fighter was murdered at the orders of the Moscow government clique, the confession of his murderer has aroused our deep disgust.

The Russian Bolshevik government clique in Moscow has once more been exposed to the whole world as a vile gang of murderers. Khrushchov and his accomplices cannot deny their moral and criminal responsibility for the murder of Stefan Bandera, whom we remember with veneration and gratitude not only as a great leader of the Ukrainian fight for freedom but also as a loyal friend and ally of ours in the fight against our common enemy. Khrushchov and his comrades issued the order that Stefan Bandera was to be murdered, and they rewarded and decorated the murderer, an agent of theirs, for carrying out this vile crime.

The Slovak public is also indignant at the fact that the governments of the free world, in spite of the countless murders and other crimes committed by the Russian Bolshevik government, have not broken off all diplomatic relations with the latter and still passively tolerate the brutal subjugation and ruthless exploitation of the non-Russian peoples and countries of the Soviet Russian imperium — including Slovakia, too.

The Slovak Liberation Committee as the loyal spokesman of the resistance of the subjugated Slovak people against Russian tyranny, against the godless Communist dictatorship and against the artificial state structure of Czecho-Slovakia, once again — in the spirit of the traditional friendship between the Ukrainian and Slovak nations and, in particular, in the spirit of the joint fight of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Slovak freedom fighters against Russian Bolshevik tyranny — declares its wholehearted solidarity with the heroic fight for freedom of the Ukrainian people for the freedom and independence of the Ukrainian state.

May the illustrious memory of Stefan Bandera spur on the Ukrainian people and all the subjugated peoples of the Soviet Russian imperium to even greater sacrifices in their fight for national freedom and state independence!

For the Slovak Liberation Committee:

**Dr. Ctibor Pokorny,
Vice-President of the Executive Council.**

Freedom Day and ABN Press Conference in Taipei

On the occasion of the Freedom Day on the 23rd of January throughout Free China several mass-meetings were held. At the principal meeting in Taipei speeches were delivered by President Ku Cheng-kang, Prof. Dr. Lev Dobriansky, Chairman of the National Captive Nations Committee in the United States, Dr. Lajos K. Katona, representative of the A.B.N. in Free China, Sun Kyung Chae of Korea, and Do Van Uyen of Vietnam.

"China Post" of January 25, 1962, reports as follows on these manifestations:

Anti-Red Leaders' Statement: Recovery of China Mainland Vital to Liberation of Enslaved Peoples

Anti-Communist leaders of five countries jointly declared here yesterday that the Republic of China's recovery of the Chinese mainland is the first step toward the liberation of enslaved peoples throughout the world.

In a joint statement issued at a forum, the anti-Communist leaders said that they hope the Republic of China "will recover the mainland at an early date and deliver the people enslaved under Communist domination there from the clutches of their oppressors".

The anti-Communist leaders met at the Government Guest House to exchange views on the present world situation. They are Ku Cheng-kang, chairman of the Committee of the Civic Organizations of the Republic of China in Support of Peoples Behind the Iron Curtain to Struggle for Freedom; Dr. Lev F. Dobriansky, chairman of the National Captive Nations Committee in the United States; Dr. Lajos K. Katona, representative of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations; Sun Kyung Chae of Korea; and Do Van Uyen of Vietnam.

The five anti-Communist leaders also recognize that support to the peoples enslaved behind the Iron Curtain lies in completely destroying the Iron Curtain and overthrowing all Communist regimes. They affirmed that they strongly oppose neutralism and refuse to recognize the fruits of Communist aggression.

The statement called upon democratic nations to declare the Communist party an illegal organization and give effective moral support and material assistance to the captive nations and peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

For the expansion of the movement in support of the peoples enslaved behind the Iron Curtain to strive for freedom, the statement said, January 23 of each year is designated as a week of action for the whole world.

"We must strengthen our contact with all organizations and peoples in all parts of the

world which are in sympathy with and give support to the captive nations and their peoples", the anti-Communist leaders declared.

During the discussion meeting, Ku said that all civic bodies and organizations in support of the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain throughout the world must step up their contact and cooperation from now on. "They must exchange their experiences and informational material from time to time so as to coordinate their efforts and unite all forces which support the enslaved peoples throughout the world", he pointed out.

Dr. Dobriansky also reported on the organization and activities of the National Captive Nations Committee in the United States, while Dr. Katona said that the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations consists of the peoples subjugated by the Russians since Ivan the Terrible and the organizations of the emigrants of the eight nations which have been included in the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union, without being consulted, by the treaties of peace signed after the Second World War.

Chae reported on the conditions in North Korea and the Republic of Korea, and Do presented a report on the Communist threat to South Vietnam.

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The chairman of the A.B.N.-Mission in Free China, Prof. Dr. Lajos K. Katona, held a Press Conference in Taipei on January 18, at which he read the "Protest resolution of the A.B.N. against the murders perpetrated by Moscow's government". "China Post" writes as follows about this Conference:

HUNGARY EXILE FINDS TAIWAN SAFEST PLACE.

Lajos K. Katona, a Hungarian freedom fighter and a representative of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, said yesterday that Taiwan is one of the safest places in the world because it is beyond the reach of the tentacles of the Communist murdering and kidnapping machine.

Katona, who escaped from Hungary after participating in the nation's anti-Communist revolution in 1956 and is now living on Taiwan, made the remark in a news conference yesterday.

He said that the Red terrorism was not only carried out in European countries but was also practised by the Chinese Communists in Hongkong and Macao.

In a lengthy statement, Katona accused Russian Premier Nikita Khrushchov of ordering the murder of many anti-Communist leaders in Europe in the past several years.

From Behind the Iron Curtain

ESTHONIA

At an economic congress in Tallin the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Esthonia, I. M. Kehin, officially stated that the yield of agricultural produce in the kolkhozes and sovchozes in Esthonia had dropped to a catastrophic level. Esthonia has failed to fulfil the state quotas for meat, milk, fats and grain and is far behind as far as the tasks fixed in Khrushchov's Seven-Year Plan are concerned. ("Pravda", January 27, 1962)

Esthonian Nationalists On Trial

According to a report published by TASS on January 16, 1962, a trial recently opened in the Esthonian town Tartu against a "group of fascist criminals" — Esthonian nationalists — who during World War II were "henchmen of Hitlerism". The names of the accused are Juchan Jursite, Karl Linas and Erwin Wiks. Actually, only one of the accused appeared in court, namely Juchan Jursite. Erwin Wiks is now living in Sydney, Australia, and Karl Linas in New York, USA. 68 witnesses were summoned to appear at the trial, which is being held before the "Chief Court of Esthonia".



LITHUANIA

Two Catholic priests, L. Povolonia and B. Burnejkis, were sentenced at a public trial in Vilna. Officially they were accused of speculating with foreign currency. It was affirmed that they had appropriated funds donated voluntarily by the congregation for the building of a monastery. The paper "Trud" in its edition of January 14, 1962, however, reported that the KGB had seized personal letters written by the two priests to Lithuanian nationalists abroad. In addition, the investigations carried out by the KGB "proved that the accused were in constant contact with the nationalist anti-Soviet Lithuanian committee in the USA and that they engaged in anti-Soviet activity amongst the Lithuanian people".

("Pravda", No. 27, 1962)

Young People With "Bourgeois Tendencies"

At a recent congress of the active members of the "Communist Youth", high-ranking Communist functionaries sharply censured the "bourgeois tendencies" of some young people. They pointed out that these young people were most enthusiastic about "bourgeois subjects" and were thus detaching

themselves from Communist reality. It was stressed that these trends must be patiently but definitely and constantly combatted.

In this connection sharp criticism was expressed at the fact that many young persons still adhere to the "religious remnants". These "remnants", it was emphasized, are a serious obstacle to the setting up of a Communist order of society.

Propagandists To Inundate The Rural Areas

Short training courses for propagandists have recently been introduced in Vilna and Kaunas and also in various other towns throughout the country. The participators are then sent in relays to the rural areas, where it is their task to popularize the new Party programme, the fight against national "deviations" and similar topics. In Vilna alone, 900 propagandists have recently been trained in the courses held there.

New Attempts To Enforce Russian In Rural Areas

At the end of last year considerable efforts were made by the Soviet Russians to circulate farmers' periodicals in the Russian language in the rural areas. In view of the subject-matter and illustrations contained in these papers and journals, subscription fees are extremely low. But even so, this campaign has not been much of a success, for the rural population in Lithuania is even more averse to the Russian language and Russian script than the townspeople. And those who allowed themselves to be talked into subscribing to these periodicals are now using them not so much for reading purposes but as wrapping-paper.

Increased Abuse Of The Trade Unions

It was affirmed at the chief congress of the Soviet Lithuanian trade unions that their main task was not so much to see to the welfare of the workers but, rather, to organize labour competitions. The Communist leaders of the organization reproached the Lithuanian trade unionists with being too passive in carrying out their tasks. It is significant that the tasks of the trade unions were designated as follows: the Lithuanian trade unionists should combat "the remnants of the past" and "ideas of private enterprise", etc., more actively. The trade unions should also do their share as regards anti-religious propaganda. In addition, the Communist leaders on the said occasion severely censured the lack of collective consciousness among the Lithuanian trade unionists.

"Helpers" Of The Soviet Police

As in other Russian-ruled countries, so, too, in Lithuania so-called "Voluntary People's Communities" have recently been formed to assist the work of the militia and the police. Their task is to track down not only anti-social but also anti-Soviet elements and to hand them over for punishment. According to an official report, these "helpers" have exposed 378 crimes and 14,000 offences against public law and order during the past year.

Young People Not To Take Part In Parents' Christmas Celebrations

After the woman-lecturer J. Kauneckiene advocated in the Party paper "Tiesa" that young people should be allowed to take part in their parents' religious celebrations at Christmas, the Party fanatics have now replied by spreading propaganda insisting that young people must keep away and must be kept away from such religious ceremonies. It is stressed that it is beneath the dignity of a young Communist to take part in such celebrations since they are based on dark superstitions.



SLOVAKIA

An election of judges was held in Slovakia in December 1961. Only persons who had been proposed by the Communist Party could be voted as judges. The appointed judges exercise their office according to the directives of the Communist Party. There have been no independent courts in Slovakia since 1945.

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In its issue of December 24, 1961, the chief press organ of the Communist Party in Slovakia, the Bratislava "Pravda", published two "Christmas" stories. One of them was clearly intended as a defamation of the Hlinka Guards and the independent Slovak state. The other, written by a Czech Communist author, was an abominable parody on the life of Jesus Christ. These Communist "Christmas" stories are an insult to the national and religious feelings of the Slovak people.



TURKISTAN

The parents of schoolchildren in Uzbekistan have sent a sharply worded protest against the mass-exploitation of young children to the main organs of the government. This protest contains the following statements: "To the Minister of Health and Education. Sir, are you aware of the fact that in De-

ember last year our children were sent out into the fields, in rain and snow, in order to pick cotton there? We parents are highly indignant about this, but the teachers and headmasters only shrug their shoulders and affirm that they are not to blame, but that they received their orders from higher government quarters. There was hardly any more cotton left, but our children were forced to wade through the slush in order to bring in the little that remained..."

("Komsomolska Pravda", January 12, 1962)

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An official report published by the Soviet press states that an underground Ukrainian nationalist organization, whose members are "Banderivci" and were abducted to Kazakhstan, is at present active in Karaganda. The paper in question adds that the "Banderivci" belong to a religious sect which has developed a lively activity during the past few years. The members of this organization are Ukrainians who were punished by Moscow for belonging to "Banderivci gangs", that is to the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). After serving their sentence of detention in the concentration camps, these revolutionaries were sent to Karaganda, but — so the Soviet paper writes — "they have not repented of their offence and continue their anti-Soviet activity and also travel to various places in the USSR where they recruit new members for their organization."

("Komsomolska Pravda", January 17, 1962)

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At the orders of a state trade inspection committee, foodstuffs to the value of 1 million roubles were removed from shops and depots in the town of Celinograd (formerly Akmolinsk) and taken to refuse dumps, where they were buried and also burnt. These goods to the value of about 110 000 US dollars, according to the Soviet rate of exchange, had been stored in the depots for years, but their sale to the population was prohibited. When they became unfit for consumption, they were destroyed. As many as 20 000 litres of oil were burnt, and tons of fish, herrings, cheese and meat were buried in the ground.

("Komsomolska Pravda", No. 12, 1961)

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Thirty scientific institutes and laboratories in various places in Uzbekistan are working on atomic research for Moscow's military purposes. The chief centre of this research on nuclear physics is the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan. This Academy is equipped with atomic reactors. The laboratories and scientific institutes are at present carrying out research on twelve different radio-active substances, some of which are already being used in serial production in Soviet economy.

("Economicna Gazeta", No. 4, 1962)

At the end of January the provincial court of Vinnitsa sentenced a group of Ukrainian farmers to long terms of imprisonment on account of active opposition against the compulsion of the kolkhozes. In their reports the Moscow Bolshevik press correspondents designate the farmers as bandits since they allegedly "damaged" the cattle-stock, plundered kolkhoz stores and "appropriated state property", as well as "terrorized respectable workers (Party members and kolkhoz supervisors — the Editor) at night".

("Kolhospne Selo", January 21, 1962)

The "Gloomy Individuals" In Ukraine

The paper "Komsomolskaja Pravda" recently published a long article by an electrical engineer from Charkov, in which the metamorphosis of a young married couple is described. Formerly both members of the Komsomol, they were "happy and carefree persons with intellectual interests", but now, after having built their own house, they have become "gloomy individuals". Their house is surrounded by barbed wire, vicious dogs guard the garden, children are punished for taking an apple off the trees, a "petty bourgeois standard" characterizes the life of this couple; the desire for money and property has made them "aloof individualists who have excluded themselves from the collective".

The author of the article comes to the following conclusions: ". . . I felt sorry for them, but really it was more a feeling of contempt. 'Are you content with your life?' I asked the man. 'I have all I want', he replied . . . It was clear to me that my friend had built a cage and in this way had become a slave. How could such a thing have happened? He was once a pioneer, a member of the Komsomol — and now he is a narrow-minded, humdrum fellow. When did he become obsessed by this accursed passion for money and property?"

How nice it would be to set up seats, tables and arbours instead of these silly fences, and how pleasant it would be if avenues, fountains and coloured flowers made life more beautiful! . . . Why not? Are there not plenty of examples of love and trust towards others in our daily life?

I was so engrossed in my dreams that I ran into a sign in front of a house and it had the words on it: 'Beware of the dogs' . . .

It is not the fact that a person lives in his own house and possesses many beautiful things that is alarming. The longing for a better life is quite natural, even though everything possible is done for the indi-

vidual in our country. What does alarm us, however, is the way in which the individual is swayed by material things . . .

I am not one of those people who think that it is not worth while interfering in the private life of others and taking a look at the rooms of the type of people to whom my friend belongs. It is worth while, Comrades! It really is worth while! But how are we to go about it?"

In its issue of November 12, 1961, the "Pravda Ukrainy", the Communist Party organ of the Ukrainian S.S.R., wrote as follows: ". . . Work, work, and still more work! Productive work is demanded of every Soviet person, whether he be a worker, a kolkhoz member, a civil servant, or an intellectual. Work and the exertion of all one's energy, unremitting work, in order to fulfil the most important economic task — the task of creating the material and technical basis of Communism so as to be victorious in the economic competition with capitalism.

The vital force of our Party programme lies in the combination of three factors: the struggle to create the material and technical basis of Communism, the striving to perfect man's social relations to his fellow-men, and the forming of man's character in keeping with the Communist order of society. In order to eliminate the difference between manual and brain work, between the towns and the rural areas, gigantic measures in the sphere of technical progress must be introduced. The achievement of the Communist principle of 'each according to his needs', is likewise impossible if the Communist training of the individual is neglected. This is the reason why it is necessary at one and the same time to perfect the economic leadership and the organizing and educational work of the Party organs in the struggle to realize the Party programme. Those Party comrades who divide the one from the other by a wall, so to speak, must be sharply censured. An economic leader who shuns educational work is as unsuitable for his job as an ideologist who is incapable of mobilizing the masses for the fulfilment of economic tasks.

It would be a grave error to imagine that the process of building up Communism proceeds entirely smoothly, without a struggle and without obstacles. The new is victorious inasmuch as it fights the old. But the fight will have to be continued even longer and more unremittingly until the moral code of Communism has been thoroughly instilled into man. Even a blind man can see that there are still thieves, rogues, idlers, bureaucrats, careerists and toadies in our country and that religious, national and other remnants of the past have not yet been overcome. Hence it is the bounden duty of the Party organizations to intensify the ideological work . . ."

The paper "Pravda Ukrainy" states that the main burden of the work in industrial concerns and in kolkhozes rests on the Ukrainian women. This is the case in the following sectors: cultivation of flax, maize, potatoes, sugar beet and vegetables, where only women are employed. Mechanization of work is extremely primitive. In most cases the work is done entirely by hand. The majority of the Ukrainian population consists of women, of whom more than 6 million have been widows since World War II. Even though most of them are between 45 and 60 years of age, they are forced to work in industrial concerns, on building sites, in mines, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, where they have to do the heaviest kind of work, in spite of the fact that they also have to bring up their children and do housework.

("Pravda Ukrainy", January 21, 1962)

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In an article entitled "The hand with which the faithful cross themselves", the paper "Komsomolska Pravda" states that Ukrainian "traitors" and "bourgeois nationalists" have been deported from the Crimea district and sent to Karaganda. We already reported last year that an anti-Soviet and anti-Russian underground organization is active in the Crimea. The Western press also mentioned this fact.

("Komsomolska Pravda", January 20, 1962)

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"Kommunist Ukrainy", the political and ideological press organ of the Communist Party of Ukraine, writes: "The most important task of the ideological work is the ruthless exposure of bourgeois nationalism". The paper adds that everywhere in Ukraine "cases of reversion to bourgeois nationalism in the economic, ideological and cultural spheres" are in evidence, and stresses that the Party workers should not merely defend themselves but should also attack Ukrainian nationalism.

("Kommunist Ukrainy", No. 1, 1962)

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In the course of an interview given at the end of December 1961 to the correspondent of the paper "Izvestija" by the kolkhoz director of the village of Schlachiv, near Vinnitza, V. M. Kavun, on whom a Soviet order was conferred, the latter volunteered some official information on the grim struggle conducted by the Ukrainian farmers in the Vinnitza district against the Russian Bolshevik agricultural system during the years 1953—1956. Kavun said that the farmers set fire to the cattle kolkhozes at night, destroyed new annexes, raided the homes of Party members and brigadiers, etc., and sabotaged work in the kolkhozes, so that the kolkhoz supervisors were obliged to defend them-

ves at night with the assistance of armed Komsomol members.

("Izvestija", No. 303, December 24, 1961)

Russian language prevails in Ukrainian cities

Almost all the foreign tourists who have been able to visit Ukraine and to take a close look at the life of the subjugated Ukrainian people continuously repeat that in Ukrainian cities the language of the Russian occupants dominates. These statements are the more significant as they are even supported by the Bolshevik fellow-travellers themselves, who on the pages of their newspapers often protest against the Russification of Ukraine, e. g. "Hromadskyj Holos" in New York, No. 9/61, states: "An unpleasant surprise to the tourists who visit Ukraine is the fact that in Kyiv and all other cities, where the majority of the population are Ukrainians, one hardly hears the Ukrainian language in the streets."

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In addition to the Russification of the population and, above all, of the youth of Ukraine, Khrushchev's school reform is even intended to exploit children by forcing them to work in industrial concerns and in kolkhozes. In the kolkhoz "The 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" in the district of Odessa, the teachers of the kindergarten and lower classes take the children out on to the fields and farms, where their parents are working, in tractor brigades. Under the motto "Children must get accustomed to work", they have to help with the work on the fields. In summer, too, they work in the fields, gathering the grain and removing weeds. A minimum of working days has been fixed for all children. The pupils in the 4th class at school have to work at least 15 days per year, those of the 5th class 25 days, those of the 6th class 40 days, and those of the 7th, 8th and 9th class 60 days per year.

("Kolhos pne Selo", January 10, 1962)

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According to an official news report by the Soviet press, the deportation of the Ukrainian population to virgin regions continues. In January this year, for instance, 109 families from the area of Kaziatyn (district of Vinnitza) were sent to Kazakhstan permanently. In addition, 240 families in the Donets district and 500 families in the Charkiv district were also deported. At the beginning of January many young persons, too, were sent to Karaganda from the districts of Ternopil, Lviv and Volhynia. The Soviet paper in question states that "voluntary applications for permanent residence in Kazakhstan" are constantly being submitted by the Ukrainian population.

("Pravda Ukrainy", January 18, 1962)

History Of Moscow's Colonial Conquests

The survey we published on Moscow's present colonial possessions, covering a total area of 17 million square kilometers and with a population of 188 million inhabitants of different nationality, language, and culture, poses the question how this vast empire came into being. The reply thereto is furnished by the history of the Muscovite empire.

The relevant data have been compiled in the chronicle of Moscow's colonial conquests set down below. The events listed therein are neither denied nor concealed by the Soviet historians and can be read up in any encyclopedia. Thus we have successfully made use of the Encyclopedia of the USSR, edited by S. I. Vasilov, K. I. Voroshilov, A. J. Vyshinski and other contributors.

The facts, then, are not new, but new is the way they have been strung together and interpreted.

The chronicle reproduces the quintessence of the history of the Muscovite empire. Bloody colonial wars drag on over centuries, interspersed by punitive expeditions, acts of suppression and clashes with other imperialist powers. Moscow never hesitated to go to war if its imperialistic aims, or the defence of its possessions, were at stake. The latest drive in central Europe, directed against Berlin, fits logically into the chronicle of Muscovite conquests.

The empire continues to follow the law of expansion which it has adopted from the very start — until it comes up against a more powerful opposition, enabling the revolutionary and centrifugal forces which have accumulated behind the walls of the empire to unfold.

In the past, Moscow's rise to a colonial power has been repeatedly checked through heavy crises. They clearly reveal the weak points of the empire and the limits of its power.

1367 Erection of the Kremlin, the citadel of Moscow, with its stone walls on the north embankment of the Moskva river.

1379 Invasion of the territories of the Permyaks, the Komi-Syrians and other Finnish peoples along the rivers Kama and Pechora.

1472 Incorporation of the land of the Permyaks, Moscow's first colony.

1465—1500 Raids into the territories of the Nenets, Yamals, Khantis, Manis and other Finno-Ugric peoples in the northern Urals and beyond this mountain range.

1469 First attack on the Turco-Tatar Khanate of Kazan along the Volga river (then called Idel).

1471—87 Attacks on Moscow's rival, the city of Novgorod on Lake Ilmen. Subjugation of Novgorod and incorporation of the colonial possessions of Novgorod inhabited by Finnish peoples: Karelia, the Kola peninsula, and the districts lying along the rivers Onega and the northern Dvina, right up to the White Sea.

1482 Installation of a vassal khan in Kazan under military pressure from Moscow.

1489 Seizure of the territories inhabited by the Votyaks and other Finnish peoples along the river Vyatka.

1492 Propagation of the ideology that Moscow was the successor of the Byzantine Em-

pire and called to spread the "true faith" in the world.

1514 Annexation of the eastern part of White Ruthenia with the city of Smolensk.

1520 Further propagation of Moscow's doctrine of being the "Third Rome" and the "navel of the world".

1547 Adoption of the title "Tsar" (= Caesar-Emperor) by Moscow's Grandduke Ivan IV.

1551—58 New attack on the Kazan Khanate, capture of Kazan and annexation of the territories inhabited by the Turco-Tatars and Mordvins along the middle reaches of the Volga.

1555 Imposition of tributary payments on the Khan of Siber (west Siberia).

1556 Subjugation and annexation of the Turco-Tatar Khanate of Astrakhan on the lower reaches of the Volga. The entire course of the Volga in the hands of Moscow.

1567 Drive to the Terek river in the northern Caucasus.

1580 Drive to the Yaik river (Urals).

1581—82 Subjugation of the Sibir Khanate and its Turkish and Mongolian peoples.

1558—83 Campaigns against Sweden, Poland and Lithuania for the purpose of conquering the Baltic countries (the so-called Livonian War), capture of Narva, Tartu (Dorpat), Marienburg, Fellin, siege of Reval, final an-

nihilation of Novgorod, eventual defeat and rollback of Moscow.

1589 Establishment of a patriarchate of the Greek Orthodox Church of all-Russia in Moscow.

1598—1618 First crisis of the Muscovite empire: End of the Hrörekr-Rurik dynasty, struggle for the central power, uprisings of the colonial peoples, famines, counter-attacks by the Poles, Swedes, and Tatars threatened by Moscow. The Poles in Moscow (1610—1612).

1619—33 Restoration of the central power with the ideological and organizational assistance of the Church (Patriarch Philaret Romanov). Establishment of a regular army according to foreign pattern (1632). Resumption of imperialistic policy.

1630 Invasion of the Mongolian territories of central and east Siberia, subjugation of the Buryats. Invasion and annexation of the territories inhabited by the Yakuts.

1628—38 First attempts to invade the territory of the Crimean Tatars and along the rivers Donets and Don.

1639—42 Advance to the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk in the Far East.

1654—67 Annexation of the east Ukrainian territories, wars with Poland, Sweden and the Crimean Tatars for the possession of Ukraine, White Ruthenia and the Baltic countries.

1662—85 Bloody suppression of uprisings of the Tatars, Bashkirs, Khantis, Mansis and other Turkish and Mongolian peoples along the Volga and in Siberia.

1665 Advance to the Amur river in the Far East.

1685—89 War with China and demarcation of the colonial spheres of either party along the Argun river, a tributary of the Amur.

1687—96 Advance to the Sea of Asov and the Black Sea in the regions inhabited by the Crimean Tatars.

1697—99 Invasion of Kamchatka.

1700—1721 War with Sweden and insurgent Ukrainians (Hetman Mazepa). Victory of Poltava and landing of Russian troops in Sweden. Annexation of Ingermanland (Karelia) on the coast of the Gulf of Finland, as well as of Estonia and Livonia.

1703 Foundation of the fortress and city of St. Petersburg (Leningrad) in Finnish Ingermanland.

1705—08 Suppression of uprisings by the Tatars, Bashkirs, and Ukrainians.

1711—13 Landing on the Kurile Islands between the Sea of Okhotsk and the Pacific Ocean.

1717—18 Advance to the upper reaches of the Irtysh in the regions populated by the Turkish Kazaks and Altaic peoples.

1721 Adoption of the title "Emperor" (Imperator) by Tsar Peter. The realm is given the official designation "Empire" (Vserossiyskaya Imperia).

1722—23 Attack on Persia. Annexation of the south and west coast of the Caspian Sea (lost in 1735).

1731 Advance in Kazakhstan.

1733—35 Military intervention in Poland to secure a succession to the throne acceptable to Moscow. Capture of Warsaw and siege of Danzig.

1737—38 Campaigns against the Crimean Tatars.

1735—41 1755—56 1773—74 Suppression of the Volga Tatars and Bashkirs.

1757—61 Military operations in central Europe (within the scope of the Seven Years' War). 1758, temporary annexation of East Prussia. 1759, capture of Berlin (November 28).

1761 Foundation of the citadel of St. Demetrius, of Rostov (today the city of Rostov) on the lower reaches of the Don.

1764 Instalment of a vassal king in Poland.

1764 Advance across the Chukchi peninsula to the Behring Strait.

1768—72 Attack on Poland followed by the first partition of Poland. Annexation of the eastern part of White Ruthenia.

1768—74 Attack on Turkey, landing in Greece and Montenegro, occupation of the Crimean peninsula and the crossing of the Danube.

1783 Annexation of the Crimea, foundation of the naval base of Sevastopol.

1783 Assuming the protectorate over East Georgia in Transcaucasia.

1784 Invasion of Alaska; foundation of the fortress Vladikavkaz (meaning "Ruler of the Caucasus"), today Ordzhonikidze, in the land of the Ossetes.

1787—91 New attack on Turkey. Capture of Ochakov on the Black Sea coast and of Ismail in the Danube estuary. Annexation of the south Ukrainian regions and the north-west foot-hills of the Caucasus.

1790 Establishment of strongholds on the north-west coast of America.

1792—95 New attack on Poland and second partition of this country. Annexation of the central parts of White Ruthenia and of Ukraine.

- 1794 Suppression of a Polish uprising under Kosciusko.
- 1794 Seizure of the Kurile Islands.
- 1795 Third partition of Poland. Incorporation of Kurland, Lithuania, the western part of White Ruthenia and Volhynia.
- 1796 Attack on Persia. Campaign in Daghestan and Azerbaijan.
- 1798—99 Military operations in western Europe within the scope of the Second Coalition against France (Napoleon). Landing on the Ionian Islands on the west coast of Greece, occupation of the Island of Kerkyra (Corfu), entry into Milan, Turin, Naples and Rome, invasion of Switzerland and landing in Holland.
- 1800 Turning the Ionian Islands into a protectorate.
- 1801—03 Incorporation of Georgia in Transcaucasia.
- 1805—07 Military operations in central and southern Europe within the scope of the Third and Fourth Coalition against France.
- 1805—13 Renewed attack on Persia. Occupation of Baku (1806), annexation of northern Azerbaijan with its Turkish population. Russia lays claim to Daghestan.
- 1804 Suppression of an uprising in Georgia. Incorporation of Imeretia in Transcaucasia.
- 1806—12 Renewed attack on Turkey. Annexation of Bessarabia.
- 1808—09 Attack on Sweden. Invasion of Sweden across the frozen Gulf of Bothnia. Annexation of Finland.
- 1811—12 Suppression of an insurrection in Georgia.
- 1812 Establishment of a stronghold in California (abandoned in 1839).
- 1812—14 Continuation of the struggle with France for supremacy in Europe. Russian defeat. The French in Moscow (from September 2 to October 7, 1812) from where they have to withdraw owing to supply difficulties. Military operations of the Russian forces in central and western Europe. Entry into Paris on March 31, 1814.
- 1814—15 Incorporation of that part of Poland accorded to Russia at the Congress of Vienna (Congress Kingdom).
- 1815—50 Dominating position of Russia in Europe.
- 1819—20 Suppression of an uprising in Georgia.
- 1823 Military advance in Daghestan.
- 1824 Further advance in Kazakhstan and subjugation of the "Golden Horde".
- 1826—28 Attack on Persia. Capture of Yerevan and annexation of Armenia.
- 1828—29 Attack on Turkey. Annexation of the east coast of the Black Sea and of the Danube estuary. Russian troops at the gates of Constantinople.
- 1828—34 Occupation of the Balkan countries bordering on the Danube.
- 1830—31 Suppression of a Polish uprising.
- 1830—32 Suppression of an uprising in Daghestan.
- 1833 Landing of Russian forces at the Bosphorus and subjugation of Turkey (under British pressure, the Russians had to abandon their gains in 1841).
- 1834—59 Colonial war waged against the Caucasian hill tribes fighting under the leadership of Imam Shamil.
- 1838—47 Military operations to subjugate the mutinous Kazaks.
- 1839—40 First campaign against the Turkish Khiva Khanate in western Asia.
- 1846 Complete annexation of Kazakhstan.
- 1849 Military intervention against the national-democratic revolution in Hungary.
- 1850 Establishment of a foothold at the mouth of the Amur in the Far East.
- 1853 Capture of Ak-Metjed on the Syrdarya in central Asia (today Kysyl Orda).
- 1853—56 Renewed attack on Turkey. Manifesto on the incorporation of Moldavia and Walachia (Rumania). Intervention by the European powers under the leadership of England, the Crimean War, loss of the fortress Sevastopol, defeat of Russia.
- 1854 Advance into Kirghizstan. Erection of the fortress Vyernyi (today Alma Ata).
- 1856 Advance to the Altai and Tienshan Mountains in central Asia.
- 1860 Establishment of footholds on the Amur and the coast of the Sea of Japan. Setting up the harbour of Vladivostok ("Ruler of the East").
- 1862 Further retreat from North America.
- 1863 Suppression of a new uprising in Poland, Lithuania and White Ruthenia.
- 1864 Breaking down the last resistance of the Caucasian hill tribes.
- 1864—68 Attack on the Khanates of Kokand and Bokhara in central Asia, capture of the cities Turkestan, Tshimkent, Tashkent (1865), Samarkand and Bokhara (1868).
- 1867 Sale of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands to the United States of America for seven million dollars.
- 1868 Introduction of a colonial administration in Kazakhstan.
- 1873 Second campaign against the Khiva Khanate in central Asia and its subjugation and dismemberment.

1874 Acquisition from Japan of the southern part of the Island of Sakhalin.

1875—76 Dissolution and annexation of the Kokand Khanate in central Asia.

1872 First Russian edition of the book "Capital" by Karl Marx.

1877—78 Attack on Turkey. Intervention by the western powers (Berlin Congress), annexation of Batum, Kars and Ardahan.

1877—84 Conquest of Turkmenia in central Asia.

1881 Russia forces China to partition the Ili territory in Turkestan and to allow Russian infiltration into Mongolia and Chinese Turkestan (Sin-Kiang).

1885 Suppression of an insurrection in Turkestan.

1892 Suppression of an uprising in Tashkent.

1894 Vladimir Ulyanov (Lenin) commences his political activities in Petersburg.

1896 Russia compels China to enter into a "defensive alliance" against Japan and to admit Russians into Manchuria.

1898 Obtaining a foothold on the Chinese peninsula of Liaotung and erecting the fortress of Port Arthur.

1898 Suppression of an uprising in Turkestan.

1900 Intervention in China together with the Western Powers, military occupation of Manchuria.

1905 Establishment of the "Bolshevik" faction at the 2nd Party Congress of the "Social Democratic Workers' Party of Russia" in London under the leadership of Lenin (Ulyanov).

1904—05 War with Japan over the domination of Manchuria and Korea. Russian defeat and loss of Port Arthur and the southern part of Sakhalin. First democratic revolution in Russia followed by a restoration of the empire in a conventional manner and by means of a conventional ideology, interspersed with liberal-democratic elements.

1907 Agreement with England on the delimitation of the colonial spheres in Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet.

1907—09 Infiltration into Chinese Mongolia and Chinese Turkestan.

1914—17 War with Austria-Hungary, Germany, Turkey and Bulgaria over the domination of the Balkan and the Bosphorus. Defeat and second crisis of the empire.

1917 Second liberal-democratic revolution. Abdication of the dynasty (on February 27, according to the old calendar). Proclamation of liberty and self-determination for the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the

empire and beginning disintegration of the Muscovite colonial empire. On March 12th, return of Dzugashvili-Stalin from exile and on April 3rd, return of Ulyanov-Lenin from emigration to Petersburg (Petrograd).

1917 On October 26th or November 7th¹⁾ coup d'état by the Ulyanov group, the setting up of a dictatorship, and the beginning of the Bolshevik counter-revolution and the reign of terror.

1918 March 3rd — signing of the Peace Treaty of Brest Litovsk with Germany and her allies. The severing of Poland, Ukraine, Georgia, and the Baltic countries from Moscow.

1918—22 (partly up to 1924 and 1926) Struggle of the colonial peoples against the new central power. Attainment of complete state sovereignty by Estonia (February 2, 1920), Finland (October 14, 1920), Lithuania (July 12, 1920), Latvia (August 11, 1920), Poland (March 18, 1921), and temporarily also by Ukraine, White Ruthenia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Turkestan. Bessarabia is returned to Rumania.

Three quarters of the empire gain their freedom from the metropolis. Counter-offensive by the metropolis, re-conquest and subjugation of the eastern part of White Ruthenia (July 1920), Ukraine (autumn of 1920), Georgia (February 1921), Siberia and the Far East (autumn of 1920), Kazakhstan and central Asia (1918—1924) etc.

1921—24 Severance of Outer Mongolia from China and conversion of Mongolia into a satellite of Moscow. Formal conclusion of the restoration of the Muscovite colonial empire through the establishment of the so-called "Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics" on December 30, 1922.

1924 Suppression of another uprising in Georgia.

1929—39 Build-up of the economic and military power of the empire by means of 5-Year Plans for preparing a further expansion.

1939 Aggressive alliance with Hitler (August 23rd) for the purpose of subjugating Finland, Poland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Bessarabia. Invasion of Poland (September 17th), division of Poland between Hitler and Stalin, annexation of the western parts of Ukraine and White Ruthenia through a formal resolution taken by the Supreme Soviet on November 1st and 2nd, 1939. Occupation of Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia and war of aggression against Finland (November 29, 1939 to March 12, 1940). Annexation of Finnish territories.

1940 Annexation of Bessarabia and the northern part of the Bukovina (June 28th). In-

¹⁾ Depending on whether the old Moscow calendar or the new west European calendar is used.

corporation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania (August 3rd to 6th, 1940).

Claim to the whole of Finland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Greece, the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, the neutralization of Sweden, and free passage through the straits between Sweden, Norway and Denmark.

1941—45 War with Hitler Germany because of clashing imperialist aims in eastern Europe, south-east Europe, northern Europe and the Near East. At the initial stage, defeat of the empire. The Germans at the gates of Moscow (October-December 1941). The German offensive miscarries because of Hitler's completely unappreciative and wrong attitude toward the peoples of the Muscovite empire.

1944 Seizure of Tannu Tuva in central Asia.

1944—45 Invasion of Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia and Germany. Renewed incorporation of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Bessarabia, north Bukovina, the western parts of White Ruthenia and Ukraine, as well as of the Finnish territories with the cities Vipori (Vyborg) and Petsamo (Pechenga), the incorporation of Carpatho-Ukraine and the annexation of the northern part of East Prussia with the city of Königsberg. Attack on Japan (August 9th), invasion of Manchuria, capture of Port Arthur and the annexation of the southern end of Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands.

1944—48 Conversion of Poland, occupied by Soviet forces, into a satellite colony by means of a Muscovite agency in Poland, cloaked as the "United Workers' Party".

1944—48 Conversion of Soviet-occupied Bulgaria into a satellite colony by means of a Muscovite agency in Bulgaria, cloaked as the "Patriotic Front".

1944—48 Conversion of Soviet-occupied Rumania into a satellite colony through a coup d'état carried out by a Muscovite agency in Rumania, cloaked as the "Rumanian Workers' Party" (December 30, 1947).

1945—48 Conversion of Soviet-occupied Hungary into a satellite colony by means of a Muscovite agency in Hungary, cloaked as the "Party of the Working Population".

1944—48 Albania's conversion into a satellite colony by means of a Muscovite agency in Albania, cloaked as the "Albanian Labour Party".

1945 Restoration of Czecho-Slovakia as a satellite colony of Moscow.

1945—49 Conversion of the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany into a satellite through a

group of agents led by Ulbricht and a Muscovite agency in Germany cloaked as a "Socialist Unity Party".¹⁾

1948 Blockade of West Berlin miscarries because of the opposition put up by the Berlin population with the assistance of the Western powers (airlift).

1950—53 Participation in the attack on South Korea. After heavy fighting the attack fails because of the resistance of the Koreans aided by the Western powers.

1953 Suppression of an uprising in the Soviet-occupied part of Germany through the employment of Soviet tanks, on June 17th. The uprising is supported in particular by the workers of Berlin.

1956 Suppression of an attempt at liberation by the Polish people, in particular the working population of Posen (Polish October).

1956 Bloody suppression of the national revolution in Hungary, led by the workers and students of Budapest, through the large-scale employment of Soviet-armed forces.

1958 After overcoming the crisis a renewed stiffening of the control measures over the satellites by means of a Muscovite colonial administration, cloaked as the "Council for Mutual Economic Aid"; increasing intervention in the domestic affairs of Finland and Austria, economic and propagandistic offensive in the developing countries, particularly in India, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, Syria, Egypt, Irak, Afghanistan, Cuba, Mexico, Guinea, the Congo and other countries in Africa; struggle with China for supremacy in Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Tibet.

1959/60 Menacing West Berlin by serving an ultimatum, breaking up the Summit Conference in Paris (May 1960) and threatening to use nuclear missiles; official announcement of the aim to gain all-out world domination, and new flights into space.

1961 August 13th: Violation of the Four-Power Agreement on Berlin: The building of a Wall to separate East Berlin from West Berlin; preparing a sham treaty with Moscow's hirelings in Pankow on a formal severance of central Germany from all-Germany.

CIAS - Luxembourg
German Committee Bonn

¹⁾ Authentic description of the event by a former member of the Ulbricht group, Wolfgang Leonhard, in his book "The Revolution Discharges its Children", published by Verlag für Politik und Wirtschaft, Cologne-Berlin.

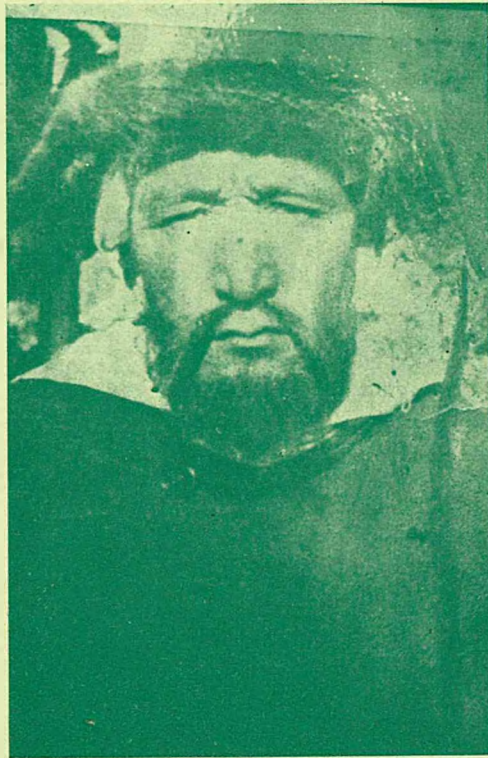
ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

USMAN BATUR

Champion of Freedom



**Commander of Turkestan's Insurgent Forces
from 1940—51**

To our picture on cover:

USMAN BATUR

The leader of the fight for freedom of the Turkestanians during the years 1940-51, who organized and waged an armed fight incessantly against Soviet Russian and Red Chinese rule in Turkestan. Captured by Chinese Communists at the beginning of 1951, he was hanged in Urumtchi on April 28, 1951.

Slovak Celebration in Munich

On the evening of March 13th the German-Slovak Society of Bavaria held a celebration in Munich to mark the 23rd anniversary of the proclamation of the Slovakian Republic (on March, 14, 1939). Prominent representatives of the subjugated peoples who were present on this occasion included the President of the Central Committee of ABN, Jaroslav Stetzko, and his wife, and also the Secretary-General of the Central Committee of ABN, Prince Niko Nakashidze.

Speeches were made by the President of the Sudeten-German Council, Dr. Johannes Strosche, the President of the Slovakian Liberation Council and of the Peoples' Council of ABN, Professor Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky, former Foreign Minister of the Slovakian Republic, and by the member of the Central Committee of ABN, Dr. Dimiter Waltscheff, former Bulgarian Secretary of State.

A special service was held before the anniversary celebration.

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Khrushchov Defends Russian Colonialism

In view of the fact that foreign countries are constantly mentioning Russian colonialism and the increasingly anti-Russian attitude of the population of the five Soviet Republics of Turkestan, Khrushchov, according to a report published in the paper "Kizil Uzbekistan" of November 21, 1961, saw himself obliged to defend Russian colonial policy at the Cotton Congress in Tashkent on November 16, 1961. In a lengthy speech on this occasion he endeavoured to show the representatives of Azerbaijan and of the five Soviet Republics of Turkestan the difference between Western and Russian colonialism.

All the so-called Presidents, Prime Ministers, Ministers, First Secretaries and members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, kolkhoz directors, as well as intellectuals of the six Turkish Moslem republics of Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kirgizstan, Turkmenistan and Tadzhikistan were obliged to attend the Cotton Congress convened in Tashkent by Khrushchov. Khrushchov himself was received at the airport in Tashkent on November 10, 1961, like an emperor visiting his provinces. The propagandists from Moscow had organized his visit very well. The population had to line the streets, and placards bearing the pictures of Lenin and Khrushchov were displayed everywhere.

In his speech on November 16, Khrushchov first of all talked about the mind, which has been given man by Nature as a standard by which to measure values, about language, which is the intermediary between peoples, and about the alleged advantages of Communism and socialism, which have taken hold of the world and the peoples.

He demanded that the Communist leaders should be more active and should not talk so much simply because they had a tongue, but should, rather, work, be vigilant and guide the people, who must work for the good of Communism. "Comrades, to work!" he exclaimed.

He then talked about colonialism in Turkestan and said:

"I am constantly meeting foreign personalities and having discussions with them. In the course of these talks these foreign representatives say: 'You oppose colonialism, yet you yourself are a colonizer, for Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tadzhikistan, Kirgizstan and Kazakhstan are Russian colonies'.

To such remarks I reply as follows: 'Go and visit one of these 'colonial countries', Uzbekistan for example, and then go and visit one of the imperialist Western colonial countries, and you will soon see the difference'."

There was tense silence in the hall as Khrushchov continued speaking:

"We Russians truly rejoice that the people living in the former tsarist borderlands — meaning Turkestan — are now happy. All the peoples in our native Soviet country are equal, and together we are all constructing socialism. In your republics there is a powerful industry, a well developed agriculture and a progressive socialist culture. You have an increasing number of cadres, technicians and scientists. How can one then describe these republics as colonies of Russia? Consider conditions in the English colonies in Africa and you will see the difference."

Intentionally Khrushchov had invited hundreds of delegates of the leading class of Communism and intellectuals to this congress in Tashkent for the purpose of covering up the increasingly passive attitude of the population and the constant references by the foreign radio and press to Russian colonialism and in order to

give the Communist delegates directives as to how to deal with this attitude amongst the people.

He tried to defend Russian colonialism as follows:

"In the Western colonies millions and millions of people are starving, but the capitalists are wallowing in money. They rob the colonial peoples, they use and exploit the labour of these peoples. They live on the work of the subjugated peoples. Such is the true face of colonialism!"

Khrushchov then referred to the cadre problem and affirmed:

"On one occasion a British Minister asked me in England: 'Your Excellency, where do you get the cadres for the Central Asian Republics from?' To which I replied: 'There are cadres there, they are born there, grow up there and study there, and these cadres rule these republics'. Colonizers cannot comprehend this answer, for in their colonies the imperialists choose special persons for work, whom they train and allow to study. They receive high salaries in order to turn them into faithful dogs of the colonizers.

In our country, however, other conditions prevail. Here everybody works for society and for the welfare and happiness of the fatherland."

After these statements Khrushchov forgot that he had originally intended to cover up Russian colonialism; he became infuriated because the agricultural production plans had not been fulfilled and showed his true face, the face of a colonial overlord. He censured the functionaries of the republics as follows:

"...Although you have many possibilities here of fulfilling the production quotas in agriculture, you are neglecting your duties. For instance there are 948 cotton kolkhozes and sovchozes in Uzbekistan, but none of them fulfil their production quotas..."

He sharply criticized the lack of interest in work, the wrong employment of the cadres, and the failure to fulfil the quotas for cotton, meat, fats, milk, and grain, etc. Even the so-called head of the governments and First Secretaries of the Communist Parties of the republics of Turkestan and Azerbaijan were openly censured by him at this congress and he actually interrupted their reports. The First Party Secretary of Kazakhstan, Kuna (jev), for instance, was interrupted by Khrushchov whilst he was reading his report on the agricultural production of Kazakhstan and had to listen to the latter's violent reproaches and reprimands. All Kuna (jev) could do was repeat again and again: "Yes, Comrade Khrushchov, I see your point of view. We shall follow your instructions and increase production and fulfil our duty". The First Party Secretaries of Azerbaijan, Kirgizstan and the other republics likewise had to accept the reproaches heaped on them by Khrushchov.

Such are the methods of a colonial overlord!

But with his speech in Tashkent Khrushchov himself showed up the true colonial conditions in Turkestan and the Caucasus when he quoted examples of Western colonial countries in order to conceal Russian colonialism. But he cannot deny the colonial conditions which prevail in Turkestan and the Caucasus by resorting to such arguments, for all the accusations he brought forward against Western colonialism apply in the case of Turkestan.

It is an established fact that after the Russian revolution Turkestan was seized against its will a second time by the Russians — this time by the Soviet Russians. The national insurrections which lasted for years until 1939 and also broke out again in the 1950's and were ruthlessly crushed by the Russians with armed violence are proof that the Turkestanians oppose the Russians as colonial overlords.

In 1925 Turkestan was divided up by Moscow against the will of the people into five Soviet Republics, in spite of the fact that it is a people with one language, one history and one culture. Here, too, the colonial motto "divide and rule" applies.

The Russians exploit and dispose of the entire wealth and the entire production of the country. There can be no talk of independent Soviet Republics of Turkestan if these Republics are forced to fulfil the production plans drawn up by Moscow.¹⁾

Those who do not fulfil these production plans are punished most rigorously. In 1961 60 to 70 per cent of the "Ministers", of high-ranking and lower functionaries and employees in Turkestan were removed from their posts by the Russians on the grounds that they had not fulfilled the production plans and had tolerated nationalist and anti-Party trends.

In Turkestan 70 per cent of the key positions in industry and 100 per cent of the key positions in the state security service and in the army are in the hands of Russians. The leading positions in the postal, telegraphic and railway services are likewise held by Russians.²⁾

All the so-called "Presidents", "Prime Ministers" and First Secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in the five Soviet Republics of Turkestan are appointed by Moscow and their deputies are Russians, who hold the actual power in their hands and control everything.³⁾ The people have no freedom of decision whatever.

These Soviet Republics are neither allowed to have a national army of their own nor diplomatic representatives abroad. Nor are they allowed to enact laws without permission from Moscow, still less to elect their own system of government according to their free will, or to further and protect their national culture, traditions, language and their Islamic religion against Russian attacks.

Russians are constantly flocking into Turkestan, and of the total population of 23 million in Turkestan, as many as 6½ million are now Russians. In North Turkestan, that is to say Kazakhstan, there are already over 4 million Russians, a figure which represents 43 per cent of the total population, whilst the number of Kazakhs has decreased and now only constitutes 30 per cent of the total population there. In Uzbekistan the Russians constitute 13.6 per cent of the population, in Turkmenistan 17.3 per cent, in Kirgizstan 30.2 per cent, and in Tadjikistan 13.3 per cent. This year over another million Russians are to settle in Turkestan. Thus the Russians are solving the question of Khrushchov's much praised cadre system in their own way.

In the whole of Turkestan there are 777,700 members and candidates of the Communist Party, but only 379,000 of them are Turkestanians. Thus the Turkestanians only constitute 48 per cent of the total number of Party members. Up to 1917/18 Communism was completely unknown in Turkestan, and in 1918 there were no Turkestanian Communists.

¹ To quote but one example — the delivery quotas demanded of Tadjikistan, the smallest Soviet Republic of Turkestan, for 1962 are 54,000 tons of meat, 520,000 tons of cotton, 30 million eggs, 200,000 persian lamb skins, and 112,000 tons of vegetables and fruit. Four and five times as much, and even more is demanded of the other Soviet Republics of Turkestan; Uzbekistan, for instance, is to deliver 4 million tons of cotton and 431,000 tons of meat, and Kazakhstan about 1 milliard pud (1 pud = 16.38 kilogrammes) of grain.

² The following Russians hold the leading posts in the state security service: Najmushin (Uzbekistan), Pishtshulin (Turkmenistan), Zvigun (Tadjikistan), Tshvertko (Kirgizstan).

The following Russians hold the leading posts in the Red Army: General Fedjuninsky, commander-in-chief of the Turkestanian Military Command; Lieutenant-General Demin, member of the Defence Council and chairman of the political administration of the Turkestanian Military Command; General Lapsin, commander-in-chief of the frontier security troops in Turkestan; General Kovalevsky, commander-in-chief of the frontier security troops on the frontiers of Afghanistan and Iran; Colonel Dubrov, director of the political department of the Defence Commissariat of Tadjikistan.

³ The following Russians hold the post of Second Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party: Rodionov (Kazakhstan), Gavrilov (Kirgizstan), Pinemov (Turkmenistan), Kovol (Tadjikistan), Titov (Uzbekistan).

The language and culture of Turkestan are being russified, national customs, traditions, Islam and nationalism are combatted, and the national script is prohibited. In 1940/41 the Russian script was introduced and the Russian language was proclaimed the "second mother-tongue".

Not only in the Western colonial countries are people starving, but, as Khrushchov knows only too well, also in Turkestan, the Caucasus and Ukraine. And it is not so very long since three million persons died of starvation in Kazakhstan.

Moscow is constantly looking for certain types of persons who can be trained in the Russian spirit and then used as agents, hirelings for the purpose of sabotage, agitators and functionaries at home and abroad. Every year numerous Turkestanians are drilled and trained night and day in Moscow in order to be sent back to Turkestan after completing their training. Huge financial sums are expended in making these persons hirelings who are to serve Russian interests.

As proof that Turkestan is allegedly not a Russian colony Khrushchov affirmed that it possessed a flourishing industry and agriculture, as well as a large number of intellectuals, poets and writers. But this can hardly be regarded as valid proof, since Turkestan prior to being seized by Russia already possessed a high national culture, a flourishing agriculture and a large intellectual elite, just as India, Egypt, Syria and other countries of the Orient possessed cultures of a high standard. But in spite of this fact, all these countries were occupied by a foreign power at some time or other.

Under the Russians Turkestan, as a typical colonial territory, became the raw materials base of the Russian empire and the strategic concentration area for sending troops into Asia. It was not until World War II when the Soviet Union lost its industrial districts in the west that the Russians transferred part of their industrial production to Turkestan for strategic reasons. They then began to expand their industry in Turkestan after World War II in order to de-centralize their industrial potential. Today there are countless industrial plants in Turkestan, but the Turkestanian people derive no advantage from them, for their labour is merely exploited by the Russians.

This colonial situation applies not only to Turkestan but also to all other non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, to the Ukrainians, Caucasians, Tatars, and peoples of the Baltic countries, etc. Thus there is not much difference between Western and Russian colonialism, except that Russia camouflages her colonialism under the watchwords of Communism and socialism. The foreign personalities from Asia and Africa who meet Khrushchov, however, as a rule are acquainted with conditions in the Western colonies from their own previous experience. Hence drawing comparisons, they have rightly ascertained that Russian colonialism prevails in Turkestan, and are thus justified in putting questions to Khrushchov.

But there is one big difference between Western and Russian colonialism; for Western colonialism is dying out, and since World War II practically all the Asian and African peoples have attained their freedom. Soviet Russia, however, has not only annexed the former tsarist colonial countries again, but since World War II has in addition subjugated other peoples, too. And the Russian imperium today extends from the Pacific via Turkestan to the River Elbe in Central Germany.

Khrushchov refuses to concede the right of self-determination to the Turkestanians, Ukrainians, Caucasians, Germans and many other peoples; he enforces his will on them, exploits them and makes them work for the Russian imperium. But on November 16, 1961, in Tashkent he tried to deny all this and to make out that the Soviet Republics of Turkestan were "sovereign states" and not colonies of Russia. His arguments are so transparent, cynical and hypocritical, however, that they completely fail to convince anyone since the real facts are obvious.

Khrushchov's National Policy

Khrushchov's national policy was defined explicitly in the new programme of the Communist Party. In this programme the Soviet Russian regime promises the non-Russian peoples the preservation of their sovereignty and the further development of their culture as well as of their economic and political life during the construction of Communism. But at the same time, this programme contains two paragraphs as amendments, which, in fact, negate all these promises. It is stressed in the programme that during the construction of Communism the bonds between the Soviet peoples will become even closer and that the Russian language is to be regarded as the second mother-tongue of all the non-Russian peoples.

The Stalin era proved only too clearly what the "close bonds" of all the non-Russian peoples really signify. This era is still all too fresh in our memory. Stalinist terrorism in the individual national republics had as its aim the physical extermination of the non-Russian peoples. This fact was incidentally corroborated by Khrushchov in his secret speech at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR. In the days of the Stalinist "close bonds", when the non-Russian peoples were deprived of their national and cultural rights, the idea of the predominance of the Russian language and culture was likewise formulated. One of Stalin's theoreticians defined the task of the Russian language in the socialist era as follows:

"The Russian language, in which the works of Lenin and Stalin were written, inspires not only the peoples of the Soviet Union but also the workers of the whole world with enthusiasm. In olden times Latin was regarded by the upper classes of European society as the generally accepted international language. Subsequently, French became the generally accepted language of peoples and governments. The Russian language is now becoming the international language of socialist culture." (Kirpotin: "Russian Culture", Moscow 1949, p. 47.)

On the whole the so-called "thaw" which set in in the Soviet Union after Stalin's death was welcomed by most persons, since it was regarded as an indication of the weakening of the Soviet Russian regime during the struggle to determine who was to become Stalin's successor. The "thaw" also strengthened the resistance of the enslaved peoples in their fight for their national rights. Both among the non-Russian Communists and also among the intellectuals there were at first hesitant but later, however, bolder indications of a tendency to advocate the safeguarding of the rights and of the development of the national culture of the individual national republics.

To begin with, it seemed as though the victor of the struggle for succession after Stalin's death, Khrushchov, would also adopt this course. In the series of "reforms" which he had introduced after 1956 there was one that allegedly intended an extension of the rights of the Soviet Union Republics. But it very soon transpired that this "reform" was merely a tactical manoeuvre on the part of the new "collective leadership" headed by Khrushchov. In reality the extension of the rights of these republics was only of a formal nature, for Khrushchov's national policy proved to be solely a continuation of Stalin's national policy. Consequently, the aim of Khrushchov's regime continued to be the liquidation of the non-Russian peoples as political, economic and cultural units. The means used to achieve this aim were the following:

1) a systematic mixing of the population and the settlement of territories, wherever possible, with the Russian element. This fact was incidentally corroborated by the statistics of the 1959 census.

2) The further Russification of the schools, which Khrushchov carried out by means of the so-called reform of the educational system. The main purpose of this reform was to break down the fundamental principle of instruction in one's mother-tongue and extend the network of Russian schools to non-Russian children.

3) The preservation of all the "achievements" of Stalin's national policy in the field of culture and language.

4) The liquidation of "nationalist deviations" in the Communist parties of the individual republics, a phenomenon that had made its appearance as a result of the weakening of the Stalinist regime.

The discussion on national problems which has been raised recently in the Soviet Russian press aims, above all, to establish an ideological programme and basis for Khrushchov's imperialist Russification policy, which he would like to extend and consolidate in the course of the so-called construction of Communism, and to eliminate all the contradictions which characterize the individual theories of Khrushchov's programme in defining the national problems. In the first place there is the contradiction between the statement regarding the era of prosperity of the so-called Soviet peoples in the course of the construction of Communism and the statement on the simultaneous establishing of "close bonds" between these peoples until they finally cease to exist as separate units. There is also the contradiction between the anti-imperialist programme watchwords and the simultaneous construction of the Communist imperium on the basis of the Russian language and culture. And these contradictions are only too obvious to everyone.

The "explanation" and argumentation of all these questions in the articles inspired by the regime give one a perfectly clear picture of modern Russian colonialism, which, since it is based on the tsarist traditions of Russification, on the Communist ideology and the achievements of Stalinist genocide, is endeavouring to build up a politically, economically and culturally unified imperium on the territories of the present Soviet Union.

The technical foundation on which this entire Soviet Russian discussion about the solution of the national problems during the construction of Communism is based, is the so-called Marxist-Leninist theory about the decay of nations during the era of Communism. But actually the theory about the decay of nations has very little connection with Marx. For Marx only dealt with this question superficially, without going into it any further. In reality it was Lenin who developed the theory about the decay of nations during the era of Communism. He was, however, of the opinion that the decay of nations could only take place when Communism ruled the whole world. This fact is overlooked, however, by the Khrushchovist adherents of Marx and Lenin, who use the theory of the decay of nations for the construction of Communism in a country, by eliminating the problem of language and culture in advance in favour of the Russian language and culture. When the present Khrushchovist theoreticians and, with them, the Soviet regime (for the former only write these articles at the instructions of the said regime) talk about the so-called international culture which will be the only culture in the USSR during the era of Communism, they are, of course, referring all the time only to the Russian language.

We consider it appropriate at this point to quote the opinion of one of these theoreticians, Jasnicky, on the national problems:

"Russia, the home of Lenin and of the socialist revolution, is also the home of the new socialist culture. It is the first country to have set the whole of mankind an example as to how one should carry out fundamental changes in society and put all cultural achievements at the service of the workers. The founders of socialist realism, Gorky and Mayakovsky, and countless prominent masters of art and culture, as well as scholars emerged out of the very heart of the Russian people. It is therefore perfectly obvious that the development and the strengthening of relations and the cooperation of the individual cultures of the Soviet peoples as well as their mutual enrichment must be effected by means of their union with the Russian Soviet culture." ("Kommunist Ukrainy", No. 12, 1961. H. Jasnycky: "The Programme of the Communist Party of the USSR on the Mutual Enrichment and Unification of Cultures.")

The question of one single "international" language during the era of Communism is closely connected with the question of one single Soviet "international" culture. It is obvious from the theoretical considerations which are at present advanced en masse in the Soviet Russian press that this language can only be the Russian language, whilst the remaining languages of the USSR are to disappear, or, in other words, are to be absorbed by the Russian language. One of the most striking articles on this subject which have appeared recently is an article entitled "Proletarian Internationalism and Socialist Patriotism" by V. Gabuniya. He writes as follows:

"All the peoples of the USSR have a great yearning for Russian culture and the Russian language. All the large and small peoples of the USSR recognize the Russian language as their mother-tongue.

The Russian language has in fact become the generally accepted language of national understanding and cooperation of all the peoples of the USSR. And this is perfectly logical. For the Russian language is one of the richest languages of the world; it enjoys great prestige and popularity in the whole world; it is an important means of approach and understanding for all nations of workers, and it enriches national cultures and unites all peoples in their fight for the construction of Communism." ("The Young Communist", No. 11, 1961.)

The role and the task of the Russian language in the construction of Communism in the USSR are formulated even more clearly in the "Question of Philosophy" by M. Kalamarri, a member and correspondent of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, in an article entitled "The Construction of Communism and the Closer Cooperation of the Peoples of the USSR". He affirms that the "Russian language... creates a new lingual community, which is far greater than the community of the individual national languages." "This can already be regarded as an indication of the means and forms of a future unification of the peoples in one single Communist community."

This same Kalamarri also sets up a theoretical definition of the concept "Soviet people". In his opinion this is a new economic, political, cultural and lingual community. And this community is characterized by a joint territory and economic life, as well as by joint traits of character in the psychological make-up of the members of the community, which find expression in a common socialist culture and language. In view of the above opinion on culture and language, it is obvious that the concept "Soviet people" is identical with the concept "Russian people".

A further supplement to Khrushchov's plans, which have as their ultimate aim the transformation of all non-Russian peoples of the USSR into a homogeneous lingual-cultural and economic-political unity, is the theory raised recently in the

USSR on the decay of the state form of the non-Russian peoples of the USSR and the decay of the state federalist forms of the Soviet Union. An illuminating article on this subject, entitled "The Programme of the Communist Party of the USSR and the Development of National State Relations", was published in the journal "The Soviet State and Soviet Law", No. 12, 1961. The author of the article, P. Semenov, who is an aspiring law scholar, comes to the conclusion that the Soviet national state form and the Soviet federalist forms of state structure are no longer in keeping with the present times. "One can already affirm — so this Communist theoretician stresses — that the national state form and the federation have on the whole fulfilled their historic mission." During the era of the construction of Communism a further stage in the decay of the state form of the Soviet national republics and of the Soviet federation will be effected all the quicker as a result of the "development and perfection" of the Soviet way of life, and actually this will be equal to a "transition to the complete state unity of the workers of all nations". Semenov bases his theory on two factors: the "closer relations between the Soviet nations and the mobility of the population", that is to say, as a result of the Stalin-Khrushchov Russification policy pursued so far.

The discussion on the national problems which has arisen in connection with the new programme of the Communist Party of the USSR clearly proves that the plan of construction for Communism in the USSR is closely connected with the plan of destruction to be applied in the case of the non-Russian peoples and also with the plan to set up a uniform Russian Communist imperium. The plan elaborated on the strength of this discussion provides for 1) a further mixing and dispersion of the non-Russian peoples; 2) lingual and cultural Russification; 3) liquidation of the federative state forms of the Soviet Union which have been maintained up to now, and the creation of a "state unity" of the workers of all the peoples of the USSR.

This discussion has by no means eliminated the contradiction in the theories, contained in the programme, of a further era of prosperity for the peoples of the USSR during the period of Communism, and of the mutual closer relations of these peoples, but, on the contrary, has only aggravated them still more. Some Soviet Russian theoreticians try to prove that these contradictions are not really contradictions at all, but merely represent a normal process of dialectical development. From the point of view of Marxism and Leninism, the two processes of successful development and establishing of closer relations by no means negate or contradict each other, but run on parallel lines, as it were, which lead to Communism.

And yet, at precisely the same time as the problem of closer relations between the enslaved peoples in the USSR is being broached very warily in the programme, the Soviet Russian periodicals are publishing theoretical commentaries on this programme which clearly expose the contents camouflaged behind the typically Soviet Russian phraseology of the said programme and also the actual course which the national policy is to take in the era of the construction of Communism. The non-Russian peoples of the USSR are in danger of being liquidated completely, but this liquidation is to be camouflaged as voluntary. For this reason the fact is constantly stressed in the present discussion that the Russification process is to be carried out without any compulsion at all and solely on the strength of the voluntary approval and consent of all the peoples, since it is in any case a historical inevitability and is in no way a contradiction of the principles of Marxism and Leninism.

(To be continued)

Brazil On The Path To Communism

Repetition is, according to Napoleon, the best rhetorical figure. Let me *repeat*, then, what I have said many times before. Let me *reproduce* a few excerpts from articles of mine published in the Rio press, all of them calling for attention, — rather sounding an outcry of alarm —, to the serious and imminent danger which faces Brazil right now, the danger of becoming “Communist”.

And, moreover, let me stress that this real danger is being nurtured, fostered and increased by the Governments themselves; yes, by the Governments Brazil has had in the last six years!

Things became particularly ominous from February 1961, onwards, when Mr Quadros was inaugurated as President of the nation, only to resign unexpectedly less than seven months later and turn the government over to Jango Goulart.

The above-mentioned excerpts follow below, and are reprinted in the hope that they may cause a healthy and vigorous impact on the minds of good Brazilians and prompt them to reactions worthy of real patriots unwilling to have their motherland placed under the Communist yoke.

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“It is a well known saying that: — every country has the kind of government it deserves. In spite of that, the *Brazilian Anti-Communist Crusade* is reluctant to admit, much less accept, that such a good-natured people as the Brazilians should have been so unkindly handled by fate to the point of having had Vargas, Kubitschek, Quadros and now Goulart, as their heads of governments. The major blame for that certainly falls on the too many political parties existing at home and made up of politicians of the worst possible qualification. Those parties, entirely oblivious of their duties toward the welfare of the nation, were not able (or did not want) to provide the people, at every electoral opportunity, with worthy candidates for governmental jobs.”

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“On September 8th, 1961, the *Brazilian Anti-Communist Crusade* assumed deep mourning on the occasion of Mr. Goulart being inaugurated as President of the Republic! Its flag was hoisted at half-mast and notice was issued to all members that it would remain like that so long as Mr Goulart was in office. Heavy and deep mourning, and the blackest it could be, due to the fact that the unlucky Brazilian nation will have its destiny shaped by a *crypto-Communist*, by a man who has steadily been an agitator and trouble-maker among the workers and proletarians for the last eight years. Yes, because in 1953, when Goulart was Secretary of Labour, to former President Vargas, his main efforts were directed towards making possible, through an uprising motivated by nasty social and political conditions, the establishing of a so-called *Syndicalist Republic* in Brazil, that would be a perfectly true replica of a popular Soviet regime . . . Be it explained that Vargas himself was in fact behind this vile scheme, which fortunately miscarried and failed due to popular and military reaction at the time. Mr Goulart was then relieved of his job, ceased being Secretary of Labour, but, nevertheless, proceeded with his subversive activities, which he never gave up. It can easily be guessed what he will do now, holding the reins of power in his hands and endowed with considerable experience on agitation and subversion techniques! . . . It is true that the Brazilian Constitution was suddenly changed in September 1961 in order that Goulart might become President; and that the regime was given *parliamentary status*. But it is only a make-believe *parliamentarism*,

entirely symbolical and meaningless in the hands of politicians (of the worst kind . . .) filling both the Senate and the lower Chamber, who recently utterly demoralized themselves to an unheard-of degree when they dared pass a law for their own benefit, providing for full payment to absentees . . .”

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“Two Communist organizations with headquarters in Rio, the *National Union of Students* and the *Superior Institute of Brazilian Studies*, are, and have been, the hobbies of every one of the following Presidents: — Kubitschek, Quadros and Goulart. The first of these organizations spreads Communist propaganda amidst students and instils poison into the youth; the second one disseminates basic principles of Marxist doctrine, teaches Marxism-Leninism, aiming at preparing suitable leaders capable of properly guiding the proletarian masses in the event of a Communist revolution.”

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“Comfortably seated on the Presidential throne we now have the very man who since 1953 has done nothing else but promote strikes and riots among the workers; who was dismissed from the abominable Vargas government through popular and military pressure; who admits being an admirer of the cruel and despotic Máo Tse-tung, whom he visited recently in continental China; who praised the *people's communes* established in the same China, which represent the highest degree of contempt for human dignity; who heads a political Party linked to the Communist Party, the so-called Brazilian Labour Party; who, according to Ravines (the well known ex-Cominform prominent member), embodies the Kremlin's fondest hope in what concerns the intended Communist assault on Brazil; who, for many years, used at his own discretion funds belonging to syndicates and to social securities; who was strongly arraigned at the scandalous *lumber (pine) affair*. Seated on the Presidential throne we now have the very man who is bound to carry out, — if not prevented by public opinion or otherwise —, the Communist-like policy he himself proclaimed some time ago, viz: — ‘my Party's ideals and those of the Communist Party agree in many ways, and, therefore, nothing is more appropriate and justifiable than walking together in the fulfilment of these ideals’.”

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“Closely surrounding the nation's top magistrate can now be seen diehard Communists (quite a number of the Alger Hiss type . . .), crypto-Communists of every possible brand, fellow-travelers of all kinds; — traitors all of them, only waiting for the opportunity to stab the tottering Brazilian democracy in the back. Marxist infiltration is plainly noticeable in every governmental level, in every administrative department, in the press (almost all of it is contaminated . . .), in the sophisticated *bourgeoisie*, in most of the social circles, in colleges and universities, even in the Armed Forces; and, needless to say, amidst the indiscriminate masses, especially when there is a low standard of living, social injustice, purposely instigated unrest, illiteracy, poor health conditions, lack of confidence, discouragement and forlorn hope . . . Gloomy and sad days lie ahead for Brazil, if things are not promptly redressed.”

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“Following on Quadros' preposterous decision to renounce the Presidency, on August 25th, 1961, the contemptible politicians of the Vargas regime, still remaining, came back to power, headed by Goulart. It looks as if Vargas' forecast contained in one (the last) of his many May-the-first speeches is likely to come true . . . He said: ‘workers of Brazil, to-day you are with the government; but to-morrow you will be the government yourselves’! The nation's future does not loom very bright . . .”

"The two Secretaries of State the country has had during the last twelve months, one of whom (Quadros' regime) is now humiliating Brazil in the *UNO* by advocating the shameful *neutralist* international point-of-view, and the other (Goulart's regime) is jeopardizing Brazil's noble and traditional policies on diplomacy and foreign affairs, seem to be in complete agreement with poor and decadent Lord Bertrand Russell's undermining and demoralizing slogan: *better red than dead!* Yes, it would be much more dignified to say: *better dead than red slave!* ... Both Secretaries (the old and the new) are birds of a feather; they do not believe Patrick Henry was right when he said: *give me liberty or give me death.* Both of them act as safeguards of Castro's Communist regime in Cuba. Both of them are in favour of warm and close relations with the Soviet bloc of nations. Both of them belong to the so-called *progressive bourgeois* class, a dangerous one for all democratic countries ..."

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"Brazil finds herself, nowadays, in a situation exactly like the one prevailing in Guatemala, in 1951 and 1952, when Presidents Arévalo and Arbenz purposely and deliberately led the country to the Communist regime of 1953, from which it was fortunately liberated in 1954 through the patriotic military actions of Castillo Armas and his brave followers. Should Brazil tread to the bitter end the path leading to Communism and join Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Poland, Cuba and many other nations now under Marxist slavery, none could ever complain that no emphatic and timely warning had not been given! ..."

Prof. Ferdinand Durcansky

In The Russian Colonies Of Europe . . .

Since 1945 43 new states have been called into being in Asia and Africa and over 700 million people have thus been given a chance to decide their fate themselves. This fact is in our opinion a corroboration that the democratization of mankind is constantly progressing. And we regard it as proof that freedom and self-determination — and not tyranny and alien rule — are in keeping with the evolution of mankind. Hence self-determination did not reach its height after the first world war, as is frequently affirmed, but has now asserted itself more successfully in recent times than was the case in the past. The national idea has not been superseded by technical development and progress, as has been intentionally circulated in the world by various scientists and publicists in keeping with the wishful thinking of certain politicians since the 1930's, but, on the contrary, has since World War II become the guiding principle for the settlement of political questions.

In this connection the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 14, 1960, adopted a resolution, with 89 votes in favour and 9 votes withheld, in which the immediate abolition of colonialism in all its forms and aspects was demanded. It is pointed out in this resolution that the alien rule imposed on the peoples and their exploitation are identical with disregard of their human rights and basic freedoms, are a violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and, moreover, constitute a grave threat to world peace. The continued existence of colonialism in the future is definitely condemned since it is a violation of the equality of rights and of the self-determination of the peoples and an obstacle to their social, cultural and economic development.

The representatives of Moscow and Prague and of all the other governors in the

satellite states of Central and East Europe were apparently all very much in favour of this resolution since they wished to create the impression of altruistic fighters for the abolition of colonialism all over the world. It is, however, interesting to note that the propaganda disseminated by the Communists in connection with this resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations only referred to the status of about 86 million coloured people. Their number has meanwhile decreased as a result of recent declarations of independence and will, in fact, decrease still further in the near future since other coloured peoples, too, are to receive their independence. In many cases the peoples concerned are amongst the most primitive in the world, as for instance the Papuans of New Guinea. In spite of this fact, however, the Communists advocate the independence of these peoples, and the free world regards political efforts in this respect as justified.

To avoid any misunderstanding I wish to stress that we do not begrudge any coloured peoples their independence. We are glad if some people or other attains its independence, since a step of this kind is in keeping with the development of mankind and represents the advance of freedom and, hence, an improvement in the standard of living of the people concerned. And in this way the democratization of mankind acquires a broader basis.

This resolution on the part of the United Nations in the interests of an accelerated abolition of colonialism has, however, not prevented Moscow — in keeping with its cynical attitude — from endeavouring to maintain its most ruthless form of colonialism against about 20 European peoples; namely against peoples who all fulfil the preconditions for the realization of their independence. They number about 250 million persons, whom Moscow by the most brutal and most subtle measures of violence prevents from determining their own fate. It is indeed extremely regrettable that the political leaders of the free world by their shortsighted attitude enable the Communists to play this double game.

Not only are the peoples on whom Moscow has ruthlessly imposed a colonial status far larger in number than the peoples of the colonies in Asia and Africa, but the lot of Moscow's colonies is also far worse than that of any other colonies.

In the colonies of Asia and Africa the human rights and basic freedoms of the population are respected by the governments. The coloured peoples are allowed to develop in keeping with their own wishes and without legal or technical obstacles and can use what prosperity they acquire as they see fit. Indeed, they even receive financial support in varying degrees from the mother-countries.

The opposite, however, applies in the case of the population of Moscow's colonies. The life of the people behind the Iron Curtain is equivalent to life in a huge concentration camp. They can only live, work, travel, send their children to school where the Red colonial overlords decree. And the Iron Curtain prevents them from fleeing from this Red paradise, since the colonial overlords are determined that the number of their slaves shall not decrease. Thus there is not one human right or basic freedom, recognized by the United Nations, which is not disregarded and abused by the Red colonial rulers.

In the colonies of Asia and Africa it is a self-understood thing that the population of the colonies retain their property even after the colonial status has been introduced. But in the colonies behind the Iron Curtain the colonial rulers confiscate most of the property of the inhabitants there on the pretext of introducing Communism and administer it in keeping with Moscow's interests. And they make no secret of the fact that it is their intention to confiscate the entire property of the population, with but a few small exceptions.

The colonial powers in Asia and Africa have confined themselves to using the raw material reserves of the colonial territories for their own economy. But the

colonial rulers of Moscow's colonies miss no opportunity of exploiting the human labour in the territories which they rule for their own plans. One of the real reasons for the industrialization realized by Moscow is the greatest possible exploitation of the available labour-power for the aims of the colonial overlords.

In the colonies of Asia and Africa the people have been allowed to retain their religion. No one has resorted to measures to force them to adopt any other philosophy of life, ideology or political views. In the Russian colonies of Europe the people are only able to practise their religion after overcoming all sorts of prohibitions and measures; indeed, they are forced on various pretexts to profess atheism and even to be full of enthusiasm for and advocate the materialistic ideology of Moscow.

The people of the colonies of Asia and Africa are given an opportunity to take an active part in self-administration and in this way prepare themselves for the realization of their independence. Thus, the remaining colonies inhabited by coloured peoples are likewise on the path to independence. The colonies of Moscow, on the other hand, are being ruled, controlled and exploited by the colonial overlords more and more rigorously. And this is a process in entirely the opposite direction to the process which is taking place in Asia and Africa.

The colonial status introduced behind the Iron Curtain is proof not only of the fact that Communism has failed to solve the national problem, but also of the fact that Moscow under the motto of internationalism has created the worst possible form of colonialism. The revolutions, insurrections and riots which have occurred behind the Iron Curtain, the general discontent of the population and the terrorism enforced by Moscow are clear proof that there is an insurmountable barrier between the rulers and the ruled in the territories of the East bloc.

All these facts point to the anomaly and ambiguous moral principles of diplomacy at the present time. For we are convinced that not only Moscow but also the political leaders of the free world are prepared to show more understanding for the rights of Angola, New Guinea, Kenya, Tanganyika, and Rhodesia, etc., than for the rights of the Slovaks, Bulgarians, Ukrainians, Georgians, Germans, Rumanians, or Turkestanians. What is more, in this era of the liquidation of colonialism the Western political leaders have even shown themselves willing to legalize the colonialism of the Baltic states! The Western statesmen are indignant at the injustices done to the coloured peoples, but they lack all understanding and sympathy for the hopeless fate of their European neighbours.

Similar cases and phenomena are no exception and have to a large extent led to the crisis which mankind is now undergoing. This fact reflects the great discrepancy between the values of European culture, on the one hand, and the political leadership of the West, on the other. It also reflects the tragedy of Europe, which includes the tragedy of Slovakia.

Prompted by this thought, the Slovak Liberation Council has appealed to the General Assembly of the United Nations to apply the principles of its declaration of December 14, 1960, to Slovakia and to take the necessary steps to help Slovakia, on whom colonial status was enforced after 1945, to regain its independence.

Since all peoples are equal, regardless of race, religion or language, there is no reason why we Slovaks should be denied the rights that are conceded to the coloured peoples as a matter of course. We find it unbearable and, in fact, insulting that we should be treated worse than they merely because we are a European and a Christian people.

And since all men are equal we are not prepared to regard the members of other peoples as supermen or as our overlords. Hence we shall never reconcile ourselves to being ruled by Moscow or Prague, or by any other people.

We have no desire to rule others or to enforce our political desires, intentions or system on anyone else; nor have we any intention of depriving other peoples of their rights, or of acquiring wealth at the expense of others, or of exploiting them. We demand no advantages, no privileges, no special rights at the expense of other peoples, but we certainly do regard it as an insult and a degradation that our rights should be ignored by others on some pretext or other.

All we ask is that the Slovaks should be allowed to lead a life worthy of human beings in their own country and, in keeping with the divine laws, should be allowed to determine their destiny alone. All we ask is that the fundamental laws formulated by the Americans in their Declaration of Independence should also be applied to Slovakia.

And all we ask is that, instead of talking a lot about democracy, humanity, human dignity and freedom, no obstacles should be set up against the application of these laws in Slovakia.

We should like to live on the best of terms with all our neighbours, to be included in the community of European peoples, and to play an active part in the progress of mankind as an equal and useful member of the United Nations. And we appeal to the public, to all people of goodwill, to show their sympathy and understanding for these noble aims.

General Lev Prchala 70 Years Old

On March 23rd this year General Lev Prchala, former Minister of the Czechoslovakian Republic, celebrated his 70th birthday.

Born in Schleswig-Ostrau as the son of a miner, Lev Prchala was obliged to take on jobs in his spare time in order to finance his studies at the grammar school in Friedeck and later at Vienna University. He did his one year's military service as a volunteer in the Austrian Royal and Imperial regiment No. 13. In 1914 he served on the Russian front as commander of a machine-gun detachment. In 1916 he was then taken a prisoner-of-war during the Brussilov offensive. He subsequently joined a Czechoslovakian legion, where he was rapidly promoted and finally given command of a division. After his return home he went to France, where he studied at the French Military College in St. Cyr. He subsequently held various posts in the Czechoslovakian army in Czechoslovakia. In 1938 he became a member of the Beran government. In 1939 he left Czechoslovakia and went to Poland, where he was in command of the Czech legion in the Polish army. After Poland's defeat he went to France and later to England, where he still has his permanent residence.

Beneš, who had set up a provisional Czech government in England, tried to eliminate General Prchala from political life. But Prchala held his ground and in 1942, together with other loyal Czech personalities, founded the "Czech National Unity". This organization later became the "Czech National Committee". When the war ended General Prchala did not return to Czechoslovakia, since he foresaw the results of Beneš' disastrous policy, but decided to remain in London.

For his efforts for the restoration of freedom in Central Europe General Prchala was awarded the Sudeten-German Karl Prize.

For some years, since 1954, General Prchala has been the Vice-President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and the most active fighter against Bolshevism amongst Czech politicians.

We wish him many more years of good health and the restoration of the independence of his people and the victory of the idea of freedom behind the Iron Curtain, an idea for which he has fought all his life.

Pan-Slavism — A Russian Idea

Interview with Jaroslav Stetzko

Question: What is your opinion of Pan-Slavism? Is there any possibility of a fusion of the Slav peoples into one family?

Answer: Pan-Slavism is one of the various forms of Russian imperialism. Under the disguise of the "defence of the Orthodox Church", Russia in the past endeavoured to extend her influence to the territory of Turkey. Russia pretended to be protecting the Slav peoples but in reality she was merely seeking to bring them all under her influence.

Communism is the most recent form of Russian imperialism and today constitutes the vital question, just as in the past Russian imperialism concentrated mainly on the idea of Pan-Slavism. This idea has still not been abandoned by Russia, and, according to her requirements, she plays either the idea of Pan-Slavism or of Communism or of the Third Rome as her trump card. Even the anti-colonial world movement is used by Russia in the interests of Russian imperialism.

I do not think there is any possibility of the Slav peoples ever being fused into one family. Not racial, but national factors and national interests are decisive amongst the peoples. Just as the Germanic peoples cannot form one family, but on the contrary have fought against each other in wars (as for example, England and Germany) because national interests always come before racial relationship, so, too, no family can be formed of the Slav peoples.

Question: Under what circumstances can Pan-Slavism be realized?

Answer: Pan-Slavism can never be realized. That is to say, a joint state union of the Slav peoples can never be formed on a *voluntary basis*, since national contrasts are too sharp and too profound and cannot be bridged solely on the strength of racial kinship. The individual Slav peoples have far more interests in common with non-Slav peoples. For example, Poland relied on her common interests with France, Ukraine joined forces with Turkey against Russia, and Bulgaria, Croatia and Slovakia with Germany against Russia.

In any case, all the Slav peoples are now "united" in the Russian empire. Thus Pan-Slavism has already been realized in this respect. But all these peoples are longing for the day when the "elder Slav brother", whether tsarist or Bolshevist in character, vanishes from their countries. — And I also include Titoist Yugoslavia in the present Russian sphere of influence.

Question: Do you at present at least see any "small beginnings" towards the formation of a community of Slav peoples?

Answer: Russia at present includes in her sphere of influence not only all the Slav peoples — Czechs, Slovaks, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Ukrainians, Poles, Byelorussians, and Bulgarian — but also non-Slav peoples, as for example Germans, Turkestanians, Ugro-Finns, Mongols, Georgians, and Armenians, etc., and is seeking to form a Russian world imperium. Russia has thus not only made "small beginnings" towards the formation of a community of the Slav peoples, but has already taken a huge leap towards forming a Russian world imperium of slaves and not merely of Slavs!

The Ukrainian people have gained some extremely bitter experiences from living side by side with "other Slav peoples". And I think that the Poles, too, for instance, with their insurrections against the Russian oppressors, have gathered the same "experiences", just as have the Croats and Slovaks with other Slav peoples.

If one counts the Russians as belonging to the Slav peoples — I personally am of the opinion that apart from their language, which is interspersed with numerous

non-Slav words, the Russians have very few Slav characteristics — then it would be better for the Ukrainians, who for centuries have endured the most ruthless extermination campaign of the Russians, to forget that such a race as the Slav race — not to mention the so-called community of Slav peoples — exists at all in the world!

Question: Do you think there can be any special form of a community of the Slav peoples at all?

Answer: I am of the opinion that the same principles of co-operation hold good for the Slav peoples as for every people on this earth. I do not think there can be any special form of a community of the Slav peoples, because this question is in no way connected with racial kindship. On principle I am also opposed to the idea of including any racial elements as a decisive factor in the general world order and, in particular, in the European order.

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Dr. Baymirza Hayit

Turkestan In Soviet Policy

There was a special significance about the preparations for the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in the opinion of the Turkestanians, in view of the fact that Khrushchov paid two visits to the Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan in March and in June 1961, on which occasions he admonished the functionaries of Turkestan to fulfil their economic and political tasks (cf. "Kasachstanskaja Pravda" of March 26, 1961, and June 20, 1961). In addition to these visits of Khrushchov, the head of the Soviet security service, Shelepin, also came to Turkestan in January 1961 and had the Minister of the Interior of the Kirgiz S.S.R., Muchambet Issajev, who was formerly First Secretary of the provincial Party committee of Tien-shan, arrested in Frunze on account of his "anti-Party and anti-state attitude" ("Sowjetskaja Kirgisija" of February 7, 1961). In April 1961, F. R. Koslov also arrived in Turkestan to conduct the campaign of purges in the state and Party apparatus of the Tadzhik S.S.R., in the course of which the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tadzhikistan, Tursunbay Uldshabajov, the chairman of the Ministerial Council, Nasarshah Dodchudojev, and eight other high-ranking functionaries were expelled from the Party because they had allegedly carried on anti-Party and anti-state activity, had hampered the development of the economy, had neglected ideological activity and had furthered feudalistic nationalist customs ("Kommunist Tadshikistana" of April 14 and April 18, 1961). The above-mentioned prelude of Soviet personal policy then resulted in further measures, in the course of which the First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Kirgiz S.S.R., Isak Rassakov, and the chairman of the Ministerial Council, K. Dikambajov, and seven other high Party functionaries were dismissed from office on May 9, 1961, and were also excluded from the Party ("Sowjetskaja Kirgisija" of May 11, 1961). Finally, on September 27, 1961, the chairman of the Ministerial Council of the Uzbek S.S.R., Arif Alimov, was dismissed from office on the grounds that he had disregarded the Party line ("Kisyl Usbekistan" of September 28, 1961). He was replaced by the First Secretary of the provincial Party committee of Andizhan, Rahmankul Kurbanov. Thus the preparations for the 22nd Party Congress claimed numerous victims in Turkestan, whose exact number, however, the Soviet press conceals.

To judge from the number of leading Communist Party functionaries of the Kirgiz S.S.R. who were dismissed, it can be assumed that the number of persons there who

were disloyal to the Party was larger than in any other republic of the Soviet Union. In the years 1960—1961, for example, 24 Party secretaries and 9 members of the Central Committee were dismissed from office and expelled from the Party in the Kirgiz S.S.R. ("Sowjetskaja Kirgisija" of September 21, 1961). It is typical that all the persons who were dismissed were designated as anti-Party and anti-state elements. At the same time, numerous Soviet papers stressed that it was precisely these elements that had hampered the fight against nationalism and had endeavoured to emphasize and further national peculiarities instead of the all-state interests. From the lists which were published of the members of the Central Committee and Party secretaries it is obvious that the Communist Party leadership in Turkestan was only able to send less than half its former functionaries to the 22nd Party Congress since the rest had been branded by the Party as untrustworthy. In the Kazakh S.S.R. for instance, 46 per cent of the functionaries of the town and district committees of the Communist Party and 50 per cent of the functionaries of the provincial committees were replaced by new appointments prior to the 22nd Party Congress ("Kisyl Usbekistan" of November 1, 1961).

Whilst the Party and state apparatus underwent considerable changes as regards personnel, the key positions in the security service and the military sector continued to remain in the hands of Russians or non-Turkestanians.

In addition to personnel questions, the problems of economy and ideology also played a particularly important part in the Soviet policy in Turkestan. As has hitherto been the case, the cultivation of cotton, artificial irrigation, increase of productivity in the development of industry constituted the main principles and questions of the Soviet economic policy in Turkestan. On the one hand it is emphasized that considerable progress has been made in the economic sector, but on the other hand complaints are constantly being voiced that there are too many cases of omissions, negligence, failure to fulfil the quotas and false reports about production, etc.

On September 27, 1961, the Soviet press published a report on the results of the "1001 days" of the Seven-Year Plan, a report which creates almost the same impression as the "Arabian Nights", which relates fantastic stories of 1001 nights! In this report an attempt was made to describe how numerous concerns had managed to fulfil their quotas most efficiently in the said 1001 days. At the Party congresses of the Soviet Republics, which were held in October 1961, it became obvious, however, that all the remarks about the fulfilment of the directives and quotas of the Seven-Year Plan were solely a lot of propaganda talk. Some of the functionaries on this occasion even avoided mentioning the Seven-Year Plan at all.

The Soviets are at present concentrating on the idea of "the construction of Communism" in Turkestan in twenty years' time without, however, abandoning their short-termed plans. In May 1961 a "Council for the Co-ordination and Planning of the Central Asian Economic Region" (apart from Kazakhstan) was formed in Tashkent, a step which can be regarded as an important economic and political decision on the part of the Soviets. In this way they intend to co-ordinate the entire economic policy in Turkestan, as well as to direct it into regional, centralized channels in order to eliminate the present confusion in economic planning in the territory of Turkestan. The idea of co-ordinating Turkestan's economy as one unit was already advanced in 1928 by the then chairman of the People's Commissars of the Uzbek S.S.R., Faysullah Khodsha. At that time this idea was, however, designated as an indication of Pan-Turkism and in 1938 it served as one of the reasons for F. Khodsha's execution. It is only now, after 33 years, that the Soviet leaders are beginning to try to put this idea into practice since they have realized that the

isolation of the economic life of the individual Soviet Republics of Turkestan has led to a state of chaos.

As far as questions pertaining to the ideological activity of the Party are concerned, the main emphasis is on the elimination of nationalism, Islam and national traditions, the re-education and training of the population in the spirit of friendship between the peoples and internationalism, and the assimilation of the Turkestanians by the Russians for the purpose of forming a "uniform, Soviet Communist supra-national nation". It is interesting to note that the indications and signs of nationalism are causing the Soviets particular anxiety. Not one of the persons who read reports at the various Party congresses in Turkestan refrained from resorting to watchwords attacking nationalism. All the secretaries of the Communist parties of the Soviet Republics of Turkestan stressed unanimously that "decisive action must be taken against nationalism". But no mention is made anywhere of the persons who, under some pretext or other, represent nationalism. Reference was merely made to the fact that some persons are trying to isolate a culture, which in form is national, from the influence of other cultures (Russian culture is probably meant) ("Sowjetskaja Kirgisija" of September 21, 1961). The Second Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, F. E. Titov, remarked as follows, for instance, in his speech at the Party Congress in Tashkent:

"The remnants of nationalism appear in the question of the treatment of national peculiarities in the form of glorification of the past and emphasis on national characteristics" ("Kisyl Usbekistan" of September 26, 1961).

From this remark it can be assumed that nationalism is active in Turkestan and that the Party regards its extermination as an urgent task ("Kommunist Tadshikistana" of September 23, 1961). And the 4th section, 2nd paragraph, of the resolution of the 16th Party Congress of Uzbekistan on September 27, 1961, stated:

"The fight against the phenomena of nationalism in every form, against local patriotism, national limitations and the idealization of the past is one of the most important tasks of the Party" ("Pravda Vostoka" of October 1, 1961).

Furthermore it is also emphasized that all citizens of border-republics such as Turkestan, for example, must be specially trained in the spirit of revolutionary vigilance and that the idea must be firmly instilled into their minds that the utmost secrecy must be observed as regards matters pertaining to state security. This demand was voiced by the chairman of the Committee of State Security of the Tadzhik S.S.R., S. K. Zvigun ("Kommunist Tadshikistan" of September 26, 1961). The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, Kunajev, stressed:

"We must consolidate the internal and external state security still more" ("Kasachstanskaja Pravda" of September 29, 1961), for "the imperialists, headed by the USA, are preparing for war against the Soviet Union and, in doing so, intend to make use of the unstable elements in the Soviet Republics of the Orient (Turkestan)."

The Soviet leaders probably mean the unnamed advocates of nationalism by the "unstable elements". In addition to the fight against nationalism, the fight against Islam was also announced. Certain Islamic priests (their names were not mentioned) expressed the opinion that with the founding of Islam in the 7th century the big social revolution was finally completed ("Kasachstanskaja Pravda" of March 7, 1961) and that the October revolution was thus merely a secondary phenomenon. The Soviet leaders are determined to do their utmost to prevent this little group of priests from influencing the population, but so far the anti-Islam propagandists (about 900,000 to the 21.3 million inhabitants of Turkestan) have failed to eradicate their influence. The Soviets are not in a position to exercise a complete ideological influence on the population. Two-thirds of the population of the Tadzhik S.S.R.,

for example, cannot listen to broadcast programmes because the necessary installations and equipment are lacking ("Kommunist Tadshikistana" of September 23, 1961).

The Soviet functionaries complain that the trained and highly qualified functionaries working in the villages adjust themselves to living conditions there, instead of propagating the idea of the new life, and that they even further the old national customs ("Usbekistan Kommunist", No. 9, 1961, p. 49). The Soviets announced quite openly that the socialist system of society had created friendship between the peoples but that it had so far not succeeded in wiping out the nationalist, chauvinistic and religious remnants.

In order to combat the phenomena of nationalism in Turkestan, the Soviet leaders were obliged to discuss the question of friendship between the peoples at length. To this end, special courses on the problems of the friendship between the peoples were held in Tashkent in April, 1961, and in Alma Ata in May, 1961, at which a series of lectures was given, including one on "How to combat the bourgeois falsifications of the history of the Soviet Republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan" ("Pravda Vostoka" of April 18, 1961, and "Kasachstanskaja Pravda" of June 3, 1961). In December 1961 a students' congress of the Republics of Turkestan and of the Caucasus was to be held in Tashkent on the question of "The victory of the national policy in the Soviet Union". As is stipulated in the new Party programme, the Soviet leadership aims to make "a Communist nation out of the socialist nations" during the next twenty years. Hence considerable importance is attached to the russification of the youth of Turkestan. Thus, during the school-year 1959/60, about 321,000 schoolchildren (51 per cent of them of national Turkestanian origin) in the Uzbek S.S.R. and about 27 per cent of the Kazakh schoolchildren in the Kazakh S.S.R. were instructed in the Russian language instead of in their mother-tongue ("Usbekistan Kommunisti", No. 9, 1961, p. 55, and "Vestnik Akademii Kasachstan", No. 9, 1961, p. 13).

Whilst Turkestan, on the one hand, as far as internal political affairs are concerned, has continued to be a colonial exploitation territory in the sphere of influence of the Soviets, it has, on the other hand, become the centre of Soviet foreign policy propaganda in the free countries of the Orient. The founding of a branch of the "University for the Friendship of the Peoples" in Moscow, the College for International Relations (Asia and Africa), in May-June 1961, in Tashkent, and the formation of five solidarity committees of the countries of Asia and Africa during the period from February to April 1961, numbering about 120 Soviet functionaries from Turkestan, are intended to promote Turkestan's foreign political activity in the interests of Moscow. International congresses — dealing with such questions as the breeding of caracul sheep, the cultivation of cotton, trade union functionaries, and the health service — for Asia and Africa, which were held from April to June 1961 in Tashkent, were intended to popularize Turkestan's Soviet regime in the Afro-Asian countries. In his speech on October 25, 1961, at the 22nd Party Congress, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Nuritdin Muchitdinov, who has meanwhile been removed from office, also stressed the importance of Turkestan in the Orient, though as regards the question of the national policy of the Party he only mentioned the elimination of unsatisfactory conditions in cotton cultivation in Turkestan. In any case, however, the Soviet leadership is determined to use the geographical position of Turkestan to advantage in its foreign policy (cf. "Osteuropa", No. 10, 1960, p. 671 et seq.).

As far as the question of the national policy of the Soviets is concerned, the example of Turkestan shows that the Soviets on the one hand talk about the extension of the sovereign rights of the republics of the Soviet Union, but, on the

other hand, announce their intention of doing away with the frontiers between these republics. The purpose of the latter measure is to bring about the fusion of all peoples. The Soviet ideologists are of the opinion that the functionaries in Turkestan should not be appointed according to nationality or by taking into consideration national peculiarities, but according to their trustworthiness and loyalty to Communism. Under such circumstances Soviet policy in Turkestan is bound to be nothing but a continuation of the fight against the national individuality of Turkestan with special emphasis on economic policy, a state of affairs which can only lead to the further colonization of that country.

The question as to how important a part Turkestan plays in Soviet policy was answered when Khrushchov came to Tashkent on November 10, 1961, ten days after the 22nd Party Congress, and convened a congress of all the higher Party and agricultural functionaries of Turkestan and Azerbaijan. On this occasion he was designated as the "Father of the Uzbek people" ("Özbek halkining babachany") by the poet Kamil Jashin ("Kisyl Usbekistan" of November 15, 1961, p. 2).

On November 16th he delivered a speech at the conference of the functionaries and active Party members of the agricultural sector and demanded that each of the kolkhozes and sovchozes should produce at least 25 quintals of cotton per hectare and also more meat and milk than has hitherto been the case ("Pravda Vostoka" of November 21, 1961, p. 2). He concluded his speech with the slogan "No Communism without maize" ("Pravda Vostoka" of November 18, 1961, p. 2).

Their "Crime" Was Nationalism

Some names of Turkestanian, Uzbek, Kazakh, Turkmen, Tadzhik and Kirgiz writers, poets, literary critics, literature professors, publicists and political leaders who were liquidated (murdered) at the orders of the Communist centre of Moscow during the years 1933—1938. Their "crime" was nationalism.

Munavvar Qari Abdul Rashid Khan (national reformist, one of the great representatives of Turkestanian culture), *Akwal Ikram* (national political leader), *Miyon Buzruk* (linguist and writer), *Fitrat Abdul-Rauf* (one of the best known poets and dramatists, professor of literature), *Cholpan (Adulhamid Sulayman)* (a popular national poet of great influence), *Elbek (Mashriq)* (a popular poet), *Sandjar Siddiq* (well known literary critic and literary translator), *Batu* (poet and Minister of Education of Uzbekistan), *Shakir Sulayman* (teacher and writer), *Ahmed Baytursun* (professor of philology and writer), *Magjan Oglu (Dsumabai)* (well known national poet), *Miryaqub Dulat* (poet and pedagogue, public personality), *Nazar Oglu* (writer and pedagogue), *Quvanli Oglu* (writer and pedagogue), *Asir Oglu* (writer and pedagogue), *Sakin Sayfulla* (writer), *Karbono Oglu Berdi* (poet, leader of a research institute in Turkmenistan), *Agzan Ayyub* (writer and literary critic), *Sattar Jabbar* (writer and professor of chemistry, University of Tashkent), *Abbas Tugjan* (writer and editor in Kazakhstan), *Jansugay Oglu* (author), *Asilbek* (author), *Toytim Oglu* (author), *Gulam Zafar* (dramatist), *Abdulla Quadiri* (well known novelist), *Abdulla Shakir* (writer), *Abdulvahab Damla* (expert on education and publicist), *Alla Nazar* (pedagogue and publicist), *Ashurali Zohiri* (writer and linguist), *Vasit Qari* (expert on art and culture), *Besim Durdi* (writer and actor), *Fathulla Omari* (artist and publicist), *Haji Ismail* (writer), *Khoja Shukur* (writer), *Eshan Shohrahmatullah* (religious leader and writer), *Yahya Yoldash* (author and press representative), *Mamajan Mumin* (lecturer and publicist), *Mir Muhsin* (literary editor), *Mumin Osman* (editor), *Mulla Khaliq* (religious leader and publicist), *Mukhtarkhan Damla* (teacher and

writer, religious leader), *Naim Qadir* (author and press representative), *Arkhan Oglu* (actor and author), *Nasir Said* (publicist, education official), *Nasir Oglu* (author), *Qurd Oglu* (author), *Salimjan Tilla Khan* (teacher and specialist on literature), *Satti Husayin* (editor and literary critic), *Safo Zufari* (specialist on literature and philologist), *Sabira Haldar Qizi* (publicist and women's representative), *Shali Kakil* (author), *Usman Nasir* (poet), *Alamis Oglu* (author), *Eldirim* (poet and teacher of literature), *Anquabay* (dramatist and critic), *Abdulla Habibulla* (publicist and pedagogue), *Sabir Aziz* (publicist and pedagogue), *Ghazi Yunus* (editor, dramatic critic), *Ghazi Alim* (professor of literature and linguist), *Khansuvar Oglu* (publicist), *Mirza Ahmed* (poet), *Ziya Said* (dramatist and critic), *Shadid Esan* (linguist and publicist), *Nurjan Aman* (publicist), *Tursun Balta* (poet), *Kasim Tinistan* (writer, scientist and publicist), *Fayzuelah Khoja* (national political leader), *Sultan Segizbay* (national political leader).*)

*) For the names of other Turkestanian personalities who were murdered at the orders of Moscow, see the journal "Milli Türkistan", No. 78, 1952, p. 10; No. 79, p. 48-49; No. 80/81, p. 37-38; No. 82, 1953, p. 42-43.

Prof. R. Dragan

Australia Can Be Victim Tomorrow

Moscow shuns no means to attain its objective. 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 of Communism. 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 peoples of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Latvia, Estonia, Rumania, Byelorussia, East Germany, Czechia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Slovakia, Mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Caucasia, North Korea, Albania, Idel Ural, Tibet, Cossakia, Turkestan, North-Vietnam and others.

The leaders of Russian Communism have employed organised tyranny, terror, mass killings and deportations to crush the spirit of the people of all these captive nations and to transform their countries into replicas of the Russian Soviet State. In direct violation of the commitments set forth in the Atlantic Charter and the provisions of the Yalta Agreement, the captive nations are permanently denied the right of self-government by democratic means and the opportunity to choose through free elections national government of their own choice.

At the same time the West tolerates the enormous propaganda and publicity drive in favour of Moscow which spreads an ideal enthusiasm for Bolshevism or political fear of the latter and lack of confidence in the strength of the West.

Here and there we heard praise of achievements of science in Russia, but we hear nothing about concentration camps, deportations, and all kind of terror. By inviting delegations for cultural exchange and peaceful co-existence and tolerating innumerable agents and spies the West is only preparing its own grave.

Only a few weeks ago we read in Australian papers of the Reverend Walker glorifying the new era in the Christian Church and why? Because the Russian Moscow-inspired and guided Orthodox Church joined the World Council of Churches. I think no commentaries are necessary. The Russians acquired another easy foothold for spying and subversion in O. von Braun's visit. Or let us take another example.

Tito's Yugoslavia is doing exactly the same as Moscow, in fact hand in hand with Moscow. What was the Congress of Neutrals in Belgrade if not a Congress for spying, infiltration and subversion?

Only the blind do not see it.

The alleged struggle of Soviet Russia against imperialism, the relentless unashamed bullying and lust for conquest in Asia and Africa only recently have distinctly shown the double face of Communism, A Mr. Jekyll and Hyde farce that leaves no illusions to reason.

But is there any reason in the West why we hear praise of Russian achievements?

The murder of millions of people, the slave labour of scores of millions, the misery and suffering of hundreds of millions, espionage, theft of foreign inventions, abductions of foreign scientists — these are the methods to which Moscow resorts in its attempt to outdo the free world in its achievements. And the murder of Stefan Bandera is also an achievement, one ominous and significant link in an endless chain of achievements.

On April 12th, 1961, Moscow's agents for the third time tried to wreck the premises in which the A.B.N. has its offices by planting a bomb. The Russians know that we are the strongest and the most active force in the fight against Russian tyranny and Communism. They want to destroy us physically, or at least to put us out of action. The purpose of such attacks is to alarm the public and to incite the authorities to take steps to prohibit our activity.

And already part of the press and the German Federal Republic has swallowed the bait of this provocation. It has described the bomb attack as a jungle war in which the differences between emigrant groups are the question at issue. These differences which normally exist in the free world have never been fought out in this vile manner, nor has terrorism ever been applied. It is not the emigrants of the subjugated nations but K.G.B. agents who carry out these criminal and provocative acts.

In connection with murders in Germany there is an extremely strange coincidence. The local police never takes much interest in these murders, because the victim was a foreigner or a nationalist. We also have not forgotten the case of the Danish diplomat, U.N.O. officer Mr. Bang Jensen, who was found murdered in a New York park after he refused to open the secret files of witnesses of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters.

The murder of the heroic fighter for freedom Stefan Bandera is not isolated. During the past few years a number of persons of different nationalities have been murdered by MVD agents in the Western World.

We cannot enumerate all the facts of Soviet Russian international conspiracy, because hardly a day passes by without bringing some new facts.

The Bolshevik rulers have never ceased to fight against the emigrants and political refugees living in the free world and in particular in Germany. From the outset the Bolsheviks have tried to destroy the individual national groups morally and physically, to disintegrate them, to infiltrate and discourage, to intimidate them, and undermine their political views.

It is high time that this struggle of the East European emigrants ceased to be regarded as something which does not concern the free world. The latter has to realise that Russian attacks are also directed against the positions of the free people. This is a struggle of two worlds, Communist and democratic, and in this deadly struggle there is no room for neutral observers. The wonderful free country Australia, our adopted home, can be a victim of Russian international conspiracy to-morrow, regardless of whether she is involved or not in this universal fight. And we have

no doubt on the issue. One of the opponents must perish. We hope it will be Communism and every nation will be free again, joining the big family of free nations of the whole world.

The only effective way open to the free world to arrest infiltration and subversive activities of the Communists lies in giving encouragement to the enslaved peoples shut behind the Iron Curtain in their anti-Communist national revolutions, so as to bring about the overthrow of the tyrannical Communist regimes from within and then thoroughly wipe out Communist intrigue of infiltration, bewilderment and all kinds of subversive activities.

We have to realise that the fight goes on in Ukraine and in all the other occupied countries in spite of indescribable terror conditions. The holocaust of victims and inhuman sufferings of our brothers and sisters behind the Iron Curtain has not deterred them for a moment from the fight by all means and by passive resistance as a rule. The love of freedom cannot be drowned in the sea of blood. And every drop of blood will not be in vain and will bear fruit in the near future.

The democratic countries of the West must express their solidarity with the captive nations, struggling for their liberation, and condemn Soviet Russian colonialism in all its forms and implications. The U.S. Government has proclaimed one week every year, a week of Captive Nations. This wonderful example should be followed by the Australian government and by all governments of free countries of the world. And already we watched Khrushchov and his clique covered with froth of anger and excitement as reaction to this painful news. This news certainly gives hope and encouragement to the peoples who have been suffering for over forty years in Soviet Russian hell.

The governments of free countries should insist firmly in the United Nations and elsewhere on the right of self-determination and national independence of all peoples subjugated by Soviet Russian imperialism.

After the collapse of the old tsarist empire there was general hope of striving to better times, a stormy wind of freedom blew through the vast eastern lands. Like spring-flowers from under the snow and ice emerged the free and independent countries of Ukraine, Georgia, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, North Caucasus, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Idel-Ural, Armenia, Cossakia and Siberia. Alas! Their independence was very short. They were all treacherously subjugated to agonies by the Soviet Russians. After World War II several other free countries were forced to join the slave camp. For instance Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Croatia, Poland and East Germany. They are called satellites but their fate is no different from that of the others.

In conclusion we venture to express our hope, that in its own interests the Western world will support our liberation fight against Russian Bolshevik tyranny. For it is a fight for our common future in peace and genuine freedom.

There is no peace and freedom with Communist partners; there are no Communist partners in the civilised world.

Godless Russian Communism has proclaimed a goal of world empire, boasting, in Khrushchov's words, that it will bury "our free way of life". Let us not forget for one moment that the overwhelming majority of the people in the captive non-Russian nations behind the Iron Curtain are the unwilling prisoners of the regime imposed on them and look to the free world for help in their liberation from slavery.

This we have to remember in the morning when we start our day, this we have to remember at night when we finish our day. Let us rid ourselves of the Tower of Babel of false ideas, pseudo-idealistic trends, pseudo-humanitarian movements, and see the real danger of dark forces who create chaos and evil in the West.

Russia never yields an inch and all agreements, pacts or promises are worthless in Moscow's opinion. The Western powers should realise that Moscow does not trust them in spite of occasional dove-cooing and hypocritical ogling, and will continue to fight them until they are destroyed. This is the innermost and only wish of Moscow.

We conduct a fierce fight against a policy of co-existence and appeasement and against Moscow's Fifth Column in the free world. In this fight we lost the leader of Ukrainian Freedom Fighters — Stefan Bandera. But there is no freedom without sacrifice, however big the sacrifice. There is no justice without a fight. A co-ordinated common strategy and the foundation of a global anti-Boshevist front of all free and subjugated peoples are imperative demands of the present time.

Co-existence for Russia? Yes, but on her own terms, always bearing in mind the words of Lenin: "Three quarters of mankind may die in order to ensure Communism for the remaining quarter." Appeasement for Russia? Of course, and in the meantime a deadly blow can be prepared somewhere else.

The leader of the National Ukrainian Liberation Movement, Stefan Bandera was murdered with a poison-pistol in Munich and his murderer is now in a German jail. To the Soviets the deceased was the most hated exponent of the opposition and resistance to Bolshevik tyranny. Have they in fact killed him? No, they have not. For he is in our hearts and hundreds of thousands follow his steps faithfully and devotedly. Every child, every Ukrainian alive in and outside Ukraine lovingly repeats his name.

On learning the news of the heroic death of Taras Chuprynka, the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, Stefan Bandera said 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 the fight until the glorious victory of the Ukrainian national revolution is achieved." These words of Stefan Bandera can be applied to-day to himself.

In view of this and all the other treacherous murders which will undoubtedly not be the last in the series of attacks on the anti-Communist fighters in exile and in the name of the primary rights and fundamental ethical principles of the civilised world, we appeal to you, dear friends, and to the whole civilised world to support our common righteous cause.

Let us dedicate our lives to the righteous and noble cause. Freedom is the most precious treasure of every human being and freedom will prevail!

New Presidium of the German-Slovak Society in Bavaria

The regular General Assembly of the German-Slovak Society in Bavaria was held in Munich on March 24, 1962. On this occasion a new Presidium was elected. *Herbert Prochazka*, member of the Bavarian Parliament, was elected President, Prof. Dr. *Ferdinand Durcansky* (President of the Slovak Liberation Committee) Vice-President, *Wal-*

ter John (Sudeten-German Union) Secretary-General, *Dr. Ctibor Pokorny* (Vice-President of the Slovak Liberation Committee) Deputy Secretary-General, *Edgar Schneider* (German Youth of the East Organization) Treasurer, and *Willi Nittmann* (Carpatho-German Union of Slovakia) Secretary.

An Open Letter To Mr. Dean Rusk

Editor's Note: Following is a reprint of the letter to the Hon. Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, written by Michael Luchkovich, former member of the Canadian Parliament (1926—1935), and noted Canadian writer and literary critic. A copy of the letter was sent to President John F. Kennedy:

Sir:

It was with mingled feelings of shock, trepidation and disappointment that I read your decision in the press to exclude Ukraine, Armenia and Georgia from the nations that were to have the support of the Department of State as being subjugated nations of Eastern Europe in the struggle for freedom, basing your reason for such exclusion on the alleged presumption that these three aforementioned countries are "traditional parts of the Soviet Union", and that any reference by your government department to them would be tantamount to "placing the United States Government in the undesirable position of seeming to advocate the dismemberment of an historical state".

In what manner has Ukraine become a "traditional part of the Soviet Union"? By Russian conquest, or by the wholehearted acquiescence of the Ukrainian people? If the Honorable Secretary of State bases his reasons on Russian conquest, then he is acting in direct opposition to the policy advocated by his party at the last federal election; and if he relies on the whole-hearted acquiescence of the Ukrainian people then he has chosen a premise that has no existence in reality. Self-respecting Ukrainians the whole world over cannot under any circumstances accept the groundless statement that Ukraine is "a traditional part of the Soviet Union". To accept such a postulate would be equivalent to submerging one's own national existence, presiding at one's own liquidation thereof. It would mean that the Ukrainian language is a dialect of the Russian language, which it is not; it would indicate, too, that the Soviets are developing complete homogeneity, a so-called "*homo Sovieticus*", which is both false and absurd, since the minority people outnumber the Russians whom they hate; it would mean, furthermore, that the Ukrainian people have succumbed to Russian pressure and have accepted the Russian revolution as their own, when in fact the revolution in Ukraine was a national revolution wholly apart from the Russian brand which was thrust upon them through terror and force of arms, a situation which is being greatly aided by the comfort you are giving the common enemy by your untenable statement and your exclusion of the Ukrainians, the Armenians and Georgians on grounds that they are "traditional parts of the Soviet Union", and by your implied fear of "seeming to advocate the dismemberment of an historical state . . ."

Is this the attitude that a Jefferson, or a Lincoln would take if they were here and alive today? Would they not have known that no country can stand alone against Communism, and that none of the free countries could afford to be intransigent towards the Soviets? For we in the United States and in Canada cannot condone such weakness. It has been pointed out by the responsible press of the United States that there must be some kind of gravity centre for the forces of freedom in the whole world and Canada and the United States have had that centre thrust upon themselves by the recent course of history . . .

As Congressman Daniel J. Flood once put it: "Those stout-hearted Ukrainians who, in face of relentless Communist terror, carry on the struggle for liberty, certainly deserve better attention than they have been getting so far from the free world. We, of the West, owe much to those brave souls for they are fighting to keep alive a flicker of the West in the darkness of the Communist world".

Seventy-two other Congressmen have made statements more or less along this line of thought...

Yes, and we must seek allies even behind the Iron Curtain in the U.S.S.R. If it is Khrushchov's publicized purpose to "bury us alive", then it should be our alternative purpose to strike back at Russia's weakest and most vital point, its Achilles' heel, the various nationalities who outnumber the Russians in the U.S.S.R. and loathe the type of Russian Communism of which the Ukrainians are now being so groundlessly made "a traditional part".

Universalizing our independence and extending aid to Ukraine, advocating and supporting freedom and independence for all nations enslaved by Soviet Russia should be in line with our fine tradition of helping all those who are willing to make the fight for freedom and who, in the final analysis, would promote and strengthen our national security. Universalizing our independence would have its greatest impact among the non-Russians in the Soviet Union, who by their united action could become a tremendous factor in the halting of the Red menace, in resuscitating and resurrecting the enslaved nations, in sealing its peaceful and equal partnership in the restoration of Europe.

Thus it is nothing short of a major tragedy that a nation of 45,000,000 Ukrainians, a country that has suffered more casualties than any other nation in the struggle against Communism, should be handed over to the tender mercies of a brutal Soviet regime to be further liquidated by a genocidal policy such as the world has hitherto never known.

Who is it that fills the jails and slave camps in the Soviet Union if not the Ukrainians, Russian prisoners being conspicuous by their absence? Who is it that puts up the stiffest resistance to the Soviet system if it is not the Ukrainians, the Russians themselves being satisfied with it? And all for what? Only to be handed back as "a traditional part" of the Soviet Union? And curiously enough not by a Republican Administration, hut by a government professedly heralded as a progressive, liberal regime.

Your action, Sir, in excluding the Ukrainians from your championship of the enslaved nations of the Soviet Union was all the more shocking to me by reason of my having been born in the United States town of Shamokin, Pa. It was here that I learned my first lesson in democracy. At 10 years of age I knew Lincoln's Gettysburg Address by heart, and I thrilled to the exciting words engraved on the bronze pedestal of the Statue of Liberty: "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to be free, the wretched refuse of your shore. Send these the homeless, the tempest-tossed, to me, I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

How noble, how hopeful they then sounded to me, a poor son of immigrant parents! I believed in those words with all my heart and soul, only to have them dashed down to the ground as empty phrases by reason of the recent Secretary of State's callous denial of the championship of the United States...

It was in those early formative school years that I developed a sense of pity and conscience over the suffering of others. I remember the day the news struck our town that President McKinley had been shot in Buffalo by an anarchist called Czolgosz. It was a shock to us, stopping us momentarily in our play, and actually making us cry. Our respect for what our teachers had taught us was so engrained in us that we started to ask questions. "How dare this man kill our president?" was our immediate reaction. As a matter of fact the murder of any man was a horrible thing for me then to contemplate. Years later when I became a Member of the Canadian House of Commons it was shocking to me in the extreme how little regard was paid to the murder of millions of Ukrainians who died in the Communist-inspired famine of 1932-33. It seemed to me then that the death of an alley cat

that had wandered into a park was cause for a greater commotion than the demise of such a colossal number of Ukrainian farmers. Where was our world conscience? Did any country speak out with righteous indignation against such genocide? It was painful in the extreme. Did the Ukrainians deserve to have the curtain thus rolled down on them; or to be ignored, as is now the case in the present action of the State Department. How many more Ukrainians would have to die before the world recognized that they were a separate people from the Russians, different in tradition, in mentality, anthropology, ideology, and culture? When will the Western World come to realize that it is only through the nationalism of such countries as Ukraine, Armenia and Georgia that Bolshevism could be destroyed? When will the democracies begin to understand the mistake they made in 1918 when they failed to support Ukraine in setting up its own state? I have asked these questions many scores of times through the columns of our newspapers and periodicals, and shall be asking them many more times before I die.

For the Ukrainians are what they are by reason of what the Ukrainians know they are; and not by virtue of what the Russians falsify the Ukrainians to be. From the earliest years of their history the Ukrainians were weaned on democracy, having accepted their Christian faith from the Byzantine Empire, and much of their culture too. Why, even the "Rus" was stolen from the Kievan Ukrainians by the northern Muscovites, which was their proper appellation up till the time of Peter the First who wanted to boast that he was the Czar of all the Russias: "Great Russia, White Russia and Little Russia". The present Red Russians want to hide this truth by referring to their empire as the Soviet Union and by creating a further illusion of a *homogeneous* Soviet people; and it is to this Soviet regime that the Secretary of State Department now hands over the Ukrainians to do with as they please on the thesis that the Ukrainians are merely an internal problem of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union will now take whatever comfort it can derive from this action of the Secretary of State, but the Ukrainian people will never regard themselves as a traditional part of the Soviet Union.

M. Dankewych

The Future Potentialities Of Siberia

III

Siberia, the "land of the future," as Dr. Fridtjof Nansen called it,¹⁾ possesses on the surface and in its bowels untold and almost untouched riches.

Siberia contains "up to 75 percent of all coal reserves of the U.S.S.R., 80 percent of its water power, four fifths of its timber, its principal reserves of non-ferrous and rare metals, and enormous resources of chemical raw materials, iron ore, and building materials."²⁾

Siberia's mineral wealth is fabulous. There are to be found coal, iron ore, timber, copper, nickel, cobalt, magnesium, manganese, gold, titanium, oil, graphite, rock salt, mica, bauxite, marble, and recently, too, diamonds. But to this day the geological map of Siberia contains a number of black spaces, and there can be no doubt that future surveys will reveal sources of mineral wealth.³⁾

¹⁾ Fridtjof Nansen, *Through Siberia: The Land of the Future* (London: William Heinemann, 1914), p. 1.

²⁾ N. S. Khrushchov, *Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the 20th Party Congress* (Moscow, February 14, 1956), p. 57.

³⁾ Max Frankel, "Rich Area Is a Basis of Hope of Excelling U.S.," *The New York Times*, April 27, 1959, p. S.

It is extremely difficult to tap Siberia's enormous natural wealth and develop her uninhabited territory. That requires manpower and money, numerous armies of trained specialists of all professions, infinite material means and powerful machinery. Thus the development of Siberia into a major industrial and agrarian region is subject to an economic and human balance-sheet.

Fuel: The coal reserves of Siberia have been estimated at countless billions of tons — enough to last for centuries.⁴⁾ The Kuzbass coal reserves are estimated at 5,000 billion tons,⁵⁾ and most of it of first-rate quality. The Kuzbass could supply the whole world with coal for the next 300 years.

The Kuzbass is situated in the basin of the river Tom, a right-side tributary of the Ob. Its area covers 10,300 square miles.

The coal is of many kinds and of high quality. It is nearly pure; the high caloric content of sulphur exceeds 0.05 percent, while the ash residue is low.

Its caloric content, in which bituminous coal amounts to about 85 percent, is said to exceed that of the Appalachian Coal Basin in the United States. The best metallurgical coke comes from the Kemerovo mines, averaging 27 percent of volatile matter.

Before the First World War, the coal output of the Kuznetsk Coal Basin was insignificant. Thus, in 1913 about 774 tons were extracted and in 1928 about 2,618 tons. This was due to the fact that the Kuznetsk Coal Basin was very far from the Russian industries and that there were no consumers for its coal except the Siberian railway.⁶⁾

The State Plan for the Reconstruction and Development of the National Economy of the Soviet Union for 1947 "proposed increasing the production of coal in the Kuzbass to 30,000,000 tons in the current year. This is 2,735,000 tons greater than in 1946."⁷⁾

In 1950, the Kuzbass increased its production to 58,539,000 tons annually.⁸⁾ In 1957 it produced 70,800,000 tons.⁹⁾

The Irkutsk-Cheremkhovo Coal Basin is considered the second largest Siberian coal field. This coal deposit is considered to be a continuation of a wide coal-bearing strip more than 150 miles in length, from Lake Baikal to Nizhne-Udinsk along the Trans-Siberian Railway and on both banks of the Iya River. This coal field is comprised mostly of bituminous coal. Analysis of this coal has shown that it is a coking coal with very small sulphur content — 0.5 percent. This coal yields from 38 to 49 percent tar from which have been recovered all grades of oils — illuminating, lubricating, paraffin, and others. Moreover, these deposits are important for the chemical industry and are a source of a new oil supply. This potential source of oil, which is located in the middle of Siberia, on the Trans-Siberian Railway, helps Siberia to develop the automobile and tractor industry. From the October Revolution of 1917 to the year 1946, the Irkutsk-Cheremkhovo Coal Basin provided 60 million tons of coal to the Soviet industry.¹⁰⁾

⁴⁾ M. Tsunts, *Siberia's Hydro-Power Projects* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1957), p. 7.

⁵⁾ G. Etzel Percy, *World Political Geography* (2d ed.; New York: Thomas V. Crowell Company, 1957), p. 218.

⁶⁾ P. N. Stepanov, *Geografia Promyshlennosti SSSR / Geography of the Industry of the U.S.S.R.* / (Moscow, 1955), p. 67.

⁷⁾ *Pravda*, May 23, 1947.

⁸⁾ *Promyshlennost SSSR / Industry of the U.S.S.R.* / (State Statistical Board of RSFSR, Moscow, 1957), p. 142.

⁹⁾ A. Sudoplatov, *Coal Industry of the U.S.S.R.* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1959), p. 17.

¹⁰⁾ Stepanov, *Geografia Promyshlennosti SSSR*, p. 72.

Other large coal basins are the Tungus coal deposit and the Chulymo-Yenisey basin which have hardly been tapped. Other deposits are in the north, near the Polar Circle, in the Taymur Peninsula, along the Laptev Sea, and in the Cherskiy Range. There are very scant data upon which to estimate the tonnage; even the boundaries of these basins are not definitely established.

Quite recently huge deposits were found in the basin of the River Aldan in south Yakutia, where the coal deposits run a distance of 4,200 miles and reach a width of 600 miles.¹¹⁾

In the Far East the coal deposits are found in the Bureaya Basin with an estimated (in 1937) output of 26,000 million tons.¹²⁾ The Amur Basin produces mainly lignite with an estimated output of 2,600,000 tons.¹³⁾ In the maritime territory, the most important deposits are centered chiefly in Suchan and Artem near Vladivostok. They are connected by a branch line with the Ussuri Railroad, which is a part of the Trans-Siberian system.

Other coal deposits have been found on Sakhalin with an estimated output of 3,000,000 tons.¹⁴⁾ As a result of these huge coal deposits the Far East in 1956 produced 17,300,000 tons of coal or almost 47 times as much as in 1913.¹⁵⁾

Natural Gas. Natural gas is another source of energy recently discovered in Western Siberia. This potential source of fuel was first found near the village of Beryozovo on the lower reaches of the Ob. A further increase and output of natural gas will be effected by the opening up of new deposits in the West-Siberian Plain and in the other regions.¹⁶⁾

Petroleum is a source of power, heat and light, and a raw material for the chemical and many other industries. The bulk of petroleum output is used for the production of gasoline, paraffin, ligroin, solar oil and masout, source of power for airplanes, ships, locomotives and automobiles, and for industrial and agricultural machinery.

The petroleum fields in Siberia are centered in Sakhalin. During the Second World War, the yearly pre-war production of 500,000 tons was doubled, and new wells were developed south of Okha in the area of Ekhabi. There are also vast petroleum deposits with pipelines running west from Irkutsk.¹⁷⁾

Moreover, Siberia will also have huge oil refineries. During the last two decades Soviet geologists have surveyed a vast new oil-bearing region of Sakhalin.

Ferrous Metals. Ferrous metallurgy is the backbone of modern industry. Without it, hardly any other modern industry is possible. It provides a base for the development of machine-building which supplies equipment to railway and water transport, to the mining industry and to agriculture.

Siberia, in its past, did not play an important role in the extractive industry. From the documents we can ascertain that, in the seventeenth century, in the south, now known as Kuzbass, iron ore was extracted to produce weapons. In 1617 Kuznetsk was founded, and the first blast furnace was built in 1740 in southern Minusinsk. The second blast furnace was founded east of Barnaul and first smelted silver, but in 1820 it was converted for the smelting of iron. The third blast furnace was built

¹¹⁾ Tsunts, *Siberia's Hydro-Power Projects*, p. 7.

¹²⁾ "The U.S.S.R. and Europe," *Oxford Regional Economic Atlas*, prepared by the Economist Intelligence Unit and the Cartographic Department of the Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press, 1956, p. 54.

¹³⁾ *Oxford Regional Economic Atlas*, p. 54. . .

¹⁴⁾ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁾ V. N. Udovenko, *Dalny Vostok / The Far East /* (Moscow: 1957), pp. 80—81.

¹⁶⁾ Pyotr Antropov, *Mineral Wealth of the U.S.S.R.* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1956), pp. 13—14; M. Tsunts, *Siberia's Hydro-Power Projects*, p. 39.

¹⁷⁾ Udovenko, *Dalny Vostok*, pp. 194—97; Christopher Dobson, "Industrial Empire Looms in Siberia", *New York World-Telegram and Sun*, June 27, 1959, p. 8.

in 1860, at Abakan. In Eastern Siberia, at Petrovsk, another blast furnace was built at the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹⁸⁾

In 1929 a plan was developed for ferrous metallurgy — the Kuznetsk Metallurgical Combine (Kuzbass). In accordance with this plan, two big iron and steel plants were built, one in Magnitogorsk and one in Kuznetsk. These two plants were built simultaneously and supplemented each other. The Magnitogorsk plant was erected in the southern Urals near Mount Magnitnaya, which has large deposits of rich iron ore. The Kuznetsk plant, which lies nearly 1,366 miles from Mount Magnitnaya, which has large deposits of rich iron ore, has huge reserves of high-quality coking coals. In this way the Magnitnaya iron ore deposit served both plants and the Kuznetsk coking coals supplied the blast furnaces of both mills.

The development of the Kuzbass' own metallurgical base has progressed so rapidly that the delivery of ore from the Urals will soon become unnecessary. At the end of 1956, Western Siberia produced 4,000,000 tons of iron ore which constituted 12 percent of all RSFSR smelting.¹⁹⁾

During World War II the production of quality metal and ferro-alloys was introduced. Non-ferrous metallurgy had grown considerably. Zinc production capacity was increased, and the production of aluminium and tin was begun.²⁰⁾

The other important metallurgical centers of the Kuznetsk Basin are Belovo (zinc) and Guryevsk (iron), rail junction of Tayga, and Mariinsk, supply points for the gold mines of the Kuznetsk Ala-Tau.²¹⁾

The Angara Iron Ore Basin is the second metallurgical center in Eastern Siberia. The iron ore reserves already accounted for in the Angara Basin are vast, amounting to 2,370,000 tons. The conditions of their stratification are so favorable that it will be possible in the near future to extract 20,000,000 to 25,000,000 tons of ore a year by open-cast mining, which is the cheapest method. This is enough to feed two large modern metallurgical plants with an output of 8,000,000 to 10,000,000 tons of pig iron a year.²²⁾

N. S. Khrushchov's report delivered to the 21st Party Congress provides for the construction of two large metallurgical plants: one in the Taishet region is to be based on the Angara-Ilim ores, and one in Krasnoyarsk Territory, on the Angara-Pit ores.²³⁾

The Soviet State Planning Committee and the Council of Ministers of the Russian Republic drew up a project for the Irkutsk-Baikal region on a Seven-Year Plan for 1959—1965. The aim of the Plan is to increase Siberia's total industrial output. To accomplish this, the planners decided to combine the Kuzbass, the first West Siberian plant, with the Angara Iron Ore Basin, Siberia's second metal-production center. Together they will be able to produce from 15 to 20 million tons of iron ore annually.²⁴⁾

At the same time, the Seven-Year Plan called for creating a third metal industry base in Transbaikalia and the Far East to supply this economic area with metal.

Exactly what is meant by "the third metal industry base of Siberia" is as yet insufficiently defined in Soviet periodicals and trade publications. This third

¹⁸⁾ Stepanov, *Geografija Promyshlennosti SSSR*, pp. 111—112.

¹⁹⁾ *Narodnoye Khoziaistvo RSFSR*, p. 32.

²⁰⁾ Stepanov, *Geografija Promyshlennosti SSSR*, pp. 117—118.

²¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

²²⁾ *Pravda*, December 1, 1958, p. 3.

²³⁾ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁾ N. Mikhailov, *Siberia* (Moscow: 1956), p. 367; N. S. Khrushchov, *Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the 20th Party Congress*, p. 58—59.

metallurgical base, also known as the Aldana-Amur Coal-Metal Base, is to be set up on the Amur. Like the second base, it involves a complex of measures, which consist of the planned Nerchinsk plant fed by iron ore from reserves on the Argun River, a branch of the Aldano-Chulman coal and mining basin located in southern Yakutia, and on prospecting for iron and coal resources and building new railway lines and a system of thermal and hydro-electric power plants.

The Urals. The principal industrial area of the Urals are the Sverdlovsk and Chelyabinsk regions. These two regions have a population of 6,494,000²⁵⁾ and encompass most of the Urals mineral-bearing and industrial zone.

The most important deposits of iron ore are Mount Magnitnaya, Vysokaya and Blagodat. Their iron ore is of high quality, especially that of the Khalilovo iron ore deposit which has an admixture of nickel and chromium. Therefore, it appears to be the base deposit of a qualitative metallurgy. Less extensive deposits of the high-grade ores are found in Mount Kachkamar near the city of Sverdlovsk.²⁶⁾

The Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union insisted on vast efforts for the further development of the natural resources of the Soviet land. One of the richest depositories of these natural resources was the Urals. Prior to World War I,

... approximately 400 natural combinations (minerals) existed in the bowels of the Urals. This figure has been more than doubled during the Soviet regime. At the present time the number of known minerals is almost 1,000 while the number of useful mineral deposits amounts to several thousands. Today, the Urals supply iron, manganese, coal, oil, asbestos, peat, bauxite, chromite, phosphorites, potassium and magnesium, salts, copper, zinc, nickel, natural iron, fire clay, milding sand, ceramic materials, glassmaking sand, and many other types of minerals for the fast-growing needs of Soviet industry.²⁷⁾

Non-Ferrous and Rare Metals. The modernization of the Soviet industry has resulted in a tremendous demand for copper, zinc, lead and silver: a long list of alloys and rare metals are needed for home economy and for the militarization of the country. Their production and consumption are steadily increasing and have now reached a very large scale.

Copper deposits are found in the Urals, which has first place in the Union in copper reserves and in extraction. A bigger prospecting programme is carried out in the Kuzbass, the Krasnoyarsk Territory and in the Transbaikal Territory, where it is expected that large new deposits of copper ore will be found.²⁸⁾

Lead and zinc occur together forming the ores of lead and zinc deposits. Besides lead and zinc, the main components, these deposits usually contain other metals, including copper, silver, gold, bismuth, tin, selenium, tellurium, cadmium, andidium. Hence, they are called polymetallic. Such deposits are widespread in the Urals, the Altai Mountains, the Transbaikal region, and the Primorye Territory.²⁹⁾

Aluminium is derived from bauxite, a sedimentary rock containing alumina. Because of its lightness, aluminium is used for the aircraft, automobile and electrical engineering industries. Bauxite and alumina deposits are to be found in the Urals, Chelyabinsk and Sverdlovsk Oblast, the Krasnoyarsk Territory, and in the Far East.³⁰⁾

(To be continued)

²⁵⁾ *Narodnoye Khoziaistvo RSFSR*, p. 52.

²⁶⁾ Stepanov, *Geografia Promyshlennosti SSSR*, pp. 101—102.

²⁷⁾ *Pravda*, November 21, 1952.

²⁸⁾ Stepanov, *Geografia Promyshlennosti SSSR*, pp. 121—128; Pyotr Antropov, *Mineral Wealth of the U.S.S.R.*, pp. 24—26.

²⁹⁾ Stepanov, *Geografia Promyshlennosti SSSR*, pp. 128—131.

³⁰⁾ Stepanov, *Geografia Promyshlennosti SSSR*, pp. 131—135.

News and Views

Dr. Dobriansky in Free China

TAIPEI, Taiwan — Subsequent to his address at Free China's "Freedom Day" rally which took place in the Free China capital of Taipei on January 23, 1962, Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and the National Captive Nations Committee, was engaged in a series of public appearances, diplomatic receptions and press conferences, as well as delivering speeches and lectures. One of his lectures was given in the National Government Building in Taipei, at which some 500 government officials took part. Dr. Dobriansky spoke on "The Free World's Inevitable Policy of Emancipation," in which he described and analyzed U. S. thought on the cold war and the inadequacy and shortcomings of U. S. foreign policy regarding the captive nations and the policy of liberation in general. He concluded by saying that "the Russians and the Red Chinese are not deterred in pursuance of their policy of expansion despite the presence of nuclear arms" in the United States and the other countries of the free world, and therefore a more effective psychological warfare policy was in order.

On January 24, 1962, Dr. Dobriansky appeared before the forum of the Committee of Civic Organizations of the Republic of China, where he gave an hour and a half lecture on the "Course of U. S. Foreign Policy" and its impact upon world political events. He dwelt upon the policy of containment and of liberation, and said that at present U. S. foreign policy was in "a state of flux" and that sooner or later the issue of containment or liberation will have to be resolved. He said that a series of "shock treatments" by losses such as in Cuba, Laos and Vietnam will eventually awaken the West from its inertia and apathy. In conclusion, Dr. Dobriansky praised Mr. Adlai E. Stevenson, U. S. Representative to the UN, for his memorandum on Soviet Russian colonialism in the USSR.

The free Chinese press, both in the English-language (China Post, China News) and the Chinese-language, in Taipei and in Hong Kong gave extensive coverage to Dr. Dobriansky's speeches and printed several photographs depicting his activities.

Dr. Dobriansky was a guest of honor at several receptions and dinners given by Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, president of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, Acting Mayor P. L. Chou of Taipei, President Chien-liang, Korean Ambassador Choi Yong-duk,

and James C. H. Shen, Director of the Government Information Office, and others.

Dr. Dobriansky received by President Chiang Kai-shek

On January 31, 1962, Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky was received by President Chiang Kai-shek of the Republic of China in a half-hour audience in the Presidential office in Taipei. The conference was devoted to the basic importance of the captive non-Russians nations of the USSR to the cause of mainland China's liberation. The President of the Republic of China was keenly interested in Dr. Dobriansky's view on a number of problems connected with Russian Communist imperialism and colonialism, as well as the efforts in the free world to bring about the liberation of all captive nations of Europe and Asia.

Holds Conference with U.S. Ambassador Drumright

On the same day Dr. Dobriansky was also received in a special audience by the Hon. Everett F. Drumright, U. S. Ambassador in Taipei. Ambassador Drumright showed a particular interest in the activities of Dr. Dobriansky and was most gracious in informing him about the essentials, from the U. S. viewpoint, of the greatest ally the United States has in the power of Free China.

Other activities of Dr. Dobriansky during his two-week visit to Taiwan included the following:

Address to the people of the city of Taichung and reception by its Mayor Chur on January 25, 1962; address in the city of Tainan on January 26, 1962, which address dealt with the reaction of Moscow and Peking to the "Captive Nations Week Resolution" in the United States; address in the city of Kaoksiung on January 27, 1962, in which Dr. Dobriansky dwelt on the parallels of tragedies between Captive Europe and Captive China, and where he was introduced to 1,500 listeners by Mayor Cheng; lecture given on January 29, 1962, to the Chinese Armed Forces Staff College in Taipei on the "Fiction of the Monolith Military Power of the USSR", in which some 200 colonels and naval captains took part.

On January 30, 1962, Dr. Dobriansky held a final press conference in Taipei, at which 18 reporters representing all major Free Chinese newspapers were present. He was asked to give his impressions of Free China, as well as to give his views on U. S. foreign policy regarding Red China and the incessant struggle of Free China to liberate mainland China from the Communist yoke of Mao Tse-tung and his allies in Moscow.

Dr. Dobriansky was also received by the Chinese Women's Anti-Aggression League in

Taipei on January 31, 1962, where Miss S. L. Chang presided. Dr. Dobriansky spoke on the role played by women in the anti-Communist organizations in the United States, especially in the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, and others.

One of the most interesting and exciting facets of Dr. Dobriansky's tour in Taiwan

was his visit to the Island of Quemoy, only a few miles from mainland China, where he was shown all defensive fortifications by Chinese naval and army authorities. Dr. Dobriansky also visited the National Taiwan University, where he was received by the President of the University, Chien, and where he addressed a large student body.

Congressman Derwinski Presses For Permanent Captive Nations Committee

In January Congressman Edward J. Derwinski (R., 4th Dist., Illinois) renewed his appeal to the House of Representatives for support to create a special House Committee on Captive Nations. During the last Congressional session, Derwinski devoted a great deal of time and energy to the formation of this special Committee.

"Unfortunately, the obstructionism of the State Department was largely responsible for the failure to approve one of the numerous resolutions that were introduced in the House by members of both political Parties", Derwinski stated, "and I am hopeful that during this present session of Congress one of the resolutions will be approved by the Rules Committee for discussion on the floor in order that we may proceed with the organization of this vitally important Committee". Congressman Derwinski's resolution to create a special House Committee on Captive Nations, along with those of other Republican Members of the House, has the full support of the House Republican Policy Committee.

"It is generally known", Derwinski added, "that the letter sent by Secretary of State Rusk) to the Chairman of the Rules Committee last August befogged the issues upon which the proposal for a special House Committee on Captive Nations rests. It unnecessarily delayed favorable consideration of the many resolutions pending in that Committee on this important proposal. What is not widely appreciated at this time is the glaring fact that much of the content of the Secretary's letter has been contradicted by the stand expressed in Ambassador Stevenson's letter to the United Nations last November.*

"In sharp contrast to the Rusk letter", Derwinski continued, "the Stevenson communication of November 25 to the President of the United Nations Assembly attacks Moscow's colonialism both within and outside the Soviet Union, emphasizes the independence and freedom aspirations of numerous captive non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union, and calls for a concentration of America and world attention on Moscow's colonial empire".

Derwinski stated that it was not his intention at this time to stress these contradictions, but "instead to show again the utter necessity for the formation of a special House Committee on Captive Nations — a necessity reinforced by these contradictions."

"The creation of this special House Committee on Captive Nations", Derwinski emphasized, "at this particular time would serve in a most effective manner to combat Red propaganda concerning Western imperialism and would be a most vigorous instrument which is badly needed to strengthen considerably our weak and vacillating foreign policy."

*) See p. 25.

François-Poncet Condemns Russian Enslavement Of Subjugated Peoples

PARIS, France (Special). — André François-Poncet, member of the French Academy and one of the most prominent figures of France, assailed Communist Russia for her enslavement of Ukraine and other non-Russian nations and stated that the captive nations are the "weak points" of the USSR.

In a front-page article, entitled, "The Weak Points", which appeared in the February 5, 1962 issue of "Le Figaro" of Paris, Mr. François-Poncet stated that the Soviet leaders are having a field day in championing the "liberation" of Algeria, the Congo and Angola, but they are refusing to apply the principles of self-determination to their own colonial possessions.

"The calendar reminds us that it was at the end of January and the beginning of February in 1918 that Ukraine, the Baltic States, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Finland proclaimed their independence. With the exception of Finland, what happened to these independent states? They became subjugated, enslaved and colonialized in the same manner as the nations in Central Europe. But one would be entirely wrong to think that they are exterminated. The Union of Soviet Republics, which Khrushchov is trying to represent as a homogeneous bloc and happy to remain so, in reality is composed of diverse elements which despite police oppression, fear and persecution, have not abandoned the hope of liberation; they have governments and assemblies which are tightly controlled by Moscow. Some of them have even a membership in the United Nations.

"This is the case of Ukraine. Being the heir and continuator of the old regime, Russian Communism is imperialistic outside and a Russifier inside. With an iron hand it oppresses the nations in order to merge them into one single nation . . .

"Ukraine, more than any other country, is subjected to this harsh treatment. This is why it is the most rebellious, the most intransigent and the most vigorous. It contains, in addition, considerable resources being a great producer of wheat, iron, coal, manganese and the like. It was toward Ukraine that Hitler and the Nazis turned their covetous eyes, as they wanted to find space there by murdering its population . . .

"Did the systematic efforts of the Kremlin to do the same thing bring them any success? Not to an extent that one would believe. In the middle of the XIXth century Ukraine was an amorphous ethnic mass of peoples, preserving its customs, songs, costumes and folklore, but without political orientation. But today it has recovered a consciousness far more accentuated with its personality. The number and ardor of the groups which represent it abroad provide the most convincing confirmation. Had it not been so, one could not explain why Khrushchov, on orders from Stalin, had to proceed with bloody blows against the unfortunate Ukrainian intelligentsia. Moscow wanted the Russian language imposed as the language of instruction in the Soviet Union. But this project had to be abandoned because of the general opposition. In Ukraine, the Ukrainian that is spoken is a language which is different from Russian in the same degree as Spanish differs from Italian. And the deep sympathies of the country are traditionally turned to the West. If they could be expressed freely, they would undoubtedly be in favor of the European community.

"Undoubtedly foreign invaders may find at times a cohesion of Russian patriotism. But in a war of aggression and conquest, it is not certain that the Soviets may count on such a cohesion. We do not go so far as to say that the Muscovite colossus has clay feet. But there are weak points which cannot be hidden behind any façades.

We complain about our weaknesses: the USSR has its own. Khrushchov knows this better than anyone else. The least allusion to the captive nations, their aspirations to independence and the right of self-determination evoke in him veritable crises of rage ..."

Letter and Memorandum of AF-ABN

(sent to the non-Communist members of the United Nations)

February 23, 1962

Your Excellency:

We are taking the liberty of sending you herewith a copy of the *Statement* of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (AF-ABN), which summarizes the methods of political assassination, practised by the Soviet government. For the past several years Mr. Khrushchov has been "defending" the principle of human rights and national self-determination for the colonial peoples of Asia and Africa. He even won some recognition in the West for his alleged abolition of the Stalinist methods of terror and persecution. At the same time he and his cohorts are continuing the practice of political murder and assassination.

The murder of Stepan Bandera, outstanding Ukrainian underground leader and head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), as well as that of Dr. Lev R. Rebet, prominent Ukrainian writer, was conceived and executed by an agent sent by the Soviet secret police chief, Alexander N. Shelepin, who is now a member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR.

We deem it imperative for you, Your Excellency, to know these facts so as to better acquaint yourself with the nature and character of the Soviet Union, a member of the United Nations. We are sure that you have an opportunity to bring the matter of Soviet political murders of anti-Communist Ukrainian leaders to the attention of the Assembly of the United Nations, in particular to its Human Rights Division.

We wish to thank you in advance, Your Excellency, for anything that you can do to make these political murders by the Kremlin known to other government missions with which you collaborate in the United Nations.

Respectfully yours

*for the Executive Council of the American Friends
of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (AF-ABN):*

Ignatius Billinsky
Chairman

Charles Andreanszky
Secretary General

Extract from Statement

In an attempt to conceal its own criminal machinations and its direct role in the murder of Bandera, Moscow unleashed its propaganda machinery and accused the West German intelligence service under General Reinhard von Gehlen of killing the Ukrainian underground leader, a lie which was subsequently echoed by a series of Communist newspapers throughout the Soviet-dominated countries of Central and Eastern Europe. In actuality, KGB agent Stashynsky specified that he murdered these Ukrainian leaders with a poison spray gun loaded with potassium cyanide. In recognition of this foul deed Shelepin decorated Stashynsky with the "Order of the Red Banner", one of the highest decorations of the Soviet government.

This is by no means the first time the Soviet government has resorted to political murder and assassination of Ukrainian leaders. In May, 1926, a Soviet agent in Paris killed Simon Petlura, the last head of the legitimate Ukrainian government in Ukraine. In 1938, also in May, another Soviet agent slipped a time bomb into the coat pocket of Col. Eugene Konovalts, head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), in Rotterdam, Holland, which exploded and killed the Ukrainian leader instantly. The assassination of Colonel Konovalts, was undoubtedly arranged by Khrushchov, who at that time was Stalin's emissary in Ukraine and who with an iron hand purged Ukraine of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" and other anti-Communist elements.

Ukrainians are not the only people feared by the Kremlin as threats to Russian-Communist rule. We recall that in 1955 the Soviet secret police murdered in Munich Abo Fatalibeyli, head of the Azerbaijanian National Committee in Munich. Some time later another anti-Communist leader, the Byelorussian Karas, as well as Matus Chernak, a Slovak anti-Communist politician, were also murdered by the Soviet secret police. In 1959 the Dane Powl Bang Jensen, one of the high officials of the U.N. Secretariat, was assassinated in the City of New York.

Significantly, when Khrushchov was in the United States in 1959 mass protest demonstrations were staged by patriotic American organizations in many American cities, in which the Ukrainians took an active part. Khrushchov did not hesitate to hide his feelings, saying that he wished to "exterminate like termites" all the pickets who protested against him. Three weeks later Stepan Bandera was murdered in Munich.

There is no doubt that there have been many "unsolved" political murders both in Europe and in other parts of the world, including the United States, that are to be ascribed to the Kremlin.

We bring these facts to public attention, especially, to that of the members of the United Nations, so that the world may become better acquainted with the nature and character of Khrushchov and his criminal government. Khrushchov has been playing a self-adapted role as a great "emancipator" of the colonial peoples of Asia and Africa, and has even won some renown in the West for his alleged abolition of the Stalinist methods of terror. But we recall again that Khrushchov himself has admitted how he and his cohorts callously murdered Lavrenti Beria in 1953, without even the benefit of a "mock trial".

The Soviet Union has been having a field day in the United Nations ostensibly defending the human rights of the colonial peoples. Yet at the same time Moscow and its criminal regime headed by Khrushchov continue to pursue terroristic policies and assassinate leaders of the non-Russian nations abroad whom the Russians deem potential or active enemies of the Soviet totalitarian regime.

The government of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer in Bonn has ordered that the KGB killer be brought to trial; and his confession that the murders of Bandera and Rebet were conceived and executed at the orders of the Soviet government is a matter of public record.

We sincerely hope that all those who cherish the principle of justice and the precious value of freedom will severely condemn the terroristic methods and policies of Khrushchov. If his criminal activities are not challenged, then his terroristic hand will soon commit political mayhem in our free country as well.

*For the Executive Council of the American Friends
of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (AF-ABN):*

Ignatius Billinsky

Charles Andreanszky

Annual Meeting of "Liberacion Europea"

The organization "Liberacion Europea" ("European Liberation"), which has its headquarters in Buenos Aires, Argentina, on December 10, 1961, held its annual meeting. The following countries are represented in this organization: Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Cossackia, Croatia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Esthonia, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, North Caucasus, Roumania, and Ukraine.

The following persons were elected for the leading organs of the organization: as President *Mr. Hugo Vari*, 1st Vice-President *Mr. Juan Asancaic*, 2nd Vice-President *Capt. Juan Nemecek*, 3rd Vice-President *Prof. Dr. Estanislao Meciar*, Secretary-General *Count Miguel A. Rubinec*, Executive Secretary *Pedro Krilanovic*, Secretary of Records *Estaban Asancaic*, Secretary of Finances *Musa Yusupov*, Secret of Foreign Relations *Dr. Estaban Olah*, Secretary of Internal Relations *Mr. Virgilo Jonescu*, Secretary of the Press *Artaches Sizonyan*, Secretary of Culture *Radion Kolev*.

Constructive Proposal

*The Rt. Hon. John G. Diefenbaker,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Ottawa, Ont.*

Sir,

On behalf of the "Interamerican Confederation for the Defense of the Continent" and of the enslaved nations behind the Iron Curtain, and in the name of freedom-loving people everywhere, I wish to bring the following points to your attention.

The enslaved peoples look to the United States and to Canada for salvation, and the free peoples look to these two countries to keep them free and to defend them from Communist tyranny and slavery.

The desire of the world for peace demands yet another effort on the part of the USA and Canada to bring about a world settlement.

Though such international action may be difficult, we are confident that the diplomacy and ability of the USA and Canada, combined with the united effort of the Western world, will succeed in bringing about the victory of freedom over tyranny and slavery, over Russian imperialism and colonialism, and over Communism.

In my opinion Canada would be wise to co-operate with the USA and other American countries in imposing economic restrictions on Cuba. Communist Dictator Fidel Castro has openly declared that Cuba will be governed by Marxist-Leninist principles. It is the declared policy of Marxism-Leninism (Communism's doctrine) to bring about Communism by every possible means, including war if necessary. Cuba is being heavily armed by Russia and her satellites. Cuba is our mortal enemy, for it is in the camp that wants to destroy us. The NATO, the United States and Canada must be on their guard against Cuba. And their motto must be justice and freedom for nations and for individuals.

*God bless Canada! And may God save all mankind from tyranny and slavery!
With all good wishes, I am,*

Sincerely yours,

*H. MATEI HOJBOTA,
Roumanian-National Representative of the "ANTI-
BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS" and CIDC*

From Behind the Iron Curtain

BYELORUSSIA

The political leadership of the Soviet Russian army reproached the commander-in-chief of the Byelorussian military district, General V. Penkovsky, the commander-in-chief of the political administration of the same district, Major-General V. Hrekov, the military council of the district and the political divisions garrisoned there with the fact that the political training of soldiers and officers in the said district was not ideologically Communist in content and, moreover, was carried out superficially and indifferently. It was also pointed out that no attention was paid to the international training of the soldiers and that "the brotherly friendship" of the Soviet peoples within the USSR was interpreted falsely.

("Krasnaya Zvezda", No. 52, 1962)

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At the plenary session in Moscow of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR, Khrushchov accused Byelorussia's agriculture of not having fulfilled the tasks of the Seven-Year Plan as regards the production of grain, meat and milk. He said that as far as meat production was concerned, Byelorussia had remained at the level fixed for 1958. In 1961, 613,000 tons of meat should have been produced, but actually production in this sector had only amounted to 402,000 tons (66 per cent of the plan). And he added that as far as the production of milk was concerned, only 3,508,000 tons had been produced instead of the 4 million tons fixed in the production plan.

("Kolhospne Selo" of March 6, 1962)

ESTHONIA

The paper "Pravda" accuses the highly qualified agricultural experts in Esthonia of refusing to work in the Soviet and collective agricultural production sector. The "Pravda" states that 61 per cent of the Esthonian agronomists and zoologists in the towns are not working in their own profession at all, but hold leading posts in state concerns.

("Pravda", No. 34, 1962)

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It was officially stated at this year's Komsomol Congress in Esthonia that the majority of young people in Esthonia and also many of the Esthonian Komsomol members conti-

nue to adhere to national customs and traditions. The "Komsomolska Pravda" affirms with considerable venom that the old-fashioned religious custom of confirmation is proving stronger than the Komsomol collective declaration of coming of age for young people. It was also stressed at the Congress that some parents still bring up their children in the spirit of bourgeois nationalism. Many young Esthonians manifest a negative attitude towards participation in Soviet life. The bourgeois nationalism instilled into the people by the old regime in Esthonia is proving far more powerful than the international training of youth by the Komsomol organizations.

("Komsomolska Pravda", No. 37, 1962)



GEORGIA

At this year's Komsomol Congress in Georgia the secretaries of the rayon committees of the Komsomol stated that a large number of young persons in Georgia who had completed their studies in technical and other institutes had explicitly refused to work outside Georgia and had also no intention of taking on jobs in the factories or collectives. Many of the young people in Georgia were taking no part at all in the social community work, even though every third person, as was stressed at the Congress, now enjoyed higher education. In Adsharia (an autonomous republic in the Georgian Soviet Republic), according to statements made at the said Congress, pupils at secondary schools there are refusing to study the Russian language and literature whilst in Batum students who had completed their studies at the Pedagogical Institute refused to work on the land.

("Komsomolska Pravda", No. 39, 1962)

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A Georgian writer recently wrote a novel entitled "Down with the Maize Republic", in which he opposes the increased cultivation of maize in Georgia and points out that in former times bread baked with maize flour was a substitute for proper bread for the Georgian peasants. He thus stresses that in Georgia maize symbolizes starvation and poverty. The paper "Komsomolska Pravda" sharply attacks this Georgian writer by affirming that maize must be regarded as a "symbol of a prosperous development of the socialist agricultural system" . . . The "Komsomolska Pravda" then states that during the

first three years of the Seven-Year Plan (1955—1961) Georgia only fulfilled 85 per cent of the production quotas fixed by Moscow and only 74 per cent of the quotas for milk production. It was likewise pointed out that during recent years there has been a considerable decrease in the fruit crop in Georgia and that the quality of the fruit is very poor.

(*"Komsomolska Pravda"* of February 15, 1962, and *"Pravda Ukrainy"* of March 6, 1962)



LITHUANIA

Teachers to be trained in "Internationalism"

The teachers' continuation course institute in Vilna recently summoned a large number of teachers to a conference on the subject "Training to Internationalism", which lasted several days. The significance of this subject for Communist work in the educational system was emphasized and discussed at length at the conference by Minister of Education Gedvilas and various leading Party functionaries. As many as 20 lectures were held on this subject, which, after all, is a limited one.

The three "sins" of Lithuania's youth

At conferences and in the Soviet press "three sins" on the part of the youth of Lithuania have recently been mentioned and censured again and again: 1) Lithuania's youth had so far not been able to rid itself of the "nationalist remnants of the past"; 2) "certain persons" were still doing their utmost to keep "religious superstition" alive amongst the young people of Lithuania; 3) Lithuania's youth was still far too susceptible to "private capitalistic" and individualistic trends. Strong "bourgeois" trends were still far too much in evidence amongst the young people of Lithuania.

"The door to the past shall be closed"

The journal "Komunistas", which occupies itself in particular with the theoretical Communist training of society, in a recent issue propagates above all the gradual "eradication" of national differences within the Soviet Union and especially in the individual Soviet republics. The journal frankly admits that at present members of no less than 41 different nationalities are living in the Soviet Lithuanian capital of Vilna. And the admission of this Communist organ that "the frontiers of the individual Soviet republics within the Soviet Union are becoming less and less significant" is even more candid. For this surely is an open admission that it is Moscow's aim to eradicate by degrees the national and other differences between the individual republics.

New Civil Law and Civil Procedure Code in Lithuania following Moscow's example

In its session on December 8, 1961, the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union already adopted the final draft of the new Soviet civil law and civil procedure code. The new civil law code is also valid for the individual Soviet republics but will not come into force until May 1, 1962.

The new civil law paragraphs on the one hand provide for increased state competence, but, on the other hand, also for a certain liberalization of the private property of citizens. According to the new laws, the legislative authorities in the individual republics can for instance determine how many animals may be owned by a private person. Every citizen is to be allowed to use his wages and savings, a house or part of a house and the furniture in it, etc., as his own property. Kolkhozes and private persons may sell products which have not been bought by the state to purchasers after a price has been agreed on. Rooms in a privately owned house may be let under a rental contract made with the tenant, — without any intervention on the part of the authorities. The new civil law code also provides for a new regulation of matters pertaining to legacies.

The new civil law code has so far not been published in Lithuania.

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The Supreme Court of Lithuania recently passed sentence in Vilna on the so-called "currency swindlers", who, according to the Soviet press, carried on speculations with foreign currency, diamonds, platinum and gold. The "currency swindlers" were watched for a fairly long time until the KGB, the secret police of the USSR, eventually opened investigations in the case. "Pravda" reports that the total proceeds derived from the sale of the foreign currency and other valuables amounted to 13 million old roubles (or 1,300,000 new roubles). The judges of the Supreme Court applied a terrorist decree, issued by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on May 5, 1961, in the case of the accused and sentenced four of them to death. The others were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from 4 to 10 years.

(*"Radianska Ukraina"*, No. 37, 1962)



SLOVAKIA

Drastic Punishment for Anonymous Letter-writers

The resistance of the Slovak people against the Communist dictatorship and against so-called Czecho-Slovakia is expressed in various ways, including the writing of anonym-

ous letters to the representatives of the odious alien regime. Naturally the writers of such letters do not sign them with their own name since they wish to evade the brutal punishments and repressive measures to which the terrorist regime resorts. The Communist police authorities, however, do their utmost to trace the writers of such letters in order to be able to punish them and terrorize the population still more.

The punishment inflicted on persons who express their opinion of the Communist dictatorship and the representatives of so-called Czecho-Slovakia in anonymous letters can, for example, be seen from a sentence passed by the district court in Michalovce (East Slovakia). For the "crime of having lowered the prestige of the President of the Republic" (Novotny) a farmer there was sentenced to 4 years and 8 months in a penitentiary with no period of probation.



TURKISTAN

At the 2nd congress of workers in the virgin regions (former regions of Akmolinsk, Kokchetau, Kustanaisk and Pavlodar in Kazakhstan) it was officially stated that the majority of the regional and rayon Komsomol organizations had in 1961 failed to fulfil the quotas set them by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR and the Central Committee of the Komsomol with regard to the production of grain, meat and milk. Reports were submitted to the Central Committee — but solely on paper — stating that thousands of young agricultural Komsomol groups, who are allegedly working on the land, had been organized for the cultivation of maize, that countless brigades of young people had been sent to work on the cattle-breeding farms, and that a large network of agricultural technical evening schools had been set up for the purpose of training the young people, etc. All this was stated on paper, but actually only a few dozen Komsomol groups were engaged in the cultivation of maize. And two-thirds of the young people who were sent to the cattle-breeding farms by the Komsomol quitted their work there without permission and left the virgin regions and dispersed all over the Soviet Union. The militia is now trying to track them down.

As Khrushchov stated in his speech at the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on March 5, 1962, the total grain crop in the virgin regions of Kazakhstan in 1961 amounted to 14,400,000 tons (according to the quotas fixed it should have amounted to 20,800,000 tons), the meat production am-

ounted to 600,000 tons (instead of 700,000 tons), and the milk production to 2,600,000 tons (instead of 2,900,000 tons).

(*"Izvestija"*, No. 55, 1962)

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The periodical "*Komsomolska Pravda*" complains about the fact that the foreign agricultural experts who have recently visited the virgin regions of Kazakhstan are very sceptical as regards the profitability of agriculture there. The paper quotes the following opinion expressed by one of these foreign experts: "We are not surprised at what you have achieved in the virgin regions, because anything like that can be achieved in any Western country. We should send more tractors and other agricultural equipment to these regions than you do and we should make far more building material available. We should however never force people to go to the virgin lands 'voluntarily'."

The non-Russian youth abducted to the virgin lands of Kazakhstan resorts to every means imaginable in order to oppose the Russian oppressors; in particular, negligence and carelessness is shown in looking after agricultural machines and implements. In this connection the press states that the drivers of tractors and combines left hundreds of such machines standing in the steppes all winter. In many of the newly founded collectives the young workers damaged 53 per cent of all the agricultural machines and implements, which are now only fit to be used as scrap-metal.

(*"Komsomolska Pravda"*, No. 50, 1962)

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The Russian journalist L. Volynsky recently spent several months travelling round Uzbekistan. On the strength of his personal observations he wrote an account of life in Uzbekistan at present for the journal "*Die neue Welt*" ("*The New World*"). The paper "*Izvestija*" has now accused Volynsky of allegedly describing the life of the Uzbeks tendentiously and pessimistically, of having given a false account of the "prosperous development of the Uzbek Soviet Republic in the brotherly family of the Soviet peoples", of having presented an entirely wrong picture of the enslavement of Uzbek women whom he saw carrying out the heaviest kind of labour as bricklayers, and of having shed an entirely false light on the building of dwelling-houses in Tashkent and Samarkand.

(*"Izvestija"*, No. 39, 1962)

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At a general meeting in Tashkent of those persons who had to vote for him as candidate for the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, Sh. Rashidov, held a speech in which he was

obliged to admit that there is frequently a shortage of foodstuffs and of staple goods in Uzbekistan. He also said that there was a shortage of dwelling-houses, and that the medical service, trade and public utilities showed serious deficiencies. A large number of industrial concerns, collectives and Soviet-controlled enterprises, so he added, had failed to fulfil their production quotas for 1961. In conclusion, Rashidov in the name of the Uzbek people expressed gratitude to the "great Russian people", to the "elder brother" of the Soviet peoples, for the support accorded to the Uzbeks in helping them to build up a "new life" in Uzbekistan.
(*"Pravda"*, No. 52, 1962)

*

Within the past two months 650 young workers, who had been sent by the Central Committee of the Komsomol to work on the so-called "priority Komsomol building project" in Kirgizstan, the erection of the big electric power station in Frunze, quitted their jobs without permission. In all the Kirgiz building concerns the organization of labour is extremely poor, there is a shortage of building materials, wages are low, to say the least, the workers have no rooms in which they can change their clothes, wash or rest after the day's work, their communal billets are uncomfortable, and the food in the canteens is unappetizing . . .

(*"Komsomolska Pravda"*, No. 39, 1962)

*

The Russian papers are expressing considerable anxiety at the fact that the courses for young agricultural and industrial workers at the evening schools in Kirgizstan are not being held according to plan. Last year 3,000 pupils under 15 years of age left the schools without completing their courses because they were forced to look for jobs or to assist their parents materially. This year half the number of young people are attending the schools as was fixed in the plan. At the higher day schools only 7 pupils in every hundred, who attended the school from the first form onwards, complete their studies there.

(*"Komsomolska Pravda"*, No. 38, 1962)

*

Under pressure of the population of Kirgizstan the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirgizstan was forced to dismiss the following persons, who are members of the Communist Party: the first secretary of the rayon committee of the Party in the Lenin district, the rayon judge and the deputy of the militia commandant of said district, who for no reason and arbitrarily arrested local inhabitants and falsely accused them of all sorts of crimes.

(*"Izvestija"*, No. 50, 1962)



The tribunal of the Kyiv military district, which convened recently in Poltava under the chairmanship of Major-General P. Archipov and with the participation of the military public prosecutor of the district, Major-General H. Klimov, sentenced the Ukrainian, Cheiylo, a native of the rayon of Hadiatsh in the district of Poltava, to death for having fought against the Red partisans during World War II. The other accused, also an Ukrainian, I. Boyko, a native of the rayon of Kosel in the district of Poltava, was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment in concentration camps with a specially strict regime for having taken part in the fight against the Red insurgents.

(*"Kolhospne Selo"*, No. 33, 1962)

*

On February 24, 1962, the commandant of the political administration of the military district of Odessa, Major-General N. Kriukov, died very suddenly. On March 2nd last year the chief political department of the Soviet Russian army reproached the commandant of the military district of Odessa, General Babadshanian of the tank army and an Armenian, and the political administration, which was headed by Kriukov and a military council, with the fact that the ideological and political training of the soldiers had "little connection with the practical life of the construction of Communism", that the standard of the training was very poor, and that many of the soldiers sought to evade this political training, etc. It was stressed that there actually were some political instructors who simply told the soldiers: "How can there be any political construction of Communism in the army? Only when you are dismissed from the army will you be able to take an active part in Communist construction."

(*"Krasnaya Zvezda"* of March 2, 1962)

*

At a trade union conference of the region of Stanislaviv the main speaker produced a heap of evidence of various kinds in order to make the delegates who were present understand the success of the regional trade union council better. The leading functionaries of the Soviet economic council of Stanislaviv who attended the conference were so astounded at some of the percentages that were mentioned by the main speaker in his report that they whispered to each other in surprise: "Just fancy, the trade unions occupy themselves with all these matters, too . . ." But as the paper "Robotnytscha

Hazeta" ("The Workers' Gazette") points out, there is a lot of talk, empty phrases and promises, and in reality things are quite different. The workers at the naphtha combine in Boleshiv complain that most of them have not been to the cinema for six months and that they have not even a club to which they can go in their spare time, since the trade unions are solely interested in seeing to it that the fixed quotas are fulfilled and do not trouble to regard the workers as human beings. Only 14,000 of the 200,000 workers attend the vocational schools for further training, and 21 per cent of the workers do not fulfil the production quotas. The workers in Boleshiv are obliged to buy their food and any other commodities they need in Stryj or Drohobytsh, which are 15 to 20 miles away from Boleshiv, since there are hardly any shops in the workers' settlements in the naphtha industrial areas; and the few shops that there are usually do not have everyday commodities in stock.

(*"Robitnytscha Hazeta"*, No. 38, 1962)

*

During the past year most of the collectives in the region of Volhynia failed to fulfil the fixed plans regarding the acquisition of income. At the instructions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR and of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukrainian S.S.R. most of the collectives in the Volhynian, Lwiw and other West Ukrainian regions introduced the system of guaranteed wages in money, gave up the system of payment in kind (in goods or natural produce), and show an additional expenditure of millions of roubles, without however having fulfilled the plans as regards income. Hence the collectives owe the state huge sums of money, but since the banks are not allowed to give the collectives loans, the latter see no solution to their problem. Incidentally, the "agricultural technical sector" introduced by Khrushchov pursues a monetary policy that is entirely false and squanders the money belonging to the collectives. It spends more money for the repair of agricultural machines than is provided for in the budget and then demands this money from the collectives.

(*"Kolhospne Selo"*, No. 34, 1962)

*

A special session of the district court of Dnipropetrovsk recently dealt with "the criminal case" of a religious community of the so-called "Platydesiatnyky" sect in the district of Synelnykiv. The rayon paper "Onwards To Communism" comments in this connection that the leaders of the sect were active persons amongst the "fascist occupants" during World War II and were sentenced

to 25 years' imprisonment for "crimes against the Soviet state". The said session of the district court sentenced 6 persons of the sect to 5 years' imprisonment each, confiscated their property and forbade them to live in Ukraine for 5 years after having served their sentence. The religious community was prohibited.

(*"Wpered do Komunizmu"* — "Onwards To Communism", of February 23, 1962)

*

A conference dealing with ideological work amongst the population of Ukraine was recently held in Kyiv. The main speaker on this occasion was the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukrainian S.S.R., A. D. Skaba. He sharply criticized "certain deficiencies" in various sectors of the ideological work, as for instance neglect of the training of the Ukrainian population, the aim of which is the "friendship of the peoples" and internationalism. Skaba stressed the fact that various Ukrainian historians, philosophers, economists and literary men idealize the past history of Ukraine and conceal the differences between the social classes in the history of the Ukrainian people, etc. He added that national limitations were in evidence in Ukrainian literature and art and that Ukrainian nationalism was constantly being praised in these cultural sectors.

(*"Pravda"*, No. 60, 1962)

*

On January 21, 1962, 400 families from the rayons of Kossiv, Jaremtshe, Rohatyn, Tysmennytzia and other rayons in the district of Stanislaviv were deported to Kazakhstan in order to live there permanently. On January 30th, 120 families were deported to south Kazakhstan from the district of Ternopil. On January 17th, 424 persons left the station named after Shevchenko in the district of Cherkassy to settle permanently in Kazakhstan. On February 28th, 600 persons were deported from the district of Charkiv and sent to east Kazakhstan to settle there permanently.

(*Radio Stanislaviv, Ternopil and Kyiv, and "Robitnytscha Hazeta"*, No. 50, 1962)

*

In many of the collectives in the district of Poltava the directors have been dismissed and replaced by others as many as fourteen times in the course of the past three years. In a collective called after Shevchenko and situated in the rayon of Hadiatsh the director stated: "Even if I offer the management of the cattle-breeding farms to people, no one wants to accept this post. The young people explicitly refuse to work on these farms." At a plenary session of the collec-

tives one of the members of a tractor brigade affirmed: "It would be better if the collectives were managed by one administration and not by the Party organization. The Party department of the collectives has become a scourge which is used against the members of the collectives. And this knout lashes us to right and to left."

(*"Pravda Ukrainy"*, No. 38, 1962)

*

In 1960 the rayon committee of the Communist Party in Tetyjiv (in the district of Kyiv) promised the collective farmers additional pay for having fulfilled more than the quotas fixed in the plan for the cultivation of maize. But the rayon committee did not keep its promise. The following year the kolkhoz farmers retaliated by intentionally only producing half the usual crop of maize. The first secretary of the said rayon committee recently promised once more to give the kolkhoz farmers additional pay when the quotas are fulfilled, but the reply he received to this promise was: "That is all empty talk and an empty promise! We have waited in vain for additional pay on previous occasions!"

(*"Izvestija"*, No. 40, 1962)

*

The First secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol in Ukraine, J. Jeltshenko, complains in an article published in the journal "The Communist of Ukraine" that the discrepancy between the ideological work and the practical side of the Communist construction should gradually be eliminated. Many of the Komsomol organizations, so he adds, are lacking in an efficient fighting and aggressive spirit, especially when it comes to combatting the remnants of capitalism and of bourgeois ideology and morals, which are directed against the Soviet state. Jeltshenko then states that the Komsomol in Ukraine numbers 3,250,000 members (boys and girls), and that 450,000 young Ukrainians have been assigned to work on the cattle-breeding farms of the sovkhozes and kolkhozes by the Komsomol organization; 140,000 young persons are working as mechanics in agriculture, and 400,000 were last year employed in the cultivation of maize, as ordered by Khrushchov, in Ukraine. At the same time, however, Jeltshenko affirms that most of the young Ukrainians "are not influenced by the Komsomol".

(*"Komunist Ukrainy"*, No. 2, 1962)

*

"Ukraine is the main supplier of coal to the European part of the USSR" writes the journal "Komunist Ukrainy" on page 35 of its issue No. 1, 1962. Ferrous metals are exported from Ukraine not only to the European regions of the R.S.F.S.R. (Russian So-

viet Federated Socialist Republic) but also to Byelorussia, Azerbaijan and Moldavia. The industry of Ukraine supplies all regions of the USSR with locomotives, tractors, special types of engines, electrical products, metal goods, pit installations, foodstuffs and mass consumption goods. The following products are imported into Ukraine: timber of every kind from Archangelsk, Vologda, Perm and Sverdlovsk, various engineering products from Leningrad, Moscow, Cheliabinsk, Kuibyshev and Saratov, naphtha from Bashkir, fish from Murmansk, and workshop tools and appliances from Gorky. (Ukraine has thus completely become a colony of Moscow, — the Editor.)

(*"Komunist Ukrainy"*, No. 1, 1962)

*

At the last conference of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukrainian S.S.R. on February 20, 1962, the first secretary of the Central Committee, N. Podgorny, dealing with ideological questions — the main subject of the conference, affirmed: "... In all our work we should in political respect always see to it that we give our opponents and our acknowledged enemies, persons who are politically immature and various demagogues, no opportunity to discredit, under the guise of de-Stalinization, the socialist system and the theory of Marxism-Leninism, to attack the unchangeable and sacred principles of our Party and of the Soviet order, or to propagate the views of outmoded anti-Leninist groups and trends ... We must devote particular attention to combatting the long-established, traditional remnants of bourgeois ideology ...". In addition, Podgorny dealt with the problem of intensifying the fight against the bourgeois ideology, and, above all, against Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism. (This part of Podgorny's speech was intentionally not published in the Ukrainian papers in Ukraine.) Podgorny added: "... International reactionary circles are doing their utmost to make use of anti-Communism and nationalism as their ideological weapons against the socialist system. Our enemies will approach us on all sides since they are hoping to find some gap in our system by means of which their hostile ideology can infiltrate and influence the people who waver in their opinions, stir up distrust amongst them and poison them with nationalism."

In his speech Podgorny in particular stressed a "more thorough training of the workers and of the youth of Ukraine in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and of the friendship of the peoples, in the spirit of loyalty towards the Soviet fatherland and the ideas of Communism".

(*"Robitnytscha Hazeta"*, No. 44, 1962)

BOOK - REVIEWS

Rudolf Wierer: *"Probleme der heimatlosen Ausländer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland."* Mit Berücksichtigung der deutschen Heimatvertriebenen. ("Problems of the homeless foreigners in the German Federal Republic." With special attention to the problem of the German expellees.) Edmund Gans Verlag. Gräfelfing nr. Munich, 1960. 167 pp.

The literature on the refugee problem, which has become particularly acute since World War II, is already very extensive, but the subject has by no means been exhausted. The refugee problem has become part of international law not only in Europe but also in other territories of the free world. It is therefore perfectly comprehensible that not only the United Nations but also the former League of Nations in Geneva is frequently obliged to occupy itself with this question.

After World War II the compulsory mass migrations assumed hitherto unheard-of proportions, above all in Europe. The problem of the international refugees (as compared to the expellees) has so far not been completely solved. In the Federal Republic of Germany, in particular, where there are still many national (small and large) refugee groups, this problem is of the utmost significance at the present time and will also continue to be so in future.

Professor Dr. Rudolf Wierer has devoted especial care to a study of the refugee problem in West Germany. He himself held a post for some time in the self-administration of the foreign refugees and hence he is thoroughly acquainted with the living conditions and mentality of the refugees, with their needs and troubles. In addition, he has also made use of extensive sources on the refugee problem in writing this book; it can therefore be regarded as a kind of small encyclopedia on the refugee question in the German Federal Republic, although the author modestly stresses that he could not carry out extensive and exhaustive investigations on this subject in the sociological, social and psychological field because of the expense which such investigations would have involved. But Professor Wierer has nevertheless collected some very interesting material and information and has compiled it most carefully.

The author deserves special credit for his

emphasis of the fact that the national problem of the refugees must in the majority of cases be regarded as the driving force of the mass exodus not only in Europe but also in Asia. For the observant reader will no doubt find it strange that many authors, either intentionally or unknowingly, ignore this fact. Thus their publications lack scientific value; indeed they seriously impair understanding between the nations and possibly contribute towards present and future mistakes in the international relations of the individual peoples.

In various chapters of his book (especially in chapters 2, 16, 17 und 18) Professor Wierer, by means of extensive statistical material, clearly shows the importance which must be attached to the refugees, who must undoubtedly be regarded as a segment of their respective peoples.

Incidentally, the author most convincingly proves all his arguments by corresponding evidence, material and statistical data.

In addition, he points out that the so-called internal, national migration, which constitutes the problem of the expellees, is no less complicated and, in its sociological aspect, perhaps even more confused than the problem of the international or homeless refugees. Professor Wierer has rightly comprehended the problem of expellees (in this case of the Germans, for a similar problem exists in Greece, the Near East and elsewhere) and has dealt with it in a most informative manner.

He is of the opinion that "a more intensive fusion of the homeless foreigners with their German surroundings is not possible, whereas in the case of the German expellees there are no serious difficulties in this respect at present. But it would nevertheless not be correct to visualize this different practical attitude to a fusion as entirely contradictory. For the apparently hundred per cent fusion of many German expellees who have married in the Federal Republic probably only holds good for the period during which the continued effect of the present social factors and driving forces, which played a decisive part as a result of the economic prosperity of the Federal Republic of Germany, makes itself felt..." (p. 165).

Professor Dr. Wierer's book on the refugee problem in the Federal Republic of Germany undoubtedly represents a very valuable contribution to the already existent literature on this subject since World War II.

V. Orelecky

Enlarged Delegacy For Australian ABN

The Committee of the Central Delegacy for Australia and New Zealand re-elected its Leaders and appointed new Committee Members for 1962 on the 7th of March as follows:

President: Dr. C. I. Untaru (Roumania); *Vice-President:* Mr. A. Olechnik (Byelorussia); *Secretary General:* Mr. E. Csapó (Hungary); *Assistant Secretary:* Mr. O. Megay (Hungary); *Treasurer:* Mr. O. Koscharsky (Ukraine); *Press Relation Officer:* Mr. G. Szatmány (Hungary); *Committee members:* Prof. R. Dragan (Ukraine), Mr. M. Zui (Byelorussia), Mr. J. Paltin (Roumania), Mr. L. Bányai (Hungary), Mr. G. Dzidic (Croatia), Mr. Chajma (Slovakia); *Auditors:* Mr. M. Avdic (Croatia) and Mr. O. Schwarz (Slovakia).

In order to cope with increased administrative and political activities new posts have been established: such as Assistant Secretary and Press Relation Officer. The Independent Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation of Australia was represented too at an annual meeting and expressed the wish to be elected as active Members of the Committee, which was granted. New members from other nationalities were also accepted.

From last year's Report:

President Dr. Untaru reported that last year's activities were of unusual importance, due to the increased awareness of the Australian public of the threatening nearness of the Bolshevik danger. It is heartening to see the large number of people who are showing interest in our work by seeking information and advice. Out of the daily routine, there stands out the Anti-Soviet demonstration at the Sydney World Fair that drew the attention of many thousands of Australians to the misleading propaganda, carried out by the organizers of the show, in the Soviet Pavilion. (See "ABN-Correspondence", Sept.-Oct. 1961.)

On the information published in the press to the effect that the murderer of Stefan Bandera had given himself up to the German police, — and at the request of the Ukrainian Organizations in Australia, — the Committee decided to call a Protest Meeting in Sydney against the Soviet practice of assassinating national leaders of the emigrants living in the Western world.

With reference to the successful Protest Meeting see "ABN-Correspondence" (March-April 1962).

Authorization was granted to Mr. Lytwyn (Ukraine) to organize an ABN-Branch in Canberra. Consideration of organizing other branches has been put before the Committee as future planning.

ABN Central Delegacy
for Australia and New Zealand

Croatian Celebration in Munich

On April 8th the Union of United Croats in Munich commemorated the 21st anniversary of the proclamation of the independent Croatian State (on April 10, 1941) by a fitting celebration.

After a special service had been held in the open, a rally and a procession, in which those participating carried the national flag and banners, took place in the town. The indoor celebration of the occasion was held in a large hall. The audience heard sound-

tape recordings of addresses by the former head of the Croatian state, the late Dr. Ante Pavelic, and the present head of the Croatian exile government, Dr. Stepan Hefer. The main speaker was the chairman of the Union of United Croats in Germany, Mr. Mile Rukavina. The Vice-President of the Slovak Liberation Committee and Chairman of the Organizing Commission of ABN, Dr. Ctibor Pokorny, also held a speech in which he welcomed all those present.

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

PETRE CARP

1837—1918



**Roumania's Far-sighted Statesman
and Uncompromising Opponent of Russia**

800 YEARS OF RUSSIA'S ADVANCE

Toward World Conquest

The area of the Russian State was:	
In the XIV century	216 000 sq. m.
In the XVI century	3 325 000 sq. m.
In the XVII century	6 355 000 sq. m.
In the XVIII century	6 694 000 sq. m.
In the XIX century	8 644 000 sq. m.
In the XX century (1939)	9 620 000 sq. m.
In the XX century (1945)	10 070 000 sq. m.
Soviet "greater living space" 1945	13 848 000 sq. m.

For the last 800 years the Russian State has expanded at the rate of nearly 47 sq. m. a. day.

And 1949? — Please add all China. The pace has increased tenfold.

And 1962? — It is clever to be a passive onlooker when the Russian imperialists destroy whole nations and strive for world domination, or so the Western World seems to be...

In spite of the indifference of this World, National Liberation Organizations of all oppressed peoples united in the ABN will continue their fight.

Soldier of Red Army Flees

On May 21st, Serhej Budionyj, a soldier of the Red Army who was stationed in Hungary with his unit, fled to Austria and sought political asylum there. His battalion was stationed in Steinamanger. S. Budionyj is a native of Dnepropetrovsk, Ukraine.

Commemoration of Roumania's Independence in Munich

On May 5, 1962, a ceremony to commemorate Roumania's independence (May 10, 1877) was held in Munich. It was attended by numerous Roumanians, as well as by many German guests and representatives of all the national groups in exile.

After the guests had been welcomed and a greetings message had been read, Dr. I. V. Emilian held the opening address in which he gave an account of the course which the Roumanian people had to take in order to attain the independence of their country, — a country which is now, however, part of the Soviet Russian colonial empire. He also paid tribute to all the other freedom-loving peoples who have been robbed of their independence and are now forced to languish in the Soviet Russian sphere of influence. He concluded his address with the words: "Long live the freedom of all the peoples!"

Speeches were also held by Major-General (ret.) Andreas Zákó (Hungary) and the former Bulgarian Secretary of State, Dr. Dimiter Waltscheff, as well as by various prominent German guests.

This commemoration ceremony, which was also a rally to manifest the understanding between peoples and to support the cause of a united Europe, included the rendering of national folksongs by a Roumanian choir and orchestra and was a big success.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

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Petre Carp — A Life's Service For His Country

For more than 45 years Petre Carp dominated the political affairs of Roumania inasmuch as he contributed actively and decisively to all actions which led to the construction of a modern Roumania. In a world that was troubled and restless, he was a factor of order and equilibrium. One of his most convinced opponents once said of him: "he is the only statesman whom I know, who has clear and magnanimous ideas; and his opinion should most certainly be heeded in the troubled times that have descended upon the country". (This opinion was expressed by Ion Bratianu, who for many years was the leader of the Liberal Party and the Prime Minister of Roumania.)

Petre Carp was in the truest sense a man of character. With unswerving consistency he pursued his well thought-out and resolute policy. And for this very reason he was regarded both in his own party (the Conservative Party) and, of course, also in the ranks of his political opponents as a very awkward politician. Prince Bülow wrote of him in his memoirs: "He is a most outstanding man, whom I feel I can trust implicitly; he is courageous, candid and honest. But he adopts a far too independent attitude towards everyone — even towards his King (King Carol I)". Indeed, Carp on numerous occasions turned his back on the so-called realistic policy because it was contradictory to his views and his ethical principles.

Carp was always prepared to acknowledge the merits of his opponents; on the other hand, however, he was extremely strict, and especially with himself, when it was a question of acting in the service of his native country. The demand which he once voiced before parliament has become famous: "I demand that this House should examine the balance-sheet of my budget to ascertain whether I have ever done anyone an injustice in my life". On another occasion he stood up in parliament and severely censured the demagoguery of many party politicians: "The nation must not be confused with a rabble, that is to say with a mass that commits misdeeds which compromise mankind".

And he most severely condemned defamation as a political weapon, "since on this level only the dishonest elements of the nation can gain a victory. In his fight with the defamer, the honest victim only has one alternative, — namely to curse the fate which caused him to be born in this country".

Petre Carp was not only a sentimental but also a most practical-minded politician. He pursued one aim alone, — to serve his country. "A Minister may look upon himself as a friend of France if the interests of the country demand that this should be so; he must, however, detach himself from France if the interests of that country are contrary to the interests of his own country", he on one occasion told the Prime Minister Ion Bratianu in reply to the latter's statement that he was "in favour of France because he had enjoyed shelter there for twenty years as an exile".

Concerned about the moral integrity of politicians in general, Carp once affirmed: "only the wealthy should be allowed to engage in politics, since they alone have the possibility to assert their convictions without being forced to bow to any material interests".

During the forty years of his uninterrupted political activity (1868—1916) there was not a single question pertaining to home or foreign policy to which he did not contribute a solution. His most important contributions in this respect were the partial land reform (the big agrarian reform was not effected until 1918), the

mining law, the foundation of the gold reserve of the Roumanian national bank, and the successful negotiations for Roumania's admission to the tripartite alliance (in order to protect Roumania against Russia), etc.

Petre Carp was only thirty-two years old when he was appointed Foreign Minister in 1870. During the years in which he held office he was in charge of the following Ministries: Education, Agriculture, Finance, etc. He held the office of Prime Minister twice. And, lastly, he also assumed the leadership of the Conservative Party. As a co-founder of the literary society "Junimea" he also contributed to a considerable extent to the furtherance and spread of the young Roumanian culture. And a number of translations of Shakespeare reveal his unique many-sidedness and his manifold interests.

All his life Petre Carp was a convinced and implacable enemy of Russia. Again and again he stressed: "The triumph of tsarist policy in south-east Europe and the advance of the Russians in the direction of the Danube and the Dardanelles mean the destruction of Roumania".

In his capacity as ambassador in St. Petersburg he had an opportunity to become thoroughly acquainted with the Russians and with the aims of Russian policy. His rejection of all that was Russian, however, had its roots in the historical past. He was only too well aware that the fulfilment of Peter the First's legacy would inevitably mean the annihilation of Roumania. And he lost no opportunity of expressing his opinion in this respect, even at the risk of appearing insolent. On one occasion he had the following altercation with the Russian Foreign Minister Prince Lvov. Lvov: "On dit, Monsieur, que vous êtes germanophil" ("They say, Sir, that you are a Germanophil"). To which Carp replied: "On se trompe; je suis russophobe" ("That is a mistake, I am a Russophobe"). Although he had attended a grammar school in Berlin and studied at the university in Bonn, it would actually have been an exaggeration to describe him as a Germanophil.

As long as France under Napoleon III pursued an anti-Russian policy, Carp was very friendly in his attitude towards that country. But when, after 1870, vanquished France endeavoured to form an alliance with Russia, he did his utmost to bring about an alliance between Roumania and Germany against Russia. During the Roumanian War of Independence in 1877 he most decidedly opposed an alliance between Roumania and Russia. Future history proved how right he was in this opinion. After a common victory over Turkey in a conflict in which Roumania contributed a decisive share towards the victory, Russia by way of thanks incorporated South Bessarabia. Prior to this war Carp had repeatedly uttered the warning: "if we renounce the support of the Major Powers and ally ourselves with our arch-enemy, who will then protect us against him?"

He described the aims of the tsarist empire as follows: "Russia wants to become the intermediary between Asia and Europe. She intends to control the trade and the routes between the two worlds so as to be able to block or disrupt them whenever it suits her. In order to achieve this aim, however, Russia will have to trample on Roumania. For this reason I maintain that any alliance with Russia is contrary to our interests and is actually equal to supporting our arch-enemy".

In this connection Carp also fiercely attacked Russia's assimilation policy.

Carp also rejected the "orthodoxy", in the name of which Russia conducted her expansion policy: "If we were to allow Orthodoxy to leave the Church and go over to politics, we should deliver ourselves up to Russia. We know only too well what the outstretched arms of this neighbour mean. We must only put one question to ourselves, namely when are these arms more dangerous: when they clasp us with hatred or with love?"

All his life, to the very end, Petre Carp remained a convinced enemy of Russia. When King Carol II at the King's Council Meeting on August 3, 1914, demanded that Roumania should enter the war as an ally of Germany, Carp (he was 77 years old at the time) was the only person who supported him in this matter. During the next two years when Roumania remained neutral (1914—1916), Carp did his utmost to bring about an alliance between Roumania and the Central Powers. When the government, however, decided to adopt the opposite solution, he accepted this fact with resignation and sent his three sons to fight on the front. All three were killed in active service. He never ceased to be convinced that a Roumanian victory on the side of Russia would only bring sorrow and suffering to Roumania.

One of his biographers very aptly has described him as a "marble pillar in the flood of events". And the same writer concludes his biography of Carp with Goethe's famous words: "Neither time nor night can destroy the noble cast which, as it lives, develops ..."

Niko Nakashidze

Hon. Dean Rusk versus U. S. Congress

The U. S. State Department on the Problem
of the Non-Russian Peoples of the Soviet Union

A) The Resolution of the U.S. Congress on "Captive Nations Week"
(S. J. Res. 111; H. J. Res. 454, 459)

On July 6, 1959, the Congress of the United States of America adopted the "Resolution on Captive Nations Week", which was introduced by Senator P. H. Douglas at the initiative of 18 senators.

After this Resolution had been proclaimed by the U.S. President at the request of Congress, it was given legal validity (Public Law 86-90) and as such is binding.

This legally valid Resolution states as follows:

WHEREAS since 1918 the imperialistic and aggressive policies of Russian Communism have resulted in the creation of a vast empire which poses a dire threat to the security of the United States and of all the free peoples of the world; and

WHEREAS the imperialistic policies of Communist Russia have led through direct and indirect aggression to the subjugation of the national independence of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Vietnam, and others; and

WHEREAS these submerged nations look to the United States as the citadel of human freedom, for leadership in bringing about their liberation and independence and in restoring to them the enjoyment of their Christian, Jewish, Moslem, Buddhist, or other religious freedoms, and of their individual liberties; and

WHEREAS it is vital to the national security of the United States that the desire for liberty and independence on the part of the peoples of these conquered nations should be steadfastly kept alive; and

WHEREAS the desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of the people of these submerged nations constitutes a powerful deterrent to war and one of the best hopes for a just and lasting peace; and

WHEREAS it is fitting that we clearly manifest to such people through an appropriate and official means the historic fact that the people of the United States share with them their aspirations for the recovery of their freedom and independence;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled . . .

The U.S. Congress has thus declared that the American people unconditionally recognize the right of the peoples in the Russian sphere of influence and also of all the non-Russian peoples incarcerated in the Soviet Union to liberation from Russian rule and to the restoration of their independent states, and will endeavour to further and support the aspirations and efforts of these peoples to liberate themselves from foreign Russian rule and to attain their national freedom.

This Resolution by the U.S. Congress was of world historical importance and was entirely in keeping with the humanist and democratic principles on which the new world order is to be set up.

In this era of huge political and social upheavals and of the demands of the nations to live as free individuals and nations, one cannot and must not resort to palliative means, since this method is sure to result in defeat.

The Russian Communist power is advancing and deceptively makes use of the propaganda watchwords which tally with the national, political and social demands of individuals and peoples.

There must be no hesitancy in this conflict with the Russian Communist world, a conflict in which the existence of the free civilized world is at stake; one must act in keeping with the demands of the times and must meet the national, political and social wishes of the peoples. In this mighty global struggle between two worlds — the free Western and the Eastern peoples on one side, and the Russian Communist colonial empire and its vassal states on the other side, the USA play a leading part. And the free peoples as well as the peoples subjugated by Russia set their hopes on the USA.

Hence the Resolution of the U.S. Congress on “Captive Nations Week” was a manifesto to the effect that the American people are conscious of their historical world mission and, true to their traditions, are prepared to support individuals and peoples and to assist them in their fight for their human rights and for national freedom and independence.

This Resolution of the U.S. Congress was thus a declaration of the practical application of the human rights that are recognized in the civilized world and of the principles of modern international law. We were convinced that U.S. policy would now enter into a new and correct stage with regard to the subjugated peoples and that new tactics and a new strategy would now be introduced in the fight against the dire threat posed by the Russian Communist colonial empire, the so-called Soviet Union.

B) But what has actually happened in the meantime?

This Resolution of the U.S. Congress infuriated all the Russians at home and abroad. Khrushchov raged like a madman, the Soviet press resorted to insults and threats, and the Russian emigrants and their press hysterically shouted for help. All of them affirmed that the disintegration of the Russian empire would mean the end of the world, and they alleged that the subjugated peoples in this empire were thriving and were leading a happy and secure life. The Russians were, in other

words, utterly shocked; they are obviously so dull of intellect and so obsessed by imperialist paranoia that they do not even realize that, with or without the help of the USA, the Russian colonial imperium is doomed to decay and disintegration. Like the other empires, the Russian empire, too, will not escape this fate. For this is the inevitable course of the historical process of a new era.

Moscow on the one hand, and the Russian emigrants on the other hand, now did their utmost to make this Resolution invalid, that is to say, to shelve it and relegate it to the archives.

The influential co-existentialists, the pro-Russian and pro-Soviet circles that have good contacts with official departments, now got to work. On the pretext that this Resolution was an obstacle to relations with Moscow, they managed to persuade the State Department to shelve this Resolution, so that it is not used as a guiding principle of the latter's policy and is not regarded by the said Department as expedient. Thus the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union have not been accepted as independent nations, that have a right to an independent state, by the State Department under the leadership of the Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Rusk, and they have simply been written off.

The State Department and Its Attitude

The friends of the subjugated peoples were anxious that the Congress Resolution on "Captive Nations Week" should be expressed in concrete forms. Thus they suggested that a "Special House Committee on Captive Nations" should be formed in the House of Representatives. Congressman *D. J. Flood* of Pennsylvania is the actual initiator of this resolution. About 40 similar proposals were put forward, and the Republican Congressional Policy Committee on principle also advocates such a committee.

This Special House Committee would have the task of studying and examining the problems of the subjugated nations and, if needs be, of bringing in the necessary proposals in parliament in order to instruct the government as to the necessary measures to take.

Howard W. Smith, Chairman of the House Rules Committee, requested State Secretary Dean Rusk to express his opinion on this question. Mr. Dean Rusk's attitude with regard to the formation of such a special committee is absolutely negative. As can be seen from his reply to Chairman *H. W. Smith*, he does not, *on principle*, share the views expressed in the "Captive Nations Week" Resolution regarding the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union.

The reason he gives for his attitude is allegedly the international political interests of the USA and he tries to deny the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union the right to their own independent states inasmuch as he puts forward false and illogical arguments in favour of Russia with regard to historical and constitutional matters.

We realize that Secretary of State Dean Rusk is not acquainted with the history of our peoples and that he is not an expert on the subject of international and constitutional law and we do not take this fact amiss. But we know who his advisers, so-called East experts, are, and we also know for whom these international nihilists and mafias are working.

Mr. Dean Rusk has adopted their advice and thus he, and not an anonymous adviser, is responsible for the opinion of the State Department. For this reason, this reply is addressed to him.

We deeply regret that we are obliged to argue with an American statesman in office. But it is a question of the fundamental and rudimentary rights which all

individuals and nations in the free world enjoy and which Mr. Dean Rusk is denying our individuals and peoples. Hence we cannot in this case show any consideration for official titles.

In their native countries our peoples are forcibly silenced and not allowed to express any opinion of their own by the Russian tyrants to whom Mr. Dean Rusk is willing to concede this rule.

As the authorized spokesmen of the subjugated peoples in the free world it is our duty to represent their rights and their interests. And we shall always work for their cause wholeheartedly and shall worthily represent them.

Our ancient, historical, civilized peoples do not deserve to be denied the right to live as free individuals and peoples, and it is equally false to represent the rule of the Russians over them as an "historical fact".

It is unworthy of a civilized and Christian country to deny individuals their human rights for reasons of political expediency.

The Arguments of the State Department

In his letter to Chairman H. W. Smith of the House Rules Committee, Secretary of State Dean Rusk affirms that "the formation of such a committee", that is a Special House Committee on Captive Nations, "would not be helpful", since the U.S. government is endeavouring to create an atmosphere which will facilitate negotiations with Moscow. The Moscow government, so he stresses, would take umbrage at the formation of such a committee, and this might impede the solution of the present crisis. Mr. Dean Rusk then points out explicitly that the U.S. government does not regard Soviet rule in the countries of the Soviet bloc, i.e. in the satellite states, as a permanent state of affairs, that it acknowledges the right of self-determination of these peoples, and recognizes and supports the right of these peoples to national independence, to elect their own government of their own free will and to enjoy the human rights and freedoms.

But he then affirms: "However, the United States Government's position is weakened by any action which confuses the rights of formerly independent peoples or nations with the status of *areas*, such as Ukraine, Armenia or Georgia, which are traditional parts of the Soviet Union. Reference to the latter areas places the United States Government in the undesirable position of seeming to advocate the dismemberment of an historical state."

Now we know the truth! The State Department is opposed to the dismemberment of the Russian Communist colonial imperium, and Mr. Dean Rusk designates it as an "historical state". Not even in theory does he concede national freedom to our peoples, and he regards Russian rule over them as the vested proprietary right of the Russians. It would at least have been tenable and understandable if he had said that, on principle, these peoples have, of course, the right to a state existence of their own, but that at the moment, in view of the international situation and the tension between Moscow and the free world, it is not expedient to talk about the right of these peoples to self-determination and to support them. But it certainly does not redound to the honour of the U.S. government to deny them the fundamental human rights, to which every individual and every community has a claim, so categorically!

We shall now examine the arguments put forward by Mr. Dean Rusk and ascertain the extent to which, on the one hand, they are unfounded and illogical, and, on the other hand, violate all the humanitarian, ethical and legal principles recognized in the civilized world! But before we proceed to do so, we should like to stress the following points:

In one respect we are willing to concede that Mr. Dean Rusk is right in affirming that to deal with the problem of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union and to support the national claims of these peoples is to impede relations with Moscow, and that it is too momentous a matter to reach any agreement with Moscow. (And what about the problem of the East bloc states? Is this not the case here?! It would be naive and illusory to think thus!)

It is true that to stress the problem of the peoples subjugated by Russia in the Soviet Union is to render any agreement with Moscow impossible, for this problem represents the weakest and most vulnerable spot of the Russian imperium. And it is from this quarter that Moscow expects the inevitable death-blow which will lead to the collapse and decay of the Russian imperium. It is therefore obvious that emphasis on and discussion of these questions is bound to render negotiations with Moscow impossible. And this does not suit certain circles in the West, for it is in direct opposition to the policy of expediency for egoistic reasons and to coexistence aspirations.

In any case it is very questionable whether any agreement with the Russians is possible at all without the sacrifice of its freedom, independence and principles on the part of the civilized world and without the renunciation of its own political and social achievements. We should, however, merely like to state certain concrete facts:

The idea and illusion of coexistence is entertained and the opinion is held that the Russians, given certain preconditions and terms in their favour, will abandon the cold war and will be prepared to enter into friendly, neighbourly relations. This is an illusion which may have extremely disastrous consequences for the West. The Russians will never abandon their positions, nor retreat one step. Since time immemorial it has always been Russia's aim to secure the Baltic Sea for herself, to destroy the major power Germany, and thus eliminate the German danger ("Germanskaja opasnost") for good; moreover, the Russians have always endeavoured to gain free access to the Mediterranean and to gain a firm foothold in the Balkans; to drive out the other major powers in the East and to gain supremacy and decisive influence there themselves. All this they have achieved, namely with the help of the USA and England. Once upon a time these two countries impeded the advance of the Russians, but now they help them to expand their imperium still further.

The Russians will never relinquish their powerful positions, for it is in their national and state interests to keep them and to assert them.

But all this is by the way; the main subject of this article is the problem of our peoples.

We cannot of course question the right of the U.S. government to refuse to recognize the national rights of our peoples, to ignore their claims to these rights, and to refuse to support the cause and the freedom aspirations of these peoples so as not to annoy the Russians. The U.S. government is entitled to adopt such an attitude if it sees fit. But to contest and challenge the right of our peoples and individuals to freedom and to try to give historical and legal reasons for doing so, is the greatest possible injustice. It is equivalent to breaking with American traditions and to reverting to the reactionary way of thinking of an era that is long since past, the era of imperialist and colonial despotic rule.

The arguments which Mr. Dean Rusk advances as proof of his views that the national claims of our peoples are not justified and outmoded are a misrepresentation of historical facts, as well as a denial of all ethical principles of human rights and, from the point of international law, are in direct opposition to the valid legal principles; they are thus completely irrelevant from the juridical point of view.

Disregard of Rights of Individuals and Peoples and the Conception "Traditional Part"

In the above-mentioned letter to the Chairman of the House Rules Committee, H. W. Smith, US Secretary of State Dean Rusk refers to the non-Russian member-states of the Soviet Union as having the status of areas and quotes as an example Ukraine, Armenia and Georgia. In addition, he designates them as "traditional parts of the Soviet Union".

Apparently he has no knowledge whatever of the structure of the Soviet Union, otherwise he would not make such an absurd statement.

It is an established fact that the Soviet Union is a union of states; Ukraine, Armenia and Georgia are not "areas" or "provinces" but states which are members of this union.

Mr. Dean Rusk has also forgotten the fact that Ukraine is a member of the UNO and that the UNO is a union of states but not of areas or provinces.

According to Mr. Dean Rusk's opinion, the countries to which he refers, which, according to the wording of the Constitution of the Soviet Union, are states that "have joined this Union voluntarily", are "traditional parts" of the Soviet Union. What he means by his technical term "traditional parts" is not clear.

The conception "traditional part" is unknown in state and international law and is Mr. Rusk's own invention. A region cannot be part of a state "traditionally" but only *historically*, even if it always constituted part of a territory. It was inhabited by individuals of the same people, a fact which, as a result of a consciousness of affinity, led to the formation of a human community — a nation, which, prompted by a common will, built up a political community, the state. But if such a country or part of it is occupied by a foreign state by force and its people are subjugated under foreign rule, and even if this foreign rule is of lengthy duration, the foreign ruler has by no means a right on the strength of "tradition" to possession of this country or the part in question.

"Ex injuria non oritur jus", or right does not result from wrong, — this Latin saying is in our day, when the natural rights of individuals and peoples are on the whole recognized and arbitrariness and force towards individuals and peoples are condemned, more valid than ever.

Thus the conception "traditional part" is utter nonsense.

Mr. Dean Rusk has also ignored the fact that the countries designated by him as "traditional parts of the Soviet Union" are not merely expanses of land but have, since time immemorial, been inhabited by persons of certain nations and that this their native soil is soaked with their blood. In magnanimously leaving these countries to the Russians on the strength of "tradition", he is committing the gravest sin against these peoples. But apparently the latter are worthless in Mr. Rusk's opinion and it is immaterial whether they are absorbed by the Russian element; it would not be much of a loss to world history! How many peoples and states have decayed and vanished, yet the world still continues to exist and to progress!

C) The Conception: the Soviet Union "an Historical State"

In the said letter Mr. Dean Rusk writes as follows: "any reference to these areas (he is referring to the countries Ukraine, Armenia and Georgia, which are member-states of the Soviet Union and not areas, as he maintains) places the United States Government in the undesirable position of seeming to advocate the dismemberment of an historical state".

The Soviet Union, which Mr. Rusk designates as an "historical state", has originated as a result of the military conquest of foreign countries. These countries seceded from the Russian tsarist empire after its collapse and restored their independent states. They were then violated by the superior military strength of Bolshevik Russia under Lenin and were subjected to Russian rule. This Russian state was in those days not called the "Soviet Union" but the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (R.S.F.S.R.). Thus the Red armies of this Russian Republic occupied these foreign countries. Those who represent the power and violence in this Republic, later renamed the "Soviet Union", into which the non-Russian countries were incorporated by force, are the Russians.

These non-Russian countries and peoples neither were nor are historical or ethnographical parts of Russia and the Russian nation. For hundreds of years they were free nations with independent states of their own.

Hence it is not only nonsense but also a falsification of historical facts and an impermissible distortion of legal facts to designate the Soviet Union as an "historical state". Whether this is done in ignorance or intentionally, is immaterial, for neither the one nor the other is permissible in the case of a statesman!

Various empires existed in the 19th and 20th centuries, and thus, according to Mr. Rusk's point of view, they were likewise "historical states", — for instance, the Turkish Empire, as well as the Austro-Hungarian, British, Belgian, Dutch, French and German Empires. But they no longer exist; some of them were disintegrated as a result of wars, whilst others voluntarily renounced their foreign dominions. Since the two world wars many peoples of Europe, Asia and Africa have gained their national freedom. They have restored their independent states, or else the latter were founded by the former colonial peoples.

The Russian imperium alone continues to exist. If one considers the expansion of its sphere of influence during the period in which the other empires ceased to exist and so many peoples became free, then it is obvious to what extent this Soviet Russian empire, which Mr. Rusk designates as an "historical state", is a legal state!

The Soviet Union is a Russian colonial empire, the most ruthless colonial empire in the world, which rules foreign countries and peoples and in which people are deprived of the most fundamental human rights. But this peoples' prison is in Mr. Rusk's opinion an "historical state" which must not be dismembered!

To recognize the Russians' right of possession over the foreign peoples of the Soviet Union as legally valid and to regard their problem as an internal state affair of Russia, would be equivalent to abnegating all the generally acknowledged moral and legal principles. A right enforced by violence cannot be acknowledged as a legally valid state of affairs. And no right can be based on wrong!

Those who refuse to recognize the right of the peoples subjugated by the Russians in the Soviet Union to their own independent states and who advocate the preservation of this despotic empire, cannot be regarded as humanists and democrats!

*The Right of Self-determination and the Right to Freedom and Independence
as Valid Principles*

In the opinion of Secretary of State Dean Rusk, the Soviet Union is thus an "historical state" whose state rights cannot be contested, and hence the rule of the Russians (for this "historical state", the Soviet Union, is nothing but a Russian colonial empire) over the foreign peoples that have been forcibly and brutally incorporated into this Soviet Union is legitimate.

Thus Mr. Rusk refuses to concede to the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union the right to freedom and to self-determination which is the acknowledged right of all individuals and peoples. And hence he regards these ancient historical and civilized peoples as inferior peoples, who do not deserve to lead an independent state existence. And this in an era in which so many African and Asian free states have been founded, whose peoples have never existed as independent nations and whose masses are on the lowest level of civilization.

We should now like to show Mr. Rusk how legally untenable and how ethically confused his views and arguments are.

The human rights furthered by Christianity, attained by political and social progress and recognized by the civilized world, resulted in these principles being conceded to those nations which constitute a natural community of individuals. For there can be no freedom of the individual if the nation itself is not free. Thus the principle of the right of self-determination of the peoples was established.

The principles of the right of the individual to freedom and to the free development of his personality, to protection of his human dignity, and of the right of self-determination of the peoples constitute the fundamental principles of the present human and international law.

It is stated in the statutes for human rights: "*All peoples* and all nations shall have the right of self-determination, namely the right freely to determine their political, economic, social and cultural status."

But according to Mr. Rusk, these principles do not hold good for the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union.

According to the Statutes of the UNO, Art. I, relations between the nations are to be based on the principles of *equal rights* and the *self-determination of the peoples*. Article III of these Statutes stresses that, in their international relations, all members shall refrain from any threats or application of violence directed against the territorial inviolability or the political independence of any one state...

Mr. Rusk denies our peoples the right to these terms; he regards their demands and claims as being barred by the statute of limitations. At the same time, he completely disregards the fact that the claim of individuals and peoples to restitution for a wrong that has been done them, that is a right that has been violated, and to restoration of the said right and to rehabilitation of their human dignity can never be barred by the statute of limitations.

As long as a people has not reconciled itself to the state of affairs which has been created by arbitrariness and force, and as long as it refuses to accept the wrong that has been done to it and does not cease to raise its legal claims, such claims are valid.

Our peoples have never reconciled themselves to the foreign despotic rule of the Russians; they have constantly raised their legal claims, have refused to accept the wrong that has been done to them, and have fought for their freedom and made countless sacrifices.

The ideas of right which are derived from man's innate will and the principles based on conscience and a sense of justice, namely human dignity, equality, freedom and rejection of arbitrariness and violence, are decisive. These ethical values constitute the fundamental principles of modern law. They are decisive and not formal law. Arbitrariness and violence towards any individuals or peoples are condemned, and all states are exhorted to combat them by every possible means wherever they may occur.

“Moreover, the prohibition of arbitrariness is part of the supra-legal law of ethical origin which no state may ignore” (Prof. Dr. H. Kraus).

But as far as Mr. Rusk’s opinion is concerned, this “law of ethical origin” does not exist!

It was not in modern times but in the era of enlightenment that the legal idea of freedom for individuals and nations originated from the natural ethical sense of human existence. From those days onwards big national, political and social movements came into being which pursued their course unerringly.

During the era of positivism, valid law was based not on the principles of natural law but consisted of the laws issued by those in power, and international law merely consisted in the establishing, sanctioning and verification of the conditions created and of the powers of authority and force of the existing states. In those days the conception of the nation was identical with the conception of a people forming a state, and the foreign peoples ruled by the latter were “national minorities”. The right of all individuals and nations to a national life of their own and the right of self-determination were not contained in international law; the annexation of a foreign country by arbitrariness and force was not condemned, the subjugation of a foreign people was not defined as an injustice, and the national dignity of the individual and of the nation had no validity. And yet, even in those days the advocates of the right of every nation to its own state life voiced their claims and demands.

At the middle of the 19th century Heffter, the authority on international law, wrote: “In addition, of course, the states must be made to realize: a hundred years of wrongs do not by any means equal one day of right”. — And the Swiss authority on state law, Bluntschli, wrote in those days: “Every nation is qualified and entitled to form a state. Just as mankind is divided into a number of nations, so, too, the world must be divided into the same number of states. Every nation a state, and every state a nation.”

And this idea has meanwhile been realized. Many nations have founded their own state. Only Russia ignores these rights of the nations and keeps a large number of peoples under her despotic rule. But Mr. Rusk regards this Russian state as the historical and legal owner of foreign countries. He makes only one exception, namely in the case of the vassal states in the Russian sphere of influence, the so-called satellite states. In his letter to the Chairman of the House Rules Committee he stresses that these peoples have the right of self-determination and that the U.S. government is prepared to advocate and support this fact.

It is surely a mockery of all ethical and legal principles to regard violence and wrongs as an immoral action in one case (that of the satellites) and to justify it in another case (that of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union). Such an attitude undermines the fundamental principles on which the Christian civilized world is based.

It appears that certain Western statesmen, including Mr. Rusk, in pursuing the coexistence policy are adopting the same attitude that manifested itself in those disastrous times when Russia’s wishes were complied with, a period which has been characterized by Wehberg, the authority on international law, as follows: “But in the era of appeasement men’s minds were completely confused and they were no longer able to distinguish between right and wrong, between morality and immorality, between true courage and the abandonment of ideals.”*)

(To be continued)

*) Quoted from Prof. Dr. H. Kraus.

Roumania Today

The Communist Party of Roumania has not been able to gain popularity, in fact not even a slight popularity, either before or since it seized governmental power. The present Party leadership actually admitted in December 1961 that even during the war years from 1929—1933, when the Communist movement everywhere showed an increased activity, the Communist Party in Roumania never managed to round up more than 20 to 30 members for a public meeting. In order to counter the political development which had sealed the ideological defeat of Communism in Roumania, the Party leaders did not hesitate to enter into a political alliance with the personal dictatorship of King Carol II. Nor did the Communist Party cause the regime of Marshal Antonescu any trouble, even though the Roumanian divisions were engaged in fighting far away in the Soviet Union. The complete passivity which the Party had imposed on itself and which was unparalleled was, incidentally, balanced by Antonescu's military dictatorship, that is to say by a very mild treatment, which to a certain extent consisted in semi-freedom for prisoners and a toleration of the Communists who were free. When the Communists participated in the government of August 23, 1944, with one Minister of state, the Party, according to optimistic estimates, numbered about 1,000 members.

The Communist Party of Roumania saw in the defeat of national socialism and fascism, which it simply regarded as the defeat of nationalism, its big opportunity, not only as far as the founding of a Communist state was concerned, which from the outset was regarded as guaranteed thanks to the presence of Soviet troops in the country and to the powerlessness of the Western powers (except in the naive opinion of the bourgeois politicians), but also as regards gaining the much longed for popularity which the Party had so far failed to enjoy in Roumania. This aim was not, however, achieved. In 1945, several months after Roumania had ceased to take part in the war on the side of Germany and the Soviet troops had entered Roumania, the Communist Party in Bucharest, according to the above-mentioned official data supplied at the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in December 1961, only numbered about 5,000 members. Already in 1946, when the number of Party members began to increase, the Communist leaders admitted in private conversations that the "big opportunity" had been missed. They pursued a policy of affinity, but at the same time they openly ascribed the fact that they were

constantly doomed to failure to the presence of Soviet troops in the country, as well as to servility to Moscow, even though these two factors represented the essential basis for the consolidation of Communist rule in Roumania. It is indeed interesting to note that the Communist leaders very soon realized the dilemma that confronted them: dependence on the Soviets aroused an aversion to the regime amongst the population, but the regime, which had been set up on the basis of this dependence, could not shake off this dependence, nor was it willing to do so. Only someone who personally experienced the entry of the Soviet troops and the extent to which the latter subsequently robbed the individual and the population in general of their property, can understand all the hatred and contempt harboured by the Roumanians against the Soviets and, at the same time, can understand why the Communist leaders could not shut their eyes to this fact. For this very reason the Communist Party of Roumania has remained so weak in its structure that it has been unable to attain independence and its own way of thinking in its relations to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Indeed, it is too weak to even dream of such a thing: for it is solely general consciousness of the fact that the Soviet bayonets and tanks would in any case restore Communist rule again (as they did in Hungary), which keeps the Party members together and holds back those who are opposed to the regime.

On the other hand, it is also interesting to note that the Roumanian Communist leaders by no means believe that Marxism, as a doctrine of promise, could supply a way out of this dilemma. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the Communist Party of Roumania has no Marxist theoretician and not even a Marxist-minded member, seeing that it already liquidated its only political writer, Lucretiu Patrascanu, in 1948 and five years later executed him! The Roumanian Communist leaders solely adhere to the principle of the effectiveness of political terrorism, that is to the principle that the regime can only continue to exist if opponents are liquidated and the population in general is intimidated. But tyranny is incapable of changing, since it constantly reproduces itself, and terrorism has never yet evoked enthusiasm and loyalty but only servility, fear and hatred. Given certain circumstances, the terrorist regime in Roumania may continue to exist for an unlimited period, but, on the other hand, it may equally well suddenly topple down like a house of cards.

None of the leaders of the Communist Party of Roumania is an outstanding personality. Since the Communist Party was not capable of conducting a political fight as it was an illegal party for so long, it was likewise not capable of developing and nurturing personalities with high moral or political qualities. There are innumerable jokes about the Communist politicians and they all express a deeply rooted contempt. None of the Roumanian Communist leaders possesses a dynamic personality which attracts and holds the masses, none of them is an orator, and they all seem only to be capable of visualizing themselves in the role of wire-pullers in a puppet show. Nor is the information which is known about their private lives and their manner of working likely to increase the prestige of the Party. And it is certainly significant that not only the people show their contempt for the Communist politicians, but also that the latter think and talk about each other in the same way.

After the entry of the Soviet troops into Roumania the Communist Party had the power, or at least the prospect of complete and absolute power in the state, but no members. Its political aims did not tally with national views and ideals, as for instance may have been the case in the history of the Soviet Union, hence it could derive no strength from this source. Moreover, it could not impress upon the people the idea that it was the champion and representative of any progress with regard to aspirations of freedom and social justice, since the setting up of the regime meant a step backwards in both directions; hence it could not derive any strength from this source either. On the contrary, the Communist Party was obliged not only to tolerate the annexation of Bessarabia but even to praise and justify it, in spite of the fact that Soviet action in this respect, seeing that it was a matter between two Communist states, was utterly incomprehensible. That this wound still continues to fester was actually openly admitted by Khrushchov himself on the occasion of his visit to the Soviet Occupied Zone of Germany.

The thing that strikes one most about the case of Roumania is the fact that the Roumanian people, in spite of obvious signs and even declarations, refused to believe that the Western powers would look on passively and allow democracy to be liquidated and tolerate the setting up of a Soviet satellite state. The general belief that the Communist rule is only a provisional one has remained unshaken in Roumania, even though this belief has repeatedly suffered heavy reverses. In the spring one is confident that liberation will come in the autumn, and when autumn comes, hope does not wither like the leaves but is merely transferred to the following spring! Even today most self-

respecting Roumanians avoid compromising themselves as regards a favourable attitude towards the regime, so as not to endanger themselves in any way "for tomorrow".

When the Party had been established, but had no members, the only thing to do was to build up an organization with every means available and as speedily as possible. Once building plans had been completed in all details, including the appointment of overseers, as it were, the vital need was not so much for architects and builders, or for skilled artisans, who might be tempted to try out what they had learnt, but, above all, for weak tools, who would be prepared to accept and acquiesce in everything. Hence the Party addressed itself to unscrupulous persons who hoped to make a speedy career for themselves and lead a pleasant life by joining the Party, as well as to those who were timorous by nature and could be intimidated by dismissal or by threats. Thus the population split up into opportunists who joined the Party but would be ready to leave it again at the first sign of weakness, into the bulk of the population which maintains a passive attitude, and into the group of idealists who undauntedly continue to fight the regime. In spite of the terrorism of Russia's imperialistic force applied by the Communist government, Roumania has continued a constant open fight; in the mountainous regions new insurgent groups are constantly being formed to replace those that have been liquidated, the farmers have on several occasions revolted against collectivization, and there is no end to the number of attacks on the life of militiamen in the towns.

Strange though it may seem, it is nevertheless true that Marxism and planned economy enjoy more prestige in the West than in Roumania. Students read and study Plato, not Marx or Lenin. All one needs to know about the latter can be derived from digests. And as regards the planned economy, everyone knows that the plans are fixed beforehand in such a way as to leave a large margin for excess quotas and that the plans are constantly being changed and adjusted, and, furthermore, that what is called planning is really a tough struggle and a case of everybody trying to outwit everybody else. Roumania has the lowest standard of living amongst the satellite states, but the fullest prisons and camps and the worst treatment of the inmates there.

In spite of various means of influence the Party has not succeeded in winning over the younger generation in Roumania. True, the "pioneers" repeat the propaganda slogans like well-trained parrots, and children sometimes inform against their parents. But the regime is not capable of re-forming the souls of the Roumanians. It has been offic-

ially admitted on various occasions that the majority of pioneer instructors are not of any high moral character and that they have no idea of how to teach and influence children. So far no solution has been found to the problem of how to make the pioneer activity "interesting" for children. The same lack of interest also characterizes the activity of the youth organization. Incidentally, the regime, having fostered moral disintegration in order to destroy the old order of society for good, now merely demands of the youth of Roumania that it should behave

in an orderly manner, should learn diligently, and should now and again work for nothing. Under these circumstances, one can hardly expect the youth of the country to show any enthusiasm for the regime.

The regime has failed both from the political and from the human point of view. The only contribution that the People's Republic of Roumania has made to the East bloc has been effected through the exploitation to which it is subjected. In all other respects, however, Roumania is a burden to the Communist camp.

Admiral Carlos Penna Botto

A Military Coup d'État the Solution for Brazil?

"When a long train of abuses and usurpations evinces a design to reduce mankind under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government and to provide new guards for their future security." Thomas Jefferson. The Declaration of Independence — 1776.

The danger of becoming "Communist" is daily increasing for Brazil! And the sad thing is that few people take due cognizance of the fact, and when these few boldly decide to denounce the danger, they are not believed.

The attitude which prevails in the nation, the overall national medium and environment, explain to a great extent that apathy, that lack of concern, that carelessness shown by nearly all strata of the Brazilian society and population.

The middle and proletarian classes are impoverished as a result of bad, incapable and predatory governments, and especially as an aftermath to the building, which was nothing short of criminal, of a new capital-city for the country, Brazilia by name; and this impoverishment, more than anything else, has crippled and undermined the said classes.

In the northeastern sector of Brazil and in several northern states there is even widespread distress, which makes the suffering masses ready to accept, in desperation, any and every false promise tendered them by sordid Communist agents. This leads to riots, to subversive activities, or else to sheer submission to the slaving purposes of the Communists.

Above the middle and proletarian classes thrive those who are rich, even though in small numbers, and the despicable cadres of politicians and government administration personnel.

I say "despicable" because very few of them deserve being trusted or relied upon. Politicians are, nearly all of them, a filthy lot in Brazil, worthy of the utmost contempt, entitled to be despised by good patriots. Most of them either mix up and collaborate overtly with the Communists, or else purposely ignore the Communist threat to the country; and in both cases, in so doing, they always aim merely at petty personal profits and gain.

And what about the rich, plentiful and well-to-do people?

They only think of accumulating wealth, stammering, right along, while proceeding, with the selfish process: "after us let the deluge come".

The red agents take full advantage, of course, of the foul conditions existent in the country, which conditions make up for a sour broth suitable to the brewing

of any insurrection virus. Infiltrated everywhere, perched on the highest government jobs and billets, in charge of important and vital public services, exerting powerful influence in autarchical, political and administrative branches, Communists of every conceivable brand wait for the outcome of the *Revolution* likely to occur shortly, brought about, if for nothing else, by the high and almost unbearable cost of living.

Once that *Revolution* is deflagrated, the Communists will turn it forthwith into a *Communist Revolution*, as they always craftily do.

That is why I have been forced to the following conclusion:

It is impossible, on the truth of the foul conditions referred to above, to uphold democracy in Brazil by relying solely on the political, administrative and governmental cadres now available!

At the very top there stands a *crypto-Communist* President of the Republic, the very person who has been, since 1953, the worst agitator of the country's proletarian masses, whose conditions of unrest he has maintained throughout. In his environment and closely linked with him, many Communists (either card-bearers or not, either belonging or not to the Communist Party) strenuously devote themselves to preparing the on-coming social revolution aimed at making a new Cuba out of Brazil. By the way, the most dangerous Communists are precisely those who are not "card-bearers", those who do not have a record of subversive activities with the police (and the police files are practically void now, having been largely destroyed in the past years by the orders of higher authorities...), those who do not dare declare themselves Marxists; because all of them behave covertly as real Communists and strive their best in favor of the over-all Communist offensive!

In both Houses of Congress are those who recently passed a law entitling Senators and Representatives to payment even though they do not show up, even though they are absentees... It was a cynical procedure that coined for the Congressmen the label of gentlemen(!) of the "paid recess".

Never in Brazil did the politicians ever descend to such a low level.

Jânio Quadros, the wrong-doing ex-President who resigned the Presidency in the hour of need and cynically declared, in so doing, that he had the "courage to quit" (courage bordering on cowardice...); the one who, during the short span of six months in office, led Brazil first into the camp of fake "neutralist" nations and thenceforth began to push the country towards the very camp of the "Communist" nations; who, being truly abnormal and queer in his behaviour, deeply disappointed six million bona-fide Brazilians who cast their votes for him at the October 1961 election; he is soon coming back to Brazil from his extended excursion abroad and intends agitating the country...

To agitate, mind you, in the leftist sense! Once more he is going to rely on shabby demagogic ways, of which he is a past-master; once more he is going to make glamorous speeches, crying at full lungs, weeping and sobbing in order to stir up and drive to emotion gullible crowds, all the while skilfully blending arrogance, mysticism and messianism!

The Armed Forces are the nation's sole hope and shield in so far as preserving the Brazilian democracy and way of life is concerned.

But the Communist propaganda, the politicians and the press have also been detrimental to the Armed Forces, with the result that they find themselves loosely co-ordinated and do not constitute a sufficiently united front.

The Communist Party of Brazil (even though *illegal* but acting freely) is trying hard to demoralize and undermine the Services, especially the Army where Communist infiltration has been rather noticeable of late.

The decision to intensify the attack on the Armed Forces with a view to turning

them into a weak tool against subversion, sprang up soon after the political military crisis following Quadros' cowardly resignation in August 1961.

That is easy to explain, because said Forces came out badly hurt. Suffice it to remind readers that the Armed Forces' Ministers had promptly issued a statement to the effect that the mere presence of the then Vice-President (Goulart) in Brazil "would be dangerous and might be harmful to the internal security". Goulart was in Continental China at the time, making utterances in favor of Mao Tse-tung and of the enslaving Chinese Communist regime. That statement was sent to Congress but refused. In the meantime the Brazilian Third Army, stationed in the southernmost state of Rio Grande do Sul, rebelled and took sides with Goulart and the State Governor, who is also a crypto-Communist. This took the Army headquarters by surprise, and forced the three Armed Forces' Ministers to accept Goulart as President under a "parliamentary" regime.

The Ministers had wrongfully taken a military decision without even going to the elementary trouble of making what is known, in military parlance, as an "estimate of the situation". Therefore, they were obliged to adopt a very demoralizing change of mind. Regardless of the fact that they had warned against the mere presence of Goulart in Brazil, a week later they completely shifted their position and approved the same Goulart as President of Brazil!

Now, that the deserter Quadros, after about six months leisure travelling around the world, is expected back in Brazil, the Army brass-hats, fearing that as a *crypto-Communist* he may resume agitating the nation (which he certainly will) through leftist pronouncements couched in cynical demagoguery, tries to reinforce another *crypto-Communist's* (Goulart's) political situation, thus using the well known therapeutics of "similia-similibus" . . .

Will it work in this particular case? Will it avoid a Marxist revolution? Will it save the Brazilian democracy without resorting to a military "coup d'état"? The answers will soon be forthcoming!

Celebration of Moslem Feast of Ramadan-Bayram

On April 8th the Mohammedans living in Munich, Germany, celebrated their feast of Ramadan-Bayram, which corresponds to the Christian Easter.

In the early hours of the morning of April 8th, the Mohammedans living in Munich, emigrants from the Soviet Union and the Balkan countries, flocked to the prayer-rooms which had been placed at their disposal by the Catholic Church of St. Paul's. Divine service was held by Imam N. Namangani, the spiritual head of the Moslem refugees in the German Federal Republic. After the service the congregation, led by Imam Namangani, visited the Waldfriedhof cemetery in Munich to commemorate the Moslems who lie buried there.

Later in the day a reception was held which, in addition to members of the Moslem community, was also attended by numerous German, American, Armenian and other representatives of national and public organizations. Although no alcoholic drinks were served, since this is forbidden according to the Koran, the reception was a merry occasion. Turks, Albanians, Turkestanians and

Caucasians performed national dances and sang traditional songs.

According to tradition, the meaning of the month of Ramadan goes back to the revelation of the Archangel Gabriel to the prophet Mohammed that he was to spread the teachings of Islam in the world. Mohammed began his mission when he was 40 years of age: he only regarded himself as an ordinary mortal and a preacher of the Divine Word. His teachings are contained in the Koran, in which he says: "O ye faithful, ye shall fast as those before you were commanded to do. Fasting is a blessing for you." During the month of fasting, Ramadan, all Moslems, with the exception of the sick and ailing, pregnant women, travellers, and soldiers on active service, must abstain from eating, drinking, smoking and all other pleasures, from sunrise to sunset. This month of fasting is regarded as the purification of the soul by prayer and as the month of the victory of the spirit over the body. The Moslems are exhorted to practise tolerance, compassion and good deeds in particular during this month. Today there are about half a milliard Moslems in the world.

Vice-Premier of Prague Government Exposed as Gestapo Agent

The public knows very little about the past of the representatives of the Czech Communist regime in Slovakia. The reason for this lies in the fact that most of them were shady characters who until 1945 shunned the daylight. They led a very questionable existence, and no one knew what they did for a living. After the forcible renewal of the artificial Czecho-Slovakian state structure and after the establishment of the "people's democratic" dictatorship, these antisocial elements assumed more or less important political posts and advanced into the limelight of publicity.

Previously they had been practically unknown. But now the public was made acquainted by degrees with their names and titles, but not with their past. It was and still is not possible to ascertain from official reports and eulogistic articles in the press who these persons really are who represent the Czech Communist regime and the "socialist" system in Slovakia, — the shady characters who suddenly appeared on the scene after the war and have now been tyrannizing the Slovak people for 17 years.

The various eulogistic articles that are published and the speeches that are made about these persons only contain meaningless platitudes about their past; as for instance, that the man in question comes of an honest working-class family, or is a courageous "anti-fascist" fighter, or was persecuted by the "fascist" regime, although the fascists were never in power in Slovakia. But such articles and speeches tell us nothing at all about the profession they have had, or which school the celebrated Communist "hero" attended. Such subjects are not mentioned at all, for the simple reason that, apart from attending an elementary school for a few classes and Communist propaganda training courses, the representatives of the present regime in Slovakia have had no education. And their profession is not mentioned for the simple reason that most of them have not had one at all. They were and still are, for the most part, antisocial elements.

But from time to time some information about the questionable past of these persons seeps through and reaches the public.

Only recently the Vienna paper "Wochenpresse" published an interesting report which sheds light on the dark past of one of the "most prominent" representatives of the Czech Communist regime in Slovakia, a certain Rudolf STRECHAJ. This man is now the chairman of the so-called Slovakian National Council, an insignificant institution supposed to represent the special position of Slovakia in the artificial Czecho-Slovakian state structure. In addition, Strechaj is also the Vice-Premier of the Prague puppet government.

As the said paper reports, Strechaj was sentenced in the protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia during the war to three and a half years imprisonment for publishing an illegal Communist paper. At the recommendation of the Gestapo, however, he was released before he had served this sentence.

Strechaj had gone to the protectorate from Slovakia, no doubt in order to avoid being arrested by the security organs of the Slovak Republic. But he was not able to carry on his subversive activity in the protectorate for long. The Gestapo soon discovered him and had him arrested. Then, however, Strechaj suddenly began to convince the officials of the Gestapo of his pro-German feelings. And he also

declared himself prepared to work for Nazi Germany as a confidence man of the Gestapo against the Communist elements. Naturally he betrayed his Communist associates to the Gestapo and disclosed to the latter all the information he had about the Communist subversive activity there. For this reason the Gestapo promised him that he would be released before he had served his sentence and also saw to it that this was the case.

The Communist "hero" Strechaj then worked as an agent for the Gestapo until August 1944, that is to say until he returned to Slovakia and joined the Communist partisan insurrection. He subsequently advanced to the post of member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia, and in 1945 was nominated a deputy of the Prague parliament. Today Strechaj is officially the highest representative of the Communist regime in Slovakia. But he is not its most important representative. The most important representative of the Czech Communist regime in Slovakia is the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia, a Czech, Karel Bacilek.

Strechaj, as far as his shady past is concerned, is no exception. Various other representatives of the Czech Communist regime have a similar questionable past, as for instance the former rogue and parasite Siroky, who for years has acted as Prime Minister of the Prague puppet government. This Communist "hero" never had a profession. When the Slovak government prohibited the Communist Party in Slovakia Siroky, together with some of his associates, fled to Soviet Russia. When the Slovak Republic declared war on Soviet Russia in 1941, the Communist headquarters in Moscow had Siroky smuggled into Slovakia, after having given him orders to organize a Communist resistance there against the Slovak government. But he behaved so imprudently in Slovakia that he was soon discovered by the police. He then gave the Slovak police full details regarding his proper name, the instructions he had received, and also the names of various persons who belonged to the illegal Communist Party. As compared to Strechaj, Siroky did not become a police agent since he received no such offer from the Slovak police.

Such are the shady characters who "represent" Slovakia in the state structure of so-called Czecho-Slovakia.

Y. Onyschuk

The Religious Mentality of the Russians and Communism

It was a shocking surprise for the Western World to notice at the end of World War I that Communism was taking firm root in Russia. This Russian Communism — Bolshevism — was looked upon as a realization of the ideas of Karl Marx. But the Western World wondered why Communism should grow in Russia, an under-developed agricultural country, and not in some highly industrialized one, as predicted by Karl Marx.

The turn of events seemed to be illogical also from another standpoint. The idea of Communism was associated with anti-relig-

iousness: there was the generally accepted belief that it would develop in a country with an extremely liberal way of thinking and an indifference to religion. In the opinion of the world it could never find root in Russia as the Russians were considered a very religious people.

Therefore, as if to justify these unexpected and illogical events, a legend was created, and it was accepted by the world that Communism, as an idea, was completely strange to the Russians and that it had been forced upon the Russian people by a small band of international conspirators. Tsarist diplom-

acy and Russian propaganda were responsible for such false notions for they continuously presented Russia and the Russians to the world in a most favourable light. In this way they created political Russophilism in the world which blinded many diplomats of the Western World to what the real experts on Russian affairs were writing and saying for many years.

And these experts had written about existing Communism in Russia before even Karl Marx had formulated his ideas. They predicted Communistic revolution in Russia long before the revolution came; they saw that Communistic collectivism had been a unique feature of Russian life since the beginnings of Russian history.

The Russian peasant held land in Communistic ownership since time immemorial. This collectivistic "mir" had a history as old as the Russian nation itself. Not only did the Russian peasants like it, but, as Nicholas Berdyaev points out, the Russian intellectuals have always been in favour of a collectivistic culture and did not like the individualism of the Western World.¹⁾ The Russians like Communism so much that they have been enforcing it on all nations under their domination. This they have been doing under cover of an international idea of Karl Marx.

Because it has always been useful to the Russians to present their Communism as an international idea created by Karl Marx and to claim that they are the most faithful followers of the teachings of Karl Marx, "the only true Marxists". Thus outwardly approaching other nations with an idea and pretending to be defenders of this international idea, supposedly good for all nations in the world, they have succeeded in subjugating many nations under their dictatorship.

But Communism in Russia has to be considered — according to the writings of Nicholas Berdyaev — as a purely Russian national phenomenon.²⁾ The fundamental principles of Karl Marx have been transformed and interpreted in a different way, the Russian way of thinking, contrary to the spirit of the teachings of Karl Marx. Russian Marxists have always had their own way of interpreting Karl Marx's ideas. Friedrich Engels, the closest friend of Karl Marx, complained in one of his letters in 1893 to Dr. I. A. Hurwich that Russian emigration literature of the last decade of the nineteenth century interpreted the passages of Marx's writings and correspondence in the most contradictory ways.³⁾ And it had to be that way, because the Russians were Communists before Karl Marx developed his theories; but the Communism they professed was their own, Russian, national.⁴⁾

Not only is it the Russian collectivistic way of life that gave Communism the Russian

national stamp. The Russians interpreted and changed fundamentally the understanding of Marxist ideas in the spiritual field too. And in this field the unique religious mentality of the Russians came to the full revelation as a creative and forming force of Russian Communism.

Nicholas Berdyaev, one of the best analysts of the Russian psychology, made the world aware that Russian Communism had to be evaluated rather as a spiritual phenomenon, and not only as a social phenomenon. He pointed out that in Russian Communism there were at work spiritual, mythological and religious elements of the Russian psychology and not the scientific, objective and rationalistic elements of Marxism.⁵⁾ The Russian spiritual psychology was always mythological in its composition and the Russian spiritual life was, in fact, anti-religious, atheistic. N. Berdyaev advised that in order to understand this *anti-religious* psychology of the Russians, their spiritual part of life, their *religious* psychology, had to be studied.⁶⁾ We are going, then, to analyse the spiritual side of the Russian psychology, to find out how far and why this psychology became a contributing factor to Russian Communism.

The basis of Marxism is the theory of economic and historical materialism. Marx insisted that the entire life was determined by economic factors. From this premise, Karl Marx developed his theory of the inevitable struggle justifying the use of violence.

The whole of men's spiritual life, on the other hand, was in the opinion of Karl Marx only a superstructure of his theory, a secondary matter. He did not care much about religious beliefs, morals, philosophy, or arts. In his essay on Hegel's philosophy of law, Marx raised his voice against religion; but he did not call for the violent destruction of religion. The socialists and Communists that preceded Karl Marx were even religious, like Claude Saint-Simon, François Fourier, Barthélemy Enfantin, Amand Bazard or Etienne Cabet; their ideas were built on a "new Christianity" or "new Christian realism".⁷⁾

But for the Russians — socialists, nihilists, anarchists or communists — the most important problem in obtaining their aims was to destroy religion before any other objective was reached. That was their primary task. The reason for this is to be found in their particular religious mentality.

The Russians were always utilitarians and they never had an understanding of aesthetic, theoretical and religious matters.⁸⁾ Naturally this characteristic feature comes from their racial mixture of predominantly nomad Finnish tribes, from the upper Volga and Oka, with Slavs that came from the West. A

Russian historian V. Klyuchevsky considered that this racial mixture has created not only a new anthropological type, but also a unique religious and a particular social, composition.⁹⁾ The anthropological mixture brought into being a new nation called Muscovy (Moskovia), renamed later — in the eighteenth century, by Peter I — Russia (Rossiya).

The social institutions of the Finnish nomads were thoroughly Communistic and this Communism, this belief in a common ownership of the land in the Russian "mir" existing since the dawn of the Muscovite history, became a basis and a natural source of the Communistic institutions of the Soviet Union.

V. Klyuchevsky stressed very strongly that this racial mixture endowed the Muscovites with a specific religious mentality; it became a basis of the mythological outlook on the world of the Muscovites and later the Russians. Klyuchevsky supported his findings with a thorough analysis of the way of life and the way of thinking of the Russians.¹⁰⁾

This particular way of life and, especially, the way of thinking of the Russians was responsible for the acceptance of Communism by them in 1917, almost without any resistance. Therefore, Nicholas Berdyaev, studying the causes of the Russian Revolution in 1917, found the deeper meaning of the Revolution in this spiritual phenomenon of the Russians. He stated that Socialism in Russia was a question of atheism as it had been portrayed in Dostoevsky's writings. He referred to these writings to find the real meaning of the Russian Revolution.¹¹⁾

Prince Myshkin, one of Dostoevsky's heroes, in the novel "The Idiot", said: "It is easier for a Russian to become an atheist than for anyone else in the world. And Russians do not merely become atheists. They invariably believe in atheism, as though it were a new religion, without noticing that they are putting faith in negation." Another hero, Shatov (in Dostoevsky's "The Possessed"), preached that Socialism was bound to be "from its very nature atheism, and it should be from the beginning proclaimed that it is an atheistic organization of society."

There is a wealth of material and a variety of views on the Russian national and religious psychology found in the writing of Russian novelists, poets, historians, philosophers and journalists, especially in the last two hundred years. But this material proves conclusively that the Russians for the most part were always anti-religious. It does not mean that there were no religious Russians. There were: one could find them especially among the Russian intelligentsia, a large percentage of which was of Western racial

origin; their forefathers came from various West European countries to serve Tsarist Russia and became russified. But they could not and were not representatives of the whole Russian nation. Their mentality was quite different from the mentality of a genuine Russian and, as a rule, the average Russian hated them. But this Russian intelligentsia lived in a world of fantasy, dreaming of introducing democratic institutions into Russia. N. Berdyaev called them dreamers: "dreamers without common sense" when they wanted to turn Russia into a democratic country; "dreamers" when they believed that the Russian people could have been persuaded to accept the Western ideals of liberty and other rights of free men.¹²⁾ Their good intentions failed; and they were doomed to failure because what they wanted to achieve was against the inherent national spirit of the Russians, against their national way of life which was always in the social aspect Communistic and in the spiritual field anti-religious.¹³⁾

But the public opinion of the Western World was always under a preconceived notion that the Russians were a very religious people. Tsarist propaganda created such an impression in the world and spread Russophilism, which is still active today and is working for Russian Communism. The Russian Communists know how to exploit this old Russophilism to their advantage. They are presenting themselves as the true democrats and the Soviet Union as the most democratic country in the world. They also are implying, even very firmly, as being tolerant in religious matters; they have allowed the Russian Orthodox Church to exist, although it is evident that this Church is a tool in the political hands of the Russian Communists.

They want to make the world believe in this because it maintains and reinforces the existing Russophilism in the Western World. There will always be people who will believe that Communism can change in Russia by some mysterious transition, that the political tension in the world would disappear and that there would be freedom and religion in Russia. Unfortunately the Russophiles in the Western World do not understand Russian Communism. It seems even that they do not wish to understand it. Being happy with their own dreams, preconceived ideas, wishful thinking, they are only, in most cases, unfortunate and deplorable ignoramuses; but in some cases they become inexcusable and shameful traitors to their own country, selling it out, consciously or unconsciously, to the Russian imperialism operating under the Communist cover. They would only profit if they could have a look into the Russian psychology; the religious mentality of the Russians would be properly understood without idealistic embellishment.

A Russian professor Paul N. Milyukov, in his three-volume work on the history of Russian culture, wrote about the visitors to Russia in the 16th and the 17th century. They were struck by the fact that church services had no sermons, that only about one-tenth of the Russians knew "The Lord's Prayer", not to mention the Ten Commandments or the Creed. When one inquisitive visitor asked why it was so, the answer was that religious matters were too high a science; they were not for the ordinary moujiks, but for the Tsar, the Patriarchs, nobles and clergymen.¹⁴⁾

No wonder that in these centuries their Christianity was of a very doubtful nature. P. N. Milyukow writes of a Swedish scientist, Joan Botwid, who in 1620 presented a scientific research on "Are the Muscovites Christians?" at the Upsala Academy in Sweden.¹⁵⁾ The religiousness of the Muscovites must have been in an unusual doubtful state even a hundred years later, for Peter I had to issue an "ukase" to fight heathenism — the worship of a heathen goddess known as Holy Friday.¹⁶⁾ The Russian intelligentsia was not that religious either, for Tsar Peter was also forced in 1718 to compel in an "ukase" the upper class of Russian society to go to church on Sunday and holidays; any absentees from church were not eligible for public offices.¹⁷⁾

Almost a century later an Englishman, Edward Daniel Clarke, travelling through Russia, noticed that although Peter I cut off the beards of the nobles and ordered them to wear European clothes, they were still living in the past centuries and they were not religious at all. He wrote:

It is certainly the greatest libel upon human reason, the severest scandal upon universal piety, that has yet disgraced the annals of mankind. The wild, untutored savage of South America, who prostrates himself before the sun, and pays his adoration to that which he believes to be the source of life and light, exercises more rational devotion than the Russian, who is all day crossing himself before his Bogh, and sticking farthing candles before a picture of St. Alexander Nevsky.¹⁸⁾

These observations must have been correct, for Vissarion Belinsky, the greatest Russian literary critic of the last century, wrote to Nikolai Gogol in July 1847:

In your opinion the Russian people is the most religious in the world. It is false... The basis of religiousness is piety, reverence, fear of God... Take a close look at the Russian people and you will see that, by nature, it is a profoundly atheistic people. In it there is still much superstition but not a trace of real religiousness.¹⁹⁾

Sergius M. Kravchinsky, a Russian of the nineteenth century, best known in Europe under the name of S. Stepniak, wrote in his study of the religious background of the Russians that "there is hardly a nation in Christendom which had a demonology — a remnant of ancient paganism — so well elaborated and so deeply rooted as have the Russians".²⁰⁾ His qualified opinion about the religiousness of the Russians was that "with the bulk of the people orthodoxy means little beyond a purely heathenish ritualism. An orthodox moujik believes in the virtue of the pope's ceremonies and recitals in pretty much the same sense as he believes in the efficacy of the perfectly incoherent and incomprehensible conjurations of the exorcists."²¹⁾ The Russians believe — wrote Stepniak — in "the devil as a junior brother of God and his co-partner in the creation of this universe". This is an exact account of what we find in the legend known as "Noe the Godly". This legend has been printed in a publication of Russian legends edited by A. Athanasieff in 1859. Stepniak concluded that "there is perhaps no country where the whole of the educated classes are so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of free thought as the Russians".²²⁾

The historian N. Kostomarov described the religiousness of Russians as shallow, without internal piety. He designated the Russians as superficial performers of something they grew accustomed to, indifferent to religious matters, atheists without parallel in the history of Christian nations.²³⁾

Emile J. Dillon, an expert on Russian matters, especially on Russian psychology, who was in Russia during the reign of the last three Tsars as a University professor, pointed out the apparent contradictions of the Russian psychology in the religious sector that always oscillated between sectarian and frank disbelief.²⁴⁾

A French historian of the nineteenth century, L. Leroy-Beaulieu, in his 3-volume historical work "The Empire of the Tsars and the Russians" asked whether the Russians were really religious, Christian people. He wrote:

Do their confused ideas on life and the world really spring out of Christianity? Many of their own countrymen think not. Many Russians hold that Russia is neither Christian nor even religious at all. Men, otherwise apart in their opinions, are agreed on this point, in Petersburg and even in Moscow.²⁵⁾

J. Novicov, in his study, "The Russian People", stated that Christianity was merely a veneer in Russia. He wondered why foreigners were of the opinion that the Russian people was the most religious of all the nations of Europe. He understood that the foreigners could judge only by appearance;

Russians seemed to them very religious indeed. But Novicov firmly stressed that it was not true; Russians, men and women alike, were indifferent to religion.²⁶⁾

Still another Russian, S. N. Bulgakov, writing in "Landmarks" (1909) said without any embellishments:

There is no educated middle-class, no intelligentsia, more atheistic than the Russian... Atheism is with them a tradition, a thing which is taken for granted, and does not allow discussion; it is the indispensable sign and hall-mark of good breeding... The most striking thing about Russian atheism is its dogmatic spirit, or rather the religious carelessness with which it is accepted... Our intelligentsia... has not yet once seriously thought of religion... Bulgakov felt this atheism had to be counted as a certain kind of religious force.²⁷⁾

Naturally, with this lack of religiousness you could not expect a proper regard for the clergy. D. Mackenzie Wallace, an Englishman, doing research work in Russia (1870-75) wrote that with whomever he spoke in Russia he noticed and learned that Russians did not respect their priests. While studying various material for his work he stumbled upon a semi-official report of one Melnikov to Grand Duke Constantine that stated:

The people do not respect the clergy, but persecute them with derision and reproaches, and feel them to be a burden. In nearly all the popular comic stories the priest, his wife, or his laborer is held up to ridicule, and in all the proverbs and popular sayings where the clergy are mentioned it is always with derision.²⁸⁾

D. Mackenzie Wallace concluded that "the common opinion that the Russian clergy exercise an enormous influence over the people is an entire mistake."²⁹⁾

A similar statement of S. Stepiak read:

The priests are not respected by the moujiks. The orthodox clergy, as a body, have no moral influence over the masses, and enjoy no confidence among them... Popes are looked upon by their parishioners not as guides or advisers, but as a class of tradesmen, who have wholesale and retail dealings in sacraments.³⁰⁾

And at the close of the century J. Novicov stated similarly: "Priests' influence in society amounts to almost nothing."³¹⁾

Such were the religious feelings of the Russians and such was their attitude to the orthodox priests. But the priests were Russians, too, and their way of thinking and feelings were similar to those of other Russians. Their religiousness was very superficial too.

Almost 120 years ago a Frenchman, the Marquis de Custine, travelling through Rus-

sia, was surprised to find that the sons of the priests were the people that carried the anti-religious propaganda in Russia. He predicted that these people would initiate the imminent revolution there.³²⁾ And he was not mistaken. N. Dobrolubov and N. Chernyshevsky, the leading fighters against religion, came from clerical families. They had many followers later.

G. Fedotov, one of the noted Russian thinkers of this century, writing about the psychology of the Russian intelligentsia stated that there was a connection between Russian Orthodoxy and Russian Nihilism. The destructible corruption was coming from the seminaries for Orthodox clergymen.³³⁾ And there is the indisputable fact that some of the leading men of the Russian Socialist and Communist Revolutions came from the ranks of clergymen's families or from seminaries for Orthodox priests. Stalin himself was a student of such a seminary.

But the Russian Orthodox Church was not the only basis for the anti-religiousness, anarchism, nihilism and communistic, collectivistic ideas: The whole Russian way of life, as has been already noted, played an important role, and we find that alongside the Orthodox Church, the various religious sects figured in the formation of these ideas too.

And the Russians had many religious sects. These may be regarded as a form of Christian mysticism; but they were rather "the last refuge of some form of aboriginal or Finnish Shamanism" deeply rooted in the mentality of the Russian people.³⁴⁾

The Russian sects, furthermore, were strict realizers of practical communism in their life. In the sect of the Shalaputs everything was common property — a communism of production and consumption.³⁵⁾ The Duchobory and Molokane (nickname "milkeaters" because they did not keep fasts) had a similar system of life. The Molokane, especially, were strict communists.³⁶⁾ The sect of Stranniky or Beguny (Wanderers) were a particularly interesting sect: they wandered from place to place.³⁷⁾ The Nemoliaki (Non-prayers) were active especially around Moscow and Perm.³⁸⁾ There were many other various sects in Russia, having very curious practices, and spreading communism, anarchism and nihilism.

When we evaluate the Russian Communist Revolution in its historical perspective we come to realize the important part played by the religious psychology of the Russians. The first aim of the Russian Communist Revolution was to destroy thoroughly the existing religions in Russia and then in the whole world. The ways of doing this were numerous. They ranged from an open anti-religious campaign coupled with the physical annihilation of the clergy of all creeds, to a

support of the Orthodox Church inside the Soviet Union as a tool for Communistic propaganda and a useful means of infiltrating into the various religious organizations in the Free World. But the destruction of all religions was always their number one aim. F. Dostoievsky had a deep insight in the psychology of the Russian atheism when he foresaw the advent of Lenin. One of the personages in "The Possessed" says: "I will speak of the contemptible slave, of the stinking, degenerate flunkey who will first climb a ladder with scissors in his hands, and hack to pieces the divine image of the great ideal, in the name of equality, envy and . . . digestion."

The anti-religious tendencies of the Russians were inborn in them as a consequence of the racial mixture of too extreme racial components from which the Muscovite, and later the Russian nation emerged. The religious mentality of the Russians conditioned them not only to accept atheism officially as a natural consequence of the Communist Revolution, but also to wage the fight against any religion first of all, before any other Communistic slogans. This attitude of theirs is peculiar to the Russian mentality and it explains to us also why Communism so easily gained a foothold in Russia.

NOTES

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²⁾ Nicholas Berdyaev, *The Russian Revolution*. London: Sheed & Ward, 1931.

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³⁾ Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. *Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy*. Edited by Lewis S. Feuer. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1955, p. 442.

⁴⁾ See our article, *Spiritual Foundation of Russian Communism*, in *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, 1961, pp. 53-63, London.

⁵⁾ Nicholas Berdyaev, *The Russian Revolution*, op. cit., p. 62.

⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁷⁾ Jan Kucharzewski, *The Origins of Modern Russia*. New York: The Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, 1948, pp. 427-428.

⁸⁾ Rene Fülöp-Miller, *The Mind and Face*

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⁹⁾ V. O. Klyuchevsky, *Kurs Russkoy Istorii*. 5 vols., Moscow, 1956-58. Vol. I, p. 308.

¹⁰⁾ V. O. Klyuchevsky, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 292-315.

¹¹⁾ N. Berdyaev, *The End of Our Time*. Op. cit., p. 148.

¹²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

¹³⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 127 & 135.

¹⁴⁾ P. N. Milyukov, *Ocherki po Istorii Russkoy Kultury*. Jubilee edition in 3 vols. Paris, 1931, Vol. II., p. 22.

¹⁵⁾ *Idem*.

¹⁶⁾ S. Stepniak, *The Russian Peasantry. Their Agararian Condition, Social Life and Religion*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1905, p. 357.

¹⁷⁾ R. Nisbet Bain, *Slavonic Europe*. Cambridge, 1908, p. 307.

¹⁸⁾ Edward Daniel Clarke, *Travels in Russia, Tartary and Turkey*. Aberdeen, 1948, p. 383.

¹⁹⁾ *Belinski o Gogole*. Moskwa, 1949, p. 362.

²⁰⁾ S. Stepniak, op. cit., pp. 355-356.

²¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 378.

²²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 380.

²³⁾ M. Kostomarov, *Dve Russkie Narodnosti*. Petersburg, 1861 (Sochynenia — 1903, Vol. I).

²⁴⁾ Emil J. Dillon, *The Eclipse of Russia*. London & Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1918, p. 105.

²⁵⁾ A. Leroy Beaulieu, *The Empire of the Tsars and the Russians*. English Translation, New York, London, 1893-96. Vol. III, p. 24.

²⁶⁾ A. Rambaud, V. G. Simkovitch, J. Novicov, Peter Roberts and Isaac A. Hourvich. *The Case of Russia*. New York: Fox Duffield & Co., 1905, pp. 184-195.

²⁷⁾ William English Walling. *Russia's Message*. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1908, p. 448.

²⁸⁾ D. Mackenzie Wallace, *Russia*. 2 vols. London, Paris, New York, 1877, V. I., pp. 86-88.

²⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, Vol. II., pp. 356.

³⁰⁾ S. Stepniak, op. cit., pp. 372 & 373.

³¹⁾ A. Rambaud etc. & J. Novicov, op. cit., p. 195.

³²⁾ The Marquise de Custine, *Russia*. London, 1954, p. 169.

³³⁾ G. P. Fedotov, *Tragediya Intelligentsii*, in "Versty", Paris, 1927.

³⁴⁾ S. Stepniak, op. cit., p. 346.

³⁵⁾ S. Stepniak, op. cit., pp. 580-83, 587.

³⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 546.

³⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 453-55.

³⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 484-485.

The Future Potentialities of Siberia

IV

Nickel and cobalt are widely used in technology. They are important components in the manufacture of alloy steels and various hard, heat-resistant, acid-resistant, magnetic and other alloys. Large cobalt and nickel deposits are found in the Urals, Norilsk, the Krasnoyarsk Territory, and in the Tuva Autonomous Region.

Tin ore is found in the Transbaikal region, in the Far East, in the basins of the rivers Kolyma and Yana, and in the southern Primorye.

Precious metals are gold, silver and metals of the platinum group. Rich deposits of these metals are found in various parts of Siberia: Yakutia, the Krasnoyarsk Territory, the Far East and the Urals.³¹⁾

Electric Power Industry

In order to push ahead the development of all branches of economy, the Soviet Government set up its Plan for Electrification and thus gave the national economy an advanced power base.

The mighty rivers of Siberia — the Ob, Yenisey, Angara, Irtysh, Lena and Amur — carry huge masses of water to the sea through plains, mountain chains and the endless taiga land. Their energy, so generously stored up by Nature, is estimated to be approximately 100,000 million kilowatt hours a year.³²⁾

The Soviets have already built thermal power stations with a capacity of a million kilowatts or more. These stations will be located near coalfields. Construction has already begun of fuel-burning stations at the Kuzbass, Belovo, Tom-Usinskoye and the Troitsk, Chelyabinsk Oblast.³³⁾

In addition to the thermal power stations, scores of huge hydro-power stations have been built on the Siberian rivers and some are still under construction.

Under a plan approved by the government, it is intended to build a number of hydro-power stations on the Angara with a total capacity of 10 million kilowatts. The hydro-power stations that will be built on the Yenisey will be even larger. Their aggregate capacity will amount to about 20 million kilowatts.³⁴⁾

The Angara River is fed by the waters of Lake Baikal and carries its waters 1,111 miles to the Yenisey. The Angara is a powerful and abundant stream with a fast current. In the upper course it cuts through deep valleys narrowing only between high banks. In its middle course it passes through numerous rapids and gorges with steep rocky walls. Lower down, until it joins the Yenisey, the river gradually widens and becomes quieter.

The middle current of the Angara, about 120 miles long, offers great potentialities for water-power development. Here, the river flows through solid rock which can stand the weight of any hydraulic structures. This makes for durability and strength for dams. It has been calculated that the annual flow of the river does work equal to 64,000 million kilowatt hours.³⁵⁾

The working plan for the utilization of the Angara includes the building of a cascade of six powerful hydro-electric stations. The capacity of this cascade of stations and the stations to be built on the tributaries will exceed 10 million kilowatts with an annual output of about 70,000 million kw-hrs. . . .

When the stations have all been completed the Angara will be turned into a chain of deep lakes and, together with the Yenisey, will form a waterway from the Arctic Ocean to the Baikal navigable for sea-going steamers. The scheme

provides for the regulation of the supply of water from Lake Baikal so that it will be approximately equal throughout the entire year.³⁶⁾

The Angara hydro-power system will have a tremendous sphere of economic influence and will tap the raw material sources of the entire Angara-Baikal area.

The first section of the Irkutsk Hydro-Power Station, with a capacity of 660,000 kilowatts, began to operate in 1956,³⁷⁾ and the rest of the hydro-power dam is now nearing completion.³⁸⁾ This dam will benefit the machine-builders of Irkutsk, the miners of the Cheremkhovo coalfields, the aluminium-plant builders and the electric railways of Siberia and, in addition, will serve the construction of the second unit of the Angara power cascade — the Bratsk Hydro-Power Station which is under construction on the lower reaches of the Angara with a total capacity of 3,600,000 kilowatts.³⁹⁾

Bratsk, like the Irkutsk Hydro-Power Station, will turn the city of Irkutsk into a leading inland port. "It will create a reservoir in the valley of the Angara River that will become a gulf of famous Lake Baikal. The reservoir will freeze over, but its flow will be unaffected, since the intake of water by the eight turbines will be from a point far below the freezing level."⁴⁰⁾

The Irkutsk and Bratsk hydro-projects on the Angara are to be followed by the Ust Ulim (Shaman) station, which is to be built on the Shaman rapids, the longest on the river. This station will have a capacity of about 3,000,000 kilowatts, as will the fourth power project on the Angara — the Boguchansk Hydro-Power Station.⁴¹⁾

Parallel with the building of the Bratsk power-house and dozens of minor stations, the Sixth Five-Year Plan provides for the construction of the Krasnoyarsk Hydro-Power Station with a similar capacity of 3,200,000 kilowatts.⁴²⁾

At the beginning of the Seven-Year Plan, the turbulent waters of the Yenisey and Angara are to be used for the second Yenisey power cascade: the Yenisey Hydro-Power Station, with a capacity of 5,000,000 kilowatts.⁴³⁾

The launching of the great hydro-power stations on the Angara and Yenisey and the network of thermal power stations will promote the rapid development of the natural wealth of the Yenisey basin.

Many new construction sites will appear on the banks of the Yenisey; a big aluminium plant, an iron and steel works, big open-cast coal mines, a huge oil refinery, and saw mills that have nothing to equal them in Siberia, as well as other industrial enterprises are under construction in the Krasnoyarsk Territory.⁴⁴⁾

The total capacity of the hydro-electric power stations to be erected on the Angara and the Yenisey amounts to some 30 million kilowatts and their power output to 200,000 million kilowatt hours.⁴⁵⁾

The headwaters of the Ob River, which rise in the Altai Mountains, are a rich potential source of hydro-electric energy. During the Fifth Five-Year Plan, the first dam across the Ob, near Novosibirsk, was built. This power-house is equipped with bottom sluiceways which, during spring floods, can discharge over 4,000 cubic meters of water per second.

The Novosibirsk Hydro-Power Station, with its capacity of 400,000 kilowatts, will provide cheap energy for Western Siberia and will play an important part in the economic development of this area. Its energy will make it possible to erect many new factories, mines and other enterprises, and electrify railways and agriculture. The Ob reservoir, 144 miles long, and impounding almost 9,000 million cubic meters of water, will improve navigation along a considerable stretch of the river.⁴⁶⁾

During the Sixth Five-Year Plan, construction began on the second Ob power cascade — the Kamen Hydro-Power Station — whose capacity will exceed that of the Novosibirsk station by 100,000 kilowatts.⁴⁷⁾

The Kamen Hydro-Power Station will supply Western Siberia with cheap electricity, irrigate the Kulunda agricultural area, which is famous for its huge expanses of fertile soil, and make a considerable stretch of the river navigable.

With every year, the power resources of Siberia will be more and more widely utilized. The hydro and fuel-burning power-houses will pool their energy in a single high-voltage grid that is to be created in Central Siberia.

The first section of the Central Siberian power grid will include the following systems: Irkutsk-Cheremkhovo, Bratsk, Krasnoyarsk, Kuznetsk (Kamerovo) and Novosibirsk. In the future it will embrace the Tomsk and the Irtysh zones and new power centers west and south-west of the Novosibirsk system. The sphere of its operation will be extended to cover power centers east and south of the Irkutsk-Cheremkhovo system.⁴⁸⁾

Such construction of the Central Siberian Single Power Grid will link up the power system, and bring thorough-going changes and a higher technical level in power engineering and finally the electrification of industrial districts.

Machine-Building Industry

The policy of intensive industrialization was adopted by the Soviet Government during the 1920's. This policy has had a tremendous impact on the industrial geography of the Union. The most significant trend is the emphasis on industrial production, the manufacture of machine tools and machines in particular. The industrial center was shifted toward the Urals and Siberia near the sources of raw materials. Hundreds of machine-building plants were built, producing equipment for all branches of the national economy.

Machine-tool building is the leading branch of the machine-building industry, for it turns out machines that make machines. The more the machine-tool building is expanded, the greater will be the possibility of expanding other branches of industry.

Many new, high-capacity machine-tool and machine-building plants were built and put into operation in the post-war period. The growth of Siberia's machine-building industry may be illustrated by the following example: Siberia produced 3,990 metal-cutting lathes in 1940, and 17,536 in 1955.⁴⁹⁾ In step with this tremendous leap, the quality of the machine-tools and their productivity has been radically improved.

In the Urals, machine-building has shown a marked growth due to a number of plants evacuated there from the west and to the construction of new plants. Its main centers are Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk and Nizny Tagil.⁵⁰⁾

Among machine-building centers created during the Soviet period in Siberia, mention must be made of Novosibirsk, Eastern Siberia, and the Far East regions.

In the current Plan, new important machine-building centers will be built in Siberia on the basis of vast reserves of coal, metal and electric power.

Of the hundred machine-building factories under construction in the eastern areas, 65 are in Siberia. The latter include five machine-tool-building plants, six factories producing forge and press equipment, two tool-making factories, eight works producing building and road-building machines, power transformers, electric locomotives, etc.⁵¹⁾

During the last year of the current Five-Year plan period, a three-story planning machine was made at the Novosibirsk Heavy Machine-Tool and Hydraulic Press Works. It processes parts measuring up to 13 feet wide and 39 feet long. More than 20 railway cars are needed to transport it, yet only one man attends to it because all of the operations are automatized.⁵²⁾

Agricultural machines and tractors are produced in the main grain belt and near metallurgical centers, railway cars are manufactured on sites close to steel and

lumber sources, and gold dredges are made at Krasnoyarsk and Irkutsk near the Siberian gold fields.

Chemical Industry

Prior to World War I, there was practically no chemical industry in Russia except for a small output of fertilizers, explosives and soap. Since then, under the First Five-Year Plan new types of chemical industries have been created in widely scattered areas.

Siberia is exceptionally rich in chemical raw materials. It possesses enormous resources of fuel, coal, oil, shale, and peat which may serve as chemical raw materials; various by-products and waste material yielded by all branches of industry, agriculture and forest exploitation.

During the sixth Five-Year Plan, the chemical industry has made considerable headway. Chemical combines, provided with up-to-date equipment, have been built on the basis of mineral raw materials and the production waste of coke plants and non-ferrous industry. A number of industries have appeared — the production of synthetics, artificial fibres, plastic materials, etc.

Transportation and Communications

Transportation is of decisive importance for the territorial division of labor; that is, the specialization of production by area. The Urals and the Kuzbass have to carry out an exchange of iron ore and coal over a distance of more than 1,200 miles. This makes it necessary for Siberia to maintain transportation and communication facilities with far distant economic centers. This point is well illustrated by the remarkable transformation of districts adjacent to the Trans-Siberian Railroad which has taken place since the reconstruction of that line.

The building of this railroad line started in the last decade of the nineteenth century. It was built in the black-soil belt alongside the famous "Great Siberian Tract". This was an unimproved road for vehicular traffic trodden by thousands of exiles condemned to the jails and mines of Siberia.

The Trans-Siberian Railway began at Chelyabinsk and was extended to Novosibirsk. Traffic on this line became so heavy that a second track was built from Omsk to Sverdlovsk.

The middle Siberian division, from Novosibirsk to Irkutsk, passes through hilly territory and through many river valleys. From Irkutsk, the railroad line was extended to Lake Baikal. Then the Circum-Baikal Railroad was built, permitting through trains to pass over to the Trans-Baikal Territory. At Chita, the main line divides into two parts. One line, the Chinese Eastern Railway, runs through Manchuria to Vladivostok; the other, the Amur Railway, runs along the Amur River to Khabarovsk, from which point the Ussury line runs to Vladivostok. The haul between Lake Baikal and Vladivostok via the Chinese Eastern Railway is shorter by 560 miles than that via the Amur-Ussury Railway.⁵³⁾

Under Soviet domination the railway network in Siberia has been more than doubled. In 1956, the railway lines in operation totaled more than 12,000 miles.⁵⁴⁾ Construction has been finished on the South Siberian Railway, which is more than 4,250 miles long, providing a direct link between Magnitogorsk, Kuzbass and the Yenisey.

A plan was made for the construction of the Baikal-Amur line, commonly referred to as the BAM. Construction of this line was motivated by strategic and economic considerations. The BAM line is supposed to connect Komsomolsk with Taishet. The great advantage of this route was that it by-passed Lake Baikal from the north, crossed the upper Lena Valley, kept its course as far north as possible in the Baikal

region to the city of Komsomolsk on the lower Amur, and continued to the Pacific opposite Sakhalin at the new harbor of Sovetskaya Gavan.⁵⁵⁾

The principal tasks in the sphere of railway transport in 1956—1960 are: further improvement of its technical equipment, the introduction of the most up-to-date types of locomotives and the increased electrification of railways. Siberia needs roads and railways because without them her wealth cannot be exploited. The Soviets are planning the great future railways of Siberia connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans with the Arctic Ocean. They will constitute the world's biggest railway system.

The North Siberian Electric Railway will start from the White Sea in Europe, cut through the Urals to the River Ob, and cross the Lena and the Aldan to the Pacific Ocean.

The South Siberian Electric Railway will start from Stalingrad and will pass through Magnitogorsk, Akmolinsk, Pavlodar, Minusinsk to Baikal where it will branch off in two directions. The first will join the existing Trans-Siberian Railway and the second will turn south through Ulan Bator and Peking. Another 3,000-mile-long electric railway will run from Lake Baikal through some of the richest regions of Siberia to Cape Dezhnev on the frontier between Asia and the United States.⁵⁶⁾

River Transport

The vast river network of Siberia consists of many large and small waterways. The Ob, Yenisey, Lena, Amur and others rank in length and abundance of water with the world's largest rivers.

The Ob and Irtysh flow through plains in sluggish, winding courses. The principal freight carried is oil, which is transferred from the railroad to the waterway (for the most part at Omsk).⁵⁷⁾

The Yenisey is navigable for a distance of almost 2,000 miles. Lumber is the chief cargo. It wends its way downward to Indigirka, where sawmills are located and transfer to seagoing vessels is possible. Traffic to Igarka and below also includes a number of other cargoes to supply the Far North — metals and metal products, grain, vegetables, livestock, and kerosene.⁵⁸⁾

The Lena serves as a communication river with the Yakut ASSR. Grain and timber constitute the chief freights. Freight turnover on the Lena is increasing rapidly. Heavy cargoes move downstream to the Far North; furs and gold move upstream.⁵⁹⁾

In the Far East, navigation of the Amur River is developing vigorously. The Amur is navigable for 2,380 miles. The chief freight is lumber rafts, as well as building materials, grain, salt, oil products, and coal. On the banks of this river and a number of its tributaries are the largest settlements in the Far East.⁶⁰⁾

In order to remove the yellow patches, the deserts, from the map, Soviet scientists have an elaborate plan for the distribution of two latitudinal rivers, one in the north and the other in the south, instead of the present south-north river system.

The southern river would embrace the upper reaches of all existing Siberian rivers of importance — Upper Irtysh, Upper Ob, Tom, Chulym, Upper Yenisey, Angara (below Bratsk) and the upper reaches of the Lena including its great tributary the Olekma. This new river would gather the huge volume of 500 cubic kilometers of water and carry it west, to the lowlands between the Caspian and Aral seas, to be used for the irrigation of deserts and arid lands. The differences in level on this river would be used to work a series of hydro-electric power stations producing thousands of millions of kw-hrs per annum.

The North Siberian River would gather the waters of the lower reaches of the Lena, the Arctic rivers, the Yenisey, and divert them into the Ob. Here the great flood of water would be used to drive a number of extra powerful hydro-electric

stations. The main advantage of this system is that everywhere the water would flow by the natural force of gravity.⁶¹⁾

This same plan includes a project to rebuild the mouth of the Amur.

This mighty river enters the Pacific Ocean at the Tartar Strait but vessels leaving the River Amur cannot sail southward down the strait owing to the shallow passages. Shipping, therefore, has to pass all the way round Sakhalin. This explains the project to turn the waters of the Amur into the Tartar Strait by way of Lake Kizi and De Castri Bay, much further south. This will shorten the distance between the Amur and the ports of the Sea of Japan by a thousand kilometers, and the navigation season will be longer since the present mouth of the Amur freezes earlier than the De Castri Bay. A big hydro-electric power station is planned at the mouth of the Amur. Another plan is to connect the Amur with the ocean in the vicinity of Vladivostok, employing the navigable River Ussuri and Lake Khanka. A third plan is to divert the Amur through the territory of the Ho into Lao Ho Bay on the Yellow Sea.⁶²⁾

There are many other plans, such as cutting a canal through the Yamal Peninsula. The warm waters of the Ob can then be diverted through the Yamal Canal into Baidarak Bay to loosen the ice and open up an easier way for steamers. In order to accomplish this it is proposed to dam the mouth of the Ob and thus regulate the flow of warm water into the Ob and Baidarak Bay.

Atom ice-breakers are included in the technical program of the present Seven-Year-Plan. They will plough their way through the icefields of the Arctic Ocean along the northern boundaries of Siberia, to the Far East. Many new ports, which will challenge some of the finest in the world, will be built on the eastern coast of Kamchatka and in other places. (To be continued)

³¹⁾ Antropov, *Mineral Wealth of the U.S.S.R.*, pp. 47—51; M. Struve, *U.S.S.R. Facts and Figures* (Moscow: Foreign Language Publishing House, 1957), p. 34. — ³²⁾ A. Markin, *Soviet Electric Power; Development and Prospects* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1956), p. 29. — ³³⁾ F. Koshelev, *Soviet Industry* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1957), p. 28. — ³⁴⁾ M. Postolovsky, *U.S.S.R. in 1960; Figures and Facts About the Sixth Five-Year Plan* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1957), p. 62. — ³⁵⁾ M. Tsunts, *Siberia's Hydro-Power Projects*, pp. 15—16; Markin, *Soviet Electric Power*, pp. 31—32. — ³⁶⁾ Markin, *Soviet Electric Power*, p. 32. — ³⁷⁾ Koshelev, *Soviet Industry*, p. 30; G. Krzhizhanovsky and V. Veits, *A Single Power Grid for the U.S.S.R.* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1957), p. 37. — ³⁸⁾ Gertrude Samuels, "Russia Looks to the 'New' Siberia," *The New York Times Magazine*, March 22, 1959, p. 43. — ³⁹⁾ Koshelev, *Soviet Industry*, p. 30. — ⁴⁰⁾ Samuels, "Russia Looks to the 'New' Siberia," *The New York Times Magazine*, March 22, 1959, p. 43; Christopher Dobson, "Industrial Empire Looms in Siberia," *New York World-Telegram and Sun*, June 27, 1959, p. 8. — ⁴¹⁾ Tsunts, *Siberia's Hydro-Power Projects*, p. 33; Markin, *Soviet Electric Power*, p. 36. — ⁴²⁾ Postolovsky, *U.S.S.R. in 1960*, p. 34; Mikhailov, *Sibir*, pp. 366—67. — ⁴³⁾ Tsunts, *Siberia's Hydro-Power Projects*, p. 33; Markin, *Soviet Electric Power*, p. 36. — ⁴⁴⁾ Tsunts, *Siberia's Hydro-Power Projects*, p. 31. — ⁴⁵⁾ Krzhizhanovsky and Veits, *A Single Power Grid for the U.S.S.R.*, p. 36. — ⁴⁶⁾ Tsunts, *Siberia's Hydro-Power Projects*, p. 37; Krzhizhanovsky and Veits, *A Single Power Grid for the U.S.S.R.*, p. 37. — ⁴⁷⁾ Tsunts, *Siberia's Hydro-Power Projects*, p. 37. — ⁴⁸⁾ Krzhizhanovsky and Veits, *A Single Power Grid for the U.S.S.R.*, p. 37. — ⁴⁹⁾ *Promyshlennost SSSR / Industrialization of the U.S.S.R.* / (Statistic Collection, State Statistical Board, Moscow, 1957), p. 210. — ⁵⁰⁾ Koshelev, *Soviet Industry*, pp. 23—24; Stepanov, *Geografia Promyshlennosti SSSR*, pp. 167—68. — ⁵¹⁾ Postolovsky, *U.S.S.R. in 1960*, p. 62. — ⁵²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 23. — ⁵³⁾ Michael Myers Shoemaker, *The Great Siberian Railway* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903), pp. 136—43. — ⁵⁴⁾ *Narodnoye Khoziaistvo RSFSR*, p. 262. — ⁵⁵⁾ George B. Cressey, *The Basis of Soviet Strength* (New York: Whittlesy House, 1945), p. 135. — ⁵⁶⁾ Markin, *Soviet Electric Power*, pp. 67—68. — ⁵⁷⁾ M. I. Pomus, *Papadnaya Sibir / Western Siberia* / (Moscow, 1956), pp. 258—64. — ⁵⁸⁾ I. V. Nikholsky, *Vostochnaya Sibir / Eastern Siberia* / (Moscow, 1953), pp. 27—28). — ⁵⁹⁾ *Ibid.* — ⁶⁰⁾ Udoenko, *Dalny Vostok* (Moscow, 1957), pp. 126—29. — ⁶¹⁾ Markin, *Soviet Electric Power*, p. 100. — ⁶²⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 101—102.

Extraordinary Conference of Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL), in Seoul, Korea, in May 1962

(Greetings)

The Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) sends its sincerest greetings to all members of the APACL Conference and wishes you the best of success.

The world is at present undergoing a grave crisis. The West is prepared to make compromises with Moscow and is of the opinion that in this way world peace can be ensured. But the Moscow government as the representative of Russian imperialism will never abandon its policy of conquest.

Whilst the Western powers in pursuing their shortsighted policy are willing to abandon the millions of inhabitants and scores of peoples subjugated in the Russian colonial imperium to Russian Communist rule, Moscow deceitfully poses as the advocate of the watchwords of national independence and social justice. Thus, various countries of Asia and Africa are divided and people of the same nation are fighting against each other.

The danger to the Western world is all the greater since Moscow possesses a considerable number of supporters in the West, who in the event of a conflict would fight against the free world as hirelings of Moscow.

Our main task consists in persuading the Western major powers to give their active support at last to the peoples subjugated by Russia and Communism in their fight for freedom and independence. We are firmly convinced that the free peoples of Asia regard the non-Russian peoples such as the Ukrainians, Georgians, Turkestanians, Azerbaijanians, Armenians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Esthonians, and North Caucasians, etc., who are incarcerated in the Soviet Union, which is nothing but a Russian colonial imperium, as their allies and that they, too, will demand for these peoples the national right to liberation from Russian alien rule and the restoration of their independent states.

We are likewise convinced that we shall attain freedom and independence in our joint fight.

Long live the independence of peoples!

Long live the freedom of individuals!

Freedom-loving peoples and individuals in the whole world, unite in the fight against Russian colonialism and Communism for the freedom of mankind and the independence of the peoples!

Project of Resolutions

Gentlemen:

Since we are unable to attend the Conference, may we be permitted to suggest that the following resolution in the cause of the peoples subjugated in the Bolshevik sphere of influence be adopted:

The Extraordinary Conference of APACL

- a) condemns Russian colonialism which, in the form of Communism, seeks to enslave the whole world;*
- b) advocates the disintegration of the Russian colonial imperium into national, independent, democratic states of all subjugated peoples;*

- c) supports the revolutionary liberation fight of the peoples in Europe, Asia and Cuba, subjugated by Russian colonialism and Communism, for the restoration of their national independence and for the destruction of the Communist system;
- d) requests the United Nations to put the problem of Russian colonialism in Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Czechia, Cosackia, Esthonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania, Slovakia, Turkestan and other countries subjugated by Communism and Russian colonialism, on the agenda of its next general assembly, to condemn said colonialism, to exclude all Communist governments from the UNO, and in their stead to admit the authorized representatives of the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism;
- e) exhorts the free world to give wholehearted, active support, including military support, to the national liberation revolutions of the peoples subjugated behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains, as a possible alternative to an atomic war;
- f) corroborates the solidarity of the APACL with the US Congress resolution on "Captive Nations Week", in which said Congress advocates the disintegration of the Russian imperium into independent democratic states of all the peoples (Res. H. Con. 636 — 86th US Congress), and exhorts the members of this Conference from the free world to persuade the parliaments and governments of their native countries to proclaim their solidarity with and support of the liberation fight of the peoples subjugated by Communism and Russian imperialism and with their aims in a fitting way and manner.

With best wishes for the success of your Extraordinary Conference,

Yours sincerely,
 For the Central Committee of the
 Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN):

(Prince Niko Nakashidze)
 Secretary-General

(Jaroslav Stetzko)
 President

Gabor de Besseney

Castro on the Andes

Critical Election Approaches in Peru

On June 10, of this year the Republic of Peru will elect a president. The outcome of the election may well affect our entire power political position south of the border, opening the floodgates to a new Communist penetration. Such is the case because one of the candidates, with a fair chance of winning, is Victor Raoul Haya de la Torre, "fuehrer" of the notoriously anti-United States "American People's Revolutionary Alliance", better known as APRA.

It is imperative therefore at this crucial time to concentrate attention on the candidate's person, the program of the APRA movement, and our own policy with regard to it.

Haya de la Torre is a man of conflicts and contradictions. Of aristocratic Spanish ancestry, he wants to turn over the continent to the backward elements of African and Indian origin. His Catholic education was rounded off with a graduate course in Moscow's Lenin Institute. True to the technique of modern subversives, he denied, rationalized, distorted and contradicted in a flood of agitating oratory throughout a lifetime, making it difficult to determine his precise political pigmentation. It is easier to do so from a legal angle, based upon evidence on the police blotters of three countries, including the United States, where the narcotic squad was at one time in hot pursuit of him. Communist operatives are past masters in exploiting the vulnerability of those who exist

in morality's twilight zone. They are apt to take fullest advantage of this opening if de la Torre should be elected.

Concerning the APRA movement, the program with regard to the United States was clearly spelled out in the candidates' campaign book, "anti-Imperialism and the APRA". The author comes out openly for international control of the Panama Canal, a Communist type of nationalization of industries, and action against Yankee imperialism. Whatever else "action" may mean, we can anticipate, in the unhappy event of Haya's election, the loss of all our investments in Peru, as well as our markets in that important country, with the tattered remnants of the Alliance of Progress buried under an avalanche of expropriations and confiscations; while Castro's ominous shadow falls over the Andes.

It is frightening to realize that our own policy in face of this crisis is in the hands of a couple of "message kids", recently catapulted to high position. They see in the person of Haya de la Torre a realization of their own Fabian Heaven. Little do they care whether the economic and social system of Peru is disrupted and they are equally unconcerned about the impending losses of our investing public. What if the transition triggers off fratricidal civil wars lasting for generations; they won't be there. All that matters is that the landowners of Peru should be stripped from their holdings and that an utterly unprepared, so-called under-privileged class should start on the painful voyage of trial and error toward an imaginary democracy. There was a time when we could well afford to romanticize foreign revolutions. Little or nothing was involved. That was B. C. (Before Castro). There is no more time for experimentation. Facing as we do an obvious, present danger in the coming Peruvian election — following on the heels of our recent miscalculation in Argentina — another "agonizing reappraisal" is called for.

Invincible Faith in God

The unsuccessful attempts on the part of the Russian Bolsheviks to destroy religion are, in the first place, corroborated by the intensified atheistic propaganda which has been disseminated during the past few years. Naturally this campaign evokes a reaction on the part of the orthodox believers. Stanislav Radio recently commented as follows on this subject:

"There are still some people in the district of Stanislaviv who continue to believe in God. And, in addition, the people who are concerned about the welfare of the Church have recently intensified their campaign. In their activity they do not address themselves in the first place to the believers but to the

unbelieving in order to influence them in the spirit of religious ideology. And in order to win over these persons to the Church, they are modernizing religion.

They pose as advocates of science and conceal the anti-scientific origin of religion from the believers. They disguise religion with the cloak of socialism. Individual religious organizations are extending their activity far beyond the scope of religion."

"The activity of these religious organizations in our region is extremely harmful to the workers and prevents the fulfilment of those tasks which it is the duty of the workers, kolkhoz farmers and intelligentsia to fulfil. A certain proportion of the population is prevented from carrying out their work by these persons. . . . The citizens are induced to violate the Soviet laws."

We have intentionally quoted the comments of Stanislaviv Radio at some length since they shed light on the religious feelings of the population in the Ukrainian Carpathian region. It is interesting to note that Stanislaviv Radio is obliged to admit that the believers have intensified their campaign against the spread of atheism, and that this campaign is being carried out on a large scale, for, as Stanislaviv Radio itself affirms, the persons in question are in the first place addressing themselves to the unbelieving rather than to the believers.

But Stanislaviv is not the only region where such phenomena are in evidence. The intensification of Soviet Russian anti-religious propaganda, which frequently develops into a direct persecution of the faithful, is having exactly the opposite of the desired results. And in this connection one point in particular must be stressed: the younger generation is by no means influenced by this atheistic propaganda. We have frequently mentioned this fact in our periodical on previous occasions, and we should now like to quote the "Komsomolska Pravda" of January 31, 1962, which gives a clear picture of conditions in the region of Volodymyr: "There is no vacuum in education. Where educational activity is weak, we clearly recognize influences which are hostile to us." "Last year more children were baptized in Volodymyr than in 1960. It is interesting to note that most of the fathers and mothers who had their children baptized in church were young persons. And, what is more, — some of them were Komsomol members. . . ."

Russian Bolshevik prevarication in the form of atheistic propaganda is at present assuming various aspects, but like every Bolshevik system it is dead, empty and hollow as a hole, through which life continues to flow unhindered. And the younger generation furnishes the most obvious proof that a big religious regeneration is in progress in the Soviet Union.

Khrushchov's National Policy

II

The Russification policy of the Communist Party constantly met with an ever-increasing resistance on the part of the non-Russian peoples. In the days of Stalinism this resistance was so fierce that Stalin, since he was determined to break it down for good, decided to resort to mass-terrorism against individual national units. At his orders the Russian secret police, the MVD, during the years 1943—1945 deported certain small peoples to Siberia and Central Asia, and the republics of these peoples simply disappeared from the map of the Soviet Union. The following peoples were either deported or liquidated: the Crimean Tatars, the Chetchen-Ingush, the Karatchai and Balkar peoples, the Kalmucks and the Volga-Germans. According to the information of the American Commission for the Investigation of Genocide in the USSR, 200,000 Chetchen-Ingush, 150,000 Karatchai and Balkar people, and 80,000 Crimean Tatars were physically liquidated during these deportations (Genocide in the USSR, Institute for the Study of the USSR, p. 25). In his secret speech during the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR, Khrushchov said that Stalin had also planned to deport the Ukrainian people, but had then eventually decided only to deport those elements amongst the Ukrainians who were most hostile to his regime and who were most dangerous in this respect, since not even the Stalinist terrorist apparatus had been capable of carrying out the deportation of 35 million Ukrainians. During the war Stalin also gave orders for mass-deportations among other non-Russian peoples, for instance the Byelorussians, the peoples of the Baltic countries, and the Georgians, etc. In this connection the fact must be stressed that all these deportations were a reaction to the active fight against the Soviet Russian regime on the part of the non-Russian peoples, whom Stalin regarded as entirely untrustworthy. This, incidentally, is also yet another proof of the false and hypocritical nature of the Soviet Russian statements regarding the solution of the national problem.

There can be no doubt about the fact that the Russification policy which was continued after Stalin's death and the plan to liquidate the non-Russian peoples, which was worked out in recent years, both met with the same resistance as Stalin's national policy did. Proof that the fight against Russian imperialism continues unabated in the Soviet Union can be seen from the constant attacks launched by Russian colonialism against so-called bourgeois nationalism in all the non-Russian Soviet republics. As most people no doubt know, the expression "bourgeois nationalism" in the USSR not only refers to the fight of the non-Russian peoples for their independence, but also to the fight for political and cultural rights and against Russian centralism and Russification.

So far, that is to say from the year 1956 onwards, there were three main stages in the fight against nationalism in the Soviet Union. The first stage is closely connected with the purges of the so-called nationalist elements in the Central Asian and Baltic Party organizations, in Ukraine and in other republics, in the year 1958. After 1956, when a fictitious extension of the rights of the individual republics of the Soviet Union had been proclaimed, hopes were entertained in Party circles in the national republics that the Stalinist national policy would definitely come to an end since a collective leadership headed by Khrushchov was now in power, and that the formal rights of these republics would now be realized in practice. But these hopes soon proved to be illusory. After Khrushchov had consolidated his position, he began to carry out purges of those Party elements

in the individual republics who seriously contemplated the extension of the rights of the national republics and were already setting about liquidating the legacy of Stalin's national policy in the economic and cultural sectors in their republics.

The fight against those elements who were dissatisfied with the neo-Stalinist course of Khrushchov's national policy at that time is reflected in certain articles which appeared at the beginning of 1959 in some central organs (periodicals and in the press) and even in some special compilations. For instance in one of these articles the said Party functionaries in the various national republics are reproached with having interpreted the extension of the rights of the republics entirely wrongly. Accordingly, "in some places one was inclined to compare the cadres of local nationality with the cadres of other nationalities" (an article by B. Gafurov entitled "The Construction of Communism and the National Problem", which was published in "Problems of the Construction of Communism in the USSR", a compilation by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR).

In even plainer terms reference is made to the opposition on the part of the Party functionaries and intelligentsia in the individual republics in an article entitled "National Relations during the Era of the Construction of Communism", which was published in the "Problems of Philosophy", No. 7, 1959. This article admits the strength of the "nationalist remnants" and stresses that these remnants have in the first place gained a foothold in the Turkmen S.S.R., a fact which forced the Soviet Russian regime to carry out thorough purges there.

"The forms of expression of these remnants — so the article writes — are manifold. In the economic sector they find expression in local trends. In the sphere of selection and setting up of cadres they find eloquent expression in comparing the cadres of one nationality with those of another nationality. This happened for instance in the Turkmen S.S.R., where the former secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmen, Comrades Babajev and Durdyjev, simply ignored the Bolshevik selection and the significance of the cadres..."

The two secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmen were dismissed from their posts on account of "nationalist deviations". Purges of the "nationalist elements" in the Party cadres who were endeavouring to break down the principle of Khrushchov's national policy were carried out not only in the Turkmen S.S.R. but also in Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia, as well as in other republics.

It must not, however, be imagined that all these "heretical tendencies" in the leading Party circles of the individual national republics came into being suddenly, like a "deus ex machina". They were merely a reflection of the feelings of opposition which were manifest in wide circles of the population and, in particular, amongst the intellectuals. These feelings of opposition are mentioned at length in the articles to which we have already referred and also in other articles. In the above-mentioned article by Gafurov, which was published in the compilation edited by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, these feelings of opposition in the individual national republics are characterized as follows:

"One of the phenomena of national narrow-mindedness in the national republics is the local trend which finds its expression in the non-fulfilment of the quotas fixed for deliveries and in the attempts of individual workers to put by something more for their own republic at the expense of the other republics. Sometimes this local patriotism finds its expression in the exaggerated importance which is attached to the national characteristics of the republic in question..."

In the ideological sector the nationalist remnants find their expression in an idealization of the historical past, in a subjective attitude to the national move-

ments, and in disregard of the Party principle in discussing questions pertaining to culture, literature and art."

The danger of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" was discussed at considerable length at that time in a plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine by one of its secretaries, Chervonenko. It was stressed in the resolutions that were adopted at this plenary session that one of the most dangerous enemies of "socialist consciousness" in Ukraine was Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, against which a fierce combat must be fought. In an article published in the Moscow "Communist", No. 9, 1959, Chervonenko also deals with this subject. Here he once again stresses the danger of Ukrainian nationalism and reproaches the workers of the "ideological front" with having allowed themselves to be influenced by nationalism. This trend, so he affirms, is expressed in the works of certain historians, who idealize the past and also bourgeois nationalist organizations and institutions. He adds that bourgeois nationalism is expressed above all in the attempts to rehabilitate various nationalist writers who were either shot or deported in Stalin's day.

In spite of vigorous counter-action on the part of the Party in the fight against economic and cultural nationalism in the non-Russian republics, a trend which was even manifest in the leading Party cadres, and for which reason Moscow carried out large-scale purges in these Party circles, the Communist Party of the USSR within a short time saw itself obliged to open a new fight against the danger of "bourgeois nationalism", above all in the cultural sector. This time the anti-nationalist campaign was closely connected with the decrees of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR on "The Tasks of Party Propaganda under the Present Circumstances", which were adopted on January 9, 1960. In these decrees considerable importance is again attached to the danger of "bourgeois nationalism". The Party organizations in the individual republics are exhorted to wage a relentless fight against this nationalism. But these theoretical exhortations were not considered sufficient, and the matter was not allowed to rest there. In connection with the above-mentioned decrees, the Party organs in those republics in which, as Moscow assumed, nationalist deviations were particularly in evidence, received special orders and directives from the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR to the effect that they were to take particularly vigorous measures in this sector.

Thus it can be seen from an article published in the journal "Zaria Vostoka" on July 2, 1960, that the leaders of the Communist Party of Georgia received such orders. Here reference is made to a decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR of May 6, 1960, in which publishing activity in Georgia is sharply criticized. The orders issued in this connection stress the fact that the Georgian publishing firms are publishing countless books in which the past of Georgia is glorified, further that the ideological work of the intellectuals is not up to the desired standard, and that the Communist Party of Georgia must eliminate the said faults and omissions.

A similar campaign was also carried out in Armenia, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Kirgizstan. In all these republics Moscow demanded that the local Party organs should exercise a strict "political control" over the publishing firms and cultural life in general. The character of this entire campaign on the part of the Communist Party of the USSR is no doubt reflected most clearly in the words of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirgizstan, Kasakbajev. In an article published in "Izvestija" he talks about an intensification of nationalist trends amongst the intellectuals of Kirgizstan. "On the pretext of preserving the purity of the Kirgiz language and the national

character of culture and of customs — he reflects — the Kirgiz intelligentsia is trying to assert nationalist views and to stimulate the reactionary works of the bourgeois nationalists.”

In all probability a big purge of the national republican intelligentsia was again carried out at that time. This fact is corroborated by an article entitled “The Close Relations and Era of Prosperity of the Soviet Peoples” by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, Rashidov, which was published in the journal “Philosophical Problems”, No. 6, 1960. In this article Rashidov stresses the nationalist deviations in the cultural sector in Uzbekistan and adds that in connection with these deviations the Party has recently “introduced a number of measures to intensify and promote the friendship of the Uzbek people with all the other peoples of our country...” At present the Party organizations of Uzbekistan are devoting more attention to the question of the Communist training of the masses and in this sector are introducing vigorous measures in accordance with the most important document published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR. “The Tasks of Party Propaganda under the Present Circumstances”, which defines the Party’s programme in the field of ideological work.

All this expressed in normal language merely means that the decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR on the “Tasks of Party Propaganda under the Present Circumstances” and the special orders and directives issued to the leading Party functionaries in the republics are intended as an intensification of the fight against the national liberation movement in the individual republics of the Soviet Union and as a means of carrying out new purges.

But even the measures adopted in 1960 did not bring the campaign of the Communist Party of the USSR against “bourgeois nationalism” to an end. A year later Party congresses which were held in the various republics during the months of August to October, 1961, devoted themselves to a thorough discussion of the question of how to combat nationalism. As can be seen from the minutes of these congresses, bourgeois nationalism is manifest above all in the following republics: Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Kirgizstan, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and Ukraine.

In a report on the opening of the congress of the Communist Party of Esthonia, the paper “Pravda” of October 4, 1961, mentions the fact that until recently no determined and relentless fight has been waged in Esthonia against alien tendencies in the factories or public meetings arranged by individual labour leaders. “Indeed cases are becoming more numerous of critics trying to divert the attention of the public from the fundamental task of literature and art by disseminating vague and confused aesthetic views, which very often smack of nationalism and revisionism. Such public manifestations have not been counter-acted in every case by the Communists...”

Certain congress delegates mentioned the manifestation of nationalism in Lithuania when they demanded a more intensive activity “to expose the least sign of bourgeois nationalism”. As was stressed during the Party congress in Lithuania, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR recently exposed “fundamental errors in the assessment of Lithuania’s past” (“Pravda” of October 4, 1961). As was reported by the “Pravda” on October 2, 1961, the persons responsible for nationalist deviations in literature and art were fiercely criticized during the recent congress of the Communist Party of Latvia.

The 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Kirgizstan also devoted especial attention to the question of how to combat bourgeois nationalism. The First Party Secretary, T. Usabaliyev, made the following statement:

"In our Republic errors occurred with regard to the execution of the national policy, cases of recidivism of the remnants of bourgeois nationalism, as well as attempts to assert such tendencies, the purpose of which was to isolate the culture of the Kirgiz people and prevent it from being influenced by the culture of other peoples." ("Sowjetskaja Kirgizija" of September 19, 1961)

At the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan the First Party Secretary, V. Achundov, more than once sharply criticized the "interference of bourgeois nationalists" in the republic. It is apparent from his statements that a purge was carried out in the publishing sector in Azerbaijan at the beginning of 1961. Nationalist trends, so he added, were also making themselves felt in the sector of public education and enlightenment in Azerbaijan. These trends were reflected in the fact that attempts had been made to cut down instruction in the Russian language in the schools. Achundov stressed that the Party had been obliged to resort to certain measures in this respect, that is, at Moscow's orders it had russified instruction in the schools, since even today there are still "some individuals who cannot tear themselves away from old national customs". As was apparent from Achundov's statements, the fight against nationalism in Azerbaijan was conducted by a special group of Party members sent there from Moscow at the beginning of 1961 ("Bakinskij Rabotschij" — "The Baku Worker", of September 9, 1961).

At the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine the First Party Secretary, Podgorny, exhorted the delegates to intensify political activity in connection with the danger of Ukrainian "bourgeois nationalism". He said: "The bourgeois ideologists are above all endeavouring to take advantage of national feelings and to poison people with the anaesthetic of bourgeois nationalism."

Nationalist tendencies were also the subject of discussion at other republican Party congresses. At the Congress of the Communist Party of Armenia, for instance, the necessity for an intensified fight against the remnants of the past was stressed, whilst at the last Congress of the Communist Party of Georgia the First Party Secretary, Mzavanidze, sharply criticized the "national narrow-mindedness" which is in evidence in Georgia.

The examples of the expression of "bourgeois nationalism" in the republics of the Soviet Union during the years 1956 to 1961 which we have quoted here are, however, by no means exhausted. Indeed, the Soviet Russian sources which refer to the national resistance in the USSR and the fight which the Party continues to wage against the ever-living "bourgeois nationalism" could be cited ad infinitum. In this respect we should, however, like to stress that the Soviet Russian sources only reveal a little of the truth. For it is, of course, extremely embarrassing for the Party to mention the national resistance in the USSR, let alone emphasize it. This would discredit its assertions that harmonious friendship between peoples exists in the Soviet Union and that the national problem has been solved most satisfactorily!

But the above-mentioned facts already suffice for us to draw the following conclusion: in spite of all the efforts of the Party, a grim and determined fight on the part of the enslaved peoples against Russian imperialism continues unabated in the Soviet Union. Stalin was powerless to destroy these liberation movements. Nor will Khrushchov's national policy, which is based on the pseudo-Marxist theory of the decay of nations, be able to crush the urge of the peoples to liberation from Moscow. There can be no doubt about the fact that the programme of the liquidation of the non-Russian peoples in the USSR and of the construction of a uniform Russian imperium, a programme which was recently elaborated by Khrushchov's theoreticians, will meet with even greater resistance. We are convinced that the same fate which has befallen all other empires will also overtake the Russian imperium, namely that it will disintegrate.

The Letters of the Marquis Astolphe de Custine

The True Face of Russia

Astolphe de Custine, well-known French traveller and writer, was born in 1790. An admirer of the monarchical system, but discontented with rule of Louis Philippe d'Orleans, he went to Russia in 1839 to find "arguments against representative government", but returned "a partisan of constitutions".

The letters of the Marquis de Custine, giving a public account of Russia and the Russians, were first published in Paris in 1843.

Nevertheless, the analogy between Russia of 1839 and the USSR of to-day is so striking that one might forget Custine was writing his letters more than a hundred years ago. His observation is so penetrating and timeless that it could be called the best work so far produced about the Soviet Union.

We present some excerpts from Custine's famous book.

"...The Russians have not been molded in that brilliant school of good faith by which chivalrous Europe has so well profited that the word "honor" has for a long time been a synonym for fidelity to the word... The Russians are warriors, but for the purpose of conquest; they fight through obedience and through avarice..."

"The complete despotism that rules in Russia was founded at the moment when serfdom was being abolished in the rest of Europe. Since the invasion of the Mongolians the Slavs, until that time one of the freest peoples of the world, have become slaves — first of the conquerors and afterwards of their own princes. Serfdom is established then in Russia not only as a fact but as a constitutive law of society. It has degraded the human word in Russia to the point that it is no longer considered there except as a trap: our government lives on lies, for truth frightens the tyrant as well as the slave. However little one speaks in Russia, one always speaks too much; since in this country all discourse is the expression of religious or political hypocrisy..."

"On entering the country of the Russians, one sees at a glance that the social order as arranged by them can serve only for their use. One must be Russian to live in Russia, although on the surface everything proceeds there as elsewhere. The difference is in fundamentals..."

I do not blame the Russians for being what they are; I blame them for pretending to be what we are. They are still uneducated — this condition, at least, leaves the field open for hope. But I see them endlessly possessed with a mania for imitating

other nations, and they imitate them in the manner of monkeys, making what they copy ridiculous. Then, I tell myself: these are men lost for the savage state and deficient for civilization, and the terrible words of Voltaire or of Diderot, forgotten in France, come back to my mind: "The Russians have rotted before they are ripe".

"The more I see of Russia, the more I agree with the Emperor when he forbids Russians to travel and makes access to his own country difficult for foreigners. The political system of Russia could not withstand twenty years of free communication with Western Europe. Do not listen to the boasts of Russians; they take pomp for elegance, luxury for politeness, police and fear for the foundations of society. In their minds, to be disciplined is to be civilized. They forget that there are savages with gentle manners who are very cruel soldiers. In spite of all their pretensions to good manners, in spite of their superficial education and their profound and premature corruption, in spite of their facility in recognizing and understanding the realities of life, the Russians are not yet civilized. They are regimented Tartars, nothing more.

In France, revolutionary tyranny is an evil of transition; in Russia, the tyranny of despotism is a permanent revolution".

"In general the Russians manifest their intelligence rather by the manner in which they use poor tools than by the care they put into perfecting these tools. Endowed with little ingenuity, they usually lack machinery suitable for the end they wish to achieve. This people, which has so much grace and facility, lacks creative genius. Once again, the Russians are the Romans of the North. Both have taken their sciences and their arts from foreign lands. They have intelligence but theirs is an imitative mind and, consequently more ironic than fertile — it copies everything and creates nothing".

"... Form for yourself the conception of a half-savage people who have been regimented without being civilized and you will understand the moral and social condition of the Russian people".

"The diplomatic corps and Westerners in general have always been considered by this government, with its Byzantine spirit, and by Russia as a whole, as malevolent and jealous spies. There is this similarity between the Russians and the Chinese — both always believe that foreigners envy them; they judge us by themselves".

"It must be said that the Russians of all classes conspire with miraculous harmony to make duplicity prevail in their country. They

have a dexterity in lying, a naturalness in falsehood, the success of which is as revolting to my candor as it is appalling to me. . . . Everything that gives a meaning and a goal to political institutions reduces itself here to one lone sentiment — fear. In Russia, fear replaces, that is to say paralyzes, thought; this sentiment, when it alone reigns, can produce only the appearance of civilization; though not shunned by shortsighted legislators, fear can never be the soul of a well-organized society; it is not order — it is only the veil over chaos. Where liberty is lacking, soul and truth are lacking. Russia is a body without life — a colossus which subsists through its head, but whose limbs, all equally deprived of strength, languish. Out of this arises a profound anxiety, an inexpressible uneasiness, and this uneasiness is the expression of a positive suffering — the sign of an organic illness.

I believe that of all the parts of the world Russia is the one where people have the least real happiness.

In any other country such a great gathering of people would produce a commotion, a deafening tumult. In Russia everything takes place with gravity, everything assumes the character of a ritual; silence is indispensable. To see all these young people gathered together for their pleasure, or for the pleasure of others, not daring to laugh, or sing, or quibble, or play, or dance, or run, is like seeing a troop of prisoners on the point of leaving for their destination. Another reminder of Siberia! The thing I miss in all I see is certainly not grandeur or magnificence, or even taste and elegance, it is gaiety”.

“I never cease to be astonished in seeing that there exists a people indifferent to the point of calmly living and dying in the dim light granted to it by its masters’ police. Up to now, I believed that man could no more do without truth for the spirit than air and sun for the body; my journey to Russia disabuses me. Here, to lie is to protect the social order, to speak the truth is to destroy the State”.

“Russia is a nation of mutes; some magician has changed men into automatons who await the wand of another magician to be reborn and to live. Nothing is lacking in Russia. . . . except liberty, that is to say life”.

“Thanks to the terror which hovers over all heads, submission serves everyone: victims and executioners — all believe they have need of the obedience which perpetuates the injustice they inflict and the injustice they suffer”.

“The morals of a people are produced slowly by the reciprocal action of laws on customs and customs on laws; they do not change at the wave of a wand. Those of the Russians, despite all the pretensions of these half-savages, are cruel and will remain so for

a long time yet. It is scarcely more than a century since they were real Tartars; it was only Peter the Great who began to force men to introduce women into gatherings. Beneath their modern elegance, many of these newcomers to civilization are still bears; they have turned their skins inside out, but only to scratch a little to find the bristling fur”.

“With this obedient people, the influence of social institutions is so great in all classes, the involuntary formation of habits dominates character to such a point that even the recent outbursts of vengeance seem to be regulated by a certain discipline. Calculated murder is executed in cadence; men kill other men militarily, religiously, without anger, without emotion, without words, with a calm more terrible than the delirium of hatred. They clash together; they are overturned; they are crushed; they run over each other’s bodies, as machines turn regularly on their pivots. This physical impassiveness in the midst of the most violent actions, this monstrous audacity in conception, this coldness in executions, this silence of fury, this mute fanaticism, is, if one may so express oneself, conscientious crime. A certain order contrary to nature presides in this astonishing country of the most unprecedented excesses; tyranny and revolt march in time, each regulating its step to that of the other”.

“As everything is alike, the immense extent of territory does not prevent everything being done from one end of Russia to the other with magic punctuality and accord. If one ever succeeded in organizing a real revolution among the Russian people, the massacre would be regulated like the movements of a regiment. One would see villages changed into barracks and organized murder, completely armed, coming out of thatched cottages to advance in line and in good order; finally the Russians would be prepared to plunder from Smolensk to Irkutsk just as they parade on the square of the Winter Palace in Petersburg. From so much uniformity a harmony is produced between the natural disposition of the people and their social habits, the effects of which could be prodigious either for good or for evil.

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”.

“If better diplomats are found among the Russians than among highly civilized peoples, it is because our papers warn them of everything that happens and everything that is contemplated in our countries. Instead of disguising our weaknesses with prudence, we reveal them with vehemence every morning; whereas, the Russians’ Byzantine policy, working in the shadow, carefully conceals from us all that is thought, done, and feared

in their country. We proceed in broad daylight; they advance under cover: the game is one-sided. The ignorance in which they leave us blinds us; our sincerity enlightens them; we have the weakness of loquacity; they have the strength of secrecy. There, above all, is the cause of their cleverness".

"Such a social organization produces a fever of envy so violent, a straining of minds toward ambition so constant, that by now the Russian people must be inept in everything except the conquest of the world. I always come back to this term because such a goal is the only thing that can explain the excessive sacrifices imposed here on the individual by society. If inordinate ambition dries up the heart of man, it can also exhaust the minds and delude the judgment of a nation to the point of making it sacrifice its liberty to victory. Without this ulterior design, admitted or not, which many men obey, perhaps in ignorance, the history of Russia seems to me an inexplicable enigma.

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".

"A people which has nothing to teach the peoples it wishes to subjugate is not the stronger for long.

Physically even French and English peasants are more robust than the Russians: the Russians are more agile than muscular, more ferocious than energetic, more cunning than enterprising. The Russians have passive courage, but they lack daring and perseverance. The two Turkish campaigns have sufficiently demonstrated the weakness of the colossus: in brief, a society which did not enjoy liberty, a birth, where every great political crisis has been provoked by the influence of a foreign civilization, a society deprived of strength in its bud cannot have a long future.

From all of that, it is concluded that Russia, strong at home, formidable as long as she contends only with Asiatic populations, would be crushed by Europe any day she should decide to throw off her mask and wage war to hack up her arrogant diplomacy".

"One can see nothing here without ceremony and advance preparation. To go anywhere, no matter where, at the moment you have the desire is impossible; if it is necessary to foresee four days in advance where one's fancy will take one, one may as well have no fancy. But, in the end, one is resigned to this while living here. Russian hospitality, bristling with formalities, makes life difficult for the most favoured foreign-

ers; it is a polite pretext for hampering the movements of the traveler and limiting his licence to observe. They do you the so-called honors of the country. Thanks to this fastidious politeness, the observer cannot visit places or look at anything without a guide; never being alone he has trouble judging for himself, which is what they want. To enter Russia, you must deposit your free will along with your passport at the frontier..."

"In Russia secrecy presides over everything: secrecy — administrative, political, social; discretion — useful and useless; silence — superfluous for assuring necessary security; such are the inevitable consequences of the primitive character of this people, corroborated by the influence of its government".

"I observed from the beginning that any Russians of the lower classes, suspicious by nature, detest foreigners through ignorance and national prejudice; I have since found that any Russian of the upper classes, equally suspicious, fears foreigners because he believes them hostile; he says: 'The French, the English, are convinced of their superiority over all peoples'. This is sufficient motive for the Russian to hate the foreigner. A barbaric jealousy, an envy — childish but impossible to allay, govern most Russians in their relations with people of other countries; and as you sense this unsociable tendency everywhere you finish, while feeling sorry for yourself, by showing the distrust that you inspire. You conclude that a confidence which never becomes reciprocal is fraudulent; hence you remain cold and reserved".

"They 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 this 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".

"Certainly, the land where such a monument (the Church of St. Basil) is called a place of prayer is not Europe; it is India, Persia, China, and the men who go to worship God in this box of glazed fruits are not Christians!"

"Heritage of the fabulous times when falsehood was king without control; jail, palace, sanctuary, bulwark against the foreigner, fortress against the nation, support of tyrants, prison of peoples — that is the Kremlin!"

"Glory in slavery, such is the allegory featured in this satanic monument, as extraordinary in architecture as the visions of

St. John are extraordinary in poetry — it is a habitation suitable for the personages of the Apocalypse.

To live in the Kremlin is not to live; it is to protect oneself; oppression creates revolt; revolt necessitates precautions; precautions increase the danger; and of this long series of actions and reactions is born a monster, despotism, which has built itself a house in Moscow — the Kremlin! The giants of the antediluvian world, if they came back on earth to visit their feeble successors, after having vainly searched for some traces of their primitive asylums, would still be able to dwell in the Kremlin.

Intentionally or not, everything has a symbolic sense in the architecture of the Kremlin; but the thing that remains real, after you have overcome your first dread and are able to delve into the midst of these wild splendors, is a mass of cells pompously named palaces and cathedrals. The Russians try in vain — they do not get out of prison.

The climate itself is an accomplice of tyranny. The cold of this land does not permit the constructions of vast churches, where the faithful would be frozen during prayer; here the spirit is not lifted to the sky by the pomp of religious architecture; in this zone, man can build to God only dark dungeons. The somber cathedrals of the Kremlin, with their narrow vaults and their thick walls, resemble caves; they are prisons just as the palaces are gilded jails.

Of the wonders of this frightening architecture it must be said, as travelers say of the inner Alps: these are beautiful horrors”.

“The world will never see two such masterpieces of despotism as the Kremlin, nor two nations as superstitiously patient as the Muscovite nation was under the fabulous reign of its tyrant.

The results are felt to this day. If they had accompanied me on this journey, you would have discovered, with me, in the depths of the souls of the Russian people the inevitable ravages of arbitrary power pushed to its utmost consequences. The first result is a savage indifference towards sanctity of the word, sincerity of sentiment, justice of deed; the second result is deceit triumphant in all the actions and transactions of life — the absence of probity, bad faith, fraud in all its forms; in a word, a deadened moral sense. It seems to me I see a stream of vices flowing out through all the gates of the Kremlin to inundate Russia.

Other nations have tolerated oppression; the Russian nation has loved it; she still loves it. Is not this fanaticism of obedience characteristic? Here, however, it cannot be denied that this popular mania has become, by exception, the principle of sublime act-

ions. In this inhuman country, if society has denatured man, it has not shrunk him. At times, he carries baseness to the point of heroism; he is not good but he is not paltry; that is also what one can say of the Kremlin. To look at the Kremlin does not give pleasure but creates fear. It is not beautiful; it is terrible, terrible like the reign of Ivan IV.

Such a reign blinds forever the human soul in a nation which has patiently submitted to it to the end. The last descendants of these men, branded by the hangman, will suffer from their father's betrayal of trust — treason against humanity degrades peoples unto their remotest posterity. This crime does not consist just in administering injustice but in tolerating it. A people, which, under the pretext that obedience is the greatest of virtues, bequeaths tyranny to its descendants slights its own interests; it does worse than that — it fails in its obligations.

The blind patience of subjects, their silence, their fidelity to insane masters are poor virtues. Submission is praiseworthy and sovereignty venerable only in so far as they become the means of assuring the rights of humanity.

These are limitations that the Russians have never admitted nor understood; however, they are necessary to the development of real civilization. Without them, a moment would come when the social state would become more harmful than useful to humanity and the sophists would have a good case to send man back to the depths of the forests”.

“This monstrous reign has fascinated Russia to the joint of making her find an object for admiration even in the shameless power of the princes who govern her. Political obedience has become a cult, a religion for the Russians. It is only with this people — at least I believe this is so — that one has seen martyrs in adoration before their executioners! Did Rome fall at the feet of Tiberius and Nero to beseech them not to relinquish their absolute power and to continue to burn and pillage, to bathe themselves calmly in its blood and bring shame upon its children? That is what you will see the Muscovites doing in the middle of the reign and at the height of the tyranny of Ivan IV”.

“The formidable Kremlin, with all its prestige, with its iron gates, its fabulous dungeons, its inaccessible ramparts raised to the sky, its madicolations its crenelles, its caverns, seemed too weak a refuge to the mad monarch who wished to exterminate half the population in order to rule the other half in peace. In this heart, perverted by the force of terror and cruelty, where evil and the fright it engenders wreaked new havoc every day, an inexplicable defi-

ance — for it is without apparent motive, or at least without positive motive — allied itself to an atrocity without aim; thus the most shameful cowardice pleaded in behalf of the blindest ferocity. A new Nebuchadnezzar the king changed into a tiger”.

“The greatest of the pleasures of these people is drunkenness, in other words, oblivion. Poor people! They have to dream to be happy. But the thing that proves the debonair disposition of the Russians is that when the muzhiks get tipsy, as calloused as they are, they grow tender instead of fighting and killing each other according to the custom of drunks in our countries. They weep and embrace — interesting and strange nation. It would be sweet to make them happy. But the task would be hard if not impossible. Find me the means of satisfying the vague desires of a giant, young, lazy, ignorant, ambitious and tied down to the point of being unable to budge either his feet or his hands! Never do I pity the lot of the people of this country without feeling equally sorry for the all-power man who governs it”.

“In order to live in Russia, dissimulation is not enough; feigning is indispensable. To conceal is useful; to feign is essential. I leave you to surmise and appreciate the efforts imposed upon gallant souls and independent minds obliged to resign themselves to enduring a regime where peace and good order are paid for by discrediting the human word — the most sacred of all the gifts of heaven for a man who holds anything sacred”.

“The Russians are always on the defensive against truth, which they fear; but I, belonging to a society where life takes place in the broad light of day and where everything is published and discussed, am not bothered in the least by the scruples of these men in whose country nothing is said . . . Any clear accurate word is an event in a country where not only the expression of opinion, but even the recital of well established facts is forbidden”.

“The Russian mind — friendly as it is to uniformity — cannot achieve real order; the characteristics of this administration are: meddling, negligence, and corruption. One is revolted by the idea of becoming accustomed to all that but, nevertheless, one does become accustomed to it. A sincere man in that country would pass for mad”.

“I have been to Russia; I wanted to see a country where the calmness of a power assured of its strength reigns; but when I got there, I realized that only silence and fear reign, and I drew a lesson from this spectacle entirely different from the one I had come to ask from it. This is a world practically unknown to foreigners: the Russians who travel to escape it pay tribute to the father-

land from afar in artful praises; and most of the travelers who have described it to us wished to find there only what they went to look for. If one defends one's preconceptions against evidence, what is the good of traveling? When one has decided to see nations as one wishes to see them, then one has no need to leave one's own country”.

“In Russia, everything that meets your eye, everything that goes on around you is of a frightening regularity, and the first thought that comes to the mind of a traveler when he contemplates this symmetry is that such complete uniformity, such regularity, so contrary to the natural inclinations of man, could not have been achieved and cannot subsist without violence. Under such a regime man can know, and does know, from the first day of his life what he will see and what he will do to the last day of his life.

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 capriciously — this serves to create doubt of the supreme justice; there man has two coffins — the cradle and the tomb”.

“An inordinate, a boundless ambition, the kind of ambition that can take root only in the soul of an oppressed people and be nourished only on the misery of an entire nation is astir in the hearts of the Russians. This essentially aggressive nation, greedy from want, lives in a state of submissiveness so degrading that it seems to be expiating in advance its hope of exercising tyranny over others. The anticipated glory and riches divert its thoughts from the shame it suffers. To cleanse himself of his impious sacrifice of all public and personal liberty, the kneeling slave dreams of world domination”.

“There, nothing has limits, neither sorrows nor rewards, neither sacrifices, nor hopes: their power can become enormous, but they will have bought it at the price Asiatic nations pay for the stability of their governments — the price of happiness.

Russia sees Europe as a prey which our dissensions will sooner or later deliver up to her; she foments anarchy among us in the hope of profiting by a corruption she promotes because it is favorable to her views. It is the history of Poland recommencing on a larger scale. For many years Paris read revolutionary papers, revolutionary in every sense, paid for by Russia. ‘Europe’, they say in Petersburg, ‘is taking the line that Poland followed; she is enervating herself through vain liberalism while we remain powerful precisely because we are not free: let us be patient under the yoke, we will make others pay for our shame’.

In Russia, whoever is not a dupe is considered a traitor. There, to laugh at brag-

ging, to refute a lie, to contradict an expedient boast, to justify obedience, is an attempt against the security of the State and of the prince; it is to incur the fate of a revolutionary, of a conspirator, of an enemy of the established order, of a criminal guilty of high treason . . . and you know how cruel that fate is! It must be admitted that a sensitivity which manifests itself in such a manner is more dreadful than laughable — the minute supervision of such a government in harmony with the open vanity of such a people becomes frightful; it is no longer ridiculous.

One can and one must force oneself to every kind of precaution under a master who gives grace to no enemy, who does not

overlook the slightest resistance, and who, therefore, considers vengeance a duty. This man, or rather this government personified, would take pardon for apostasy, clemency for self-neglect, humanity for lack of respect toward his majesty . . . what am I saying, toward his divinity! He is not a master to give up having himself worshipped”.

“When your son is discontented in France, use my formula; say to him: ‘Go to Russia’. It is a journey that would be beneficial to every foreigner; for whoever has really seen Russia will find himself content to live anywhere else. It is always good to know that a society exists where no happiness is possible because, by a law of his nature, man cannot be happy unless he is free . . .”

Slava Stetzko

The Potential of the Subjugated Peoples

(Speech delivered at the Conférence sur la Guerre Politique
des Soviets, Rome, November 1961)

Mr. President! Ladies and Gentlemen!

The previous speakers have already expressed their opinion on the creation of a new anti-Communist centre as a result of this conference. May I be permitted to speak my candid opinion. I am very sceptical as regards the creation of such an organization. And in this respect I definitely agree with the view expressed by Mr. Cramer, the President of the CIAS. It is far more important to strengthen the already existing anti-Communist organizations and to intensify their cooperation than to waste our energy on a new organization. All the more so, since we have considerable misgivings as to whether such an organization could actually carry on an effective activity. How can we set our hopes on an organization if neither a platform for cooperation nor any statutes have so far been worked out for it and no definite programme has as yet been drawn up. Moreover the organizations which exist at present have not been consulted in this matter.

At the same time I should like to mention the fact that there are present here in this hall at the moment a number of representatives of the subjugated peoples, namely of Ukraine, Bulgaria, Roumania, Hungary, Slovakia, Byelorussia, Georgia etc., who belong to the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN). This Organization was not called into being in the free world either yesterday or today, but already in the year 1943, that is to say during the war, in the forests of Ukraine as an underground movement. This

organization has existed and has been active since then, and not thanks to the support of the free countries of the world but thanks to the broad masses of the population, both behind the Iron Curtain and also here in exile, of the countries concerned.

There are also present here today the representatives of the Interamerican Confederation for the Defence of the Continent and the representatives of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League. We have been cooperating with these two organizations for years. In addition, the representatives of various other active organizations are also present here. Surely it would be better to strengthen these organizations instead of calling a new organization into being, in which we have, in any case, not much confidence? The most important thing in every organization are the principles which serve as its banner. I regret to say that this conference has not set itself the task of drawing up such principles on which a vote would then have had to be taken. When I tried to make sure, for instance, that I would be allowed to speak, I was told: “You may speak but only on one condition, — namely that you do not attack so-called Russian imperialism!”

I should, however, like to stress that this was not a condition stipulated by the Italian organizers of this conference, to whom we are grateful for the invitation which they sent us and whose sympathy and understanding for the collaboration of the representatives of the subjugated peoples at such con-

ferences we deeply appreciate. — For this reason I should like to ask: why then was I forbidden to attack Russian imperialism?

We shall continue to fight against Russian imperialism and colonialism until the Russian imperium is dismembered into independent national states. I should like to point out that we representatives of the subjugated peoples have no objection to a Russian democratic state of the Russian people as long as it only comprises the Russian ethnographical territory. Though I should like you to hear in mind that the heroic young people of Hungary had inscribed on their banners "Russians go home!", "Russians get out of Hungary!" With these watchwords the fight will be continued in all the subjugated countries, in Ukraine, Georgia, Bulgaria, Turkestan, Byelorussia and all others.

I should now like to refer briefly to the significance of the national idea in the fight against Communism. One of the gentlemen said in his speech during the discussions that the national idea is decadent in Western Europe. We refuse to believe this. In reality the national idea is the characteristic sign of our times. I regret that, owing to lack of time, I cannot explain the significance of religion, too, in this fight. But it was mainly thanks to the national idea and thanks to the strong national consciousness of all social classes in Ukraine that the armed fight there against Russia continued for years after World War II, at a time when the free peoples were submitting to the will of victorious Russia. The 200,000 strong Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) led this fight.

Those who do not believe our information should study the Russian sources, which will give them information on the alliance concluded in 1947 by Russia, Red Poland and Red Czecho-Slovakia for the purpose of a coordinated fight against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. I wish to stress that the Ukrainian people has continued this fight under the banner of the national idea up to the present time. Proof of this fact can be seen from frequent trials, the sentencing of members of the Ukrainian underground, the campaign of the Russians in the press and radio against the nationalists, as well as from the strikes in the concentration camps in Kingir, Norylsk, Vorkuta and Karaganda, and the strike in Temir Tau, where Ukrainian and Byelorussian youth fought on the barricades in defence of the national idea. Statistical data give a clear picture of the national composition in the concentration camps: approximately 45 per cent of the prisoners are Ukrainians, members of the Baltic peoples come second, followed by the Turkestanians and Caucasians, whilst the Russian prisoners only number 8 per cent.

Is there anyone here who will try and convince us that national feeling died out in

Poland or Hungary after the heroic revolt? Those who have recently had an opportunity to visit Yugoslavia will corroborate the fact that the Croatian people uphold and maintain a profound national tradition and strong patriotic feelings in the fight against Communism. And this phenomenon is likewise in evidence amongst the emigrants. It is true that the Croatian emigrants are big nationalists, as the Yugoslav delegate here said. But his statement to the effect that it is precisely owing to this strong national feeling amongst the Croatian emigrants, especially in Latin America, that Communism has found a fertile soil, is not true. The delegates from Latin America who are present here proved exactly the contrary.

The success of the fight of the free world depends on the right understanding and the right interpretation of the national question in the fight against Communism. Not only the African peoples but, equally, the peoples of Europe and of Asia, with their great culture and their own state tradition, have a right to national states of their own. Their fight and their participation in the common front must be rightly assessed and emphasized accordingly.

In spite of my sympathies for Mme. Labin, I am obliged to admit that I was disappointed by her speech. She talked at length about Communism, about its subversive activity in all social classes of the free peoples, and about the visible triumphs of Communism. She sharply criticized the Americans, the French and the Germans, and in fact everyone and everything! But she did not mention a single word about the fight of the subjugated peoples against Communism, and hence the balance arouses a very pessimistic feeling.

Each of us knows that the success of the fight to a large extent always depends upon whether the enemy is rightly recognized. It is important to know not only his strength but also his weaknesses.

Mme. Labin did not mention our strength at all. And when I say "our", I mean all of us, including the peoples of the free world. For the fight of our subjugated peoples is a fight for our common ideals, for our freedom, and also for your freedom, representatives of the free world!

Apart from the weaknesses of the free world there are many active anti-Communist organizations and many circles and personalities who rightly assess the anti-Communist fight and the significance of the subjugated peoples in this fight. As an example in this connection I should like to mention the speech made by the Canadian Premier Diefenbaker in the UNO in defence of the independence of Ukraine, Poland, Hungary and other subjugated peoples; similarly, the speech made by the Chinese delegate in the

UNO. Ambassador Tsiang; the plea of the Foreign Minister of the Philippines, Felixberto Serrano; and the proclamation of "Captive Nations Week" by the U.S. Congress. All these measures represent the important moral support of our fight on the part of the anti-Communist organizations of the peoples of Asia and Latin America, a support which we have enjoyed a long time.

Mme. Labin made no mention whatever of the subjugated peoples. Instead, she dealt at length with the necessity of enlightenment activity behind the Iron Curtain on the question as to what Communism really is.

Ladies and Gentlemen! We representatives of the subjugated peoples are not about to teach you. History should be a sufficient lesson in this respect. But allow me to say, cease trying to teach us what Communism is! And cease trying to teach the subjugated peoples in particular what Communism is!

It is more important that we should raise the question as to how Communism can be destroyed, and not only in the peripheral

countries but also in the very centre itself, namely in Moscow.

The potential of the subjugated peoples and of their emigrants should no longer be underrated. I should merely like to remind you of the fact that General de Gaulle and the Queen of the Netherlands were also emigrants, and so, too, was Lenin.

In conclusion I should also like to remind you of the fact that it was possible for the Red Army to overrun and destroy the Ukrainian state after the first world war not merely because that state was too weak to defend itself, but also because certain free states supported the White Russians — Denikin and others — and thus indirectly the Red Russians, too. This also happened in the case of Byelorussia, Georgia, Turkestan and other countries.

We warn the free world to beware of committing the same suicidal errors in its future differences with Moscow! The sacred right of each people to its independent state life in its ethnographical territory must be respected and observed!

From Behind the Iron Curtain



RUMANIA

Collectivization Completed

A communiqué published by the entire Communist press of Roumania on April 26th this year stated that the so-called "socialization campaign" with regard to private property owned by farmers had now been completed. In order to emphasize this alleged achievement, the people's representation convened in a special session at which the result of the said campaign was officially corroborated. Without exception, all the speeches held on this occasion drew attention to the fact that "socialism has now triumphed both in the towns and the rural areas".

Incidentally, the "enthusiasm" of those concerned, which is always referred to on such occasions, was not mentioned this time. Indeed, it would hardly have been possible to talk about any enthusiasm, since the regime, in spite of the pressure and intimidation methods that it has applied, has taken 13 whole years to carry out the said action. During this period thousands of farmers have

been arrested, and thousands of persons have been sentenced. At an officially organized farmers' meeting last December, an important representative of the Party was forced to admit that up to that time 80,000 farmers had been arrested and 30,000 sentenced. But the figures are, of course, much higher.

The fierce resistance which the farmers have put up for over a decade against the measures introduced by the Party is reflected and also corroborated in the data supplied by the first Party chief, Gheorghiu Dej. He stated that 96 per cent of the total area under cultivation in Roumania, that is to say 3,067,000 private farms, had been collectivized and that the number of families of the farming class now collectivized amounted to 3,200,000.

This figure does not however include those families who have joined together to form so-called voluntary agrarian co-operatives and have so far managed to resist a complete collectivization. These farmers continue to put up a fierce fight against the authorities. For instance, they consistently refuse to deliver the fixed quotas of products to the state, and from time to time they organize a local revolt against the regime, which as a rule leads to arrests and executions on a large scale.

Murder of a Priest

In the village of Baraboi in the Moldavian S.S.R. the priest and the sexton were murdered by one of the inhabitants. For months the villagers then tried to get a new priest, but when it was made plain to them that the murdered priest would not be replaced, a number of them became so infuriated that they beat the murderer for hours on end until he died.

Although the village authorities knew that steps had been taken to "punish the guilty person", the militia was not informed of this fact. And it transpired later, at the trial of the murderer, that the said authorities had taken every precautionary measure possible in order to prevent the militia from being informed. One can but ask, was it fear on the part of the authorities, or were they an accessory to the crime?

The Supreme Court of Justice of the said Soviet Republic sentenced four of the villagers to death and fifteen to long terms of hard labour. By order of the court the village church was demolished and a "culture palace" built in its place.

Jehovah's Witnesses

For some time now, Jehovah's Witnesses in Zaicani in the Moldavian S.S.R. have been developing a lively anti-Communist activity. Some years ago more than 150 of them were sentenced to terms of imprisonment of up to 25 years and were sent to penal colonies.

In 1956 they were amnestied, however, and soon after their release resumed their political activity once more. When they were re-arrested recently, various propaganda material was found in their possession, including a pamphlet entitled "The Fight for Freedom on the Home Front". This pamphlet clearly shows that there is not the least election or press freedom in the Soviet Union and that all other civil and political rights are either non-existent or extremely restricted.

The trial which followed the renewed arrest of the members of Jehovah's Witnesses was held before the Supreme Court of Justice of the Moldavian S.S.R. Contrary to the charge brought forward against the accused on the previous occasion, which stated that the said sect had endeavoured to undermine the state "with the help of foreign powers", the charge this time was: "an attempt to undermine the state from within".

Local Broadcasting Services in Collectivization Campaign

The Roumanian press in March this year particularly stressed the outstanding part of the local broadcasting services in supporting the collectivization campaign (see the "New

Way" of March 20, 1962). These services, so it was emphasized, had throughout the entire campaign brought "the words and instructions of the Party" to every farm-house. For this reason, these services have now been called the "Local Paper" (that is, the paper of the place in question).

And in order to draw still more attention to the importance of these local broadcasting services, the Roumanian press quoted the following statistics: in the rural areas there are now about 500 such spoken local papers. These 500 broadcasting stations cover about 1,500 villages, with a total of about 2,000,000 listeners.

These figures, however, show that only one-eighth of the 4,000 villages in Roumania and less than one-sixth of the 12,500,000 rural population receive the "words and instructions of the Party" free of charge at home. The remainder of the rural population has to content itself with the traditional instillation methods of the Communist propaganda apparatus: the so-called "flying means" (cinematographic projectors installed on lorries which travel from village to village), and, of course, the "convincement campaigns" carried out by the local Communist Party organizations. In spite of all the efforts made by the regime in the field of psychological mass-influence, the technical apparatus of propaganda is still only in its initial stage.

Agricultural Stachanovists

Simultaneous with the completion of the collectivization campaign, the demands of the Party to the farmers have also increased. Not only the farmers but also their wives are now compelled to work more days in the year in the collectives and, of course, to achieve a higher output. From a report published by the organization of the Roumanian kolkhoz women in Transylvania it can be seen that the female members of the "zootechnical sections" of the agricultural production co-operatives last year accomplished from 250 to 270 days' work (the "New Way" of April 26, 1962). This means that these women, who also had household and family tasks to attend to, had no free day whatever and never a moment to spare.

Another newspaper report (the "New Way" of April 19, 1962) states that within a week 8,000 collective farmers dug 150 miles of drainage ditches and cleaned 80 miles of them. These records, which even surpass the achievements of the Russian stachanov, give one an idea of the extent to which the Roumanian farmers are being enslaved now that collectivization has been completed. Seeing that they have now been robbed of their property by the state on the pretext of "Socialization", they no longer have a

chance to put up an effective resistance against Communism. The farmers in Roumania have become exploited wage-earners whom the Bolshevik state can put under pressure and pay arbitrarily as it sees fit.

Legal Enlightenment Campaign

The Roumanian papers have recently talked a lot about an intensification of the enlightenment campaign regarding the intricacy of Communist legislation (see the "New Way" of April 10, 1962). The Jurists' Union of the Roumanian People's Republic has been entrusted with the task of carrying out this enlightenment campaign. This organization includes all the judges, lawyers and other jurists of Roumania.

The members of the Jurists' Union have now received instructions to visit all factories, concerns, institutions and villages in the rural areas in order to enlighten the population on questions such as community life, family matters, protection and education of minors, industrial laws, and traffic regulations, etc.

Consequently, the public (farmers, workers, civil servants, etc.) as well as the compulsory speakers and lecturers are now forced to sacrifice their time for their "juristical training", in addition to their heavy work and obligatory attendance at the various Party and cultural meetings.

But like many other campaigns in the past, this one, too, does not appear to be much of a success. Last year only 200 such juristical lectures were held in Bucharest before a total audience of about 35,000 (the total population of Bucharest numbers more than 1,500,000). Incidentally, no data is given as regards the total number of persons who attended such lectures in the entire country, a fact which obviously indicates that this campaign is proving a failure.



SLOVAKIA

Purging of Town Coats-of-Arms

The old town coats-of-arms in Slovakia, which in many cases depict the figures of saints, angels, lambs, etc., and are thus "not in keeping with the socialist order", are in future only to be displayed in museums. According to the Bratislava "Pravda", however, no new coats-of-arms need be designed, since the new state coat-of-arms is the finest ornament that could adorn any public building. This opinion is needless to say, not shared by the Slovakian people, who are proud of their old coats-of-arms and regard the new state coat-of-arms with the Bohemian lion and the Soviet star as a symbol of subjugation.



TURKISTAN

In the course of the past two years several thousand girls in Tadzhikistan, who are still influenced by "nationalist feudal prejudices", stayed away from classes at the secondary schools. The so-called anti-Party "actions" of the former leaders of Tadzhikistan have helped to strengthen religion and nationalism ideologically still more. In Tadzhikistan hypocrisy continues to be practised by everybody, from the lowest to the highest authorities, in all sectors of cultural and economic life. Most of the boys and girls who are admitted to the secondary and high schools have a very low educational level. 90 per cent of them have no knowledge of chemistry, physics and mathematics. The Tadzhik language is being russified as fast as possible, a fact which is extremely disadvantageous to instruction in this language in the schools. Parents refuse to send their children to schools where the language of instruction is Russian, whilst on the other hand, the boys and girls who have no knowledge of Russian are refused admission to secondary and high schools, for in this type of school in Tadzhikistan instruction is given exclusively in Russian. The "Komsomolska Pravda" affirms that the teachers and the active members of the Komsomol are very often advocates and supporters of nationalist prejudices.

("Komsomolska Pravda", No. 31, 1962)

The Autonomous Soviet Republic of Mari

The people of this autonomous republic are a non-Russian people who have been enslaved by Moscow and incorporated in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR). The regional paper "The Young Communist" recently attacked the teachers and the parents of pupils at the secondary schools there for opposing the study of the Russian language on the grounds that there was a shortage of teachers. "The Russian language — so the paper writes — is becoming the second mother-tongue of the multinational peoples of the USSR". It then goes on to affirm that "the refusal to learn the language of the great Russian people and of Lenin is equal to a crime against the state, since in this way one is ignoring the principles of the national policy of the Communist Party of the USSR..." (In this way the principles of the rigorous russification of the non-Russian peoples in the USSR are being ignored, — The Editor.)

("The Young Communist", No. 30, 1962)

The Colonial Character of Industry in the Non-Russian Republics of the USSR

The Party propagandists constantly stress the big industrial development and progress of the non-Russian republics of the USSR and ascribe this to the Soviet Russian government and to the help of the elder brother, the "great Russian people".

But they never mention who it is who derives benefit from this industrial development and progress, nor of what purpose and what character it is.

As can be seen from Soviet Russian data, the economy of some of the republics of the USSR in industrial respect equals the standard of the economy of the most developed countries in Western Europe. The economy certainly, but not the standard of living of the local population. For in this respect all the republics of the USSR are far behind the highly developed industrial countries in West Europe; indeed, their population frequently has to put up with considerable economic difficulties.

What is more, — on the strength of the above-mentioned Soviet Russian statistical data, it can easily be ascertained that the standard of living of the republics of the USSR is much lower than the general standard of living of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (R.S.F.S.R.). The statistics on the national economy of the individual republics of the USSR prove that whereas the index for the standard of living in the R.S.F.S.R. during the years 1950 to 1956 was 100, the index in Byelorussia, Ukraine and the other non-Russian republics was only about 69.

Why is there such a big difference between the standard of living of the R.S.F.S.R. and that of the national republics? In the first place, because a large proportion of the national income of these republics is used to the advantage of the R.S.F.S.R. and not for the non-Russian republics themselves. This makes an increase in the standard of living of the R.S.F.S.R. possible at the expense of the other republics. Secondly, another reason is to be sought in the colonial character of the economy of the non-Russian republics of the USSR. For, since these republics, apart from the development of their industry, for the most part produce raw materials they can be regarded as a base in this respect for the central industry of the R.S.F.S.R. And, what is more, — they are an extremely cheap base, since the R.S.F.S.R. receives most of these raw materials not in the form of an exchange of goods but simply as supplies.

Let us take the textile industry of the Soviet Union as an example. According to Soviet Russian statistics, the R.S.F.S.R. in 1956 produced about 1,500 tons of cotton, whereas all the other republics of the

USSR, and above all Central Asia, produced about 10,000,000 tons of cotton. In spite of this fact the Russian textile industry worked up 85 per cent of cotton during this period, even though it would have been high time to set up a textile industry in those republics which grow the cotton.

The R.S.F.S.R. produces no silk at all. Silk is produced above all in Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Turkestan. But in spite of this fact about 85 per cent of silk is worked up in the factories in the R.S.F.S.R.

The colonial character of Soviet Russian policy is no doubt most in evidence in the metallurgical industry of Ukraine. Recent statistics show that Ukraine produces more than half the entire iron ore of the Soviet Union. But the steel production of Ukraine is not more than 38 per cent of the total steel production of the USSR. About 60 per cent of the steel produced in Ukraine is exported to the R.S.F.S.R. for further processing there. Ukraine, which supplies about 69 per cent iron, 38 per cent steel and 40 per cent other metals, only produces 15 per cent of the engines and machine tools of the total production of the Soviet Union.

But even these products produced in Ukraine and Byelorussia very often do not benefit their own industry at all. For instance, we recently saw a picture in a Byelorussian paper which bore the caption: "Engines produced in the Minsk engineering works for the uncultivated countries". And yet, as Masurov stated, there is a shortage of engines in Byelorussia's industry. It is indeed futile for Masurov to demand that the uncultivated regions of Byelorussia in the swamps of Polissia should be drained. The necessary funds to carry out such a project are simply not available. But in spite of this fact the industry of the R.S.F.S.R. is financed and expanded at the expense of the capital investments of Ukraine, Byelorussia and the other non-Russian republics.

In connection with the so-called extension of the rights of the republics of the Soviet Union there was recently a lot of talk in the USSR about the extension of the national cadres. But in this sector, too, the colonial policy of Moscow is very much in evidence. For Moscow does not take the needs of the non-Russian republics into account at all; the cadres of local national experts are deported en masse and they are then replaced by specialists of other nationalities.

The Kremlin's assertions about the equality of rights of the peoples of the USSR and about the help given by the "elder Russian brother" are thus merely the usual type of Soviet Russian propaganda, which has not the least connection with reality.

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations!

Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

JANKA KUPALA

1882—1942



**Spiritual Leader of the Byelorussian People
in the Fight against Russian Oppression**

Ukraine Continues Its Fight

We recently learned from reliable sources that mass strikes and disturbances by the Ukrainian population occurred in June this year in Ukraine, in particular in the regions of the Donets basin and Krematorsk. and that they were ruthlessly suppressed by Moscow's special K.G.B. troops, who were hurriedly sent to these places from their bases.

The reason for these disturbances was the discontent of the Ukrainian population at the rise in prices for foodstuffs. This rise, which was announced by Moscow on June 1st. 1962. amounts to 25-35 per cent on all food prices, above all on meat and butter.

In the hope of being able to remedy the disastrous state of its economy, Moscow suddenly put up the prices unexpectedly, giving as its reason that the collective and state farms had been operating at a loss because prices hitherto had allegedly been too low.

As a result of the economic mismanagement typical of the Soviet Russian empire, the collective and state farms and also the government have been the losers. Consequently the rural population and, in particular, the labourers and working intelligentsia in the town have either not been able to buy meat at all, or else have had to stand in long queues in order to obtain a small quantity of meat at an exorbitant price.

It was thus not surprising that Moscow's announcement on June 1st regarding a rise in prices for meat and butter (as well as other foodstuffs) met with fierce opposition on the part of the workers, above all the coal-miners, in Ukraine, who promptly downed tools on the grounds that they had suffered enough privations. During the next few days immediately after Moscow's announcement, a wave of strikes swept the coal-mining areas, in particular the Donets basin.

In spite of orders from Moscow's Bolshevik militia and the so-called "Voluntary People's Communities" that assist the militia, the Ukrainian workers continued their resistance. The situation created in the Donets basin reminds one of the resistance of the Polish workers in Poznan in 1956, with the difference that at that time there were witnesses from the West in Poznan and hence the Bolshevik authorities did not have such a free hand to crush the resistance there as was the case in Ukraine.

When the riots and strikes broke out in Ukraine in June this year, there were only a few Western tourists there and they were promptly evicted from the regions in question. The Bolsheviks were thus able to throw in large contingents of armed K.G.B. units, who fired on the strikers and subsequently seized control of several mines, factories and industrial concerns. Simultaneous with their ruthless action in crushing the resistance of the Ukrainian population, the Soviet Russian occupants immediately cut off railway routes between the Donbas and Caucasus and in the Donets region.

Naturally the K.G.B. massacre among the Ukrainian workers led to many alarming reports to the effect that thousands of persons had been killed and wounded and that the strikes had spread to the entire Donets and Krematorsk regions.

The logical conclusion to be drawn from all these facts is that the Soviet Russian empire is not in a position to catch up with and overtake Western production, and that Khrushchov's promises of a better standard of living in twenty years' time will never materialize and are nothing but lies. The propaganda of the Soviet Russian empire and its boasts that people there are far better off than the population in the West, fail to disguise the true feelings of the enslaved nations, who are fighting for their freedom and independence, as well as for a mode of life befitting their rights and dignity as human beings.

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Janka Kupala

(July 8, 1882 — June 28, 1942)

Janka Kupala (Lutsevich) was the most talented and prominent writer of poetry and prose in modern White Ruthenian (Byelorussian) literature. He was born on the 8th of July, 1882, in Vyazyinka, in the Vyaleyka district of central White Ruthenia. His parents were tenants of a small farm. His first works were published as early as 1905, and the first collection of his poems, "The Flute", which appeared in 1908, demonstrated the unusual talent of the bard of the White Ruthenian peasantry. Kupala's poetic horizons soon began to expand beyond peasant problems and experiences, and the idea of national liberation penetrated his writings. At the same time he was perfecting himself as an artist. It was not long before he became not only the most prominent and representative poet of White Ruthenian literature but also the spiritual leader of his people, who were awakening to national political consciousness.

His next poetic works were "The Bard" (1910) and his most artistic and mature collections, "Along the Road of Life" (1913), "Heritage" (1922) and "Nameless" (1925).

Kupala was not only a poet but also a writer of prose and plays. He wrote two symbolic dramatic poems, "Eternal Song" (1908) and "A Dream on a Burial Mound" (1910); a drama "The Halt", a comedy in prose "Paulinka" (1912), a national social drama "The Scattered Nest" (1913), a farce "The Bridegroom Accepted into the Family" (1914), and a satirical tragi-comedy "The Natives" (1920).

After the establishment of Russian Communist rule in White Ruthenia Janka Kupala wrote very little. In 1930 he attempted suicide in protest against the sharp anti-White Ruthenian and Russianizing policy of Moscow. He was saved and cured, but from that time onward was kept under the close surveillance of the police. In 1942 a second attempt at suicide, which proved successful, freed him from spiritual slavery.

The main sources of Kupala's writings are White Ruthenian oral folk literature and his own knowledge of his people's way of life. He wrote much about the life of the White Ruthenian peasants, and about the liberation of his country. His works include a number of political satires. There are also poems about nature, and love lyrics, such as "She and I", as well as poems based on folk legends.

Kupala's influence on the White Ruthenian people was immense. The younger generation of White Ruthenian writers was nourished on his works. From the artistic point of view his writings enriched and developed the literary language of modern White Ruthenia. But his works were also an inspiration to his people, a forceful stimulus to them in their struggle for national liberation in 1917-1921.

The patriotic poetry of Kupala has not lost its national revolutionary influence even today. Kupala has become the acknowledged poet and prophet of the White Ruthenian national rebirth.

Memorandum

of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) on the Problem of Colonialism

THE ENCIRCLEMENT OF THE FREE WORLD BY THE CAMPAIGN OF "ANTI-COLONIALISM"

The increasing abolition of the colonial regime in the countries of the developing continents is more and more assuming the significance of an international political problem of foremost importance. An entire world of aspiring peoples, who were formerly bound politically and economically to the cultural powers of the West, is attaining its independence. In their urge to improve their living conditions most of these peoples prove to be extremely susceptible to Communism and succumb only too easily to the tempting watchwords of its crude phraseology.

Moscow as the metropolis of so-called "world Communism" is in our day successfully endeavouring to use this unique opportunity to its own advantage, namely in order to assume possession of the legacy of the insolvent estate of the Western colonial powers and their former sphere of influence. In the hands of Khrushchov anti-colonialism has in fact become the main weapon against the West, and in this way ill-feeling is being stirred up amongst the former colonial peoples and also in the undeveloped countries against their one-time rulers. If this development is not brought to a halt very soon, it is quite likely that in the near future the so-called "Soviets" will even gain key positions in Africa and Asia as well as in Latin America and will bring about a decisive change in the strategic and economic ratio of power on a global scale and to their advantage. This would mean the inevitable and complete subjugation of the entire world and its transformation into a universal colonial empire of Moscow and Peking, whose partnership would no doubt survive all ideological differences and rivalries as regards political power, at least until the booty had been divided.

So far, the West has tried to meet this international political landslide with irresponsible indecision, reprehensible willingness to make compromises, and ineffective measures of palliation. Not even the greatest financial assistance under the development aid programme will be of any avail if the West does not succeed in revealing to the peoples who are striving after political and economic independence the true character of the so-called "Soviet Union" as their alleged protector, and, in doing so, exposes the Bolshevik imperium as *the most brutal form of colonial rule of all time*.

For precisely this very reason it is imperative that the political war against Moscow should be waged most intensively and on the broadest front. As a first step in this direction the political usage of language and publicism in the entire free world must be thoroughly purged of the falsified conceptions which the West still carelessly uses to the advantage of Bolshevism and to its own detriment. As long as this is not done, the corruption of inexperienced peoples by Moscow, with the indirect assistance of the West, will continue unhindered until one day judgement is irrevocably passed on our era of civilization.

With this memorandum the representatives, united in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), of the peoples who are living and suffering witnesses of the

enslavement which prevails in the Soviet Russian colonial imperium, exhort the world public and, above all, the representatives of the free governments in the United Nations to realize the following facts and to draw the obvious consequences from them so that the world shall not be taken by surprise by Moscow's hypocritical anti-colonialism.

COUNTERMOVE TO EXPOSE BOLSHEVIST COLONIAL RULE

In this respect the following facts should be borne in mind:

1) The so-called "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" or "Soviet Union", has since the end of the first world war in effect merely served as a camouflage for *Russian colonial rule* over foreign peoples with an ancient and traditional cultural and political independence. None of these peoples, namely the Ukrainians, Georgians, Turkestanians, Byelorussians, Azerbaijanians, Armenians, North Caucasians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Esthonians, the people of Idel-Ural, the Karelo-Finns, Moldavian Roumanians, Cossacks, the Crimean Tatars, who have been practically exterminated, and others, are Russians; nor have they ever voluntarily desired any "union" with Russia. On the contrary, during the early years after the Russian October revolution – exactly as in the days of the tsarist empire – they were compelled by sheer military force to submit to Moscow's rule. With a total population of 110 million these enslaved peoples actually outnumber the "great and superior" Russian people.

Precisely Soviet Russia, however, which thus qualifies definitely as a colonial empire itself and keeps a large number of highly civilized and cultured peoples in enslavement behind the façade of fictitious "Soviet Republics" or "Autonomous Republics" or "regions", is today still allowed to accuse Western civilized powers of colonialism, to feign support for national liberation movements and to demand imperiously that full sovereignty be accorded to peoples and tribes who as yet are hardly politically mature.

If the Western powers, who at present are being decried day in day out before the whole world as "imperialists" and "colonial exploiters", shut their eyes to this serious fact and continue to avoid exposing *Russian imperialism and colonialism* for what it is, and, instead, only talk about "Soviet colonialism" or even "Communist imperialism" in whispers without as much as mentioning the Russian lust of conquest as the *primary and fundamental evil* at all, then they are voluntarily laying down their strongest weapon and are themselves actually helping Soviet Russia to extend and consolidate its positions in the *political war* against the Western world still further by means of all sorts of camouflages.

2) The conception "*Soviet imperialism*" is in itself, in any case, contradictory. If one means the so-called USSR as the representative of imperialist expansion and world aggression by this designation, then one is certainly doing the non-Russian peoples incarcerated in the USSR a grave injustice, for, as has been proved, they themselves are the objects and victims of Russian colonial rule. If, on the other hand, one uses the adjective "Soviet" merely as a derivative from the ruling system, then this is equally irrational, since a state political system as such cannot fulfil an imperial function, nor can it constitute the basis for a colonial empire. It is always certain so-called "great and superior" peoples only and their political power that represent imperial and colonial expansion.

In the case of the harmless sounding "Soviet Union" as a world power, however, it is obviously only the Russian lust of conquest, which is equal to the obsession of a mission, that acts as the representative of the aggressive Russian colonial empire under the camouflage of the watchword about an alleged "Soviet patriotism". It is therefore high time that the West ceased to assist Moscow in its game of hide-and-seek and its camouflage tactics by constantly talking about "Soviet colonialism" or "Soviet imperialism". It is time one called *Russian colonial rule* by its true name and exposed it in all its ruthlessness, mendacity and brutality to the peoples of Asia, Africa and also Latin America so as to immunize them against all the temptations of Moscow as the metropolis of so-called "world Communism".

3) It is equally shortsighted to regard *Russian Bolshevik aggression* again and again merely from the aspect of a Communist world movement and to designate the entire international political crisis of our day merely as a clash or even a competition between two different social and state political systems, — namely socialism on the one hand, and capitalism on the other. This is precisely the cunning lie disseminated by the Bolshevik world conspiracy in Moscow, from which it has so far profited greatly, in order to keep certain circles in the free world in a state of hypnosis.

The Russian Bolshevik system, that is to say state capitalism of the Soviet stamp, has, in the first place, as little connection with true socialism as the social market-economy in the modern state of the free world has with the capitalism of past eras. It is, however, significant that in the entire Soviet Russian colonial imperium of today, including the countries of Central and Southeast Europe, which were only turned into colonies of Moscow after World War II, Communism nowhere asserted itself of its own accord, that is to say on the strength of its ideology. It was solely the hordes and tanks of the Red Army that brought the Communist system into the countries in question. And it was solely the Russian occupation that installed a crowd of elements servile to Moscow as the state power amongst these peoples and left the governmental reins in their hands for them to enforce the so-called "construction of socialism" and absolute servility to Moscow on their own peoples against the latter's will, by means of the well-tried methods of ruthless terrorism, executions, the gallows, complete control and surveillance of all their movements and unparalleled inquisition.

Thus in all these countries, such as East Germany, Poland, Bohemia and Moravia, Slovakia, Hungary, Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia, Montenegro, Roumania, Bulgaria, Albania, etc., it is not by any means a certain social and political philosophy of the world in the sense of a voluntary profession of the masses to the Communist ideology, but simply and primarily *the Russian Bolshevik despotic regime* which is the ruling and dominant force.

And it is precisely this alien colonial rule which at present in all the Russian colonial countries makes use of the Communist phraseology and the Bolshevik practices of violence through the medium of a clique of traitorous elements in order to exploit a territory conquered by war and keep it as a stepping-stone to the subjugation of the rest of the world. If the West is really determined to defy Bolshevik world aggression, at least on a political and psychological level, then it should above all at last abandon the hackneyed political vocabulary thought up in Moscow and it should cease harping on the fairytale about the "competition of two ideologies".

4) All such conceptions as "monolithic world Communism", "East bloc", "socialist camp", "Warsaw Pact", "COMECON", etc., are in fact nothing but deceptions

intended to create the illusion of a solidarity amongst peoples which in reality does not exist at all. The public of the free world and above all the leading authorities and statesmen of the West must cease to accept without contradiction this false and mendacious terminology. Their present attitude to the contrary is in practice equal to assisting the camouflage of the brutal Russian Bolshevik rule of terrorism both beyond and within the so-called USSR and thus enables Moscow to continue its corruption of the politically naive and immature peoples in the undeveloped continents.

5) The present division of the world is in reality by no means ideological in character, but is primarily and solely the result of Russian Bolshevik aggression and its Communist despotic regime. The fact that the peoples in the East are forcibly subjected to Russian colonial rule and are obliged to endure the Communist system, by no means justifies the unfounded differentiation of a "Communist world" on the one side and a non-Communist world on the other.

In reality the situation is very different: precisely in the Bolshevik-ruled territory, where the peoples have been deprived of their national sovereignty and consequently also of their fundamental human rights and freedoms, Communism in theory and practice has long since been recognized as a means to their permanent subjugation and relentless exploitation and is therefore hated accordingly. In the West, on the other hand, the bankrupt Communist doctrine still impresses a certain type of intellectuals, who imagine that they are progressive, as well as the ignorant working-classes as attractive and even enjoys a growing influence!

A global plebiscite on the attitude towards Communism – if such a thing were to be carried out today as a free expression of opinion – would undoubtedly result in less "yes" votes amongst the suffering colonial peoples in the East who long for freedom than amongst the peoples of the Western world, who do not value freedom because they possess it and who do not fear Communism because they have not yet experienced it *in the form of Russian Bolshevik tyranny*. And the same applies even more to the political naive peoples in the developing continents.

Communism, which as a philosophy of life and a state political system has long since lost all credibility and attraction for the masses in the East since they have recognized it as the instrument of national enslavement and colonial exploitation, thus continues to be an acute danger to the peoples of the free world. But ideological counter-arguments alone do not suffice in order to counteract the Communist infiltration of the Western hemisphere effectively. In its social trimming, world Communism can only be eliminated as a dangerous magnet in the West if it is ruthlessly and publicly exposed as the *instrument and camouflage of Moscow's alien rule and tyranny*.

And herein lies the vulnerable spot of world Communism as a whole. For whereas there may still be some controversy regarding social and state political systems, there can, however, be no doubt at all about the reprehensible character of every alien rule and enslavement. Thus *Russian colonial rule under the Communist banner* is likewise condemnable and for reasons of fundamental international moral principles alone must be constantly branded and censured by the entire world.

6) Those who, in spite of these facts, still refuse to believe that the entire international political crisis which is now spreading in various forms to every corner of the world has been called forth by Russian imperialism and its world-conquest aims with the assistance of Peking, need only recall an admission made by that famous Russian thinker *Nicolai Berdyaev*. It is to be found in his work *"The Meaning*

and *Fate of Russian Communism*" and he says: "Bolshevism is the third form of Russian imperialism – of the Greater Russian Empire . . . Bolshevism is a purely national (that is Russian – author's note) phenomenon".

If Bolshevism is thus openly acknowledged to be a variant of the Russian urge to incorporate foreign countries and to enslave foreign peoples by such an outstanding Russian philosopher as Berdyaev, then it surely must be obvious to everyone that it does not suffice to counter Communism and its diabolical propaganda with the abstract idea of freedom alone in order to combat the Bolshevik lust of conquest. A victory over Russian Communist expansion can only be gained if the West makes *the national freedom and liberation* of all subjugated peoples its highest commandment and calls the colonial rulers of Moscow to account in this respect. Only in this way can the real imperialists of the Kremlin be brought to their senses and further chosen victims be protected against enslavement.

7) Seen from this aspect resistance of the Russian-Bolshevist-ruled peoples and their small and big uprisings against Moscow's alien colonial rule are of the utmost significance. The revolts in Hungary, in the Soviet Occupied Zone of Germany and in Poland, the mass-murders by artificially created famine in Ukraine in order to crush the opposition of the people, the riots in the concentration camps in Vorkuta, in the Trans-Caucasian and in the Baltic countries, the insurrections in Turkestan, the mass-murder of Tibetans, and, lastly, the millions of refugees from East Germany as well as the daily victims of the murderous wall that has been set up across Berlin, – all these facts should provide the West with sufficiently convincing moral and political arguments to expose the absurdity and hypocrisy of Bolshevik anti-colonialism.

Instead of which, however, leading statesmen of the free world again and again take a pride in assuming the role of advocates of Russian colonial imperialism! Recently, for instance, even the U. S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk willingly confirmed to Moscow that countries such as Ukraine, Georgia and Armenia were "historical parts" of the Russian empire and that their present status must no longer be regarded as a matter of discussion. If this attitude should be adopted as the guiding principle of Western policy, then the Russian colonial empire will continue to expand unhindered and Bolshevism will be able to spread in Africa, Asia and Latin America until one day even the USA itself will be deprived of its position of supremacy and its freedom for all time.

8) In view of this acute danger to the world, there can no longer be any question of compromises and concessions. Neither a reconciliation nor any understanding can be reached between the principle of national and human freedom and that of alien rule and permanent terrorism over the individual. Those persons in the West who, in spite of these obvious fronts, still cherish illusions of a possible evolution of Communism in a liberal and democratic direction, are adopting a suicidal attitude in affording help to Russian Bolshevik aggression.

The present conflict is a life-and-death struggle, and if it is not to be fought by means of atomic bombs, then it must be conducted with the aid of political means and moral arguments. These must be constantly and forcibly asserted until freedom is victorious over enslavement, colonial rule and tyranny.

The present U. S. President and his entire Brains Trust should realize that the Bolshevik world danger cannot be held up either in Laos or Cuba, nor brought to a halt by writing off the peoples who have already been subjugated, but solely by

respecting the national idea, by encouraging the national will to self-preservation of the peoples and by activating their liberation aims as far as possible.

9) Russia, who exterminates all national consciousness in her sphere of influence, is stirring up national revolutionary movements against the West beyond her own frontiers, namely in Africa, Asia and elsewhere. The only reaction for the self-defence of the world should be to encourage the national enthusiasm and hope of liberation of all the peoples in the Russian Bolshevist colonial empire. Only in this way can the expansion of so-called world Communism be halted and destroyed. There is no other way out of the dilemma "atomic war or capitulation". Nor can the free world, under the leadership of the USA, defend itself on the periphery of the division of the world as long as the Soviet Russian colonial power is not attacked on the largest possible front and shaken in its foundations.

10) All manipulations on the part of Western policy with "neutralists" and "states that belong to no bloc" are merely a fatal self-deception. There are at present only the Bolshevist-ruled and subjugated peoples, who have never joined together voluntarily to form any "East bloc", on the one side, and the peoples of the world that is still free on the other side. If the latter do not defend their freedom on the common defensive front of the West, then they, too, sooner or later will themselves become the victims of Bolshevist world-conquest, regardless of any services which they may have previously rendered Moscow by their neutrality. Just as Communism liquidates its hirelings and henchmen on the so-called "popular fronts" as soon as they attempt to shake off its dictatorship, so Moscow, too, enforces its dictatorial power on each of its allies as soon as they attempt to abandon their obedience and express the least desire for autonomy. All this is then designated as rebellion against the dogma of the so-called monolithic world Communism under Moscow's leadership and is justified as an emergency measure in order to save so-called "socialism".

THE MOBILIZATION OF PUBLIC OPINION THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

The problem of foremost importance at present is not disarmament, still less a compromise solution of the Berlin and German question as preconditions to bring about an alleged easing of the tension, since this would lead to the perpetuation of the Russian Bolshevist colonial rule and inevitably also to the engulfment of the entire remainder of the world. The most urgent problem is rather, and must continue to remain, the *liquidation of the Russian colonial empire* and the liberation of the peoples incarcerated in it by the psychological and political destruction of the foundations of the Bolshevist prison of peoples.

Genuine disarmament is in any case out of the question as far as the Bolshevist imperium is concerned, for the simple reason that Moscow could never control and keep its colonial peoples in subjugation without its war-machine. The precedent of Hungary should surely convince even the blind of this self-evident truth.

Similarly, atomic armament cannot be the subject of serious discussion with Moscow, for whereas the free world needs thermo-nuclear weapons of mass-destruction as a deterrent in order to avoid being destroyed by Bolshevist barbarism, Moscow is increasing its atomic potential at the cost of its colonial peoples merely in order to ensure their further enslavement and to expand its colonial empire still more as soon as an opportunity presents itself. Public opinion throughout the world should definitely and openly assert itself in this respect.

What the world needs at present, is not to be made ripe for a capitulation to Moscow's world-conquest aims by means of empty watchwords about pacifism, but the complete mobilization of public opinion in all countries of the free world and the encouragement of the will to freedom of all subjugated peoples for the purpose of liquidating the Russian Bolshevik colonial imperium by means of political, moral and psychological warfare. The foremost precondition in this respect would be the universal and active support by the free world for the national liberation movements in the Soviet Russian colonial empire.

A political war has been conducted by Moscow for years, by every means available, and has been in full progress since the end of the last world war. The West therefore does not need to venture to make a declaration of war to this effect, but must solely cease to tolerate Moscow's aggression and must at last resort to an offensive itself in the interests of its self-preservation.

Actually, the free world is already in a state of the greatest emergency. In view of this situation it is indeed shameful that Western publicism still complains that the free world possesses no representative, equal idea which could be asserted to counter Communism effectively.

As already pointed out, Communism today is in practice merely a variant of alien colonial rule; hence it has long since forfeited the claim of being an "idea". It merely thrives and exists on the recognition accorded to it by blind hirelings in the West.

The free world, on the other hand, could today call the highest and noblest idea of all time its own, namely liberation of the peoples from national enslavement and the restoration of human rights and human dignity. And this is the idea for which the entire public opinion of the world must be mobilized. If this idea should really no longer inspire the sated West and be cast aside by the latter, then the time will inevitably come when all the people on earth will suffer the fate of being enslaved by Bolshevism.

DEMANDS TO THE UNITED NATIONS

As the spokesmen of our peoples, who have been enslaved by the Russian colonial overlords, we exhort the freedom-loving world and above all the United Nations:

1) to condemn Russian colonialism and to adopt a resolution on the absolute necessity of a liquidation of Russian colonialism and of the disintegration of the Russian colonial imperium into independent democratic national states within the ethnographical borders of all the peoples subjugated in the USSR and in the so-called satellite countries;

2) a decree should be drawn up by the General Assembly of the United Nations to the effect that, in accordance with the preamble and Paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Statutes of the United Nations, all these peoples should attain their national and state independence again, should be able to elect their own parliaments and governments freely and without foreign intervention, and should be able to set up their own national armies as a guarantee of their independence. The Russian state should be confined to its own ethnographical areas;

3) should the Russian imperialists and colonizers disregard the decrees of the United Nations, then the General Assembly should have the right to exclude the

USSR and its satellite governments from this organization on account of constant violation of the constitutional charter of the United Nations, in accordance with Paragraphs 6 and 27, Section 3, of its statutes;

4) in this way the United Nations would be able to do justice to their real task and could develop into a global liberation organization without the colonial slave-drivers and mass-murderers. As spokesmen of the peoples enslaved by Russian colonialism, the representatives of the national liberation movements of our subjugated peoples should be recognized and admitted to the United Nations.

All artificial state structures created by force, in which one people subjugates another, should be liquidated, and in their stead independent democratic states should be set up according to the ethnographical principle;

5) the General Assembly of the United Nations should declare its solidarity with the resolutions of the US Congress on "Captive Nations Week" (res. H. Con. 636-86th US Congress) and should exhort its members, through the intermediation of their parliaments and governments, to support the national revolutionary fight for freedom of the peoples enslaved by Russian colonialism.

September 1962.

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

White Ruthenian National Anthem

Come, we shall march in joint endeavour
To the free spaces of our native land,
Let freedom dwell with us for ever!
And every onslaught we'll withstand!

Long live the Byelorussian spirit brave,
The bold free spirit of our nation!
White-red-and-white above the banners wave,
Above our fight for liberation!

To arms! May happiness and freedom
For our brave people in the fight be won;
Too long in torment we were bleeding;
To battle, each and every one!

Ah, may the Byelorussian name and might
Be seen and heard from near and far
By all who seek to rule us without right
Or first dare challenge us to war.

My brothers, we march on to fortune;
Let thunder roar still louder in its strife!
We bring to birth in anguished torture
For our Republic a new life!

(Words: Makar Krautson, translated by Vera Rich)

The "Holy Alliance" No. 2

There are outstanding "experts on Russia" in the West who know all there is to know in their special field of research, but who actually do not understand anything. I should imagine that they know all about the "Holy Alliance" which was formed by the Major Powers of Europe after the overthrow of Napoleon for the purpose of keeping the liberation movements of the enslaved peoples in check. But what these authorities on Russia and experts in world politics do not know is the following extremely important fact, namely that in our day, too, there is already a "Holy Alliance" No. 2 which fulfils the same purpose. And that it is practically impossible to understand the game played by the driving forces of world politics if one does not know this fact!

The "Holy Alliance" of 1815 included almost all the big monarchies of Europe. And this alliance was supported by the "Quadruple Alliance". The purpose of this alliance was to suppress the national revolutions which broke out in Europe after 1815.

When the revolution against Ferdinand VII broke out in 1820, the Allies authorized the French army to march into Spain and put an end to the revolution. That was in the year 1820 . . . And in 1936 the "Holy Alliance" of the West European and Russian "democrats" tried to do the same in Spain, when it sought to crush Franco's national revolution and supported the enemies of Christian civilization, namely those who were fighting on the side of the hammer and sickle. Naturally, Franco's Bolshevist enemies fought under the disguise of "Republicans", but even so it was a gangster's disguise!

In 1830 a national revolution broke out in the "two Sicilies", in Piedmont in Italy, and in Poland; these revolutions were crushed by the Austrian and Russian armies. In 1848, at the request of the Emperor Franz Joseph, the armies of the Russian Tsar Nicholas I crushed the national revolution in Hungary.

In our century, too, parallels can be drawn to the above-mentioned incidents. Did not the "Holy Alliance" No. 2 try to crush Kemal Pasha's national revolution in Turkey after the first world war? And did it not seek to crush Chiang Kai-shek's national revolution by a Communist stranglehold after World War II? And to sentence Chiang Kai-shek to imprisonment on Formosa? Did not the members of the "Holy Alliance" No. 2 stand armed and ready to march when the national revolutions of our day in Ukraine, Poland, East Germany and Hungary were crushed by the Russian "people's democracy"? Did not the members of the "Holy Alliance" No. 2, prior to, during and after World War II, plot against the national revolutions of Salazar and Franco? Did not the "Holy Allies" of our day attack the national revolutionaries who opposed Russian imperialism? And did they not destroy the Habsburg and Hohenzollern Monarchy after 1917 and, at the same time, do everything in their power to build up a new and even worse tyranny on the ruins of tsarism? Did not the instigators of the "Holy Alliance" No. 2 help Russian tyranny in Yalta and Potsdam to establish its rule over countless free peoples in Europe? Whilst fighting against "dictators" such as Salazar and Franco, did they not aid Moscow's hirelings, namely Tito, Castro and Nehru?

The members of the "Holy Alliance" called their union the "Holy Alliance" because its members pledged themselves to rule their lands in accordance with the Christian principles of justice, charity and peace . . . These same watchwords are also used in the sanctuaries of the "Holy Alliance" No. 2, in their press, and at their meetings, etc. But I am sure that these pompous watchwords are merely assessed as empty and, in fact, cynical words by the peoples of Ukraine, Poland,

Bohemia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Hungary, East Germany, and of the Caucasus, etc., who have been enslaved in the name of the "Holy Alliance".

Canning designated the "Holy Alliance" as "the league of rulers who wanted to keep Europe in fetters" . . . Surely the same designation can be applied to the open and hidden "rulers" of the "Holy Alliance" No. 2?

In any case the above-mentioned peoples and also the peoples of China and Laos, etc., will seek to burst asunder their fetters in spite of the fine words "justice, charity and peace", with which the anti-Christian forces of the Muscovite devil, together with their West European henchmen, try to conceal their diabolical activity.

All of which incidentally proves that the West needs a new leadership!

Niko Nakashidze

American Special Correspondents in the Soviet Union

It is a well-known fact that the average American tourist often sets out to get to know a foreign country within a few days' time. He only observes things superficially as a rule, draws comparisons from the American point of view, and forms impressions accordingly. One thus cannot blame him for having no clear conception of the people of the foreign country in question. On the whole he is not greatly interested in the mentality, culture and historic past of a foreign people. If their towns are modern and their hotels and restaurants good, then the country is in his opinion civilized, and that suffices as far as he is concerned.

This fact is in itself neither serious nor tragic. But it certainly is a serious matter and unpardonable if someone stays in a foreign country as a special correspondent of some paper in order to inform the public in his native country about life in the foreign country in question, its people and its culture, and does not take the trouble to study all these things thoroughly, so as not to write a false account. And it is especially reprehensible to deal with the origin and history of a foreign people superficially and to distort them. The American special correspondents in Moscow, in particular, are guilty of this sin. In their opinion there is only one people in the Soviet Union — the Russian people, and all the subjugated non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union are only tribes. And yet an American journalist who has spent some months in the Soviet Union is regarded in the USA as an authority on the problems of the Soviet Union!

Not long ago Benny Goodman's band toured the Soviet Union. It also gave a concert in the Georgian capital Tbilisi. When, on this occasion, the singer Joy Sherril began to sing the Russian song "Katjusha" — so the "New York Times" reports — "her rendition was drowned out by the clamor from the sell-out crowd of 8,000 here".

— "I was frightened", Miss Sherril said

afterwards. "They must really hate the Russians".

In this connection the same issue of "The New York Times" also published a special report on Georgia, in which it was stated among other things: "As descendants of a tribe from western Asia, the Georgians have their own dialects and are proud of them".

We should like to point out the following facts for the information of the "educated" American journalist who wrote the said report.

The Georgians do not speak dialects but have their own highly developed language, into which practically all the philosophical and theological works of the Old World were translated in the early Middle Ages. The Georgians also possess a highly developed literature of their own written in this language. The Georgians are not descendants of a tribe from western Asia but were in earliest times the original inhabitants of the Caucasus. When many European countries were only administrative provinces of the Roman Empire, Georgia was an allied state of Rome. The equestrian statue of the Georgian King Paresman, which the Roman Emperor Hadrian had erected, can still be seen in Rome today. And not far from Tbilisi there is a fortress which the Emperor Vespasian had built for the Georgians as the allies of Rome. Georgia existed as a kingdom hundreds of years before the Russian nation was formed or founded a state. It was only in the 19th century that Georgia was annexed by the Russians and ruled by them until 1917. Georgia then became independent again and was recognized de jure as a state by all the Major Powers. In 1921 Georgia was seized once more by military force by Bolshevik Russia.

Since the earliest days of Christianity Georgia was a Christian country. Churches dating from the Middle Ages attest to the high cultural level of the Georgian people.

When will the American journalists become more educated!

The Berlin Problem

The Berlin problem is the focal point in a far greater one; whether Western Europe is to remain free or not? To look upon it solely, or mainly, as a military problem—a calculation of forces, spaces, and approaches—is to disregard the fact that war is an instrument of policy and that policy should be shaped by political, economic, and moral considerations besides military ones. Because of these extra-military items, to suggest, as has been done, that its only practical solution is for both sides to withdraw their armed forces from Berlin on the understanding that its western approaches are guaranteed, would be a colossal political and psychological victory for the Russians, and for the Western nations, moral degradation and political suicide. It would not only be the surrender of right to might and the recognition of Russia's violation of the Potsdam Agreement to reunify Germany, but also the negation of repeated undertakings to stand by the West Berliners. Further, it would deprive the peoples of the occupied countries of all hope of eventual liberation, and, be it never overlooked, they are most important allies of the West.

The problem emerged from out of the Marxist theory of world revolution and Lenin's strategy to implement it. According to Karl Radek, at the time of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty in March, 1918, Lenin defined its aim as follows:

"The proletariat of industrial Germany, Austria, and Czecho-Slovakia, in uniting with the proletariat of Russia, will create a mighty agrarian and industrial combination from Vladivostok to the Rhine . . . capable of feeding itself and of confronting reactionary capitalism with a revolutionary giant, which with one hand would disturb the senile tranquillity of the East and with the other beat back the private capitalism of Anglo-Saxon countries."

In brief, Lenin's aim was the union of revolutionary Russia with a revolutionary Central Europe. Could he accomplish it, the rest of Europe would be at his mercy.

In the Second World War, because of the policy agreed by Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin at Yalta, and later implemented at Potsdam, Stalin was able to achieve more than half of Lenin's aim. Not only did he occupy the eastern half of Germany but also the whole of Eastern Europe, except Greece, and later revolutionized Czecho-Slovakia.

Why did he not march into Western Germany and complete Lenin's aim? The dominant reason undoubtedly was that, before the war ended, the Americans had exploded the first atomic bomb; partly to assist Stalin to overrun Manchuria. Ironically, it bunkered him in Europe.

Before Stalin could further extend world revolution, it was imperative for him to confront the bomb with its like. And when, in 1949, he was in a position to do so, it was equally imperative for him to catch up with America's atomic stock-pile. This led to a nuclear arms race, and with the introduction of thermonuclear weapons the character of war was completely transformed. Their destructive power was so enormous that a war waged with them meant mutual suicide. They ceased to be positive instruments of policy and became negative ones—deterrents of war.

When Khrushchov attained power his problem was how to expand world revolution in face of nuclear weapons. Fully aware that they could not be abolished, because their know-how cannot be deleted, he set out to convert them into psychological instruments of terror and to cultivate in the Western peoples a nuclear neurosis. With the intention of keeping their minds concentrated on the horrors of war, he proposed total disarmament, or, failing that, the banning of nuclear weapons. At each successive conference he set out to discredit them as warmongers,

and when to his own satisfaction he had succeeded in doing so, he wrecked the conference, confident that the terrified Western peoples, determined to avert war at almost any cost, would urge their government to demand the convening of another conference. And should an event occur which threatened to promote war—the one thing he dreads most—he has brandished his fire-extinguishers—his rockets and missiles—to allay the possibility of its outbreak.

Further to this, his Berlin policy clearly shows that in no way does he intend to abandon Lenin's aim of extending Communism over the whole of Germany. In November, 1958, he put forward the proposal that Berlin should become a demilitarized free city with guaranteed communications, and, failing its acceptance within six months, he threatened to negotiate a separate treaty of peace with the German Democratic Republic, and to hand over to it the West Berlin approaches.

To neutral and peace-bemused nations this may appear to be an honest attempt to remove a bone of contention. But had his proposal been accepted by the Western Powers, there can be little doubt that within a brief span of time Berlin would have suffered the fate of Danzig.

When the Western Powers refused to dishonour their word, for nearly three years he alternately turned on and turned off the heat. At length, in the summer of 1961, the East Berliners took alarm and in thousands sought refuge in West Berlin. This 'flight from Egypt' was halted by the building of the Berlin Wall—a violation of the Quadripartite Agreement.

Now that contact between Eastern and Western Germany has been blocked and a curtain drawn over the sole remaining shopwindow of Western culture and civilization facing east, for the time being it may be to Khrushchov's advantage to accept the *status quo* and play hot and cold with the western approaches rather than negotiate a separate peace with the German Democratic Republic. Should this be so or not, now that Berlin has *de facto* become two cities, the question arises: whether the Western Powers are going to swallow further acts of aggression. If they are, then the probability is that their prestige and status will progressively be nibbled away. If they are not, then it is high time they took the bull by the horns and sought a solution in a realistic policy.

To begin with, they should clearly understand what kind of war they are faced with: not a conflict of arms but a conflict of ideas, in which the art of winning without fighting battles is its dominant characteristic. Therefore, instead of thinking in terms of military strengths, they should think in those of subversive actions. On them the Soviet cold war offensive is based, and on them should also be based the Western counter-offensive. An aggressive strategy in the political, economic, and psychological fields is therefore demanded.

Do conditions favour an aggressive strategy? They most certainly do, directly it is realized that of the 220,000,000 inhabitants of the U.S.S.R. nearly two-thirds are subjugated non-Russians, vast numbers of whom are bitterly opposed to Soviet dominion. Of them, no less than 57,000,000 are to be found on Russia's western flank in Ukraine, Byelorussia (White Russia), and the Baltic States, which command her western lines of communications. In addition to them, of the 97,000,000 inhabitants of the occupied countries, it has been estimated that at least 90 per cent are fervently anti-Russian, and, like a psychological bog, they lie between Russia and Western Europe.

Today the U.S.S.R. is the greatest colonial empire in the world, and incomparably the most brutal. It is a prison-house packed with disillusioned peoples; a gigantic psychological bomb which, if detonated, would blow the Soviet Imperium into fragments. To Khrushchov this bomb is as great a deterrent to resort to actual war as is the H-bomb; and once the Western Powers awake to this reality, their path

is clear. Russia must be attacked internally by offering her subjugated peoples liberty and self-determination.

The internal strategical weakness of Russia has again and again been revealed in the past.

In the Russo-Japanese War it was the threat of revolution within Tsarist Russia which won the war for Japan.

In the First World War it was the March Revolution of 1917 which overthrew Tsardom, and in the October Revolution and civil war which followed it no less than 15 of the subjugated minorities, including Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, and Turkestan, declared their independence.

In the Second World War, when Hitler invaded Russia, the German armies were welcomed by the common people as liberators. According to Dr. Goebbels, the Ukrainians looked upon Hitler as the saviour of Europe, and the Byelorussians were eager to fight on the German side. "Wherever we went," writes a German soldier, "we were met by laughing and waving people . . . the Soviet Empire was creaking at the joints." Then came Himmler with his infamous Security Service, and Hitler was defeated by his own barbarities. At Kiev he lost the war by hoisting the Swastika instead of the Ukrainian flag.

In the occupied countries, the uprising of the East German workers in 1953; the Poznan riots in Poland in 1956; the freedom revolt in Hungary, also in 1956; and, since 1949, the flight from the German Democratic Republic of nearly 3,000,000 of its disillusioned people, show beyond all doubt that the Soviet regime in these countries is poised on a knife-edge.

Also it should not be overlooked that more than half the Russian fighting forces is recruited from the subjugated peoples, and therefore unreliable. This was revealed in the last war. When in June, 1941, Hitler invaded USSR, between then and Christmas, of the 2,500,000 Soviet soldiers made prisoners, the vast majority comprised deserters willing to fight against the Soviet Union.

In the armed forces of the satellite countries, disloyalty must be even more pronounced, and as for the East German Army, should it oppose the NATO forces, it is highly probable that an advanced guard of loudspeakers offering it hospitality would persuade it to desert *en masse*.

The ingredients of the solution should now be clear. Firstly, to cease to fear Russia's military might, which is held in leash by dread of nuclear warfare and fear of internal rebellion. Secondly, to realize that in this nuclear age subversive warfare is progressively replacing traditional warfare as the positive instrument of policy. Thirdly, that this mode of conflict is waged on the enemy's inner front—that is, by attacking him internally instead of externally. Fourthly, to recognize that Russia's inner front is rotten to the core. And lastly, to understand that in this war of wills and ideas, a strategy which is based on appeasement or containment, which can solely react to the enemy's offensives instead of fearlessly counter-attacking, ultimately can lead only to defeat and degradation.

(From: The Royal United Service Institution Journal, May 1962)

Beatus populus, cuius Deus est Dominus

(Ps. 144, 15)

The Kremlin's Double Game

Khrushchov invites Diplomats to Tashkent

At the invitation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, the diplomats of Asia, Africa, Europe and America accredited to Moscow on March 12, 1962, visited Uzbekistan. On March 13th they were welcomed in Tashkent by the so-called Prime Minister of Uzbekistan, Kurban(ov), the so-called Foreign Minister Asim(ov), and other members of the government. Like Asim(ov), Kurban(ov) is an Uzbek and a loyal Communist; since 1956 he has been a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan and a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He was only recently appointed to the post of Prime Minister by Khrushchov, as his predecessor Arif Alim(ov) was dismissed from office as untrustworthy and not loyal to the Party on September 27, 1961.

The ambassadors and envoys accredited to Moscow who visited Uzbekistan numbered more than sixty. They were accompanied by high-ranking officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union in Moscow and some of them also brought their wives and children with them to Tashkent. They inspected broadcasting and television stations, factories and, in particular, weaving-mills.

Why did Moscow go to so much trouble and expense and invite the entire diplomatic corps to visit Tashkent? There was a deeper motive behind all this as far as the Russians are concerned, and it was not just the usual kind of visit.

At the Cotton Congress in Tashkent on November 16, 1961, Khrushchov affirmed that the five Soviet Republics of Turkestan were not colonies of Russia but sovereign states with Prime Ministers and Ministers of their own, with a high culture, a powerful industry and a well-developed agriculture. Khrushchov said on this occasion:

"Foreign personalities are constantly putting questions to me, namely that we ourselves are a colonial power and that Turkestan is a Russian colony. To such remarks I always tell the gentlemen in question that they should visit Uzbekistan and convince themselves that Uzbekistan is not a Russian colony. They should come to Uzbekistan and see for themselves that it is a progressive country with a culture and a government of its own, and should then go and visit the Western colonies, where people are starving, and they will see the difference."

After considerable preparations, Khrushchov then arranged this diplomats' visit to Uzbekistan and subsequently was able to tell the Turkestanian people what some of the diplomats had said. According to Khrushchov and as was reported in the Party and government organ of Uzbekistan, "Kizil Uzbekistan", of March 14, 1962, the foreign guests had some very friendly talks with Kurban(ov), Asim(ov) and other Ministers of Uzbekistan and were most enthusiastic about the Communist achievements.

The Moroccan Ambassador A. Elfasi, for instance, after having visited a mechanized weaving-mill in Tashkent, had expressed the spontaneous opinion that weaving-specialists in his country could learn a lot from Uzbekistan. Many other diplomats, according to Khrushchov, had expressed similar opinions which were then published in Uzbekistan as front-page news.

The opinion of the Moroccan Ambassador alone justified the big trip of the foreign diplomats and was precisely what Khrushchov wanted to hear. For Khrushchov himself had affirmed that the Soviet Republics of Turkestan were not colonies of Russia, for the simple reason that they possessed a flourishing industry, and Kurban(ov) and Asim(ov) had also emphasized this theory at the reception

given for the diplomats in Tashkent. But this is no proof, for countries such as Algeria and others, for instance, also have a flourishing industry but are nevertheless colonial countries.

Many of these Moslem, European and American diplomats do not seem to realize that the art of carpet and silk weaving in Turkestan has flourished since time immemorial. In ancient days the carpets of Bokhara and the colourful silk-weaving of Turkestan were already famous, and today they still play a leading part on the world market. Though at present these artistic crafts are carried out by the Turkestanian men and women under the Soviet hammer and sickle. But these arts and crafts are not achievements of the Communists or the Russians, but are part of the ancient national culture of the Turkestanian people.

At the instructions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow, the so-called Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister of Uzbekistan, at the reception which they gave for the foreign diplomats, made the usual speech about the alleged sovereignty and freedom of Uzbekistan and the free expression of opinion and the inviolability of the Islamic religion. In a similar manner the Red Mufti of Turkestan, Eshan Babahan, has for years been telling the Islamic peoples in the free world a pack of lies, for he has constantly alleged that the Islamic religion and the faithful in Turkestan are not persecuted.

But exactly four days before the arrival of the foreign diplomats in Tashkent an anti-Islamic campaign, which had been launched in the press by agitators and propagandists on the occasion of the feast of Ramadan, as was explicitly stressed in the Soviet press, at the instructions of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, Rashid(ov), and the above-mentioned Prime Minister, was in progress in all five Soviet Republics of Turkestan.

This campaign had already begun some weeks earlier, and in December 1961 and January and February 1962 anti-Islamic articles constantly appeared in the Party and government papers of the Soviet Republics of Turkestan, as for instance in "Kizil Uzbekistan" and "Soviet Tadzhikistani", with titles such as "The Religious Superstition of Islam", "Communism and Islam", "New Methods against Islam and Agitators", etc. But the diplomats who visited Tashkent failed to notice the constant struggle between the Communist Party and the Turkestanian people since they could neither speak the language of the country nor had any contact with the Turkestanian population.

The paper "Soviet Tadzhikistani" for instance wrote on February 27, 1962:

"A few days ago Ramadan, the month of fasting, which is one of the fundamental principles of the Islamic religion, began. But fasting is merely one of the many lies and superstitions of the Islamic religion, a trick and a falsehood invented by the propertied class in order to exploit and poison the working class."

The paper then adds:

"The moment we speed up the realization and construction of Communism in our Soviet fatherland, we must ruthlessly combat the Islamic religion with the most drastic means and must destroy the remnants of Islamic faith still existent in the minds of the people."

Hafiz and Sharaf, the authors of these articles, which, as already mentioned, were written at the instigation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, defame and revile the Islamic religion and clergy. It is for instance affirmed in these articles:

"The Islamic religion and the representatives of Islam (the clergy) are swindlers and liars. It is an institution introduced by the exploiting, swindling class, which designates this superstition as the Islamic religion. In reality Islam is based on fanaticism and superstition."

On February 2, 1962, the paper "Soviet Tadzhikistani" published an article entitled "Communism and Islam", which contained the following passage:

"Islam preaches the doctrine of paradise, hell, the life beyond and the resurrection, and demands that the faithful should act according to God's will. All this is an invention. There is no life beyond; there is no Allah and no resurrection. All that man achieves is only achieved by his own human strength but not with God's help, as Islam preaches. The doctrine of the Islamic religion is a lie; for the degenerate clergy, kings and the ruling class have invented this superstition in order to deceive and exploit the workers."

In other publications and speeches it is also alleged that Islam is being used by the imperialists as an instrument against the Soviet regime in order to undermine the Soviet power from within and to exterminate it. And it is pointed out that those who continue to believe in Islam and Allah are thus supporting the enemy, the enemy of the Soviet power.

Such are the threats with which the Communist leaders attack the Turkestanian people, and thousands of atheistic propagandists are turned loose among the population. They hold defamatory speeches in the schools and factories and in the rural areas; they insult the feelings of the faithful in Turkestan and even threaten them physically. This form of anti-Islamic propaganda is conducted not only in Turkestan but also amongst all the 40 million Moslems who are forced to live under Soviet Russian rule, as for instance in the Caucasus, the Crimea and the Idel-Ural. Since the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the proclamation of the new Communist programme, in particular, an intensified anti-religious campaign has been in progress under the watchword: everything to propagate the construction of Communism!

Above all, propaganda is disseminated amongst the population to the effect that Communism is the true idea which categorically rejects Islam as an enemy. It is pointed out that Islam had so far proved to be the greatest enemy of Communism and that the Islamic religion had succeeded in exercising its influence on the workers, peasants and young people of Turkestan. The Communist Party leaders openly admit that the peasants, workers and young people still believe in Islam and obey the Islamic clergy, who continue to engage in their activity in Turkestan under various camouflages. For this reason, so the Communist Party leaders stress, a large-scale enlightenment campaign on Islam and the feast of Ramadan must be conducted in the towns and rural areas, and Islam must be combatted. And since the feast of Kurban was approaching, this anti-Islamic campaign was intensified still more.

The Communist fight in Turkestan is, however, not directed solely against the Islamic religion but also against the national customs, culture and traditions, as well as the urge to freedom of the Turkestanian people. The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, Rashid(ov), recently demanded that the fight to exterminate the nationalists of Turkestan should be intensified, and this campaign was in progress when the ambassadors and diplomats of Asia, Africa and the West visited Tashkent.

The Turkestanian intellectuals are at present being accused and persecuted for wanting to revive the national reformist spirit in Turkestan. At the Congress of the Intellectuals of Uzbekistan on January 25, 1962, Rashid(ov) issued directives regarding the persecution of the nationalists in Turkestan and said:

"The activity of the nationalists has assumed dangerous forms. They are opposed to the idea of learning the language of their great Russian brother, the Russian language, which is our second mother-tongue. They are undermining Soviet power in Turkestan and are influencing the population in various ways as regards the national spirit. These circles must now be combatted ruthlessly and must be liquidated for all time."

The Communist Party leaders hold the view that the Islamic religion, national customs, traditions and nationalism are an obstacle to the fulfilment of the production

plans in industry and agriculture and to the construction of Communism, and that these anti-Communist trends must therefore be rigorously exterminated.

Such is the situation in Turkestan, and there can be no question of a freedom of religion or of the right of self-determination of the Turkestanian people. But the diplomatic representatives who visited Tashkent failed to notice this fierce conflict between the Moslems in Turkestan and the Communist Party. By means of sumptuous receptions and speeches learned by heart, Khrushchov sought to cover up and hide the tension and the hardship and suffering which the Turkestanian people are obliged to endure.

More importance than ever, in the Communist sense, is now being attached to the visit of the foreign diplomats to Tashkent, and the Turkestanian people are constantly being told that the diplomatic circles of the world have themselves come to the conclusion that Turkestan is not a Russian colony. Whether Khrushchov's trick in this respect will succeed, remains to be seen.

Niko Nakashidze

Hon. Dean Rusk versus U.S. Congress

II

Historical Proof of the Right of the Non-Russian Peoples of the Soviet Union to the Restoration of their Independent States

The non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union were from earliest times onwards independent nations and always possessed their own states.

True, in the course of their history they were often dependent on foreign states and were sometimes subjected to foreign rule, but they still retained their state institutions and functions.

It was only with the invasion and occupation of these countries by the Russians that these states were abolished and their peoples deprived of all national rights; they were degraded to the status of foreign minorities.

Not the former tsarist empire nor the Communist Russian empire of today – the Soviet Union, but the states of the peoples subjugated by Russia, which were destroyed by the Russians, were and are “historical states”.

These peoples fought incessantly against Russian rule, and the revolutionary movements were particularly powerful in these non-Russian countries. When the Russian tsarist empire collapsed in 1917, these peoples set up their independent states. In none of these countries did the Bolsheviks assume governmental power, and in none of these states was a Communist elected to parliament. This fact alone shows the vast national, cultural and political difference between these peoples and the Russians.

In the non-Russian countries there was at that time law and order, and the construction of the state was being effected on the foundations of progressive political and social achievements, whereas in Russia destruction, Bolshevik terrorism, murder, the deprivation of all human rights and the setting up of a ruthless regime of dictatorship were the order of the day. This Bolshevik Russia, however, succeeded in re-capturing some of the countries which had detached themselves from Russia, and later also seized the remaining countries. They were all forcibly incorporated in the Soviet Union.

The Russian empire created thus, in which foreign peoples are held captive, is designated by Mr. Rusk as an “historical state”; at the same time he denies the subjugated peoples in this Russian empire the right of self-determination. These countries

are in his opinion "regions" of the Russian "historical state", namely its "traditional parts"; and in this connection he mentions countries such as Ukraine, Armenia and Georgia.

In the following survey we shall show what these countries, designated by Mr. Rusk as "regions", really were and are, what the people of these "regions" are like, and whether they have a right to an independent state existence. We shall deal with them in the order in which they are mentioned in Mr. Rusk's letter to the chairman of the House Rules Committee.

A. Ukraine

Before we give an account of the historical rights of the Ukrainian people, we should, however, like to emphasize the following facts. As a result of the influence of Russian sources, the peoples of Slav origin in the Soviet Union are regarded as part of the Russian people.

The genetic relation of the Slav peoples, such as the Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Cossacks, to the Russians is by no means proof that they are parts of one and the same nation. The Germans, Swedes, Dutch, English and other peoples, for instance, are genetically related. The factor which decides the unity and community of a nation is a *consciousness of affinity* on the part of the people of a certain community who have pursued the same historic course and have been bound together by a common fate. And it is precisely this consciousness of affinity with the Russians that the Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Cossacks have never had nor will ever have.

The Ukrainians and Byelorussians were and are from the historical point of view independent nations with their own independent states.

As far as historical evolution was concerned, the Cossacks formed an independent nation somewhat later. In more recent times the Netherlands, Belgium, Norway, the USA, Canada, and Australia, etc., underwent the same historical process and are today independent nations with independent states of their own. In the case of the Cossacks, consciousness as an independent nation with a claim to an independent state of their own developed in a similar manner. And they realized this claim when they proclaimed and founded their own independent state after the 1917 revolution.

Since earliest times the various regions of what is today Ukraine were inhabited by Slav and other tribes (which very probably included Caucasian, Cherkessian and Ostrogothic elements), who gradually intermingled (the ancient Greek historian Herodotus already mentions these tribes). Out of these tribes an independent nation subsequently developed. As early as the 9th century a powerful state began to be organized, which in the 10th century under the name of Kyivan Rus, that as to say Kyivan Ruthenia, exercised a political and cultural influence not only in Eastern Europe but also in Central and Southeastern Europe (and even beyond). This was the first historical state of the Ukrainians.

In earliest times Christianity penetrated this country from Byzantium and the neighbouring Christian countries. In the 10th century, after the ruling house had been converted, Christianity became the state religion. In the 13th century, when the Mongols overran the country, the national state centre was transferred to Galicia. Culturally and politically Ukraine belonged to the Western world. The ruling house was related by blood and by marriage to the ruling dynasties of France, England, Norway, Poland and Hungary.

For matters pertaining to municipal administration the code of laws known as the Magdeburg chartered rights was introduced. From the social aspect this state was based on feudal principles; the system of feudal tenure – the rulers, the nobility, the peasantry and the military – the free Cossack element – were the

decisive factors. (Serfdom was introduced much later, namely in the 18th century, after the incorporation of Ukraine by Russia.)

As a result of the Tatar invasions and, above all, after the destruction of Kyiv in the course of these invasions, Ukrainian statehood was transferred to the south-west. In this way the Ukrainian state of Galicia-Volhynia came into being (with the important towns of Halytch and Volodymyr). A large part of the East Ukrainian territories (on the left bank of the Dnipro) entered into a political union with the state of Lithuania. After the destruction of the state of West Ukraine by Poland and the union of Lithuania with the Polish state, more than half the Ukrainian territories fell under Polish rule.

Since Polish oppression in the Ukrainian territories became unbearable however, the Ukrainians revolted against the Poles in 1648; this revolt subsequently developed into a lengthy Ukrainian-Polish war (1648-1655). The head of the liberated Ukrainian state at that time, the great Hetman Bohdan Khmelnyzky, was obliged to seek an ally, since the newly restored Ukrainian state was threatened not only by Poland but also by other enemies. He thought he had found an ally in the Orthodox Muscovite Tsar Alexei Michailovitch. Hence in January 1654 an alliance, which was directed mainly against Poland, was concluded between Ukraine and Moscow in the Ukrainian town of Pereyaslav. But in the course of their history the faithless Russians have seldom observed the unwritten law "pacta sunt servanda" (pacts must be kept), on which the entire international law has always been based. Nor were their methods any different in the case of their Ukrainian ally. The treaty of Pereyaslav was neither signed nor ratified. In all probability it was a provisional agreement. Historical events subsequently proved that a union with Russia was not in keeping with either the will or the intentions of the Ukrainian state leadership. When the Russians tried to interpret the treaty to their own advantage and endeavoured to establish their power in the Ukrainian state, an open conflict ensued. Exactly five years after the treaty of Pereyaslav, namely in 1659, Ukraine, under Hetman I. Vyhovsky, rose up in revolt against Russia. The Russian troops suffered a heavy retreat at Konotop near the Russian frontiers; they were forced to retreat across the frontier, and the Russian commander-in-chief Prince Posharsky was taken prisoner.

About 50 years later Ukraine under Hetman I. Mazepa concluded an alliance against Russia with the King of Sweden, Charles XII. The united Swedish and Ukrainian armies were, however, defeated by the Russians at Poltava in 1709. The Russians' revenge was terrible and merciless.

As a result of this open state of war between the Ukrainians and the Russians, the treaty of Pereyaslav was thus null and void. Reference on the part of the Russians to this treaty therefore lacks all legal basis.

Russia had now become a major power. The Baltic countries and White Ruthenia (Byelorussia) were annexed by Russia. When Poland was partitioned in 1772 the major part of Ukraine was incorporated by Russia, whilst West Ukraine was occupied by the Austrian troops.

But Ukraine still retained its internal autonomy, which was not abolished until the years 1783, namely during the reign of Catherine II. The Ukrainian territories were transformed into Russian administrative provinces, the free Ukrainian Cossack element was destroyed, and the peasantry was doomed to serfdom. Russification of the country now began; the Ukrainian language was abolished in the administration, in the courts of law and in the schools. From now onwards the country was known as "Malorossija" (Little Russia), as a part of Velikorossija (Great Russia, that is to say, the territory which constituted the nucleus of the Muscovite tsardom).

And from now onwards the leading class of the Ukrainian people fought to preserve the national characteristics, culture and language. Like all the other peoples

in the Russian empire, the Ukrainian people had been deprived of their national, political and social rights. Most of the big landowners were Russians and Poles.

About 30 years after the treaty of Pereyaslav the Russians by cunning intrigues succeeded in establishing their supremacy over the Ukrainian Church. The Patriarchate of Constantinople, to which the Ukrainian Orthodox Church had so far been subordinated, ceded this external supremacy over the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to the Russians under circumstances which we shall not deal with here.

If the national will of a people does not flag, if its national powers of resistance are not undermined, and if it is prepared to assert its national existence, then as a rule a man appears out of the people who spurs them on to fight, gives them new courage and hope, and promises them a better future. Such a man was the great Ukrainian poet of the middle of the 19th century, Taras Shevchenko (1814–1861). It is a well-known fact that a poet can achieve greater and more lasting miracles in the life of a people than all the skill and foresight of statesmanship. The Ukrainian people paid heed to the exhortations and appeals of Shevchenko, and his words took root in their hearts. Like all national prophets, he, too, was obliged to suffer. He spent many years of his life in prison and in exile. As a result of all these hardships he died at a comparatively early age. But his legacy showed the Ukrainian people the path to freedom, from which it has never departed.

In 1890 the first Ukrainian revolutionary party was founded. Hundreds of the noblest sons of Ukraine were exiled to Siberia, but this measure did not, however, undermine their influence on their fellow-countrymen at home.

During the revolutionary era of 1905/06 the country was in a state of ferment. Russian counter-measures were merciless. People were arrested and deported by the thousands. But all these measures failed to intimidate the Ukrainian people. Even in the Russian parliament the Ukrainians asserted their national demands. In the 3rd Duma (1907/12) the Ukrainian deputies handed the President a petition, in which they demanded the restoration of the independent statehood of Ukraine. The result of this step was that the Russian liberal constitutional-democratic party, whose leader was the well-known politician Paul Miljukov*), immediately struck from its programme, which contained the construction of the Russian empire on a federative basis, the clause pertaining to the statehood of Ukraine.

The decisive fact which led to the revolt that broke out in Petrograd in 1917 developing into a revolution, was that the garrison in Petrograd went over to the side of the revolutionaries. And this in turn was due to the fact that most of the soldiers in these regiments were Ukrainians. (The men of the guards regiments had to be of a special type and build, as well as literate; hence most of them were recruited from Ukraine.)

When the revolution triumphed in 1917 and the Russian empire collapsed, a congress of representatives of all the non-Russian peoples was held in Kyiv at the initiative of the Ukrainians. At this congress a unanimous resolution was adopted, in which statehood was demanded for these peoples on the strength of the right of self-determination proclaimed by President Wilson. The Prime Minister of the so-called "democratic" government in Petrograd, A. Kerensky, promptly rejected this demand. In a telegram to President Wilson he claimed that the right of self-determination should not apply to the peoples of the Russian empire.

President Wilson's reply was: "No people must be forced under sovereignty under which they do not wish to live".

It thus strikes us as all the more peculiar that Secretary of State Dean Rusk now considers it legally permissible for peoples to be forcibly kept under foreign rule!

*) In World War II, Miljukow, together with General Denikin, exhorted the Russians in exile to support Stalin and the preservation of the Russian empire.

But in spite of all this, the Ukrainians and also other peoples detached themselves from Russia in 1917-1918 and restored their independent states. During the peace negotiations with Germany in 1918 Russia explicitly and unconditionally recognized the independent Ukrainian state, a fact which was also corroborated in the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk by the signatures of the Russian delegates.

If in this connection one raises the objection that this recognition on the part of the victorious Central Powers was obtained by force, one must, however, bear in mind that in the peace treaty of San Francisco the victorious Western powers insisted on the unconditional recognition by the Japanese of the independence of Korea. The treaty of Brest-Litovsk between Germany and Russia was in keeping with the declaration of the Bolshevik government of Russia, according to which all peoples have the right to secede from Russia and to form their own state (cf. the resolutions of the Bolshevik party as quoted below). Hence any objection would be legally and ethically unfounded.

Ukraine was obliged to fight on all sides in order to protect its statehood, for not only the Russian armies of the Russian western and southern front, but also Bolshevik troops and the so-called White Russian Army of General Denikin had invaded the country. In addition, Polish troops also marched into Ukraine since Poland was intent upon annexing the remaining Ukrainian territories. All these facts naturally presented a serious obstacle to the consolidation of the young Ukrainian state.

In the meantime the Red Russian army had been organized as an effective striking force by L. Trotsky, with the help of former tsarist generals (including the former army commander-in-chief Brussilov, and others). Finally, in 1921, this Red army occupied Ukraine after the latter had put up a fierce resistance. Thus the fate of the sorely tried Ukrainian people was once more sealed by the Russians.

Tragic times now descended upon the Ukrainian people. We do not intend to describe this martyrdom in detail, for it is an established fact that the ruthless Russian Communist regime in Ukraine claimed countless victims amongst the people there. The subject of our survey are solely the historical, state and legal principles which justify the claims of the Ukrainians to an independent, sovereign state. We should merely like to mention the artificially created famine in 1932/33, in the course of which millions of Ukrainians perished, and the many thousands who were either shot during "purges", or were deported to Siberia. All these measures were carried out at the orders of Nikita Khrushchov, who at that time was all-powerful in Ukraine. In addition, one should also bear in mind the mass-graves in Lviv, Vynnitsia, Uman, Lutsk, Charkiv, and elsewhere, of thousands of Ukrainians who were likewise shot at the orders of Stalin and Khrushchov.

In the course of time the Russian state of coercion, the Soviet Union, consolidated its power noticeably. The foreign peoples in the Soviet Union, who had been deprived of all their rights and power by the Russians, were unable to fight the Russian military colossus of their own strength. Their only hope lay therefore in international complications, which would enable them to strike from within.

When war broke out between Germany and Russia in 1941, it was assumed that the favourable opportunity had now arrived. The non-Russian soldiers of the Soviet army went over to the side of the Germans en masse. Everyone thought that the Germans, as in the first world war, would recognize the national wishes of the enslaved peoples and would help them to restore their independence. But they were all bitterly disappointed.

Immediately after the outbreak of the war between Germany and Russia, the independence of the Ukrainian state was proclaimed in Lviv on June 30, 1941, and a government was formed which was headed by Jaroslaw Stetko (now President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations).

But this plan ran counter to the policy of the German government. The members of the Ukrainian government and leading national politicians of Ukraine were therefore arrested by the Germans and put into concentration camps. Because of the Ukrainian act of state the Soviet rulers in those parts of Ukraine which were not yet occupied by the Germans carried out terrible reprisals, executions and mass-arrests. The Ukrainian people were in a dreadful position and were in danger of being destroyed completely. But they nevertheless refused to be beaten and continued the fight on two fronts. A Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was organized, whereupon a fierce partisan war ensued.

At the eleventh hour the German government came to its senses and endeavoured to repair some of the mistakes that it had made, and tried to win over the Ukrainians, but its efforts came too late. The Russians rapidly advanced into Ukraine, and from now onwards it was obvious that the war would end in their favour.

But the Ukrainian fight for freedom continues undiminished. Those who follow the news items in the Soviet press and broadcast programmes are fairly well informed as regards the activity of the "nationalist Bandera bandits" and the trials staged by the Soviet Russians against the "bandits" whom they manage to arrest.

The millions of Ukrainians who are living in the free world, however, are regarded as the spokesmen of their nation and as the champions of the lawful rights of the Ukrainian people before the civilized world.

The above survey proves that the Ukrainian people have never ceased to assert their national rights. And they will continue to do so and will fight for these rights until their country is liberated from alien Russian occupation and an independent state of Ukraine is restored.

B. *Armenia*

The Armenians are one of the oldest civilized peoples in the world. Their realm once extended as far as western Asia. The country was already Christianized in earliest times. From the 4th century onwards Christianity was the state religion. Culturally and politically Armenia constituted part of the Greek and Roman world of culture and civilization. Armenia is already mentioned in all the ancient historical sources, as well as by all the Greek and Roman historians.

The country was constantly exposed to foreign invasions, but it nevertheless succeeded in preserving its own state until the 12th century. Weakened by Mongol invasions and terrible devastation, the country later fell under Persian and Turkish rule. But the people managed to preserve their national culture and religion, as well as their national characteristics. The struggle in which the Armenians were obliged to engage in order to preserve these national elements claimed many victims, and the people were reduced to poverty. The Church, which since the 6th century had been autocephalous, played a particularly important part in this struggle. The fact that it was autocephalous helped the Armenian people, when they were later under Russian rule, to preserve this autocephalous character of their Church; and this fact in turn was of considerable significance for their national life, since in this way they were able to avoid the subordination of their Church to Russian supremacy and managed to preserve their national language through the medium of the Church. Their strongly marked national consciousness united the Armenians scattered throughout the world and saved their national characteristics from degeneration.

When Russia in the 19th century seized part of the territory of Armenia from the Turks she did not grant it self-administration but incorporated it in the Russian empire. The position of the Armenians was particularly tragic, for the country was now divided between two empires, the Russian and the Turkish.

It goes without saying that the Armenians did their utmost to bring about a reunification of their country. For certain reasons they were inclined to realize this plan in the territory ruled by Russia, for Russia was a Christian country and there was thus less danger of their being persecuted as Christians there than in Turkey. The result of these efforts was that in 1895/96 thousands of Armenians were massacred in Turkey. And this was again the case during the first world war. During these massacres thousands of Armenians fled to the Caucasus. Thus that part of the territory of Armenia which was situated in Turkey was gradually depopulated; and in the 1920's the remainder of the population was expelled and resettled elsewhere.

But the lot of the Armenians in the Russian empire was not a happy one. As elsewhere, so, too, in Armenia, the administration, courts of justice and the schools were russified. Only the Church remained Armenian.

The national revolutionary movement "Dashnakzutjun" assumed the political leadership of the people. It enjoyed the support of the whole people and represented the will of the latter. It proved its worth during the revolution of 1905/06 and fired the people with enthusiasm.

In 1911 the leading men of the Senate were tried before a court in St. Petersburg (the Supreme Court of Justice). This trial was known as the "Trial of the Fifty" since there were 50 accused. All of them, including members of the clergy, were sentenced to imprisonment.

After the revolution the peoples of Trans-Caucasia, the Armenians, Azerbaijanians and Georgians, tried to form a federative state, but under the pressure of the Turks it had to be dissolved again. The Armenians then proclaimed an independent state of their own. It was recognized de facto and de jure and was to be admitted to the League of Nations. But this idea never materialized, for in November 1920 the Russian Red Army, which in April 1920 had occupied Azerbaijan, invaded Armenia and, after fierce fighting, occupied it.

When the Red Army in February 1921 also attacked Georgia, a revolt broke out in Armenia under the leadership of Vrazsjan. The Russians were driven out of the capital Erivan and were forced to retreat as far as the Persian Gulf. The fighting continued for six months, but since the Armenians were forced to rely solely on their own strength they were in the end unable to put up an effective resistance against the Russian reinforcements and were thus defeated.

The Armenians share the tragic fate of all the other peoples under Moscow's rule. But their spirit is still unbroken and they are merely waiting for a favourable opportunity to rise up in revolt. Their position is, however, made more difficult by Turkey, that is to say by the fact that a large part of the territory of Armenia is situated in Turkey; and what makes their position even more tragic is that this part of Armenia has been depopulated of Armenians.

Meanwhile, however, the Armenians are endeavouring to liberate the nucleus of their country, as it were, - the present Armenian Republic - from foreign rule. The Armenians in the western world are very numerous and they not only include recent emigrants but also persons who left Armenia prior to the Russian occupation. They are extremely influential and, as the spokesmen of their people, they administer the national cause of their country in the free world.

C. Georgia

The Georgians, the original inhabitants of the Caucasus, were already an independent nation in earliest times. Indeed they are mentioned in the works of the ancient Assyrian, Greek and Roman historians and geographers.

In the 10th century all the Georgian principalities united to form one state, and in this way the kingdom of Georgia was founded under the rule of the Bagrationi dynasty, which also ruled Georgia at the time of the annexation of that country by Russia in the 19th century.

From its earliest beginnings Christianity penetrated to Georgia (according to the accounts of Greek historians, the apostles Andrew and Simon of Canaan preached there); in the 4th century, after the royal family had been converted, Christianity was declared the state religion of Georgia. From the 5th century onwards the Georgian Church was autocephalous and had its own Catholicos, the Patriarch. The Georgians, who in earliest times already constituted a highly developed cultural state, as the famous German historian Theodor Mommsen says in his "Roman History", possessed a strongly marked national consciousness from the very outset. In the 10th century the statesman and theologian Georg Mertschule wrote: "Where the Holy Sacrament is celebrated in the Georgian language and where prayers are said in the Georgian language, that territory is Georgia".

In the decrees of the Georgian Church Council of 1103 we find the passage: "Those regions and waters which are inhabited by tribes related to the Georgians constitute Georgia".

These statutes, which, incidentally, could be accepted as the statutes of a modern state system today, were drawn up at a time when neither a Russian nation nor a Russian state existed.

But the Hon. Dean Rusk abandons this ancient civilized people of the Georgians to the Russians!

True, Georgia was in the course of its history on numerous occasions conquered by foreign powers and was dependent on foreign empires, but the Georgians always retained their own state and their king.

Weakened by the invasions of the Mongols, Georgia from the 15th century onwards was constantly a theatre of war between Persia and Turkey. East Georgia came under the rule of Persia, West Georgia under that of Turkey. The efforts on the part of the Georgians to obtain help from the West European countries and the Popes, with whom Georgia was always in contact, proved unsuccessful.

It was during this era that a powerful empire – Russia – was created in the north. Since the Russians were a Christian people and because the Georgians believed that Russia would prove a loyal ally in the fight against the foreign non-Christian conquerors who, in their desire to gain supremacy in the East, were turning Georgia into a constant theatre of war, the Georgians endeavoured to establish friendly relations with Russia. The position of Georgia was tragic not only from the political point of view; because the Georgians were Christians they were also persecuted in a most brutal manner.

The Georgian kings now therefore sought to establish relations with Russia and to win her over as an ally. After the country had been ravaged and devastated by the Persians and Turks in the 18th century, King Heracles II of Georgia decided to accept Russia's offer of a protectorate. In 1783 a treaty was signed to this effect.

According to this treaty, the Bagrationi dynasty retained the throne by hereditary right, as well as the internal state functions and the administration of the finances of the country; the treaty also contained a clause regarding mutual military aid. The foreign affairs of Georgia were entrusted to Russia. Georgia undertook to inform the Russian government about its activity and relations with regard to foreign countries and to act in agreement with Russia's wishes in this respect.

Although Georgia was obliged to conduct a war against the Persians and Turks on various occasions after the signing of this treaty, Russia gave it no military

support whatever. This fact was the first indication of Russia's true intentions. She hoped that Georgia, weakened and undermined by constant wars, would easily become her victim.

True, the successor of King Heracles II, George XII, yielded on certain points which were added to the old treaty as an amendment and conceded still more rights to the Russians, but even in these new clauses it was stated explicitly: "The kings shall never die out in this dynasty (i. e. the Bagrationi dynasty) and they shall rule by hereditary right as did their predecessors", - otherwise - "every form of dependence, apart from international neighbourly relations, must be destroyed".¹⁾ Russia, however, did not keep her promises, but violated the contract. When King George XII died, the Russians refused to allow his successor, David, to be crowned king. Together with other princes, he was taken to Russia. Queen Maria, the widow of King George XII, stabbed General Lazareff, who came to arrest her and deport her to Russia.

After the manifesto issued by Alexander I (it had already been drawn up in secret during Paul I's reign) Georgia was annexed by and incorporated in Russia in September 1801 and was turned into a Russian administrative province.

When the question of the annexation of Georgia was brought up in the Russian Senate under the presidency of Alexander I, the senators Count Kotshubei, Count Tchartorishsky, Prince Voronzoff and Novosilzev opposed this idea on the grounds that such a measure would be a violation of the fundamental principles of the lawful monarchy.

For the first time in its history Georgia ceased to exist as a state. The russification of the country, of the administration, courts of justice and schools, now began. Even the Church ceased to be autocephalous; it was subordinated to the Russian synod and a Russian Exarch was appointed.

Such was the glorious deed of Christian Russia! In the vilest manner possible she deceived the ancient Christian people of Georgia. Revolts ensued in the years 1810, 1812 and 1820, and a conspiracy in 1932. But these were all acts of desperation, for what could a small people like the Georgian people hope to achieve against the powerful Russian empire.

By this flagrant violation of a treaty, Russia committed an act of despotism from the point of international law and thus subjugated the Georgian people by force. Since the treaty had been violated, Georgia was no longer bound to fulfil its obligations to Russia. True, the Georgian state no longer existed, but the Georgian nation and its claims to its national rights remained. And the Georgian people have never ceased to assert these claims.

The Georgians put up a fierce resistance against the Russians in every sphere of political and public life and did their utmost to preserve the existence of the nation. The leading men of the country sought to protect the national spirit and national consciousness of the Georgian people against all Russian influence.

The entire population was involved in the revolutionary movement. The social democratic party, which was founded in the 1890's, increased in strength enormously, for, with the assistance and support of the working classes throughout the world, it promised to fight for the national, political and social rights of the Georgian people.

The entire population of Georgia took part in the revolution of 1905/06, which was crushed by the Russian troops with dreadful bloodshed. In 1907 all the delegations at the peace conference in The Hague were presented with the petition of the Georgian people, in which the civilized world was exhorted to request Russia to

¹⁾ S. Dsimistarashvili, "Lectures and Methodical Information on the History of Georgia", p. 103. Published by the Ministry of Education of the Georgian SSR, Tbilisi, 1949.

annul the annexation of Georgia and to concede state independence to that country once more. The Georgian deputies of the Duma (parliament) constantly emphasized the fact that Russia had violated her treaty with Georgia and they demanded the restoration of Georgia's national rights.

When the budget of the governor of the Caucasus was discussed at the 3rd Duma in 1910, the social democratic deputy, K. Tcheidze²⁾ brought up the question of the right of self-determination of the Georgian nation and moved a resolution in which it was stated that the main reason for the state of unrest in the Caucasus lay "in the intensified fight against all efforts on the part of the Caucasian peoples to attain free national self-determination"; and it was stressed in this resolution that in order to appease this country it was imperative that "conditions should be created which would guarantee complete freedom as regards the right of self-determination of the peoples of the Caucasus".

In 1907 Russia demanded that Switzerland should extradite the Georgian revolutionaries who had fled to that country. This petition was dealt with by a Swiss court. Defense counsel on behalf of the Georgians were the former Federal President A. Lachenal and the well-known politician C. Hudry. The court referred to expert reports submitted by authorities on international law, including the famous Belgian authority on this subject, Professor Dr. Ernest Nys, the permanent judge of the International Court of Justice at The Hague. It was ascertained by these experts that Russia had violated her treaty with Georgia and had annexed Georgia by force, and it was further stressed that it was therefore the right of every Georgian to oppose the violation of the Georgian people. The request of the Russian government was thus rejected. It can therefore be seen that from the point of international law the annexation of Georgia was an act of violence and injustice.

After the collapse of the Russian empire in 1917 the first national act in Georgia was the restoration of the Autocephalous Church and the election of a Patriarch. Since the social democratic party in Georgia had seized governmental power and adhered to democratic principles and, moreover, expected the Russian democracy to keep its promise of self-administration for the peoples, it hesitated to set up its own state administration. But the Russian democracy had no intention of keeping this promise, and its prominent representative, Prime Minister A. Kerensky, definitely opposed this idea. Meanwhile, however, the whole situation was changed by the following events.

In Russia the Bolsheviks, under the leadership of Lenin, seized power and started a political conflagration in that country. The extermination of the "counter-revolutionaries and the enemies of the people" now began. An attempt was made to establish a Federative Republic of the Peoples of the Trans-Caucasus, but this experiment failed as a result of the opposition of the Turks.

In May 1918 the independence of Georgia was proclaimed and a government was formed. The Republic of Georgia was at first recognized de facto and subsequently de jure by all the Major Powers and also by other European states. It was later recognized by the states of Asia and South and Central America.

On December 26, 1920, the question of the admission of Georgia to the League of Nations was discussed at the plenary session of the organization. Georgia received 10 votes for and 13 votes against its admission to the League of Nations; 4 votes were withheld. (On the same day Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania received 5 votes for their admission; there were 27 votes against Esthonia's admission and 24 votes against Latvia's and Lithuania's admission.)

²⁾ Chairman of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council in 1917, and President of the Constitutional Assembly of the Georgian Republic during Georgia's independence.

The decisive factor which determined the negative results of this voting was Article 10 of the Statutes of the League of Nations, according to which all states were obliged to assist a member-state in the event of danger, and the League of Nations was at that time too weak to undertake such an obligation towards the said states. It was however decided "to treat these states (Georgia, Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania) as member-states as far as their participation in the organizations of the same (the technical organizations of the League of Nations) was concerned". - Furthermore, the Soviet delegation was refused the right to represent Georgia at the conferences in Genoa in 1922 and in Lausanne in 1922 and 1923. It is to be hoped that the Hon. Dean Rusk will take all these facts regarding international law into consideration!

At the German-Russian peace negotiations in 1918 Russia already recognized the right of Georgia to an independent state of its own, and this was also stipulated in the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. From the point of international law, however, the other treaty, namely the one concluded between the Republic of Georgia and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic on May 7, 1920, is more important. In this treaty Russia recognized the independent and sovereign state of Georgia unconditionally, guaranteed the inviolability of Georgia's frontiers and renounced all material claims to any property held by Russians there during the tsarist era.

But this treaty did not deter Lenin's Russia from invading Georgia. In February 1921 Russian troops attacked Georgia on four sides (Azerbaijan and Armenia had already been occupied) and it was overpowered by the Russian rabble and the Russian superior military strength. The Georgian government went into exile.³⁾

The period of greatest suffering and hardship in the life of the Georgian nation now began. To begin with, the Georgian people tried to put up an effective resistance against Russian rule by means of partisan warfare in the years 1921 and 1922 and by the national revolt in 1924, but all this was in vain. Thousands of Georgians were executed and thousands were deported to Siberia. The waves of terrorism which swept the country in the years 1930/31, 1935 and 1938, claimed countless victims. In order to prevent the physical extermination of the people, open fighting was abandoned, for the revenge and the reprisals of the Communist rulers are terrible and ruthless. In spite of this fact, however, the people of Georgia continue to be prompted to acts of desperation. This was the case in the revolt of Georgia's youth in March 1956, when countless young persons paid for their action with their lives.

The fight continues unabated in the intellectual sphere, and every effort is made to protect and preserve the national culture and traditions of Georgia. The people have not lost courage, but still believe in a better future and are convinced that they will one day gain their national and human freedoms again. The Georgians know that their spokesmen in the free world are fighting for their rights and they trust that the civilized peoples there will recognize these rights.

Summary

The facts which we have cited in the above historical survey prove that the said peoples have never renounced their national rights, that they have always expressed and proclaimed their national will, and have not been afraid to fight for and make sacrifices for these rights. And they will continue to do so in spite of the fact that

³⁾ Cf. *National Republic of Georgia*. Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 69th Congress, First Session, on H. I. Res. 195 Providing for the Appointment of a Diplomatic Representative to the National Republic of Georgia. April 1 and 2, 1926 — Washington Government Printing Office, 1926.

some states, for purely egoistical reasons and interests, wish to abandon them to the Russians.

It is indeed ironical, an abnegation of all moral principles and of humanity, and a recognition of violence to deny these peoples the right to an independent, national existence.

What exactly is the status of the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union from the point of constitutional and international law?

1. *Historic facts.*

The following historic facts must be acknowledged:

The old Russian tsarist empire was created by the conquest of foreign countries and the subjugation of foreign peoples.

Many of these peoples are not related to the Russians either by origin, history, language or culture.

The states of all these non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union existed many hundreds of years before either the Russian nation or the Russian state was formed.

The peoples forcibly incorporated in the tsarist empire – the Finns, Esthonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Armenians, Azerbaijanians, Georgians, Ukrainians, Turkestanians, and also the Poles at that time – were conquered by force; after the collapse of the tsarist empire in 1917, these peoples detached themselves from Russia and once more set up their own states in the form of democratic republics.

Thus the process known in international law as the “rehabilitation of the international person” (Jellinek) was effected.

These states were recognized by other states which already existed. These newly founded states thus became subject to international law.

In none of these states was Bolshevism able to gain a foothold. It was only victorious in Russia.

The non-Russian countries of the present Soviet Union were overpowered by the superior military strength of Russia (in those days the RSFSR = the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic) at various times and robbed of their independence. Some of the states, as for instance Georgia, Latvia, Esthonia, Lithuania, Ukraine, had been recognized de jure by Russia.

(It should be noted that the Ukrainian Independent Republic was also recognized by a number of the Western Allies, including Great Britain, and, at Brest Litovsk, by Russia.)

Forcible seizure cannot be recognized as a lawful condition; and this principle has also been accepted in international law by every state in the civilized world.

2. *The position from the point of international law.*

1. The non-Russian member-states of the Soviet Union were forcibly occupied by a foreign state, namely Russia (RSFSR).
2. From the point of international law these states are in the same position as were Holland, Norway, Belgium, etc. during the German occupation, and as are at present Poland, Hungary, Roumania and Bulgaria under Soviet Russian rule, that is to say completely in Russia's vassalage.
3. The problem of all the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union is thus an international problem.
4. The states of the peoples had already been recognized and it is therefore not necessary to grant them recognition once more. The question at issue is thus the liberation of these countries from foreign, that is to say Russian, occupation and from compulsory membership in the Soviet Union.

5. Even at the present time the non-Russian states of the Soviet Union are formally and legally sovereign states. Even though their sovereign status may be only feigned for the sake of appearances, these states are nevertheless legally defined as such in the constitution.
They possess all the attributes of a state: an historically and ethnographically defined territory, a constitution of their own, a legislative body – parliament, budgetary right, and an executive body – the government.
6. This legal fact has been corroborated in accordance with international law by the states of the free world, inasmuch as Ukraine and Byelorussia have been admitted to the UNO as members enjoying the same rights as all the other members of that organization.
7. By reason of this conclusive act all the other non-Russian states of the Soviet Union have also been recognized as such. For they have been forced to become part of the Soviet Union under the same circumstances, and are members of the Soviet Union with the same rights and under the same conditions, as Ukraine and Byelorussia.
8. The annexation of the countries which Russia has occupied since 1939 has not been recognized by the states of the free world; their liberation from foreign occupation and vassalage and the restoration of their state sovereignty and independence has been proclaimed and is demanded by all.
9. Legally and ethically it is nonsense to single out 1939 as the year by which to establish the right to restore an independent state.
The claim and right to freedom and to the restoration of its sovereign state on the part of a people which has been forcibly subjugated cannot be barred by the statute of limitations.
10. The date on which the country in question was occupied is of no importance. If it were, this would be contrary to all ethical, legal and democratic principles.
11. After its collapse or disintegration the Soviet Union will cease to exist as such, and the various member-states will therefore no longer be part of the Union. In any case, they could not continue to be members of a Union which no longer exists.
12. There are no legal objections to this legal fact being corroborated according to the principles of international law. Moreover, this would not be an act of hostility towards Russia for, according to Article 17 of the Constitution of the Soviet Union, each member-state has a right to secede from the Union voluntarily.⁴⁾
13. In keeping with the acknowledged ethical, legal and democratic principles of the civilized world, the right of the non-Russian countries of the Soviet Union to the restoration of their independent states must be recognized without prejudice, similarly to the right of the satellite states, and must now be proclaimed.

⁴⁾ At this point we should like to stress that at the 7th Conference of the Russian Bolshevik Party (later Communist Party) in April 1917 in Petrograd (Leningrad), under the chairmanship of Lenin, the following resolution was adopted: "All nations which are incorporated in Russia must be conceded the right to free secession and to found an independent state". — ("The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union", Moscow 1959, p. 210; quoted from the article by P. Ratiiani in the Georgian Soviet periodical "Mnatobi", Tbilisi, 1961, No. 12, p. 158.) — Cf. also Point 2 of the "Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia" of November 2, 1917: "The right of the peoples of Russia to free self-determination, which can include secession and the founding of an independent state, is recognized."

Conclusion

If the free world disregards all these facts and abandons all ethical and legal principles, which form the basis of civilization; and if, in the erroneous belief that it can ensure the "peaceful coexistence" of the two worlds by an attitude of indifference towards the fate of millions of people and of the subjugated nations, it allows itself to be guided by "sacro egoismo" and recognizes Russian's right of possession over these peoples as a vested right, – it will bring about its own downfall and will be doomed to destruction as was National Socialism and Fascism.

In international politics today, however, it is not the ethical principles of humanity and justice but egoistical interests which come first in importance.

Moreover, there are in Europe certain influential circles who are of the opinion that one should not goad the Russians with the problems of the non-Russian peoples, and these same circles are prepared to sacrifice these peoples to the Russians for the coexistence policy. The strange thing is of course that whereas the Russians condemn the alleged colonialism of the West, hardly anyone (not even the German politicians) ventures to attack the Russian colonial empire, which is the only colonial empire still in existence in the world.

The Western Christian world has no reason to be proud of its policy in this respect! The statesmen and politicians of our day think they have been chosen to fulfil a world-historical mission, but in reality they are not even capable of solving a comparatively simple problem.

In these troubled times they constantly wear a self-satisfied smile on their faces – in all the pictures we see of them – as if everything in the world were in order. They are obviously indifferent to the cry of the individuals and peoples who have been deprived of their rights.

But once upon a time things were different in the Western world. – At the turn of the century a startling message stirred the world. It came from an Englishman, Henry Nevinson. In his book "Modern Slavery" he described the dreadful conditions which existed in the African colonies belonging to Portugal. The civilized Christian world was highly indignant and condemned the slave-traders; and Portugal was forced to put an end to these conditions.

Millions of people and scores of nations are today living like slaves under Russian and Communist rule, but nobody is highly indignant at this fact and nobody condemns the slave-traders. They belong to the community of the free peoples, to the UNO, and negotiations are carried on with them. And the Hon. Dean Rusk appears to regard the right of these slave-traders as something perfectly legal!

H. Nevinson also travelled through tsarist Russia after the revolution of 1905/1906; he saw how the foreign peoples in this empire were being violated, and he described the prevailing conditions there in one concise phrase – "the murder of a nation".

The present Russian rulers are a thousand times worse, more terrible and more brutal; they murder not only individuals but whole peoples. But that does not deter the Hon. Dean Rusk from abandoning our peoples to their rule and from designating their state of injustice and violence as an "historical state" and our countries as "traditional parts" of that state!

It is indeed sad that one is obliged to prove to the public of the free civilized world that our peoples, too, are entitled to enjoy human rights and also have the right to be regarded as nations and to live in freedom as individuals and nations on the native soil which God has given them.

By his attitude the Hon. Dean Rusk has disregarded the resolution adopted by Congress, which he should have regarded as a directive. If he did not agree with this resolution, he should have informed Congress of this fact, instead of sabotaging

its work. For it is not likely that the said resolution was merely a philanthropic act, since serious-minded Congressmen are not concerned with such matters.

The Hon. Dean Rusk has done the American people an ill-service and he has damaged his own prestige considerably. Since the USA as a world power is qualified to defend the free world, it cannot afford to lose the confidence of the subjugated peoples, who are the natural allies of the free peoples.

In this era of conflict between two worlds, when the fate of the whole of mankind is being decided, – namely whether the world will remain free, or whether it will come under Russian Communist despotic rule, the USA cannot afford to tolerate a Secretary of State who has forfeited the trust of our peoples.

Free China Condemns the Murder of Stephan Bandera

Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, Republic of China

Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, Chairman
ABN – Central Committee
Munich 8, Zeppelinstrasse 67
West Germany

Dear Mr. Stetzko:

We are extremely resentful at the shameless act of the Russian Communists in the assassination of Mr. Stephan Bandera, the overseas Ukrainian anti-Communist-leader. At this time when the murderer is soon to be brought to trial in a law court in West Germany, we are enclosing our solemn statement in protest against this incident, which you may use as you see fit.

Statement

We were deeply saddened at the assassination of Mr. Stephan Bandera, the overseas Ukrainian anti-Communist leader, which thus deprived the Ukrainian people of a heroic comrade in their struggle for national freedom and independence and we wish to hereby voice our resentment at the shameless murder carried out by secret agents under the audacious directive of the Soviet Russian Communist imperialists.

Now that the murderer will soon be brought to trial in West Germany, we are confident that his crime will be justly punished by the law. On this most unfortunate incident, we should like to make public our view as follows:

First, we most unanimously denounce the atrocity of the Soviet Russian Communist imperialists in sending throughout the free world their secret agents to carry out their premeditated murders.

Second, we wish to point out the fact that the Soviet Russian Communist imperialists are dispatching numerous secret agents to every corner of the free world to carry out, at the same time, their intrigues of infiltration, division and subversion. Hence, we of the free world should heighten our vigilance by adopting every possible precautionary measure.

Third, we urge that all democratic nations extend warm sympathy and active support to Communist-enslaved peoples in their fight for freedom, so as to enable them to overthrow the Communist tyrannical rule and thereby regain their national freedom and independence.

Ku Cheng-kang, President
APACLROC

A.B.N. President Visits Paris

The President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), Jaroslaw Stetzko, recently visited Paris, where he had a number of talks with various prominent French personalities as well as with representatives of the subjugated peoples who are living in the French capital.

On May 26th, Jaroslaw Stetzko was the guest of honour at a celebration held to mark the anniversary of the proclamation of Georgia's independence. Those present on this occasion also included the Secretary-General of the Central Committee of A.B.N., Prince N. Nakashidze, and the editors B. Vitoshynsky and V. Kosyk.

On the following day Jaroslaw Stetzko, on behalf of the leaders of the Units Abroad of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), placed a wreath on the grave of the Ukrainian Head of State and Supreme Otaman Simon Petlura, who was murdered in Paris in 1926, and also attended the requiem held at Montparnasse cemetery. Orthodox and Catholic Ukrainian priests officiated at

the requiem for Simon Petlura. Wreaths were also placed on his grave by representatives of the Ukrainian Youth Organization SUM in Paris, as well as by a number of Ukrainian central institutions and organizations which have their seat in the French capital.

A Letter from General Edwin A. Walker, the great American anti-Communist fighter and patriot

Dear Mr. Stetzko,

I am acquainted with the ABN and am very proud to have been contacted by you all in Munich. I recognize the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations as representing the interests of the Captive Peoples just as the fraudulent United Nations represent the Russian suppression of these same peoples.

With all good wishes, I remain,
Yours truly,

Edwin A. Walker

Enrique Martinez Codo

Guerrilla Warfare In Ukraine

The 20th Anniversary of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)

The perversion of historical fact to accomplish Soviet propaganda ends is no more evident than in studies concerning guerrilla operations behind the German lines in 1941-44. The Soviets would have us believe that all guerrillas, and particularly those operating in Ukraine, were Communist and that they fought under Soviet control against the Germans. Many Western writers, relying on the accuracy of abundant Soviet information sources, innocently have cultivated the literary fields in which the Soviet propagandists have planted the seeds of distortion, misplaced emphasis, and half-truth. Of such ingredients the military reputation of "General" Khrushchov is made.

It is true that Red guerrillas were active in Ukraine. But they were mostly remnants of the regular forces which the Germans scattered during the first few months of the war or they were special troops parachuted behind the German lines. Their actions were of little consequence in the years 1941-44.

The Ukrainian people never backed the Soviet guerrillas. They were not only anti-Communist but also anti-Russian by tradition. The Ukrainians fought both the German Army of occupation and the Soviet guerrillas who attempted to operate in their country.

This was a natural consequence of the country's history. Ukraine had declared its independence from Russia in 1917 and in 1920 was subjugated by the Red Army. Since then, various secret Ukrainian anti-Communist movements have operated with the objective of liberating their country from Soviet Russian rule.

Thus, because of a well-defined patriotic and political feeling, it was not astonishing that the Ukrainian people welcomed the German troops as liberators when they invaded the USSR on June 22, 1941. Nor was it a strange circumstance that the deepest German penetration and the largest encirclements took place on Ukrainian territory.

Soldiers of Ukrainian nationality in the Soviet units defending the Ukrainian front deserted in large numbers at the sight of the approaching German Armies. They had no desire to fight in defence of the regime imposed on them. Entire units, headed by their commanding officers, surrendered without firing a single shot. In the great Battle of Kiev alone, fought in September 1941, more than 675,000 men, a large proportion of whom were Ukrainians, surrendered to the Germans.

After the Battle of Kiev, the Germans found Marshal Kryvonos, Commander of the Military Region of Kiev, and 17 officers of his general staff dead. Ukrainian sources believe they were shot by the NKVD (Soviet Secret Police) on the suspicion that they were Ukrainian Nationalists ready to surrender the entire army group to the Germans.

Nightingale Battalion

The German High Command (OKW), aware of the nationalistic feelings among the Ukrainian people, created a special unit called the Nightingale Battalion manned by Ukrainian Nationalists. The German political administration, however, always in disagreement with the German Army authorities, bungled this mutual understanding which would have gained for Hitler the collaboration of a country of 40 million inhabitants and, more important the security of his rear area.

General Heinz Guderian confirms in his *Memoirs* the favorable reception tendered the Ukrainians and the subsequent deterioration of the good relations between the two, when he says:

It is a pity that the friendly attitude of the Ukrainian people toward the Germans lasted only under the benevolent military administration. The so-called 'Reich Commissars' did a good job in destroying in a short time the friendly attitude of the Ukrainians toward the Germans, and prepared the ground for the rebel or partisan struggle.

On June 30, 1941, scarcely one week after the invasion started, the Ukrainian people liberated the city of Lviv and announced over the radio the restoration of their national independence. This surprised the German politicians who ordered that the members of the recently formed Ukrainian national government be arrested and confined in various concentration camps.

This action served as a warning that the German "liberators" were not going to recognize their independence—they were merely new oppressors.

Thus, in 1941 the first anti-German guerrilla bands were formed and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists came into being. Finally, on October 14, 1942, the small detachments of guerrilla fighters were organized under one single command, taking the name of *Ukrainska Povstancha Armia* (UPA), Ukrainian Guerrilla Army.

The Ukrainian resistance movement had the following missions:

1. To organize politically and militarily the mass of the Ukrainian population, and re-orient it to oppose the new invader.
2. To organize a network of revolutionary forces in Ukraine and instruct them in anti-German sabotage (disobedience to German orders and instruction in self-defense against the Gestapo).
3. To organize campaigns against the forced employment of laborers in German agriculture and industry.
4. To organize activities to prevent grain exports to Germany and to instruct the people on how to hide provisions, clothing, and other goods from the German requisitioning patrols.
5. To organize an information and propaganda campaign to expose the true purpose of the Nazis and Bolsheviks in Ukraine.
6. To organize schools to teach clandestine resistance procedures to political and military leaders.

7. To collect arms, ammunition, and other military equipment to be used by the future Ukrainian armed forces.

8. To clear the Ukrainian territory of Bolshevik secret agents, who under various guises were able to join the German agencies, including the Gestapo, to help the Germans destroy the Ukrainian resistance.

Reinforced by the transfer of members from the police forces of the principal Ukrainian cities and other sources, the UPA promptly acquired an unexpected capability for combat action. Numerous contingents of Ukrainian troops which had deserted the Red Army joined the UPA, as well as contingents from other traditionally anti-Communist nationalities, such as Georgians, Tatars, Azerbaijani, and Turks.

The German reaction was not slow in appearing. In the spring of 1943 bloody battles were fought in the vicinities of Sarny, Stolin, and Volodymyr, in all of which the UPA succeeded in disrupting the German support organizations. Violent guerrilla attacks followed against the concentration camps of Kremenets, Dubno, Kovel, Lutsk, and Kyvertsi, which resulted in the liberation of political prisoners who promptly joined and strengthened the guerrilla ranks.

By the summer of 1943 the anti-German campaign was in full swing. The Germans controlled only the large cities and large military installations. Even strongly guarded German movements were restricted to daytime and were always vulnerable to sabotage and direct attack from guerrillas.

The Ukrainian people accepted the UPA government and supported it actively and voluntarily with money and goods.

Notable Accomplishments

In May the Ukrainian guerrillas ambushed and killed the German SA Commander Victor Lutze and his escort, an incident which the German press played down referring to it as a "traffic accident". During 1943 the Ukrainian guerrillas fought successfully in a series of pitched battles. In Volhynia in July 1943 an attack of a mixed German-Hungarian division was repelled successfully by guerrillas. In May 1944 a German division was forced to retreat after a battle in the Chorny Lis (Black Forest) region of the Stanislaviv province. In July 1944 the guerrillas repelled the attack of two German divisions against UPA positions at Lopata Hill. A 10-day fight, from July 6 to 16, between Skole and Bolekhiv, climaxed this series of battles and resulted in heavy losses for the attacking German-Hungarian division.

From this moment on, in view of the crumbling German front in Russia, the Germans changed their political tactics and sought to coordinate anti-Soviet actions with the UPA. However, the UPA rejected such negotiations. It should be noted that during this period (1941-44) there was little activity of Red guerrillas in Ukraine, because the German forces, as well as the UPA, had forced them out of the country.

The most serious Red guerrilla attempt to penetrate the Ukrainian region was made under the leadership of the Soviet General Kovpak. The force came from White Ruthenia after crossing the Pripet River and headed toward Galicia with the intention of reaching the Carpathian Mountains. But the village militia and the regular units of the UPA pursued and harassed them to the point of almost complete annihilation. Only 700 men succeeded in escaping from the UPA attacks. They returned to the Soviet lines exhausted and unable to gain sympathizers among the Ukrainian people.

UPA Organization in 1944

By the end of the German occupation it is estimated that the UPA had about 200,000 armed guerrillas organized in units assigned to four territorial operational regions and to a series of independent operations groups.

These regions were:

The Northern Region, comprising the province of Polisia and the northern part of the Volhynia province.

The Southern Region, formed by the northern part of Bukovina and the provinces of Kamenets Podilsky and Vynnytsia.

The Eastern Region, formed by the northern forest sectors of Kiev and Zhytomyr.

The Western Region, the best organized of all, comprising the provinces of Galicia and Carpatho-Ukraine (sectors of Lviv, Ternopil, Stanislaviv, Chernivtsi, Drohobych, Peremyshl, Lemkivshchyna, and Kholm).

The independent operational groups carried on their activities with success in the Donets River Basin, in Dniepropetrovsk, Kharkiv, Kryvyi Rih, Odessa, Kremenchuk, the city of Kiev and Uman, and other Ukrainian cities and in the Crimean Peninsula.

Each region was subdivided into military districts, each consisting of a determined number of guerrillas formed in companies, battalions, and regiments.

The tactical operational unit was the company. Only in special situations would three or four companies unite to form a battalion, or two or three battalions to form a regiment. Battalions and regiments were formed only on personal orders from the commander of the military district who would generally assume command of the larger unit thus formed. The most able and competent commanders were assigned as battalion commanders.

Only in exceptional defensive situations were the battalions allowed to join on their own accord if it was not possible to obtain orders or the consent of the district commander. This was rare because the command posts of the military districts were mobile and were continuously supervising the situation where danger was the greatest.

The company organization was not rigid, but generally followed one of these two types:

1. The *light type* company consisting of 168 men armed with rifles, light machine guns, submachine guns, hand grenades, and demolition materials. Its principal mission was to effect hit-and-run raids. When an engagement against tanks was anticipated, the companies were reinforced with anti-tank rifle (*panzerbusche* 43, 88-mm bazooka) teams and anti-tank bazooka teams.

The company was organized in the triangular system (three platoons of three squads each) but the strength of the squads was flexible. The rifle platoons were equipped with 50-mm light mortars.

2. The *heavy type* company consisted of about 186 men, its organization also following the triangular concept. The armament was similar to the light company, but it was reinforced by a three-piece heavy machine gun platoon, and a three-piece 82-mortar platoon. The missions of these companies were the attack of important areas, the defense of certain objectives, and open battle against enemy forces.

Mounted guerrillas fought in the Northern Region. They formed special heavy squadrons sometimes equipped with light artillery.

Artillery was used only on rare occasions and then almost never organically, for the cannon constituted a great hazard for the guerrilla fighter. It is a heavy crew-served weapon whose characteristics of employment, even for the light mountain type are not readily adaptable to guerrilla warfare. The gun fixes the guerrilla fighter activities, minimizes their mobility and speed, and, unless it is of the mountain type, ties the fighters to the roads, giving the enemy a chance for pursuit.

The guerrilla fighter, tied to this crew-served weapon, cannot keep close tab on the situation and is not aware of danger until it is too late to avoid defeat. This happened to the Communist guerrillas under General Kovpak in their fight against

the UPA forces. Guerrillas preferred mortars and made good use of so-called "potential artillery." Groups of infantry-artillery would seize the enemy guns and use them against their former owners in the same engagement. The captured guns that were retained were used only in the defense of strong points and to train the potential artillerymen in the use of the weapon.

It is evident that had recoilless rifles been available at that time they would have been the "artillery of the guerrillas." The UPA forces considered light automatic weapons best suited to guerrilla tactics. The most popular among these was the sub-machine gun due to its easy handling and firepower which made it the most powerful shock element in ambush and close combat. The standard hand grenade of the German and Soviet Armies, as well as those manufactured by the guerrillas themselves, were also favorite weapons. The efficient German *panzerfaust* and the *panzerbusche* 43 were used, as well as a variety of anti-tank mines.

The source of armament for these forces was the German and Soviet arsenals seized in raids and major engagements. The seizure of weapons and ammunition was a permanent objective of the Ukrainian guerrillas, inasmuch as they had no outside help whatsoever and depended entirely on their own resources. Thus, during the German occupation period (1941-44) the German weapons and those of their allies were widely used by the UPA. During the Soviet occupation period, starting in mid-1944, they used Russian weapons almost exclusively.

In addition to the units already described, which might be called "regular" within the irregularity of guerrilla organizations, self-defense detachments or village militia existed for the protection of small towns and villages. They were particularly effective at night against German and Soviet foraging parties and raids. This technique, which arose spontaneously in Ukraine, also had been practised in China during the Japanese occupation, and later appeared in Indochina in the war between the French and the Vietnamese. Thus, the "regular" UPA troops were something like the Indochinese *Chulic*, while the Ukrainian village militia was similar to the *Dan-Quan* of Vietnam.

The Commander in Chief of the UPA was assisted by a general staff with an operations section, intelligence section, organization and personnel section, logistics section, military instruction section, and political instruction section.

The *operations section* planned tactical operations; coordinating them by means of general instructions or concrete orders; planned and directed the political and strategically important raids; evaluated the general situation; and prepared military maps and sketches. Officers of this section were attached to each regional command so they could develop the plans of action on the ground, and, at the same time, direct large-scale operations. When the mission required the commitment of personnel of other regional commands, the organization and direction of the forces was a responsibility of the general staff.

The *intelligence section* had over-all direction of the intelligence and counter-intelligence effort. The collection of information was of primary importance for the movement of the guerrillas. The guerrillas had the backing of the civilian population in these operations. The intelligence system was so effective that as soon as the German troops and Soviet guerrillas started any operation, the UPA General Staff knew of their course of action and their strength. The cooperation of the civilian population is *conditio sine qua non* for guerrilla operations.

The *organization and personnel section* was in charge of preparing the tables of organization, of personnel replacement; of operating a roster of guerrilla fighters, and of the mobilization of military regions.

The *logistics section* had the difficult and important task of supplying food, ammunition, and clothing. Its mission included also the repair and maintenance of all material. In these tasks the cooperation of the people was essential. This section

also was in charge of the establishment of large subterranean supply storage bunkers, four to 10 meters underground, facilitating the problem of supply during the winter.

In combat the UPA guerrillas wore military uniforms and their leader wore distinctive insignia, such as the Ukrainian trident. In other words, they conformed to the laws and rules of land warfare and normally would have been considered regular troops—a fact ignored most of the time by both the Soviets and Germans.

The *military instruction section* was in charge of writing directives and manuals for the cadre schools and for the military instruction therein. The problem of organizing competent cadres (officers and non-commissioned officers) was critical due to the growth of the UPA and the consequent growing need for better and larger cadres. The section was in charge of two officers' schools which operated in the Northern and Western Regions. There were non-commissioned officer schools in every military district. The military instructors for these schools were Ukrainian military men who had pursued their military careers in the armies of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Romania, and Russia; from the cadres organized in Germany before the war (cadres from the Nightingale Battalion); and the old leaders of the Ukrainian National Army of 1917–22.

In addition to the actual military instruction, the section was in charge of editing the directives, manuals, and tactical regulations of the UPA. Among these works there is one deserving special mention: *The Practical Manual of Guerrilla Warfare*, a 364-page volume of tactical concepts for these forces.

The *political instruction section* (psychological action) had one of the most important missions. Because the UPA depended strictly on voluntary enlistments, it had to win the good will of its people as well as that of the people of foreign countries. Thus, it was necessary to have a psychological warfare apparatus to raise the morale and political standards of its men and make the UPA a strong political force. To accomplish this, two official tracts were published and circulated among guerrillas and civilians alike: *Povstanets (The Guerrilla Fighter)* and the excellent review *Do Zbroi (To Arms)*. These supplemented the clandestine press of the Ukrainian movement for national liberation which published more than 20 titles. This section also operated several clandestine radio stations which broadcast Ukrainian propaganda and anti-German and anti-Soviet counter-propaganda to the Ukrainian people and the peoples of subjugated neighboring countries. It was also in charge of liaison with other Ukrainian political organizations, particularly with the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

An underground *communication and liaison service*—which used the most varied communication means imaginable, ranging from technical equipment to foot messengers—was operated by the general staff in addition to the aforementioned activities.

During the German occupation the organization of a central technical liaison team was started but was not completed until the beginning of the Soviet occupation in 1944. Time needed to train specialists and to assemble equipment, which was obtained mainly from the enemy or built locally, prolonged the organization.

In those areas not occupied by the enemy (during the German occupation), Ukrainian forces communicated over existing conventional telephone and telegraph lines by codes or prearranged messages. They sent messages in the clear only to give orders calling for immediate action. The messenger service, whether on foot, mounted, or motorized, was organized in such a way as to ensure delivery of messages to the UPA headquarters within 24 hours and to the regional commands within 12 hours. A permanent system of relay couriers was operated regularly for this purpose.

The combat units (companies, battalions) in the field used the conventional communications means employed by regular armies—low-power radios (walkie-talkies), and visual signals (semaphores, flags, and panels).

The UPA Headquarters had under its direct command a headquarters security force (generally a reinforced company), a medical service, and a counter-espionage service.

The *medical service* (Ukrainian Red Cross) labored under critical conditions due to its precarious means of evacuation and the lack of security in the *rear area* which forced the field hospitals as well as the recuperation centers to operate entirely clandestinely. Furthermore, the medical supply was sporadic and dependent upon captured enemy material or contributions by generous civilians at great personal sacrifice. For this reason the German and Soviet ambulances and hospitals were favorite targets for the UPA groups as sources of supplies. However, they were careful not to disturb the welfare of wounded personnel.

Another problem the medical service faced was the recruiting and training of specialists. Generally speaking, the UPA volunteers were reluctant at first to serve in these non-combat units. The positions were filled by women and elderly men. In due time the importance of this service became evident and the number of volunteers increased. The enemy never recognized the Ukrainian Red Cross, and its posts were attacked and looted as any ordinary military objective. Thus, the UPA aid men became combat soldiers.

Nursing schools were established for men and women, and special textbooks were prepared for them. Due to the shortage of drugs and patent medicines, medicinal herbs were widely used. These were gathered by civilians, particularly school children, for the UPA groups. The medical service published a small manual called *Medical Plants and Their Use* which was used by all echelons of the medical service in the fighting forces and also by the civilian population.

The lowest medical service echelon was the aid man in each guerrilla squad. Next in line was the company surgeon whose mission was to supervise first aid treatment, to administer emergency treatment, and to dispense morphine injections, when necessary. Serious cases were taken to camouflaged special centers and clandestine laboratories where they received final treatment to include surgical operations. The battalion surgeon was responsible for these clandestine centers and administered the treatment and performed the operations.

The Ukrainian Red Cross also had to help the population of the free zones over which the occupying force had no control. This was an additional strain on the overtaxed medical service. Thus, the service was split into two divisions: a civilian division which operated among the civilian population and eventually supported the combat units when these were engaged in combat in its zone of responsibility, and a military division which operated exclusively with the UPA troops.

The *security or counter-espionage of the UPA* was another important service whose mission was to uncover the Communist and Nazi agents infiltrated through the Ukrainian lines. The Communists, in particular, sent secret agents to obtain exact information concerning Ukrainian strength and armament and logistic bases, as well as information about their contacts with the Ukrainian civilians. It was a difficult task to fight these infiltrators, because Soviet agents were excellently trained and it was fairly easy to disguise themselves as Ukrainians or refugees of various nationalities who had escaped from prison camps. However, the counter-espionage service of the UPA was successful by virtue of effective counter-measures and in spite of the refined and cunning methods employed by the enemy espionage agents.

Also operating directly under higher headquarters were the inspecting officers, a group of active officers whose mission was to control the UPA activities in the entire territory where the guerrillas operated.

The regional staffs followed the organizational pattern of the general staff, and had similar sections and services, but operated with fewer personnel. The military

district staffs did not have inspecting officers and the various sections operated with even fewer people.

With this general organization the UPA faced the new occupation of its territory by Soviet troops and administration. It is noteworthy to mention that the Germans—who up to this moment had called the Ukrainian guerrillas by such epithets as “Bolshevik spies,” “bandits,” and “criminals”—now reversed their propaganda line and started calling the Ukrainian guerrillas “heros of the anti-Bolshevik struggle” and “Ukrainian freedom fighters.” The Soviet propaganda began to refer to them as “traitors,” “Fascist Nationalists,” and “Bandera’s murderers” (named after the Ukrainian leader, Stephan Bandera, who was assassinated in Munich on October 15, 1959, by Kremlin agents).

Anti-Soviet Activities

As soon as the German troops were forced by the Soviet offensives to withdraw from the Ukrainian territory, the UPA took advantage of the situation and collected all the material and equipment abandoned in their withdrawal. Thus, when the Communist Armies entered Ukraine, they met a strongly organized and well-supplied resistance.

It did not take long for the Soviet administration to start its usual purges of the “people’s enemy” and to make mass deportations of Ukrainians to far-off Siberia. The UPA reacted with a series of raids against Soviet installations. The first battle of importance against the Red forces occurred in the winter of 1944 with the ambush against Marshal Vatutin and his powerful escort which included armored vehicles. It was in this battle that Marshal Vatutin was fatally wounded. Unfortunately, the Northern Region Commander of the UPA and his Chief of Staff also lost their lives in the battle. Soviet newspapers suppressed the facts, and Marshal Vatutin’s death appears officially in many professional and civilian publications, Soviet and even some Western, to have been due to “wounds received at the battlefield.”

After replacing the regular Soviet troops—who appeared to be lukewarm to, or even sympathizers of, the Ukrainian guerrillas—with NKVD selected personnel, the Soviets launched a series of offensives. The first of these was commanded by the “Ukrainian” Minister of Interior, Lieutenant General Ryasny, under the direct supervision of the “Ukrainian Premier,” “General” Nikita Khrushchov. The Soviet propaganda ministry announced the end of this “greatly successful” offensive in October, 1945, and declared that it had demolished the “resistance of the Ukrainian Fascists.” On October 31, five battalions of the UPA attacked and captured the city Stanislaviv, capital of the province of the same name, clearly demonstrating that their resistance was alive and acting with relative impunity.

When a second Soviet offensive was launched, preparatory measures designed to ensure the success of the campaign included such activities as setting forest fires, forced conscription by territorial quotas, contamination of water, sale in the “black market” of medicines contaminated with typhus, and forced evacuation of populated zones. During this offensive, a UPA detachment set an ambush near the railroad station at Tiaziv in Stanislaviv province, where the commander, a Soviet general, and his staff were due to arrive on May 3, 1946. The general’s armored car was hit by an anti-tank shell which killed all its occupants.

Efforts to crush the UPA

In spite of the official declaration of “victory” by the Soviets, the Ukrainian guerrillas continued their activities. On March 29, 1947, in another spectacular ambush, the UPA killed Poland’s Vice Minister of War, General Swierczewski, who

had achieved fame as "General Walter" during the Spanish Civil War at the head of the international brigades.

Impressed by this act, the Soviet Union, Poland, and Czecho-Slovakia (whose Minister of Interior was a Communist) signed a tripartite pact on May 12, 1947, calling for the joint action of the armies of the three countries to complete the destruction of the UPA. Shortly thereafter, joint operations were launched with units in division strength comprising Polish infantry, Czecho-Slovakian mountain troops, Red partisans, Soviet armored troops, infantry of the NKVD, paratrooper units, and Soviet Air Forces, plus Hungarian and Romanian units made up of gendarmes and frontier guards.

This concerted attack, conducted at full speed and on a wide front, could not wipe out the UPA resistance. Their forces dispersed into small detachments and avoided the open combat the Communists sought. The guerrilla forces took refuge in the mountain and forest bunkers, and sometimes waited there for months until the enemy pressure subsided. Afterward, the UPA Command sent groups of men on propaganda missions to Eastern European countries—even to Russia—to prove the existence of the Ukrainian resistance. Some of these groups were able to cross the "Iron Curtain" to freedom in Western Europe.

However, in Western Ukraine (Galicia) the struggle between the UPA and the tripartite pact forces continued. On March 5, 1950, near the town of Bilohorsha, the commander of the UPA, General Roman Shukhevych, better known by his cover name of "Taras Chuprynka," was killed in action. He had served as Commander in Chief of the UPA for nine years.

From then on, in view of the attrition of the fighting units, it was decided to shift the emphasis from combat to psychological warfare, and the UPA went underground. The fundamental objectives of the struggle remained the same, only the means and methods were altered. The UPA groups were scattered and absorbed by clandestine armed organizations which had the following missions:

1. To maintain and develop the subversive, clandestine organization in all Ukrainian territory occupied by Soviet Russia.
2. To maintain and strengthen the Ukrainian people's ideological and moral status, disseminating the ideals of liberty and independence, and fostering sabotage and even raids against determined Soviet objectives.
3. To publicize the Ukrainian revolutionary spirit and spread the idea of anti-Communist revolution to all the countries subjugated by Soviet Russia.
4. To make known to the Free World the fight that the Ukrainian people—particularly their armed organization, the UPA—had sustained against the Red occupation and the Communist oppression, and the possibilities offered to the Western strategists in another World War.

This is the present situation of the Ukrainian resistance movement. It has not ceased to carry on active propaganda campaigns and unexpected sabotage acts against the Soviet administrations. This is the reason for the brief "police" reports which appear periodically in the Communist Ukrainian press mentioning the capture of "reactionary elements" and such news as trials and death sentences, such as the ones which occurred in 1959 in the cities of Kiev and Rovno. This is also the reason the combined troops of Soviet Russia, Poland, and Czecho-Slovakia "maneuver" in the Carpathian Mountains, in the western areas of Slovakia, and other regions. Their true objective is to flush out and wipe out the UPA guerrilla fighters who still perform sabotage and engage in propaganda activities as attested by the patriotic demonstrations which took place in March, 1959, in the cities of Mukachevo, Uzhorod, and Khust.

The resistance movement also carries on passive resistance activity among the people with the purpose of sabotaging and retarding the Communist production

program. They have perfected alibis to justify the feigned sickness of laborers, waste of time at plants and collective farms, low production, and demands for more personnel.

The UPA represents a potential force to resume guerrilla warfare in the event of another war.

(From the "Military Review", official publication of the U.S. Army and the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College. November 1960.)

M. Dankewych

The Future Potentialities Of Siberia

V

Siberia, a Russian "Lebensraum"

The history of the Russian empire has been the history of colonial expansion¹⁾ steadily pursued over the past 400 years. What in the 15th century was a small Muscovite principality with an area of 560,000 square kilometers, has today become the Soviet empire which accounts for about one-seventh of the globe.

The colonial expansion to the East in the 16th century was motivated by a coinciding commercial expansion in Russia. Up to this time, fur was an important product in Russian commerce. Because of the exhaustion of hunting grounds within the Muscovite principality the Russians turned to the untouched area of Siberia, which yields the precious sable and other prized fur-bearing animals. The best evidence of this were the wealthy merchant families, an important one being the Stroganov family, who financed and equipped several military-commercial expeditions. It was primarily thanks to this family's activities that Siberia was conquered and brought under the sovereignty of the Muscovite rule.

The process by which Siberia was conquered reveals a familiar Russian imperialistic pattern. After the private-enterprise penetration of the vast Siberian territories, the state employees and troops were sent there to further the conquest and protect the interests of the state. The conquest and political subjugation of the natives proceeded hand in hand. By using firearms the Russians possessed military superiority over the native population and consequently placed them under allegiance to the czars and exploited them by collecting a heavy yassak.²⁾

The natives put up resistance both against the yassak and the incessant plundering and cruelty of the Russians. In 1612, the Voguls, Tartars, and Ostiaks formed an alliance and intended first to capture Pelym, then to follow with the invasion of Perm, and eventually to reestablish an independent Siberian state.³⁾ Many such revolts were crushed, some of the tribes were completely exterminated in the unequal struggle, others were subjugated and became state serfs.

To control the rivers, which were the natural lines of communication, the Russians set up forts, the ostrogs. These ostrogs were located at the strategic points, such as the confluence of rivers, the ends of portages, or tenable points along the rivers. With these ostrogs they secured their conquests and provide themselves with bases for advancing into unconquered areas.⁴⁾

To carry on the conquest of the vast and unexploited territories and for the application of more progressive methods of production and marketing, the Siberian Department (Sibirskii Prikaz) was established in Moscow. Construction of the Trans-Siberian Railroad in 1899 considerably advanced the exploitation techniques toward utilization of the Siberian natural resources.

The economic gains realized by the Russian Government through the domination

of the natural resources of Siberia were great and Siberia was recognized as one of the avenues leading to the commercial centers of Manchuria, Outer Mongolia, and China. Thus, the Russian imperial government, and later on, the Soviet regime have always regarded Siberia as a valuable Russian territorial asset, especially from the economic point of view.³⁾

When the Soviets inaugurated their first Five-Year Plan, they recognized that heavy industry must rest on mining, and that mining in turn depends on geological survey. As a result the Soviets have given close attention to the mapping of its terrain. A large number of geologists, prospectors, and related personnel have been sent to Siberia to find all possible deposits of useful metals and minerals for Soviet industry and agriculture.

The picture of the present geographic and economic forces of Siberia shows a tremendous improvement. Since the beginning of World War II, Siberia has constantly strengthened the economy of the Soviet Union. This strength is expressed in (1) the construction of a huge iron and steel base in Siberia which will use the iron-ore deposits discovered in recent years; (2) a considerable expansion of the non-ferrous metals industry in the Urals and Siberia on the basis of rich deposits of raw materials; (3) a rapid extension of the oil and gas industry; (4) the accelerated expansion of the chemical industry, which will develop into one of the major branches of the Soviet economy; (5) a rapid development of logging in the great forest areas of Siberia and the Far East, and (6) a further increase in output of grain, cotton and animal products.

Within the next fifteen years Siberia will become a mighty industrial center in the Soviet Union. In order to ensure the supply of the ferrous metals industry with iron ore, provision has been made to increase the output of the existing ore mines and to open new iron-ore deposits, chiefly by open-cast mining, and for the construction of big ore-concentrating plants. With the purpose of increasing the productivity of blast furnaces, the iron content of marketable ores will be increased through higher concentration.

The technical standard of Siberia's ferrous metals industry will rise considerably. Powerful mechanized and automated iron and steel plants equipped with the latest machinery are to be built in 1959-1965.

Expansion of the non-ferrous metals industry is to proceed on the basis of the further electrification of technological processes, the mastering of new, progressive technological methods and broad mechanization and automation.

In 1956 coal extraction in Siberia and the Far East will amount to 181-186 million tons, forty percent of which will be extracted from open-cast workings.⁴⁾ The Kuzbass will remain the principal source of coking coal for the Ural and Siberian iron and steel works. Big thermal power stations working on cheap coal will be built. Hydro-electric power development employing the resources of Siberian rivers will bring about tremendous changes not only in power engineering, but also in industry, agriculture, and transport.

The timber and wood-processing industries are to develop at great speed. A new pulp and paper industry will be created. The building is foreseen of wide-gauge timber transport railways and of a number of big oil refineries. Trunk pipelines are being laid to carry oil and oil products.

Siberia has an exceptional potential economic future, because of its huge natural wealth. Behind industrialization lies the determination to create an impregnable, self-sufficient citadel which will be safe from outside attack and which will develop into a springboard for the expansion of Soviet power into the outside world. To that end the Kremlin has now shaped its national economy in such a manner that, in time of war, it can be easily converted into war production.

Siberian industry is prepared to produce new fast fighters and bombers armed with large-caliber machine guns, cannon, and rockets. The tank industry can produce the now world-famous T-34 medium tank, and the excellent modern heavy tank. The armaments industry will speed up the mass output of automatic weapons, mortars, modern artillery, and the production of Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles.⁷⁾

The vast space of Siberia serves as an effective weapon of strong defense. It provides the Russians with an area where defeated armies can be withdrawn; the vast territory of the taiga will conceal Soviet war industry and military installations from an enemy air attack and from possible atomic defeat. Thus relocation and development of heavy industry and agriculture in Siberia anticipates the entire complex of the military economic system attributable to the vast Siberian territory, naturally secured from the north by the frozen Arctic and swampy tundra, from the east by the Pacific and massive denuded mountain ranges, and from the south by the high Yablonovy and Sayan Mountains.

Through Siberia, Soviet Russia scored tremendous gains in Asia. These came chiefly as a result of the pact of alliances concluded on February 27, 1946, between the USSR and the Outer Mongolian Republic providing for mutual consultation if either party is threatened with aggression, and material and military support in the event of armed attack.⁸⁾

The two most powerful Communist regimes, China and Soviet Russia, are linked in a security pact signed on February 14, 1950⁹⁾ which is aimed against a renewal of hostilities by Japan¹⁰⁾ or "any other state which should unite with Japan, directly or indirectly, in acts of aggression." In case of an "aggression," under the terms of the treaty, each party would "immediately render military and other assistance with all the means at its disposal."

Through Siberia the Soviet Union supplied weapons and military equipment on a large scale to North Korea, both during and after the hostilities with South Korea, and dispatched numerous technical advisers to that country during the war.¹¹⁾ Communist China provides military equipment and training to North Vietnam.¹²⁾ However, since Communist China is known to be incapable at present of producing such equipment, much of the heavy and modern implements of war possessed by this regime undoubtedly originates in the Soviet Union.¹³⁾

The Soviet Russian leaders in the Kremlin base their aspirations for world domination on a strong continental base covering much of the gigantic land mass of Eurasia. The Russians are using the regional approach in the development and organization of the vast lands of Soviet Asia, and constantly continue to extend their influence still further in areas near their borders in Inner and Eastern Asia by appeals to common regional interests. These areas now include Sinkiang, Outer and Inner Mongolia, Manchuria, Korea, and China; and if the Russian bear keeps on the prowl they may soon include other parts of Asia as well.

Dean Acheson in his famous "Crisis in Asia" address of January 12, 1950, referred to a process of tremendous significance that was under way in Asia, namely the inroads that Soviet Russian imperialism was making along the borderlands of China and the inner frontiers of Asia.

"... what is happening in China is that the Soviet Union is detaching the northern provinces of China ... and is attaching them to the Soviet Union. This process is complete in Outer Mongolia. It is nearly complete in Manchuria, and I am sure that in Inner Mongolia and Sinkiang there are very happy reports coming from Soviet agents to Moscow. This is what is going on".¹⁴⁾

Mr. Acheson pointed out that while "the attitude and interest of the Russians" in these areas "long antedates Communism, the Communist regime has added new methods, new skills, and new concepts to the thrust of Russian imperialism."

Summing it up, we may say that in the near future Siberia will become a Russian "lebensraum," the shop-window for the Orient, and the key to the Russification of Asia. To that extent changes were made during inauguration of the Seven Year Plan, which aims at a military economic system in Siberia and the Far East. This once again proves that the Kremlin is preparing to set up a powerful system of military bases in the Soviet territories of Asia for the purpose of seizing Asian states, including China and the Pacific Ocean.

(To be continued)

¹⁾ V. O. Kluchevskii, *Kurs Ruskoj Istorii*. 1: 22. - ²⁾ Yassak, tribute paid by native tribes in Siberia to the Russian Government. - ³⁾ George V. Lantzeff, *Siberia in the Seventeenth Century*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1943. p. 111. - ⁴⁾ R. J. Kerner, *The Russian Fur Trade 1550-1700*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1943. p. 35. - ⁵⁾ Nicholas Chirovsky, *The Economic Factors in the Growth of Russia*. New York, Philosophical Library, 1957. pp. 94-95. - ⁶⁾ *Decisions of the Twenty-First Extraordinary Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (January 27-February 5, 1959), p. 115. - ⁷⁾ O. Z. Bark, "Uranium Ore in the U.S.S.R.," *ABN Correspondence*, pp. 9-11. - ⁸⁾ Henry Wei, *China and Soviet Russia* (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1956), p. 186. - ⁹⁾ *Control and Reduction of Armaments*, Final Report of the Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on Disarmament, 85th Congress, Second Session, Report No. 2501 (August 1, 1958), p. 463. - ¹⁰⁾ Japan prefers to expand north into Siberia rather than south into the hot Philippines or the East Indies. She has always attacked Northern China instead of Southern China. This is because of the mildness of climate. There is absolutely nothing to prevent all classes of investment and labor going to Siberia. They would be right at home and entirely comfortable. - ¹¹⁾ Report by U.S. Department of Defense. Text in *U.S. News and World Report* (May 28, 1954), pp. 75-77. - ¹²⁾ By the provisions of the Geneva armistice terms of 1954 North Vietnam is forbidden to enter into a military coalition with any other country. - ¹³⁾ *The New York Times* (April 6, 1957), p. 2. - ¹⁴⁾ Dean G. Acheson, *Crisis in Asia; An Examination of U.S. Policy*. The Department of State Bulletin No. 32. January 23, 1950. p. 115.

Soviet Press Attacks A. B. N.

The journal for ideology of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party which is published in Erivan - "Leninjan Ugnov" ("In Lenin's Course"), on page 31 of its edition No. 5, May 1962, reports on the "counter-revolutionary" organizations in exile, which, so it is affirmed, "are in the service of the capitalist militarists and imperialists". The most powerful organization of this kind, according to the journal, is the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), which "works for the American intelligence service" and has its headquarters in Munich. The said journal then mentions J. Stetzko and Prince N. Nakashidze as the spokesmen of the A.B.N. (It is interesting to note that this Communist organ itself uses the title "Prince".)

The journal then adds: "The principles of the activity of this organization consist in 'dividing up the Soviet Union into independent states and in propaganda about the inevitability of a third world war'."

According to this Communist ideological periodical, these organizations in exile are financed by Rockefeller, Ford, and Morgan, etc., and "it suffices to mention the fact the fund provided by Ford alone amounts to 750 million dollars, and from 1951 to 1960

259 million dollars of this fund were spent for anti-Communist and other 'humanitarian' activity".

Shortly before this article appeared, the ideological journal of the Czech Communist Party - "The Problems of Peace and Socialism", No. 2, 1962, Prague, also published an article with the same contents.

Whenever the Soviet press attacks an organization in exile, it usually has a reason for doing so. In such cases there is something brewing "there", that is behind the Iron Curtain, for generally no mention whatever is made of the representatives in exile of the subjugated peoples and their activity. If the press sees itself forced to write about such organizations, then it does so because the people are talking about these organizations. It is therefore imperative that our organizations should be discredited in the eyes of the people. For this reason we are designated in the usual Communist terminology as "fascists", "Nazis", and "agents" of foreign intelligence services, etc. But that avails nothing, for our peoples are well aware of the real truth. They know us, and they also know - as is pointed out in the above-mentioned Communist organ - that we are fighting "for the division of the Soviet Union into independent states". This is precisely the aim of our peoples and they regard us as their authorized spokesmen in the free world.

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



The 8th Conference of the APACL in Tokyo, October 1962.

"The light of liberty still burns in the hearts of Byelorussians. Behind darkened windows they still talk of freedom, talk and think and plan. It is a shining testimonial to the spirit of man, that after 125 years of tsarist dictatorship and 40 years of Communist tyranny, the Byelorussian people hold fast to their belief, in freedom, in God, and in the dignity of man."

Hon. Kenneth B. Keating

Siberia Worker Riots Cause Many Deaths

By David Miller

Moscow - (HTNS) - An unknown number of persons - perhaps several hundred - were killed in a riot of angry workers in a south Siberian industrial centre, reliable sources reported Wednesday night.

The incident, the second large scale clash between workers and authorities in recent months, rocked the city of Kemerovo shortly after meat and butter prices rocketed 30 per cent June 1 and work norms were increased at one factory.

The report came as rumblings of other recent unrest reached Moscow. Longshoremen in the Black Sea port of Odessa reportedly struck last summer in protest against the shipment of badly needed consumer goods to Cuba. The city of Alexandrov, 50 miles from Moscow, was the centre of another disturbance, but details were lacking.

Similar reports a few weeks ago described heavy casualties in Novocherkassk, 33 miles northeast of Rostov-on-Don, in southern USSR. Workers demanding an explanation of the June 1 food prices increase apparently fled out of control when troops, firing above the head of the crowd, killed several youngsters who had climbed trees.

The Gazette, Montreal, November 1st, 1962, First Page.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

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Hon. Michael A. Feighan

Against Discrimination of Nations

*Testimony before the Subcommittee on Europe Committee on Foreign Affairs,
House of Representatives. September 19, 1962, 2,00 p. m.*

Mr. CHAIRMAN!

I appreciate receipt of your letter of July 25, 1962, inviting Members of the House to submit testimony concerning the Captive Nations.

I am delighted to have this opportunity to present my views on the issue of Captive Nations because I have long been an advocate of the rights of all nations and all peoples to self-government and national independence. Such views accord with the basic traditions of our country, with our political ideals, with our moral principles, and with our oft-stated intentions toward all the nations and peoples of the world.

I observe from your communication of July 25th that the Sub-committee has taken testimony from persons having expert knowledge of conditions in Albania, Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Rumania. It struck me as peculiar that testimony before this Sub-committee would be limited to a select few of the captive nations held by force within the present-day Russian Communist empire. It may be that geographical limitations placed upon the Sub-committee on Europe result in this condition. I trust this is the case, because any other reason could not survive the honest test of what constitutes a captive nation, so expertly defined in Public Law 86-90, known as the Captive Nations Week Resolution.

Let me make this clear, Mr. Chairman, I stand for the freedom and national independence of all the nations on which this Sub-committee has taken testimony. But let me make this equally clear - I stand without reservation for the rights of all the nations spelled out in Public Law 86-90 in their quest for freedom and national independence. Freedom is indivisible. The world-wide movement towards national independence is equally indivisible. I maintain that the unity of freedom's cause is vital to the survival of freedom anywhere in the world. I maintain with equal conviction that any effort, accidental or intentional, to divide the cause of freedom - expressed through the desires of all the captive nations to regain their national independence is divisive, dangerous in the extreme, self-defeating and a black mark upon the historic traditions of our nation.

It will be a sad day for the peoples of Asia if, by these hearings, the impression is created that our government is concerned only with those captive nations which fall within the purview of the Sub-committee on Europe of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. A casual examination of geography reveals that the 600 million or more people of Mainland China are captives of the mythology of Marxism supported by the imperial power of Moscow. Such an examination will also reveal that the people of ancient Tibet are no less captives of this tyrannical scourge - as are the people of North Korea and North Viet Nam.

It will be equally damaging to the cause of American leadership if, as a consequence of these hearings, word goes out that our government is not interested in the aspirations or the future of the captive nations in the Central Asian part of the modern-day Russian empire. I have particular reference to such ancient nations as Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Cossackia, and Idel-Ural. All of these nations declared and won their national independence and complete separation

from imperial Russia during the period 1917-1921. Acts of Russian Communist aggression which robbed these nations of their newly won national independence must not be allowed to purge the honest judgment of history. Genuine scholars are thoroughly acquainted with the historic struggles of these nations against the imperial encroachments of Moscow. Those who are not inclined toward or do not have the time for genuine scholarship in regard to these nations, can find a quick summary of the history and aspirations of these nations in the reports of the House Select Committee to Investigate Communist Aggression, 83rd Congress. Eyewitness testimony taken under oath and supported by reliable documents establishes the facts concerning the rights of these nations to be regarded as captive nations. Popular ignorance concerning the history of these nations is no excuse for our failure to give them equal consideration in any deliberations relating to the issue of freedom versus human slavery.

Turning to the captive nations of Europe, I raise the question as to why the Ukrainian nation and the Byelorussian nation have not been considered within the immediate purview of the Sub-committee on Europe of the House Foreign Affairs Committee as expressed in the letter of July 25, 1962, of Hon. John S. Monagan.

These two nations have long been considered a part of Europe by competent historians. As far back as the thirteenth century, European cosmographers and cartographers identified Ukraine as part of the European geographical area. Noted in this regard is the work of a Frenchman, Beauplan, whose maps and charts of Ukraine were published in 1651. I admit that the work of early cosmographers and cartographers may be difficult to include in hearings of this type, but I submit that any scholarly examination of the issue of the captive nations requires an understanding and appreciation in depth of geography.

The world atlas of the Encyclopedia Britannica divides the U.S.S.R., the contemporary land mass of the Russian empire, into its European and Asian parts. Both the Ukrainian nation and the Byelorussian nation are listed as European parts of that empire.

Mr. Chairman, I maintain that it is a dangerous exercise in folly, if not political suicide, to disregard the long history and the contemporary aspirations of the people of Ukraine, a nation inhabited by some 42 million people, included among the great European powers, and holding unbreakable attachments to the history and culture of Europe. The same may be said for the Byelorussian nation, whose population today approximates 15 million people, but which has no less an attachment to the history and to the future of Europe.

Mr. Chairman, I now come to the reason which compels me to appear before this Sub-committee. My purpose is best expressed in a series of questions which I present for the consideration of the Members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. These questions are as follows:

1. Does the Committee believe that the only captive nations within the present-day Russian empire worthy of our consideration and solicitude are those which, by an arbitrary decision, are considered a part of Europe? I trust this is not the case because no one but imperial Russia could be served by such a decision.

2. Does the Committee, in its considered judgment, agree that captive nations, regardless of their geographical location, merit equal concern and solicitude by the government of the United States? I trust this is the case, because any other approach to this vital issue will divide freedom's cause, support the propaganda of imperial Russia, spread despair among multitudes of captive people, and in the end, earn nothing but contempt for our purposes among the suffering masses of the non-European parts of the present-day Russian empire. We must not permit these things to happen.

3. Has the Sub-committee on Europe been limited in its purview of this Eurasian problem in any manner which prohibits an honest and open examination of the captive non-Russian nations within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics? There is current public suspicion that these hearings seek to avoid an objective and deliberative examination of the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union, either because of the feelings of the State Department expressed in the letter of Secretary Rusk to the Chairman of the House Rules Committee in connection with the pending Resolution - H. Res. 211 - or because an open examination of the rights of those captive nations would interfere with or impair delicate negotiations now under way with the leaders of the U.S.S.R.? I trust this is not the case, because any concealment or delay of freedom's cause, accidental or deliberate, can only increase the prospects of war over the long run.

4. Is the Committee aware of the special interests in the Department of State which hold that there is nothing wrong with the Soviet Union that a change in Moscow from a Communist government to a non-Communist government would not cure? These special pleaders appear to be completely unaware that the Russian empire under the Tsars was a constant threat to the survival of western civilization, as it is today under the Commissars. Russian imperialism - whether red, black or white - is out of tune with the rising tide of self-determination so well described by President Kennedy in his address before the United Nations. Moreover, any action, statement or omission on the part of our government which tends to favor or support a Russian empire, under any name, brands us as ignorant reactionaries in the eyes of our proven allies behind the Russian curtain. I urge a thoroughgoing, public investigation of what I have called the doctrine of Russia, the Sacred Cow, and its practitioners in our Department of State.

5. To what extent has the Committee probed into the policy conflicts within the Department of State with regard to the political principle of self-determination and its application to the global problems of colonialism and imperialism? For example, a policy of Africa for the Africans heralds our support for the full application of self-determination for all of Africa. What prevents our announcing a policy of Russia for the Russians as an expression of our support for the aspirations of the people in the captive, non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union? We have invited the charge against our country of discrimination on a massive scale for failing to give universal application to the principle of self-determination. This policy conflict is underscored again by the opposing points of view expressed by Secretary Rusk and Ambassador Stevenson. At the United Nations Ambassador Stevenson properly charges the Russian Communists with colonial aggression for robbing Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, and other once free nations of their national independence in the years immediately following World War I. Here in Washington Secretary Rusk lends his signature to a letter which holds in effect that these same captive nations never had their national independence, and worse, they are regarded by our government as traditional parts of the Russian state. This confusion at the highest policy levels of our government indicates someone needs a few basic lessons in history - and I do not mean Ambassador Stevenson.

6. To what extent is the Committee interested in establishing the connection between the collapse of the Red Army before the invading German Armies during World War II and the aspirations for freedom and independence long held by the people of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Turkestan, the Caucasus and others? It is time that we flushed up the truth on this chapter of history. What motivated in excess of two million Red Army soldiers to lay down their arms in the thick of battle? Were these soldiers Russians or non-Russians? What proposition did these soldiers make to the German commanders and what prevented the German

commanders accepting the proposition? How did the civilian populations of Byelorrussia, Ukraine, the Baltic States, and the Caucasus react to the German armies in the early months of conflict on the Eastern front and what caused them to change their attitude as the war wore on? Answers to these questions have a vital bearing on the question of which is and which is not a captive nation. It would be a tragedy of immeasurable magnitude if we, in the conduct of the cold war, made the same ideological mistakes as those made by the fanatic Nazis in their conduct of a hot war. For the cold war with the Russians holds no less a danger for our country than a hot war.

7. Is the Committee aware of the organized assault being made by Russian emigrant organizations in the United States against Public Law 86-90 and the parallel which exists between their propaganda line and that of the Russian Commissars on this issue? Is the Committee aware of the enthusiastic support for Public Law 86-90 given by all the non-Russian emigrant organizations in the United States? A worthy public service would be rendered by this Committee if it probed fully into the similarity of position on this issue assumed by the Russian emigrants, the Russian Commissars, and the State Department doctrine of Russia, the Sacred Cow. Such a probe conducted within the framework of what policy position best serves the security of the United States and what policy position best serves Russian imperial ambitions would be a most rewarding exercise.

8. Has the Sub-committee sought testimony from responsible representatives of the American Committee for Liberation, which sponsors "Radio Liberation", a powerful radio signal beamed to the U.S.S.R.? I raise this question because I observe in the letter of Mr. Monagan of July 25, 1962, that testimony has been taken from the President of the Free Europe Committee. I urge that representatives of the American Committee for Liberation be brought before an appropriate committee of the Congress to testify as to its political aims and objectives with respect to the captive non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union. Such a quest for information, if properly conducted, would be most revealing in terms of Public Law 86-90 and the basic question of the indivisibility of human freedom and national independence.

Mr. Chairman, I am well aware of the problem which engages the leadership of the House with regard to the establishment of a Select Committee of the House on the Captive Nations, as proposed in H. Res. 211. Strong public support favors action by the House to establish such a committee. The trend of the times underscores the need. I have favored the establishment of such a committee because I believe that the geographical limitations inherent in the present Sub-committee structure of the House Foreign Affairs Committee would make it unduly cumbersome, if not impossible, to do justice to this vital issue. I submit that if the House does not establish a Select Committee on the Captive Nations, it is incumbent upon the House Foreign Affairs Committee to establish a Sub-committee on the Captive Nations, which should not be limited by geographical considerations and which should concern itself with all the captive nations identified in Public Law 86-90.

My appearance before this Sub-committee today, I hope, will contribute to a resolution of one of the most burning issues before the 87th Congress. If the House Foreign Affairs Committee is to be held responsible for a full, objective, scholarly, and purposeful examination of matters relating to the captive nations, it must take steps properly to assume this responsibility. Otherwise there is no other course open to Members of Congress who are informed on and concerned about the cause of the captive nations, as identified in Public Law 86-90, but to advocate the establishment of a Select Committee of the Congress on the captive nations.

I urge that this problem be resolved before the adjournment of the 87th Congress. The power of decision on this question rests within your Committee. It is time that action was taken.

Prospects of Franco-German Alliance

An Interview with A.B.N. President Jaroslaw Stetzko in Paris

During his recent stay in Paris the President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), Jaroslaw Stetzko, had an opportunity to answer a number of questions put to him regarding current political problems. We publish some of these questions and answers below.

QUESTION: *In your opinion what part will the German-French alliance play in the anti-Bolshevist fight on a global scale?*

ANSWER: The liquidation of the French and German conflict – if this proves to be of a permanent nature – will undoubtedly strengthen the anti-Russian front. The purpose of the traditional orientation of France's foreign policy to "Great Russia", that is to say to the Russian imperium as an ally of France, was to establish the political balance of power and the security of France in the face of Germany as a world power. For decades in advance France's foreign policy counted on the Russian imperium as an anti-German scourge in East Europe. Unfortunately, however, France overlooked the fact that individual national states such as Ukraine, Byelorussia (White Ruthenia), the Caucasus and many other states, who were more prepared to defend their independence and freedom rather than intolerable Russian slavery, could have been her permanent allies. Germany under Hitler's regime lost the war not because there was a Russian imperium, but because she ignored the national freedom idea. Nor would an alliance on the part of France with the Russian imperium have been of any avail to France if Germany had wholeheartedly and genuinely supported the explosive forces within the Russian imperium. This was, unfortunately, not the case; hence not only Germany but also the Allies lost the last war. Incidentally, Bismarck's so-called pro-Russian policy was in principle anti-Russian, for it was based on Bismarck's constant fear lest Germany might be encircled and strangled by Russia.

A reconciliation on the German front deprives the supporters of an indivisible Russia of their "patriotic" argument, according to which the preservation of the Russian imperium is imperative in order to maintain a balance of power against the "constant" German enemy. In view of the actual international political situation, the French and German agreement concentrates its main forces against the main enemy, thus eliminating the remaining secondary fronts.

A permanent and genuine elimination of the French and German conflict will result in a completely different constellation of the European ratio of power and will objectively further the idea of the disintegration of the Russian imperium, whilst, at the same time, rendering all speculations for "patriotic" motives on the part of the Russian imperialists, who are domiciled in various Western countries, impossible.

QUESTION: *Practically all international meetings have the "unification of Germany" on their agenda. So far, however, the West has not achieved any positive result at all. Do you think that a separate liberation of Germany can be achieved?*

ANSWER: A separate liberation of any one of the countries enslaved by Russian (Muscovite) imperialism is impossible. Still less can there be such a possibility in the case of East Germany which would bring about its reunification with the Federal Republic of Germany, since in this way a major power would be created in the heart of Europe, and Russia lives in dread of this happening. For the Russian rulers in the Kremlin know only too well that the German people are industrious and, above all, versatile. Incidentally, Moscow will never cede a single strip of territory that it has once occupied. Moscow will only yield under pressure of force. The fact that Moscow will refuse to consent to a unification of Germany if it has to become Com-

munist, has been made plain beyond all doubt by Stalin, Molotov und Khrushchov Djilas, too, corroborated this fact in his recent book. Hence it is surprising that there are still persons in the West who talk enthusiastically about a unification of Germany through the medium of negotiations. There has never been nor will there ever be such a possibility. For a unification "in freedom" would mean a liquidation of Communism in the East Zone of Germany, that is to say in the so-called German Democratic Republic. And Moscow is hardly likely to reconcile itself to this idea and to accept the inevitable ideological and social and political collapse of its system which would then ensue.

QUESTION: Do you not believe that those persons who consider the possibility of a unification of Germany by peaceful means are thinking of the withdrawal of the Russian Bolshevik army of occupation from Austria after the war?

ANSWER: A Communist system could never have been realized in the occupied territory of Austria, whereas on the other hand, however, the withdrawal of the West European Allied Forces and the neutralization of Austria has split up the NATO countries from the strategical point of view, inasmuch as the invasion of Austria on the part of Soviet Russian forces from Hungary is now possible. In any case, there can hardly be a comparison between Austria and Germany, for the former has a population of only 7 million, whilst the population of the latter numbers 70 million. . . . All the empty talk about a "unification of Germany in freedom and peace" is merely a self-deception. In this case one should talk not about a unification, but about a liberation. And a liberation can only be brought about through the medium of national liberation revolutions, which should be supported in all the enslaved countries, including the enslaved part of Germany, in every possible way by the West. If, in spite of all this, one still considers the East Zone of Germany to be a privileged country amongst the enslaved countries, then one is bound to come to the conclusion that there are still some Germans who erroneously regard themselves as members of a great and superior people. The East Zone of Germany will not be liberated before Ukraine e. g. is liberated.

QUESTION: During recent years Moscow has been intent upon aggravating its relations with the West in order to carry on negotiations, which were advantageous for Moscow, with the West in a strained atmosphere. Moscow used this tension, for instance, to bring up the Berlin question. Do you think any temporary stabilization of the situation as regards Berlin is at all possible?

ANSWER: The situation as regards Berlin is at present such that it could only be "stabilized" if Berlin itself were engulfed. A permanent stabilization will only be possible after the collapse of the Russian imperium. In the former case the complications would merely spread further westwards. In other words, the result would be not a stabilization but, on the contrary, further complications. In the latter case, that is to say if the source of trouble were eliminated, peace would at last reign in the world. For as long as the Russian imperium has not been destroyed, there can be no peace in the world. A way out of the blind alley, for which the Germans themselves are in part to blame, would have been the legal incorporation of Berlin in the German Federal Republic. This would still be a possibility today, for the Red Russians are not likely to risk a war on account of Berlin. The incorporation of the former capital of Germany in the German Federal Republic would then exempt Bonn from the tedious argument regarding the continued observance of the occupation statute, for this was laid down by the four occupation powers in the Potsdam Agreement.

Constant repetition of this argument regarding the valid and binding force of the Potsdam Agreement puts the German Federal Republic in the outmoded position of being under the control of an occupation statute, whereas this statute has long since been abolished in free Berlin. Actually a statute of partnership is in force there,

whilst the German Federal Republic is still obliged to defend this statute from the point of view of the Potsdam Agreement. From the point of international law this argument is simply untenable. For one cannot legally argue against the presence of the *defenders of the freedom* of West Berlin, that is the three allies of Germany, on the strength of the Potsdam dictate. For this reason the legal incorporation of a free Berlin in the Federal Republic as a new "Land" of the "Bund" is imperative. This step would most certainly not lead to war. Nor would a war ensue if the Allied Forces were to pull down the "Wall" in Berlin, or to march through the East Zone and thus ignore the controlling organs of the so-called German Democratic Republic. Moscow would not venture to start a world war as long as it was not convinced that the disintegration of the West had progressed to such an extent that it would capitulate because it was afraid of atomic bombs. And at present the West has no intention of doing Moscow this favour.

QUESTION: *During the past few years some politicians in West Europe have attached considerable importance to the problem of the unification of Europe. In this connection they talk about a "supra-national" government but make no mention whatever of the nations under Russian-Bolshevist occupation. Do you think that the supra-national conception of a united Europe could be realized in practice?*

ANSWER: Those Western circles who seek to unite Europe and, in doing so, eliminate national characteristics and disregard national sovereignty, that is the national interests of the countries in question, are in reality *anti-European*. For the idea of a united Europe can only be a truly European idea if it is based on the harmonization of the national interests of all the peoples of Europe, as well as on recognition of and regard for the essential intellectual, cultural and political elements of every nation, and on many-sidedness and differentiation in unity. The existence of a *Europe of national countries* – and not a supra-national Europe – is certainly justifiable. Indeed we should endeavour to set up such a Europe. The idea of a nation, respect for human individuality as a fundamental part of the organic existence of every nation (without which all evolution is impossible), are conceptions created by Europe itself. And those who negate these conceptions are introducing anti-European elements into the world of European ideas.

Europe cannot be created out of assimilation – unlike the USA which has been created out of the fusion of multinational elements; for Europe is the sum total of separate national individualities, which throughout the centuries have become one with its soil, and for this very reason, too, there can be no fusion of its peoples to form a so-called "Soviet" people. It is only by uniting national organisms which have formed in the course of the centuries that a new Europe can be created. Otherwise one will seek to inject into Europe anti-European ideas under the guise of a unification of Europe, and the superior strength of one nation amongst many weaker nations will then be furthered with fine phrases about a solid and sound unification. Incidentally, Hitler also aimed to effect such a unification and he was certainly obsessed by the idea of a "new Europe".

QUESTION: *Lively discussions are held by Western politicians about the admission, or inclusion of, England in the United Europe. If this idea should materialize, would England's inclusion strengthen the organic structure of Europe?*

ANSWER: Yes, it would do so considerably, for it would mean a certain protection for the weaker nations amongst the three stronger ones. On the other hand, a certain "levelling process" might take place, in which case, after a certain time, the Walloons might become French and the Flemish people might become Germans. With her traditions and her regard for the national "ego", England would strengthen the organic elements of an organized yet differentiated Europe very considerably . . .

QUESTION: *Certain leading political circles in France have recently broached the problem of an organically united Europe. What is your opinion in this respect?*

ANSWER: The present French conception of Europe for the most part takes into account the idea of its organic unity and not that of an anti-national Europe, that is to say not that of a Europe which does not consist of national countries and is merely a geographical designation. The French who today support the idea of a differentiated Europe are, from the ideological point of view, more sincere Europeans than their opponents, who regard the national element as something outmoded which is allegedly holding up the unification of Europe. Recognition of individuality, respect for human dignity and for the freedom of the individual, that is to say characteristic European ideas, thus render the Marxist socialist unification of the world and the victory of Marxism impossible, just as recognition of the idea of the nation prevents the victory of imperialism on a global scale and the enslavement of the world, which is what Moscow is aiming to achieve.

Just as there can be no European world without recognition of the individual and the nation, without the ancient Greek and Roman ideas and without Christianity, so, too, there can be no United Europe without the inclusion of the East European countries, including Ukraine and Georgia. If Europe only extends as far as the territory where the knout of the (Muscovite) Russian barbarians at present enforces order, then it will rapidly head towards its own destruction, and the West European states will inevitably be transformed into colonies of anti-European Russia in the very near future.

Europe exists wherever men suffer for its ideas and sacrifice their lives for them. Togliatti in Rome and Thorez in Paris are traitors to Europe, even though they are Europeans; but the Ukrainian prisoners in the tundras and taigas of Siberia are the champions and heroes of Europe.

QUESTION: *You not only visit the countries of Western Europe but also other continents and meet many prominent politicians of the free world. We should be interested to hear whether, in your talks with such prominent foreigners, you have ascertained an appreciation of the ideas for which the A.B.N. is fighting.*

ANSWER: For years we were decried as Nazis, reactionaries, chauvinists, etc., simply because we undauntedly championed the national idea and the universal idea of the independence of peoples and freedom of individuals. In due course our forecast began to prove true. Decades have elapsed since then. The collapse of the empires ensued relentlessly, and the victory of the national principle as regards a new order of the world can no longer be contested. *Freedom-loving nationalism has become a dominant idea and the motto of our epoch.*

The conceptions of territorial expansion, frequently disguised, and the forms of new empires have suffered a complete defeat. At the international conferences in various continents which I have attended, the ideas advanced by us have on practically every occasion carried the day. Other countries are showing more and more understanding and sympathy for these ideas. We are undoubtedly gaining more and more ground.

The abnegation of Russian (Muscovite) colonialism is no longer a matter with which only the A.B.N. occupies itself. Official spokesmen of the free nations also express ideas similar to those supported by the A.B.N. From countless talks which we have had with politicians of the free world it is obvious that our cause and our ideas are assuming more and more significance in the world of today.

QUESTION: *I am afraid I have taken up a good deal of your time, but I should nevertheless like to ask you one more question. What is your view of the policy of the U.S. State Department regarding the peoples enslaved by Moscow, a policy which surely is contrary to the resolutions adopted by the U.S. Congress?*

ANSWER: Sooner or later, the foreign policy of the U.S. Government will in practice be obliged to defend our ideas and to become a policy of liberation. And this will be the case as soon as the genuine Americans and not the naturalized spokesmen of un-American interests, who belong to the camp of the supporters of an "indivisible Russia", are able to assert themselves.

Not the false policy which the State Department is pursuing at the instigation of Dean Rusk and which is harmful to the interests both of the USA and of all freedom-loving mankind, but the policy of the U.S. Congress which is contained in its resolution on "Captive Nations Week" will be victorious in the end. For the U.S. Congress, and not Dean Rusk, who merely happens to be the person who at the moment holds the post of Foreign Minister of the greatest world power, is the true representative of the will of the freedom-loving American people.

The most barbarous colonial empire in the world, the so-called USSR, will inevitably and relentlessly be destroyed until nothing whatever remains of it. The historical process of our day will not come to a halt at the borders of the world of tyranny. The Russian prison of peoples will be destroyed from within by national, freedom-loving, anti-imperialist, anti-colonial, anti-Russian and anti-Communist ideas and by the peoples languishing in the USSR who are inspired by these ideas.

Historical nemesis will undoubtedly overtake the Red Russian barbarians and they will be justly punished for the inhuman atrocities which they have committed against civilized mankind. If this does not occur during our life-time, future generations will at least live to see this happen. And we are convinced that it will most certainly happen, for after darkness comes light!

B. Vitochynsky (Paris).

Auberon Herbert

New Tracts for New Times

Eastern Europe is now in the throes of a world shaking ferment, of an upheaval of nations and individuals for freedom, and against tyranny comparable to that of 1848.

It is obvious that the Hungarian revolution is only the visible tenth of a gigantic iceberg of pent-up resentment and revolt, and is almost certainly the forerunner of dramatic developments within the Soviet Union.

The Western reaction to the Hungarian uprising has been emotional rather than practical. In fact it could not be practical, because the Free World possessed no agreed or thought-out policy to deal with such a contingency.

Now we are confronted with unrest in Ukraine, Georgia and Lithuania, and student disturbances throughout the Soviet Union. At any moment these sparks may burst into flame, and surely it is high time for us to define our attitude towards the aspirations to freedom of the many enslaved nations now imprisoned within the Soviet Union. It is imperative that we should not be overtaken by events of the utmost magnitude without a policy.

With this in mind, and with all deference,

I would like to press for the urgent consideration of the following points:

The Soviet Union is not a homogeneous structure but a colonial empire comprising 16 allegedly sovereign, if not independent republics, and a variable number of ostensibly autonomous areas. There are different nationalities within the U.S.S.R. ranging from the Ukrainians to Byelorussians, Balts, Tartars, Georgians and Armenians among many others.

Yet there is a widespread tendency—itsself the product of loose thinking and superficial knowledge—to refer to this huge agglomeration of humanity under the simple, all embracing and inaccurate description of Russia.

It is certainly true that the Kremlin exerts iron control over the whole of the area concerned; but in terms of the physical composition of the Soviet Union, the Russians represent barely half of the Union's inhabitants.

Up to now for some reason, the British Government has seen fit to disregard the possibility of appealing directly to the non-Russian nations and races within the U.S.S.R., and has addressed itself exclusively to the Russians.

Shaken though they may be, the Russians to-day, like the Germans under Adolf Hitler, occupy a position of colonial domination unequalled in their history: imperialistically speaking they have never had it so good.

Surely there is an element of incongruity in addressing appeals in the name of freedom to those who stand to gain most by denying it to others. We neglect our natural allies—the nations who are the principal victims of Russian oppression and tyranny. Our avoidance or shirking of this vital issue earns us nothing but contempt in the eyes of the Russians: can it be seriously upheld that British eagerness to avoid treading on Russian corns has much influence on Khrushchov and / or Bulganin?

All the while a whole arsenal of variegated weapons is simultaneously employed by Russia against the Free World: economic devices ranging from the dumping on the open market of goods produced by slave labour, to outright bribery of potential customers, particularly in the Levant.

Meanwhile the policy of the West remains purely defensive: $\frac{1}{4}$ relevant, $\frac{1}{3}$ considered, and $\frac{1}{2}$ sincere, a succession of tactical, uncorrelated moves, bereft of any wider strategic concept, and thus ineffective. Korea and Indochina, to mention but two instances, were tragic staging posts in a grand retreat: withdrawal is too kind a word.

A blind eye is turned consistently on all possibilities of weakening the U.S.S.R. from inside *even by means which in no conceivable way could be conducive to an outbreak of armed hostilities or a blood bath.*

The West has practically no direct contact with the Liberation Movements within the Russian Soviet Empire, but these Movements exist and grow in strength behind the Iron Curtain.

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In Britain and on the European mainland outdated conceptions of Russia still linger on, and even further weaken the position of the Free World.

Whatever its original dynamism, the forty-year-old Russian Revolution is now a dead duck. The only constant factor in the history of the bruised and pummelled generation which it has encompassed has been one not of ideology but of grimly tenacious and sustained Russian colonial effort.

One of the principal Soviet tenets, at least in theory, is that of multiple units composing a federal state, held together in the straight-jacket of a monolithic party. It matters little to those at the receiving end of the system whether the structure is nominally Stalinist, Malenkovite, or Khrushchovite, or which of the many mutations of Lenin's statute of nationalities it outwardly professes at a given moment.

In the West the Soviet Union is still treated as a constitutionally unified structure, as the Russian Empire was when the Tsars ruled from St. Petersburg: an empire in the old sense of the word: a state Russian racially and culturally, holding its sway over an inchoate and inarticulate mass of unawakened serfs.

This is a particularly dangerous fallacy since the Soviet Union is in fact a colonial empire at its grand climacteric. It is an empire with a difference however: a spiritually backward Russian centre imposes its will upon a vast array of articulate and competent nations by sheer weight of brute force.

Modern technology on a Pharaonic scale, acquired at the price of untold sufferings both of the Russian 'moujiks' and of their victims, combined with sly cunning in international relations, have concealed the basic Soviet lack of ordinary competence and of the elementary deencies which alone make the modern state endurable.

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The abominations of the Russian Soviet system are legion, as Monsieur Khrushchov has pointed out. But the handling of the non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union is perhaps the most glaring of all, yet the most neglected. There is one focal and central point: Ukraine.

Ukraine is by any standards an extensive and wealthy country. In the West it reaches into the heart of Central Europe, in the East it approaches the banks of the Don. In the South it now includes the whole of the Crimean peninsula and most of the Soviet Union's warm water ports. The Ukrainian republic, according to extant Soviet statistics, covers an area of just over 270 thousand square miles of the richest soil which can be found on the European continent. Its industrial complex is referred to in greater detail below.

The Ukrainians are a separate and sharply defined nation of some 43 millions. Their separateness from the Russians is physical as well as spiritual; tall, sharp featured and on the whole handsome, they stand out in any Russian crowd of squat, dough-faced, grey, uniform individuals. The Ukrainian language is of considerable literary merit – witness Shevchenko – and well nigh incomprehensible to the Russians for all the ancient Slavonic roots which they share with the Ukrainians.

*

Ukrainian history is wild and romantic. Kyivan Ruthenia, the first incarnation of Ukraine, shone in the full splendour of its mediaeval European civilisation. Although Kyiv derived its original inspiration mainly from Byzantium, its Western connections were numerous and manifold. Pre-Norman

England had a Ukrainian queen. Anne, daughter of Yaroslav, the Grand Duke of Kyiv, became Queen of France when Notre Dame cathedral was being erected in Paris.

After the fall of Kyiv to the Mongol invasions in the middle of the XIII century, there followed three centuries of Lithuanian and Polish rule while the Ukrainian state survived for another hundred years in Volhynia and Galicia.

The military Cossack democracy on the Lower Dnipro, in the heart of Southern Ukraine, was the next crystallization of Ukrainian nationhood.

The Cossacks fought both the Tartars and the Polish magnates with considerable success. The sagas of their filibustering, of their forays on the Black Sea and their attacks on Turkish ports and galleys read like the stories of the Spanish Main. Apart from the Dalmatian republic of Ragusa, Ukraine is the only Slavonic country to possess an authentic maritime tradition.

Some of the 'Hetmans', the elected chieftains of the Cossack Host, which was the military backbone of the Ukrainian nation in the XVI, XVII and XVIII centuries, were as striking as their contemporaries in other parts of Europe. Bohdan Chmelnytskyj was perhaps the first of them to achieve an international renown. A tragic giant mentally and physically, a 'Pater Patriae' if there ever was one, he asserted successfully his country's independence against Poland in the middle of the XVII century, only to forfeit it to Muscovy under the pressure of events which overwhelmed him.

Half a century later Hetman Mazepa was famous for more than just his ride. He was the author of a political plan for his country and neighbouring lands, which, if successful, would have brought peace and prosperity to all of them, and would have stopped the southward expansion of Russia.

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However tragically unfulfilled the Ukrainians' destinies may have been so far, what a contrast their colourful history offers to the sombre tale of oppression and submission which is the unhappy birthright of Muscovy, and thus of the present Soviet Russian state, its direct descendant.

Unlike Russia, Ukraine is imbued with profound Mediterranean and Hellenic traditions. They were dormant, half submerged during long centuries of political and military struggle for survival. Yet how strong and vital they were became apparent in the renaissance of the national Ukrainian culture in the course of the last hundred years.

The West still chooses to ignore the separateness of Ukraine, though Ukrainians have compelled even the Soviet leaders to abandon the old Tsarist assumption that Ukraine did

not exist and that Ukrainians were only an exotic variety of Southern or 'Little' Russians.

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Britain has been unaware hitherto of Ukraine for all practical purposes. At the end of the First World War the British military command was on terms with the nascent Ukrainian state at Kyiv, and with Petlura, the Ukrainian national hero, a modest and simple patriot whom circumstances turned into a valiant soldier.

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But this line of British policy was rejected, and instead support was given to General Denikin, a champion of Great Russian imperialism though an anti-Bolshevik leader.

Unhappily Britain did little for Ukraine during her fight for independence against Russian Communist aggression, between 1917 and 1921. The same fate befell the ancient Christian kingdoms of the Caucasus and the thousand-year old Khanates of Khiva and Bokhara, while Britain looked on.

Between the two world wars there existed in Great Britain an unofficial but in actual fact a very powerful current of sentimental and intellectual and wholly unformed sympathy for the Soviet system. Its votaries ranged from the Left comprehensively to eccentric peers of the realm; the road to the alleged Red Paradise followed by a devious path from the byways of Bloomsbury to the Deanery of Canterbury. It was in this atmosphere that G. B. Shaw chose to present himself as an admirer of Stalin at a time when literally millions of Ukrainians, peasants and townspeople alike, were deliberately starved to death in order to prove the feasibility of an absurd theory of enforced collectivisation. Even among the few authentic Ukrainian Communist leaders, the opposition to Russian oppression was consistent, and resulted in the physical annihilation of the Ukrainian Communist Party's leadership.

The cause of Ukrainian nationhood could enlist but few sympathisers among the most vocal section of British and European public opinion. Yet through all these grim decades the Ukrainians fought on in single handed isolation against their Russian oppressors.

After the outbreak of the German-Russian armed conflict in 1941 the Ukrainians, some among them disillusioned in their hopes of German support for national independence, rose in arms against both their enemies to the strength of a quarter million fighting men in the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

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At Yalta in 1945 the British Government abandoned its Eastern European interests.

The ten bitter years of disillusion with Stalin and his successors in office which have followed the cessation of armed hostilities

in the West have forced Britain to-day to a painful reappraisal of the basic tenets of her foreign policy. For too long we have shirked too many issues; now we must come to terms with the existing realities of Eastern Europe. We must have a clearly defined attitude towards the captive nations within the Soviet Union, whose existence up to date we have preferred to ignore.

The only long term policy for staving off the Communist danger and for redressing the economic balance of the world must consist at this juncture in the disruption of the Soviet Russian Colonial Empire; it must cease to exist as a monolithic despotism.

This aim can not be achieved by force of arms. In the present state of technology the essential weapons are equally lethal to victors and vanquished. We must resort in earnest to psychological warfare.

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In any case ideas are more humane and more potent than intercontinental guided missiles with atomic warheads. Ideas can easily penetrate into the weakest and furthest points of the Soviet system: their message can reach with an explosive force the oppressed nations dragooned in the Soviet Russian Union.

Ukraine is the Achilles' heel of Moscow, and all psychological and moral help should be given to the Ukrainian Movement of Independence.

They should have an opportunity to formulate for themselves an unbiased and truthful picture of world events. A B.B.C. broadcasting service in Ukrainian would be of crucial importance. Yet, for the moment, the Ukrainians are addressed from London only in Russian, the language of their tormentors.

A far-fetched objection might be raised that a British broadcasting service in Ukrainian could be construed as intervention in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union; but surely it is no more an intervention to tell the Ukrainians the truth than to tell it to the Russians.

In the end the truth, inevitably, will prevail. The wireless is to-day the surest disseminator of it. The Ukrainians behind the Iron Curtain are starved for truth and for undoctored news.

Two millions of loyal and patriotic Ukrainians live at present dispersed all over the world and particularly in Britain, Canada, Australia and the United States.

Those in Britain also demand unvarnished news in their own language; so far all they can hear in Ukrainian over the wireless is Soviet distortion from the U.S.S.R.

The Ukrainians in the Free World may well become the spearhead of a strongly pro-British political current in Ukraine, once the day liberation dawns there.

Taking a long view, the forging of strong links with Ukraine would undoubtedly serve permanent British interests in this part of the world. An independent Ukraine would block effectively direct Russian approaches to the Balkans, the Straits and the Middle East with its oil supplies. It would assure stable conditions in this corner of Europe, and open it once again to British trade and commercial initiative.

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Economically Britain would profit enormously by a Ukrainian alliance. Ukraine produces to-day $\frac{1}{4}$ of all the agricultural wealth of the U.S.S.R., $\frac{3}{4}$ of its sugar and $\frac{1}{3}$ of its meat, milk, and kindred staple foods. About $\frac{1}{3}$ of the coal of the Soviet Russian Colonial Empire is mined in Ukraine, about half of its iron ore, $\frac{1}{3}$ of its steel and pig iron, and practically the whole of its manganese. Over a quarter of the sum total of Soviet machine-tools, factory equipment and machinery is of Ukrainian origin.

These statistics do not represent the ultimate expansion of the economic potential of Ukraine, which could easily be doubled under a non-Communist system.

At present these assets are used against the Free World by the Soviet Union. Precious raw materials are withdrawn from circulation to bolster the unnatural, autarchic system of the Russian Colonial Empire, which by its very existence creates irreplaceable shortages, renders the economic instability of the world endemic, and is particularly dangerous to heavily populated and industrialised nations like Great Britain.

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A B.B.C. Ukrainian service would hasten and influence the inevitable breakdown of Soviet oppression since it would be heard by 43 millions of talented, freedom loving and proud people, already restive under an alien yoke and passionately yearning for the one gift which it is in our power to give: the truth.

It is not the first time that the question of broadcasting from Britain in Ukrainian has been raised. During the last ten years the Ukrainians in this country and their English friends have at intervals pressed this claim to the best of their ability but unhappily to no avail.

The answers received from governmental authorities have been negative, colourless and evasive. In the light of consistent stonewalling it has been beyond the resources of those interested to discover whether the obstacles to broadcasts in Ukrainian are based principally on political considerations, on economic and technical factors, on sheer mental sloth, or, last but not least, on factors publicly unacknowledged.

The 8th Conference of the APACL in Tokyo

The 8th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) was held in Tokyo, Japan, from September 30th to October 6th, 1962.

Delegations from Australia, Free China, Hongkong, Pakistan, Jordan, Korea, Malaya, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, Turkey, Vietnam and Japan took part in the Conference as regular members of the APACL. The following organizations and countries were invited as observers: the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), the Inter-

panese Vice-Premier, His Excellency *Mitsujiro Ishii*, the former Ambassador to Japan and American Under-Secretary of State *Mr. Robert D. Murphy*, and *Prof. Dr. Erich Kordt*, former German Minister to Japan.

The largest delegation was the Japanese one; next in order of size was the delegation from the Philippines which numbered 12 persons; it was followed by the delegation from Korea, consisting of 9 persons, that of Free China with 7 persons, and those of Australia, Thailand and Vietnam with 5 members each.



Presidium of the Conference: in centre, the Chairman, **F. Nobusuke Kishi**, former Prime Minister of Japan; on left, **Mr. Vu Ngoc Truy**, Secretary-General of APACL; on right, **Mr. Toshikazu Kase**.

American Confederation for the Defence of the Continent (ICOC), the Comité International d'Information et d'Action Sociale (CIAS), the United States of America, Germany, Italy, Canada, India, Sweden, the Congo, Laos, Madagascar, Spain, Saudi Arabia, Somaliland, France, the Assembly of Captive European Nations (ACEN), and the Narodno-Trudovoj Sojuz NTS (National Union of Workers).

The Conference was presided over by the former Prime Minister of Japan, His Excellency *Nobusuke Kishi*, who was also one of the main speakers. Other main speakers were: the former Japanese Prime Minister, His Excellency *Shigeru Yoshida*, the former Ja-

The heads of all the delegations and the observers in alphabetical order held a short speech.

In addition to the plenary sessions, committees for political, economic and cultural questions and also a committee for resolutions were set up. The ABN delegation took part in the political Committee. The individual committees occupied themselves with the following problems: neutralism and counter-measures; economic problems and economic aid for undeveloped countries; international cultural exchange and co-operation; the consolidation and extension of the anti-Communist movement on an international basis.

The resolution prepared and drafted by

the ABN delegation was moved by the Turkish delegate, *Dr. Ahmed Sükrü Esmer*, and seconded by the Pakistani delegate, *Prof. Mahmud Brelvi*. As far as its contents were concerned it was the most vigorous resolution and was directed against Russian imperialism and Communism. The resolution was sharply attacked in the political committee by the NTS delegates, who sought to win over those delegates who were less well-informed about European problems and the Russian imperium. The Russian delegates in particular also questioned the existence of the Turkestanian nation, of the Idel-Ural, Slovakia and Cossackia. The resolution was, however, adopted in the political Committee by six votes to three (only the delegates who were regular members of the APACL voted). In the plenary session the ABN resolution was adopted unanimously. We print the text of this resolution below.

On October 2nd those taking part in the Conference were invited to a banquet by the Japanese Prime Minister, *His Excellency Hayato Ikeda*, at his residence. Further invitations were issued by the Chairman of the Nippon Kokuminkaigi, *Mr. Masshiro Yasuoka*, on October 3rd, and to a reception on October 4th by the Federation of Economic Organizations, the Tokyo Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Japan Federation of Employers' Associations and the Japan Committee for Economic Development, as well as to a reception given by the Governor of Tokyo City, *Dr. Ryotaro Azuma*, on October 5th. On the day on which the Conference opened and also on the last day of the Conference the former Japanese Prime Minister *N. Kishi* invited all the members of the Conference to a dinner. The lady-

members of the Conference received an invitation to attend a tea-party given by *Madame Kishi*. In addition, the delegates were invited to various luncheons and dinners by members of the Japanese government. On the last day of the Conference an excursion to Nikko was arranged, where a beautiful Buddhist temple was visited.

The following publications were distributed amongst the delegates and press representatives by the ABN delegation: "What is ABN", "The Kremlin on a Volcano", "A New Battleground of the Cold War", "Murdered by Moscow", "Russian Imperialism in Ukraine", "ABN Correspondence", as well as various memoranda, appeals to the free world, motions for resolutions, demands to the free world, and a leaflet on the expansion of the Russian imperium. In addition, other ABN material and also the speech by ABN President *Jaroslav Stetzko* and the resolutions were published by the secretariat of the Conference.

President Stetzko held a speech on the fight of the subjugated peoples before an audience of several thousand students of Tokyo University.

Professor *J. Kitaoka*, the Director of the Free Asia Association, arranged two press conferences and several interviews with various journalists for the ABN delegation. He also published an abbreviated version in Japanese of the speech delivered by President Stetzko, as well as a pamphlet entitled "The Disgrace of the 20th Century". A report in Japanese on the pending trial in Karlsruhe against the murderer of Stefan Bandera and an account of Stefan Bandera's life and career have also been published by him.



The presence of the ABN delegation at the conference in Tokyo resulted in new contacts being made with delegates from various countries and in particular with prominent Japanese personalities, and also in the renewal and strengthening of the ABN delegation's acquaintance and friendship with others.

The next conference of the APACL is to be held in Saigon, Vietnam, in 1963. A new president has so far not been appointed, since it must first of all be ascertained whether the government of Vietnam is willing to allow an anti-Communist conference to be held in its country. Should it give its consent, the Vietnamese representative in the APACL and present Secretary-General of this organization, Mr. *Vu Ngoc Truy*, will be elected President of the APACL for the next year by the League Council; his deputy will then assume the office of Secretary-General.

A. B. N. Press Bureau



Prof. Dr. A. Sükrü Esmer
Turkish Delegate

Resolutions of the 8th Conference of APACL

On Soviet Russian Colonialism

*Proposed by Turkey, seconded by Pakistan, adopted unanimously
by the Plenary Session on 5th Oct. 1962*

The Eighth Conference of APACL

condemns Soviet Russian colonialism which, in the form of Communism, seeks to enslave the whole world;

advocates the disintegration of the Soviet Russian colonial imperium into national, independent democratic states of all subjugated peoples;

supports the revolutionary liberation fight of the peoples in Europe, Asia and Cuba, subjugated by Soviet Russian colonialism and Communism, for the restoration of their national independence and for the destruction of the Communist system;

requests the United Nations to put the problem of Soviet Russian colonialism in Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Czechia, Cossackia, Estonia, East Germany, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania, Slovakia, Turkestan, North Caucasia and other countries subjugated by Communism and Soviet Russian imperialism, on the agenda of its General Assembly, to condemn said colonialism, to exclude all Communist governments from the UN, and in their stead to admit the authorized representatives of the peoples subjugated by Soviet Russian imperialism and Communism;

exhorts the free world to give wholehearted, active support, including military support, to the national liberation revolutions of the peoples subjugated behind the Iron Curtain, as a possible alternative to an atomic war;

corroborates the solidarity of the APACL with the US Congress resolution on "Captive Nations Week", in which said Congress advocates the liberation and freedom of Hungary, Ukraine, Lithuania, Poland, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Czechia, Rumania, White Ruthenia, Estonia, Bulgaria, Latvia, East Germany, Slovakia, mainland of China, northern part of the Republic of Korea, Idel-Ural, Albania, North Vietnam, Cossackia, and others;

exhorts the members of this Conference from the free world to persuade the parliaments and governments of their native countries to proclaim their solidarity

with and support of the fight for liberation of the peoples subjugated by Communism and Soviet Russian imperialism, and with their aims in a fitting way and manner.

For the Holding of the 9th General Conference in Vietnam

WHEREAS the APACL is pledged to the destruction of Communism and the promotion of freedom;

Whereas, the threat of Communism is ever present in Asia;

Whereas, certain areas have proved and are proving to be sensitive;

Whereas, it behooves the APACL to make its presence felt and its activities recognized;

Whereas, Viet Nam is showing the world its unending brave fight and determination to prevent the spread of Communism;

Be it resolved, as it is here now resolved, that the site of the Ninth General Conference of APACL be held in Saigon, as a recognition of that country's gallant fight for her freedom against Communism, in order to show her people that APACL is strongly behind her great fight, so that her people may derive from APACL's work and deliberations whatever boost in morale they need in such a fight.



Prof. Dr. Juitsu Kitaoka

Concerning neutralism and counter-measures to be taken

Realising that the neutralist policy followed by some countries has been exploited by international Communists for the perpetuation of their united front tactics to divide and isolate the Free World:

Considering the fact that, since the so-called non-aligned nations conference held

in September 1961, the neutralist tactics practised by international Communists have not only been intensified but induced some countries in the democratic camp to fall unconsciously into the Communist trap either for self-protection or under the influence of a sense of complacency:

Considering again that the international Communists are actively pushing forward their neutralist tactics against the Free World by such means as intimidation, threats or economic inducements, while neutralism is completely non-existent among the nations of the Communist bloc;

Realizing too the insufficient understanding of the Communist intrigue behind the neutralist tactics by some democratic nations which has led them to extend economic aid without discrimination to neutralist nations and that the Geneva Agreement which settled the Laotian problem has given much encouragement to the growth of neutralism and thereby has imperiled the position of the Free World with far-reaching consequences; Resolves that:

(1) We want to condemn and expose the Communist intrigue, in the name of neutralism and non-alignment, to induce free nations, especially the newly emerging nations in Asia and Africa, to break away from the democratic camp and to urge all these nations to give up any thought of neutralism so as not to fall into the trap set by the Communists;

(2) We want to point out that the slogans shouted by neutralists such as anti-colonial-

ism, peaceful coexistence and universal disarmament all fit in with the political intrigue of international Communists at the present stage and to call upon all countries and their peoples to exert themselves in the common endeavor for the realization of the following goals, namely, opposition to Red colonialism, opposition to Communist aggression, dedication to genuine freedom and democracy and improvement of the living standard of the people;

(3) We wish to call upon all free nations of the world that between freedom and slavery there is no middle course; that neutralism is a Communist bait to lead the free nations to the road of Communism and therefore, should be guarded against and that they should all be engaged in the struggle for freedom and against slavery for mankind;

(4) We want to push forward a kind of planned movement in the form of meeting, broadcasting, delivery of speeches, or propaganda in written languages, to expose the danger posed to the Free World of the Communist neutralist tactics;

(5) We want to appeal to the United States and all democratic nations to stop right away their economic and military aid to neutralist governments, to revise their aid policy so as to win over the neutralist governments by more effective means;

(6) We want to urge all nations of the Free World to step up their economic cooperation, to develop economy, to promote political solidarity through economic cooperation and to establish collective security organization of all free nations of the world so as to thoroughly eradicate the neutralist intrigue of international Communists.

Annex:

Whereas "Neutralism" belies its own name and misguides as regards its aims and significance;

And whereas it actually favours Communism and jeopardizes Democracy;

Therefore this House condemns Neutralism in whatever disguise it appears with all the emphasis at its command and exhorts the Free World to beware of its snares and harmful effects.

Mahmud Brelvi,
Chief Delegate, Pakistan

This resolution is to be merged into the "Resolution concerning Neutralism and Counter-measures to be Taken" and should be added as annex to this Resolution.

On refugees from mainland China

Considering that, though on the surface the collective flight of refugees from mainland China to Hong Kong and Macao has been reduced by Communist suppression and partly by compulsory repatriation, the Mainland famine situation, caused by the abject failure of Communism, continues to deteriorate, and the massive movement of refugee people goes on. Relief cannot be regarded as the responsibility of any one Nation or Administration; the problem is International and rests fairly on the whole of the Free World. No man or woman or child who seeks Freedom should be denied that Liberty which is surely the first right of mankind.

Noting that the Republic of China formally announced on May 21st that she was prepared, regardless of difficulties, to receive mainland refugees in Hongkong, according to their own volition, for resettlement in Taiwan and that this work has begun in earnest;

Noting again that the Governments of the United States and Canada etc. have accepted a certain quota of Chinese refugees for their respective countries, and provided food and other necessary supplies for the relief of the Hongkong refugees, and that governments of other democratic and free countries and non-governmental relief, philanthropic and religious organizations of the world have all expressed their sympathy and willingness to extend relief to them;

Considering the fact that relief of the Chinese mainland refugees in Hongkong and Macao is not only based on human sympathy and love, but also is a source of great encouragement to the enslaved peoples shut behind the Iron Curtain in their struggle for freedom and independence;

Resolves:

(1) To appeal to the United Nations and its specialized agencies and the Executive Committee of the UN High Commissioner on Refugee Relief to give immediate and effective relief to the Hongkong and Macao Chinese refugees;

(2) To appeal to the United States to enter into negotiations with those countries which are closely related to the Chinese Refugee problems so as handle cooperatively the problem of Chinese refugees in Hongkong and Macao with the concerted efforts of the whole world;

(3) To appeal to all important relief organizations of the world such as the Chinese Refugee Emergency Committee in New York, and so forth, to call an international conference for the relief of the Chinese refugees,

with a view to bringing about an international relief movement, which it behooves all member units of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League to do everything possible to bring into being;

(4) To set up an international committee for the relief of the Chinese refugees at the above-mentioned conference to be organized by various relief, religious and philanthropic organizations of the world which are deeply interested in the relief of the Chinese refugees;

(5) To set up service stations, in cooperation with the local administrations, in Hongkong and Macao by the International Committee for the Relief of Chinese refugees which provide emergency relief to new arrivals from the mainland with food, shelter, clothing and medical care and resettle them in accordance with their own volition;

(6) To let the International Committee for the Relief of Chinese Refugees be in full charge of funds and relief supplies necessary for the aid given to the Chinese refugees to be raised through donations and contributions;

(7) To set up a committee by the following member units of the League, namely, the Republic of China, Korea, Vietnam, the Philippines, Thailand, Japan, Hongkong and Macao, with the secretary general of the League as the convener for the promotion of the relief work for the Chinese refugees.

On Kashmir

This House resolves that the government of India and government of Pakistan be requested to meet and resolve the Kashmir dispute as quickly as possible.

On greater efforts exerted by the Free World in the face of Decline of the Communist Bloc

Considering the growing and deepening internal crisis and declining influence of the Communist bloc in recent years which have found expression in agricultural failure, economic slump, ideological confusion, political unrest and the popular distaste of the Communist regimes evidenced by the mass fight for freedom, and violent friction and struggle among the Communist countries;

Considering again an undercurrent of appeasement and pacification which has grown because of the advocacy by certain countries and peoples of the Free World which or who are obviously frightened or bewildered by the superficial influence of or such showing-off measures as are intentionally taken by the Communist bloc;

Based on its recognition of the weaknesses of the enemy and its conviction in the victory of the cause of freedom,

Hereby resolves that:

(1) We must, through various forms, help the peoples of the world to understand the decline and decay of the Communist bloc and also the ultimate bankruptcy of a doctrine which runs counter to human nature so as to thoroughly do away with their fear of Communism and thereby remove the psychological obstacle in the struggle against Communism.

(2) We must do everything possible to expose the intrigue behind the "peace offensive", threats and tactics inducing into neutralism of the Communist bloc the purpose of which is to cover up its own weaknesses and to wait for the chance to deal a blow to the Free World and call upon the Free World not to fall a prey to its diabolical designs.

(3) We appeal to the Free World, in the face of difficulties of the Communist bloc at present, to adopt an offensive policy at this moment and to take various measures with concerted efforts to increase the difficulties of the enemy so as to accelerate the collapse of the enemy.

(4) We ask all nations of the Free World not to do anything under any circumstance at present to curry the favor of and help the enemy that may help it decrease or remove the difficulties it has experienced, so as to forestall the greater threat it may pose to the Free World in future.

(5) The Free World should strengthen its unity, give up any thought of appeasement, take a firm stand, protect any country which is threatened by Communist aggression and should give moral and material support to those nations which are engaged in an effort to tear down the Iron Curtain and rescue their own peoples under the tyrannical Communist rule.

(6) We should continue the "Freedom Day" and "Captive Nations' Week" Movements so as to enhance their effect and give spiritual encouragement to the captive peoples.

(7) We should give to the peoples behind the Iron Curtains such positive and effective assistance as is required to help them in their struggle for freedom and national independence and then go a step forward by linking up the anti-Communist forces on both sides of the Iron Curtain, so as to accelerate the collapse of the Communist regimes and deliver the captive peoples from Communist tyranny and regain their freedom and independence.

On India

The Eighth Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League condemns the aggression on India committed by Chinese Communists. This aggression fits into the red pattern of an utter disregard for the territorial and sovereign rights of other nations.

The Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League feels very strongly that any violation of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of any country in the region is a threat to the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the rest of the countries in the region.

The Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League expresses its solidarity with the freedom-loving peoples of India in resisting the Chinese Communist aggression.

On Urging the Korean Unification and Admission into the United Nations of the Republic of Korea

Recalling that Korea was divided into two parts owing to the malicious maneuverings of the Communists in the aftermath of World War II, that the Republic of Korea was established under the auspices of the United Nations in 1948, that the Republic of Korea has been recognized by that world organization since 1948 as the only lawful and sovereign government on Korean soil, that the Republic of Korea has consistently pursued the policy of upholding and abiding by the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter, and that the Republic of Korea is also recognized by the overwhelming majority of individual states of the non-Communist World as the only sovereignty on Korea soil;

Noting that the partition of Korea still continues due to the aggressive designs of the Communist bloc, that the Republic of Korea was a victim of Communist aggression, which was repelled by the United Nations Forces acting for the first time as the international police force, and that the application of the Republic of Korea for membership in the United Nations has repeatedly been obstructed by the ruthless exercise of the power of veto by the Soviet Union at the Security Council;

Resolves that Korea be unified under a free and democratic government, that all freedom-loving peoples and nations be urged to support the application of the Republic of Korea for membership in the United Nations, and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded, without delay, through the Chairman of this Conference to the Secretary-

General and respectively to all the members of the United Nations.

On the Opposition to the Soviet Russian Attempt to bring the Puppet Regime in Peiping into the United Nations

Considering that the Soviet Union will this year, as it did previously, attempt to bring the puppet regime in Peiping of its own creation into the United Nations for the realization of its diabolical designs;

In view of the fact that the establishment of the puppet Peiping regime is against the will of the Chinese people: that since the regime controlled the Chinese mainland, it destroys Chinese culture, disregards human rights, slaughters people and has plunged the people under its domination into a long-term famine of most alarming proportions resulting from years of tyranny, which was proven by the mass exodus of refugees to Honkong and Macao in April 1962;

Realizing that the Communist Peiping regime has been condemned by the United Nations as an aggressor in the Korean War and that its aggression in Southeast Asia and its infiltration and subversive activities throughout the world have seriously endangered the security of mankind and threatened world peace;

And considering that should the puppet Peiping regime be allowed to enter the United Nations, it would not only be against the ennobling purpose and spirit of the UN Charter for the protection of human rights and the upholding of international justice but also give encouragement to it to intensify persecution within and aggression without;

Reasserts its consistent stand and resolves:

To appeal to all free and democratic nations 1) to firmly oppose the admission of the Chinese Communist regime into the United Nations: 2) to strongly refuse to accord their recognition to it and to withdraw their recognition, if they have done so: and 3) to refrain from taking measures which may give help to that regime for its persecution of the people under its domination within and for the perpetuation of aggression abroad.

On the acceleration of preparatory works for the APACL Freedom Center

In conformity with the Resolution concerning the establishment of the APACL FREEDOM CENTER, Seoul, Korea, as adopted unanimously at its Second Extraordinary Conference held in Seoul, from the 10th through the 15th of May, 1962;

Renewing its resolute determination and unwavering solidarity among the League member-units and observers, as expressed in unanimously adopting the said Resolution in an effort to work out one of the most practical and effective measures to cope with and extirpate the ever-increasing Communist infiltration and aggression against the Free World;

Acknowledging, with appreciation, the receipt of the report of October 1962 submitted by the Korean Delegation on the progress of preparatory works and liaison business for the establishment of the FREEDOM CENTER;

Having been greatly impressed with the fact that the preparatory work for the CENTER has been so rapidly and successfully undertaken by the positive efforts made by the Preparatory Commission for the APACL FREEDOM CENTER, and especially with unsparing support on the part of the Government and people of the Republic of Korea as well as with the wholehearted support and encouragement by the APACL member-units and observers;

The Preparatory Commission for the APACL

(1) Resolves that each member-unit and observer shall extend its further support and assistance, spiritual or material, to the best of its ability, to the preparatory work for the CENTER with a view to accelerating the preparatory work for the Center, so that the Center may start functioning at the earliest possible date;

(2) Resolves further that each member-unit and observer shall do its best to publicize the *raison d'être* and prospectus of the Center in order to obtain additional financial support to a maximum extent by the Free World countries other than the League member-units and observers and other sources available as set forth in the provisions of item 4 of the aforesaid Resolution.

Concerning Situation in Southeast Asia and Counter-Measures to be Taken to Cope with it

Noting that the direct and indirect aggression launched in the region of Southeast Asia by the Communist bloc has plunged this region into a state of long-term disturbance and war and may even threaten the peace and security of the whole world;

Noting that, since the signing of the Laotian Neutrality Agreement, the Communist bloc has intensified its neutralist tactics in that area in an attempt to cover up its expansionist policy through an armed offensive with

political infiltration and to gain from the conference table the fruits of war which it cannot win on the battlefield for the attainment of its set goal - Communist domination of Southeast Asia;

Noting also that the puppet regime in Peiping has stationed large troops on the border of Kwangsi, Yunnan and Tibet and has set up "Free Thailand" and other organizations in Kwangtung and other areas for active infiltration against Thailand, all of which shows that the Chinese Communists are engaged in a policy of expansionism in Southeast Asia;

Resolves:

(1) To expose the division of labor among and coordinated action taken by the countries of the Communist bloc through alternate application of neutralist tactics and armed subversion in an attempt to absorb Southeast Asia;

(2) To watch closely the development of the Laotian situation; to guard against continued growth of the Laotian Communist armed forces under the cover of the neutrality agreement and to broaden their scope of subversive activities or even subvert the Laotian coalition Government by turning it into a Communist regime with Laos reduced to a satellite of the Communist bloc in utter disregard of the Geneva Agreement;

(3) To oppose solution of the Vietnamese problem in the form of a "Laotian formula" by the Communist bloc or to apply the same formula to any other Asian nations; to continue to give effective and positive support to the firm anti-Communist policy of and heroic effort of the Vietnamese government and people of Vietnam combating Communism; and to appeal to the Free World to recognize Vietnam as an important anti-Communist fortress of Asia and not to retreat a single step from that battlefield;

(4) To oppose the attempt made by Indonesia to collaborate with the puppet regime in Peiping to call the Second Afro-Asian Conference; to call upon all Asian and African nations, especially those nations in Southeast Asia, to heighten their vigilance so as not to fall into the Communist trap of peace or neutralist tactics;

(5) To carry out the resolution adopted by the Extraordinary Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League held in Seoul to organize a Volunteer Freedom Corps so as to give support to any part of Asia which is victimized by the Communist aggression in her fight for the protection of her own territory and freedom by reliance on the force of Asian unity itself;

(6) To strengthen the regional security organization in the region of Southeast Asia; and to bring into being the collective security organization of East Asia and the Western Pacific region so as to unite the free forces of Asia to guard against aggression by the Communist bloc in any part of Asia.

PROPOSAL

by the "Interamerican Confederation for the Defence of the Continent"

Moved by the *Chinese and Turkish Delegations*

Whereas the offensive carried out by the International Communist Movement is global in character and events occurring in America or Europa find their instant reflection all over the world, the Confederation, under my Chairmanship, proposes the following

RESOLUTION

be approved by the *Eighth Conference of the APACL:*

Call on the American States Organization (OEA), urgently and using all means available, urging that wise, courageous and forceful measures be taken concerning the Communist regime in Cuba. The sino-Soviet bridge-head established on that island must be eradicated as soon as possible, in accordance with many interamerican pacts and agreements, lest we facilitate the spread of Communism to other nations of the American Hemisphere. The concepts of *non-intervention* and *self-determination* do not apply at all to the Cuban situation, regardless of the faulty interpretation and erroneous meaning given them by certain Latin-American countries engaged on vicious and biased foreign policies labelled as independent and neutralist but in fact favorable to the offensive carried out against America by the international Communist Movement. *Intervention* in Cuba, where self-declared hard-core Communists, cruel and blood-thirsty, not only impose on the people Marxist servitude and also cowardly obey to the letter every order received from extra-continental powers, via Russia and Communist China, should be not only moral and economic in its aspects, but should assume also a drastic and military character."

Admiral Carlos Penna Botto,
Chairman "Interamerican Confederation for the Defence of the Continent".

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The Captive Nations of the Russian Empire

Preface

"Amongst the states incorporated by force in the U.S.S.R. is Georgia. It is an ancient country and already existed as a state several centuries before our era; in spite of countless invasions of their territory by powerful foreign conquerors, the Georgian people have to this day preserved all the attributes of a contemporary nation intact: their physical and moral qualities, their language and national culture, their territory and material resources, their ability to organize themselves as a political community.

It is regrettable that the French should be so loath to study history otherwise they would know that Muscovite domination has always met with resistance in those circles that were informed. In his famous account of his stay in Russia, 'Russia in 1839', the Marquis de Custine predicted the terrible awakening of the Russian giant, and then 'violence will put an end to the reign of speech'. He was right. But the harshest judgement on Russian imperialist policy and its anti-European Machiavellism is to be found in the opinion voiced by that doctrinarian of Communism, Karl Marx. In a speech made in 1867 Marx affirmed that the permanent objective of Russian policy, its 'lodestar', is the domination of the world:

'There are plenty of naive persons who think that all this (Russian imperialism) has changed; that Poland has ceased to be a 'necessary nation', as one writer put it, and is already nothing but a historical memory... 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 increased and reached its zenith. 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.'

My friend W. Tsitsichvili deserves credit for having recalled to our compatriots, by referring to the example of Georgia, the crimes of 'Russomania'.

I am convinced that apart from brute force there is no other motive which will prevent the Georgian cause from triumphing. The United Nations Organization and all similar organizations cannot, when the moment arrives, pass over the Georgian question in silence; their decision, like the public opinion of the free and civilized world, will be - and the Georgian people are convinced of this

fact - in favour of the restoration of Georgia as a free and independent state."

Raymond Le Bourre.

Three empires vanished after the first world war. Several national independent states appeared in their place.

Justice seemed to have triumphed... But the nations that constituted the Russian empire of the tsars were incorporated rapidly and forcibly in the Russian empire of the Bolsheviks, with the exception of Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland.

Those nations which constituted the Austrian empire became "satellites" of the U.S.S.R. after the second world war, just as did Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria. The three Baltic countries mentioned above were also incorporated in the U.S.S.R., as was Moldavia, too, in 1939.

Finland still retains its precarious independence.

Yugoslavia, to which Albania was recently added, has "kept apart".

This is the result of the "victory of Russia", a victory which its "allies", by shutting their eyes to its Communism, obtained for it in World War II.

We are not referring here to the countries which constituted the Ottoman Empire, countries whose fate at the moment does not resemble that of the other countries or of East Germany with its "infamous wall".

We should merely like to point out that neither the Turks nor the Austrians, unlike the Russians, have any claim to their former possessions, and that the confusion which reigns in the world, that has been broken up by them, is solely due to the inordinate influence of the Russians (emigrants, naturalized as French or other subjects) on world politics.

In France, when one speaks of "captive nations", one does not mean those which have become "satellites" of the U.S.S.R. The latter nevertheless exists, and the United States, which since 1959 have observed "Captive Nations Week" from July 16th to 23rd every year, recognize it, as they do the "captive nations" within the U.S.S.R., "satellites" of Soviet Russia, that is "Communist" Russia, on whom "Communism", like Russian "orthodox Christianity" in former times, has been imposed by the Russians. Nations enslaved by these same Russians and it matters little

what mask the latter wear - Christian, Communist, capitalist, or any other - since they continue the traditional Russian policy, and the enslaved nations wish to shake off their yoke, the Russian yoke.

When one talks about de-colonization, one only thinks of the French, British, Dutch, Belgian or Portuguese colonies, etc., and never of those of the Russians. One may well ask, why? One may well be astonished that de-colonization, which the Russians preach on every possible occasion and with which they themselves dispense, is to them a source of gain, just as are the wars and disturbances which they provoke all over the world. Why two different measures and standards? Why treat the enslaved peoples and the colonies differently? Why accord a privilege to the Russians which allows them to crush the freedoms everywhere?

Georgia - a Typical Case

Recognized as a sovereign state by the same Supreme Council and at the same time as Finland, Poland and the three Baltic states (January 27, 1921), Georgia is in exactly the same legal position as all these states: its territory is occupied by the same foreign power, Russia, just as Holland, Belgium and France, etc., were under the same German occupation during World War II.

In keeping with the universally acknowledged principle that the occupation of a country by military force cannot be regarded as a legal status, Georgia and all the "Captive Nations", which are members of the U.S.S.R. against their will, have the right to wish and to demand their liberation. The date when the countries in question were arbitrarily occupied and annexed is immaterial. For it is not a question of centuries which have long since fallen into oblivion.

To admit this sort of legal prescription would be contrary to all the principles of ethics, of right, of the notorious "democracy" and of logic.

This glaring injustice can only be explained by the inordinate influence and revolting conduct of the Russian emigrants in world politics, who are interested in preserving the integrity of the U.S.S.R.

These Russians, like their compatriots who have usurped power in the U.S.S.R., wish to prevent the disintegration of their Russian empire, which according to their view must become a world empire, at all costs.

In 1918, when Soviet Russia signed the separate peace treaty with Germany in Brest-Litovsk on March 3rd, Georgia protested and refused to recognize this treaty. And when the Russian troops broke through the Caucasian front, the Allies (Georges Clémenceau and Marshal Foch), in order to prevent the collapse of the latter, established

contact with the Georgian government. Under extremely difficult conditions this government then accomplished a remarkable operation. It forced about 600,000 Russian soldiers, who in complete confusion abandoned their positions, to withdraw from its territory and prevented them from pillaging the country.

The situation in Georgia was quite different to that in Russia, which was torn by civil war and was plunged into anarchy.

"It was an oasis where one did not as yet know anything about the nature of Bolshevism", so a genuine Russian, Captain Popov, who was in Georgia at that time, admitted. ("Souvenirs d'un grenadier du Caucase", published by Poyot, Paris, 1932. p. 212.)

"The Bolsheviks have not given the Russian people either liberty or prosperity. But the opposite is the case in Georgia, where the Georgian people have obtained the one and the other from the government which it was able to establish", said Mr. Tom Shaw when he visited Georgia (in June 1920).

On October 16, 1920, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald affirmed that if the men in office succeeded in applying a policy of good sense and foresight, they would be able to play their part in supporting Georgia. ("The Nation" of October 16, 1920.)

In February 1921 Mr. Macdonald stated in an article that Britain's policy in the Caucasus was very simple. A solid bloc of free and federated states must be created there in order to guard this important strategic route between Europe and Asia. He added that the only thing which would enable this policy to be realized was the existence of Georgia as the centre of this bloc and that Georgia alone would be able to carry out this programme. ("Contemporary Review" of February 1921.)

After Russia had annexed Byelorussia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Armenia, North Caucasus, and Cossackia, etc., the Russians could not allow such a Georgia to exist. And we say "Russians" and not "Communists"!

This explains why, on February 11, 1921, the Red Russian armies invaded Georgia without a declaration of war.

But the White Russian armies of Denikin would have acted in the same way if they had been victorious in 1920. Now that Communism has reached its second stage in Russia one realizes why the White and Red Russians (emigrants and Soviet subjects) jointly and severally combat the representatives of the "Captive Nations" of the Russian empire.

The importance of the strategic position of the Caucasus has not changed since the times of Darius I 500 years B. C., of Pompey the Great (107-49 B. C.), and of Genghis Khan (1162-1227). The role which Georgia would possibly play there if the West decided at

last to apply a policy of good sense has not decreased in significance during the past 40 years.

The Centrifugal Force of the Captive Nations of the Russian Empire

All these nations manifest a strong patriotism and love of freedom; hence there exists a centrifugal force of the 14 non-Russian Republics, which, together with the 15th and Russian Republic, are regarded as the "dimerical fatherland" of the Russians and wish to detach themselves from Soviet Russia. In addition to this force, which is by no means negligible, there is at present also the "de-colonization" action undertaken by the Western powers, - this breath of the famous "wind of history", which ought to touch the U.S.S.R., the last colonial empire still in existence in the world.

Why should there be two different measures and standards? Why should one organize the former French and other colonies as independent states, but allow the Russians - simply because they are Russians - to enslave nations who have been civilized for centuries and whose states already existed before the advent of Russia, whom these same nations civilized?

The hour of the inevitable disintegration of the U.S.S.R. is close at hand. It only rests with the French, with those who love their country, real France, more than chimerical Russia, to hasten this hour. And to do so, it suffices to drive out the "Russian demon" which has possessed the French for more than a century; to no longer heed the Russians,

who are corrupting France in order to rob it of its role as "pilot nation", a role which has been missing in the civilized world since the "Holy Alliance" of 1815 and, above all, since the fatal "Russian Alliance" of 1894.

The influence of the Russian emigrants, banished by the Russian people, on world politics accounts for the disastrous aberration of the West, which regards Russia as a homogeneous nation and the U.S.S.R. as a monolithic bloc, whereas it is composed, like Western Europe, of several different nations and separate states, which are united by force in a fallacious Soviet Union.

Together, all these nations have an enormous potential strength, a fact which is concealed by the Russians, "counsellors in evil counsel" of the Western powers, who thus disregard this strength.

If this "power" (the centrifugal force) asserts itself and the West profits by this fact, then the U.S.S.R. will disintegrate naturally as did the Russian empire of the tsars in 1917.

At the same time, the colonial expansion of Russia on a global scale will immediately cease, and "Russain power" - which is a bluff since it is in reality the power of the "Captive Nations", fettered and exploited by the Russians, will disappear, without a war; and with it, the menace of a nuclear cataclysm.

Open your eyes, gentlemen, before it is too late!

(From "Le Courrier National", organ of the "Centre d'Etudes Nationales". Paris, 1962, No. 8.)



Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko and Lt. Col. D. Kosmowicz speaking to H. E. General Duk Shin Choi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea, at a reception at the Korean Embassy in Bonn, Germany.

Japan – the Country of Honour and Dignity

(Address to the 8th Conference of APACL in Tokyo, October 1962)

As an introductory remark to my report I would like to inform you first of all that on October 8, 1962, in Karlsruhe, Germany, there will begin before the Federal High Court the trial against the murderer of the leader of the Liberation Movement, Stefan Bandera, and of another Ukrainian anti-Communist, Prof. Dr. Lev Rebet, who for many years were interned in Nazi concentration camps and were the arch-enemies of Moscow. They were murdered by Moscow's agent with the aid of a poison pistol, at the orders of the then chief of the Soviet State Security Service, Alexander Shelepin, on October 12, 1957, and October 15, 1959.

For murdering Stefan Bandera the murderer was awarded the "Order of the Red Banner" by Shelepin.

The list of the freedom-fighters of the various subjugated peoples who in the course of time have been murdered by Moscow can be continued ad infinitum. We are however at this point interested in the question as to wherein lies the strength of these heroes, these Banderas of the subjugated peoples, as to *what* ideas they championed, and as to why they were so dangerous for the Soviet-Russian colonial empire that they had to die – at the hands of the Bolsheviks?

They were not only anti-Communists but, at the same time, also *national* freedom fighters. The idea of national independence, the idea of the disintegration of the Russian colonial empire into independent, national, democratic states, is the guiding and vital idea of our fight.

It is a great honour to us to be able to take part as observers in the eighth Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, and in the name of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) we wish to express our sincerest greetings to you and our best wishes for the complete success of this Conference. We do so as the spokesmen of the following national liberation organizations and centres of the peoples of East Europe and Soviet Asia: Committee Free Armenia, Bulgarian National Front, Byelorussian Central Council, Cossack National Liberation Movement, Czech National Committee, Estonian Liberation Movement, Anti-Communist League of Cuba, Georgian National Organization, Hungarian Mindszenty Movement, Latvian Association for the Struggle against Communism, Lithuanian Rebirth Movement, Polish Christian Social Movement, Rumanian Free Front, Slovak Liberation Committee, Organization of

Serbian Nationalists, Croatia National Liberation Movement, National Turkestanian Unity Committee, Ukrainian Hetman Union, and Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

We should like to express our special thanks to the Japan Chapter of the APACL, the host of this Conference, and, above all, to His Excellency *Nobusuke Kishi*, Prof. Dr. *J. Kitaoka*, and Prof. Dr. *T. Watanabe*, for having made our participation possible. At the same time, we should like to express our pleasure at being able to get to know this heroic and great people which, 57 years ago, was victorious over our enemy Russia.

ABN's aim is to destroy the Bolshevik imperium from within by means of national liberation revolutions, in order to disintegrate it into national independent states of the nations which are subjugated in it. (In this respect I am thinking in particular of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Poland, East Germany, Slovakia, Bohemia, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, North Caucasia, Turkestan, Cossackia, Idel-Ural, Albania, Serbia, Croatia, mainland China, North Vietnam, North Korea, and others.)

The ABN, as the representative of the will to freedom of the non-Russian peoples held in captivity in the Soviet Russian sphere of influence, on principle rejects the Russian imperium in every form. In accordance with its principle – "Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!" – however, the ABN recognizes the right of the Russian people, too, to their own national state within their ethnographical frontiers.

Since the Western empires have retired from the scene, Russian colonialism is endeavouring, above all in Asia and Africa, to take over the legacy of these empires by means of cunning watchwords of national and social liberation, with the aim of setting up a single world empire, which Lenin designated by the harmless formula of a "World Federation of Soviet Socialist Republics".

In this polarity of contrasts between a world Communist order of coercion and a free world integration on the basis of organically ordered national state system, the free world is at present confronted by a very important task: the exposure of world Communism as a camouflage for a new vicious colonialism, Russian colonialism, which intends to enslave mankind by the totalitarian system, in order to extend the Russian colonial empire over the whole world with the aid

of its Red Chinese, Red Korean, Red Vietnamese and other toots.

The vulnerable spot of the Russian colonial imperium lies in the national urge to freedom and independence of the subjugated peoples. To apply the lever here is to contribute a valuable share towards destroying this peoples' prison from within.

The famous British military theoretician, Major-General J. F. C. Fuller, expresses the view: "No power the world has ever seen has been more vulnerable to internal attack than the Bolshevik Empire. It is not a national State, but a State of nationalities. As Theodor Mommsen wrote nearly a century back: 'The Russian Empire is a dust-bin that is held together by the rusty hoop of Tsardom'. Break that hoop and its Imperium is at an end . . ."

Major-General Fuller also stresses:

"The Western politicians look upon Russia as the land of 200 million Russians, whereas actually over half her population consists of non-Russians, the majority of whom are violently opposed to Russian rule . . . If the West really believes in freedom, then the Russian Empire must go!"

The free world will never achieve a lasting success if it only defends itself on the peripheries. The centre of the evil, the metropolis of the imperium, - Moscow - must be attacked! The first front of the freedom loving world is the front of the subjugated nations.

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 a part of the big Russian offensive. We can observe what happens in Cuba, in Laos, Vietnam, Korea, in Africa, etc. . . .

The German or Laos 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.

East Germany, mainland China, North Korea, North Vietnam constitute part of the world of the subjugated peoples! They can, in my opinion, only be liberated simultaneously with the liberation of all the subjugated peoples, including Ukraine, Caucasia, Turkestan, Hungary, etc. . . .

I am well aware that the objection is raised that there might be an atomic war. 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, coordinated as a simultaneous revolution and supported by a joint anti-Bolshevist world front, if necessary with armed force.

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.

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.

When the Russian imperium is dissolved, the source and leadership of world Communism will likewise collapse, for Mao Tse-tung and the Communist tyrants of North Korea, North Vietnam, etc., are, after all, dependent on Moscow. They are not defending the interests of their own peoples, but the interests of a world conspiracy organized by Moscow.

The demands of the Ukrainian and other prisoners during the strikes and revolts in Siberia - Norylsk in June 1953, and in Vorkuta in July of the same year were among others:

National independence for the separate nations of the Soviet Union. Land for the peasants. Factories for the workers. Free democratic order etc.

These same demands were raised during an insurrection on the part of the concentration camp non-Russian prisoners in Kingiri (Turkestan) in July 1954, in Mordovia in September 1955, in Taishet in 1956, and in Temir Tau (Kazakhstan) in October 1959, a fact which emphasizes the realizable character of a joint action in these territories.

To sum up: the ingredients of the solution should be clear. Firstly, to cease to fear Russia's military might, which is held in leash by dread of nuclear warfare and fear of national revolutions. Secondly, to realize that in this nuclear age subversive warfare is progressively replacing traditional warfare as the positive instrument of policy. Thirdly, that this mode of conflict is waged on the enemy's inner front - that is, by attacking him in the first place internally. Fourthly, to recognize that Russia's inner front is rotten to the core. And lastly, to understand that in this war of wills and ideas, a strategy which is based on appeasement or containment, which can solely react to the enemy's offensives instead of fearlessly counter-attacking, ultimately can lead only to defeat and degradation.

May I be permitted to express our great pleasure once more at being able to visit this country, where honour and dignity, courage and the will to sacrifice mean everthing, this country, which never knew fear and dependency. This great and eternal Japan!

International Anti-Communist Conference in Malta



The Presidium of the Conference, from left to right: **Admiral Penna Botto**, **W. Zahorsky**, **Congressman Ch. J. Kersten**, **Lt. Col. F. C. Torreggiani**, **G. M. Vella-Gatt**, **J. Stetzko**.

The International Anti-Communist Conference in Malta lasted from October 27th to November 4th, 1962.

A press conference was held in the evening on October 26th after the arrival of the delegates.

The International Anti-Communist Conference opened on October 27th and the following persons presided on this occasion:

Lt. Col. *F. Cassar Torreggiani*, E. D., President of the "Lega Anti Kommunista" in Malta; Mr. *G. M. Vella-Gatt*, Vice-President and Secretary-General of the "Lega Anti Kommunista" in Malta; U.S. Congressman *Charles J. Kersten*; Admiral *Penna Botto*, Vice-President of the World Congress Steering Committee and President of the "Interamerican Confederation for the Defence of the Continent" (Brazil); *Jaroslav Stetzko*, President of the "Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)" (Ukraine); Prince *Niko Nakashidze*, Secretary-General of the "Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations" (Georgia); *Witold Zahorsky*, representative of the "Assembly of Captive European Nations" (Poland); *Fr. R. Sigmond*, O.P. (Vatican), Rector Magnificus: Pontifical University Angelicum (Hungary); *Karl Neumann*, member of the German Bundestag (Germany).

The Conference opened with a prayer by His Lordship Mgr. *Emm. Galea* of Malta and an address by the Prime Minister of Malta, Hon. *Dr. Giorgio Borg Olivier*.

On behalf of all the delegates present Mr. *Jaroslav Stetzko*, the President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, replied to this address. Then followed speeches by the President of the "Lega Anti Kommunista", *F. C. Torreggiani*, and the Secretary-General, *G. M. Vella-Gatt*.

The following subjects were dealt with in the plenary sessions:

1. *Conditions in the Enslaved Countries*

The following speeches were held on this question:

"The Situation in Enslaved Cuba and in the other Latin American States" by Admiral Penna Botto; "The Situation in Georgia" by Prince Niko Nakashidze; "The Situation in Poland" by Witold Zahorsky; "The Situation in Ukraine" by Jaroslaw Stetzko; "Extermination – as a Special Example the Massacre of Polish Officers in Katyn and Mass-Graves in Ukraine, for instance in Vynnytsia, Lviv, Zytomir and other towns" by Congressman Charles J. Kersten.

2. *Revolutionary Socialism and Human Rights*

The subjects and main speakers were:

"The Family in the Socialist State" by Hon. *Emilio Camilleri*, M.L.A.; "The Trial in Karlsruhe against Stashynsky, the Murderer of Stephan Bandera and Lev Rebet" by Congressman *Charles J. Kersten*; "The Enslavement of the Proletariat in Communist States" by the *Rev. Ben Tonna*, B.A., Lic. D., Lic. Sc. Pol. et Soc. (Louvain); "The Enslavement of the Church" by the *Rev. Domenico Chianella*, S.J.; "Christianity and Communism" by *Hon. Dr. Alex Cachia Zamit*, M.D., Minister, Emigration, Labour and Social Welfare.

3. *Revolutionary Socialism and a United Europe*

Speeches were held on the following questions:

"A United Europe as a Source of Resistance" by Professor *Volodymyr Janiv*, President of the Ukrainian Christian Movement and Secretary-General of the Scientific Shevchenko Institute; "The New Europe and Communism" by Hon. *Herbert Ganado*, LL. D., B.A., M.L.A., Party Leader; "National Problems in the USSR" by the Ukrainian delegate from Great Britain; "The Disintegration of the USSR" by *Dr. Newman*, delegate from Great Britain.

4. *The Mediterranean Region and Russian Imperialism*

The following subjects were dealt with:

"Malta, by Tradition and Culture a Western Country" by *Dr. Albert Manche*, LL.D.; "Russian Interest in Conquering Malta – from Tsarist Times until Khrushchov" by the historian *Chev. Joseph Galea*, B.A., F.S.A. (Scotland); "Russian Imperialism in Ukraine and other Enslaved Nations" by *Slawa Stetzko*, Editor of "ABN Correspondence" and "Ukrainian Review".

5. *Communism in the Democratic Countries*

Speeches on this subject were given by:

Mr. *Mario Tabone*, university student; Hon. *Antony Pellegrini*, M.L.A., former Leader of the Labour Party in Malta; Fr. *Ferdinand Colombo*, O.F.M. Cap. M.D., former Minister of Finance in Malta (at present in Addis Ababa).

6. *Coexistence*

The following lectures were held:

"Western Defence against Communism and Coexistence" by Hon. *Mabel Strickland*, O.B.E., M.L.A., Leader of the "Progressive Constitutional Party"; "Coexistence

- Believers and Atheists" by Fr. J. Bernard, S.J., Professor of Theology in Malta; "The Caucasian Peoples and Coexistence" by Prince *Niko Nakashidze*, Secretary-General of the ABN.

7. Religious Rebirth and Marxist Socialism

Speeches on the following questions were delivered:

"The Social Doctrine of the Church" by Fr. S. M. Zarb, O.P., Professor of Theology at the Royal University of Malta; "Communism Creates a Vacuum" by Dr. Wallace Gulia, LL.D., B.A., Bs. C., Ph.C., M.A., D.P.A., Crown Counsel and university professor; "Marxism and its Answer" by Fr. R. Sigmond, O.P., Rector Magnificus of the Pontifical University in Rome; "The Persecution of Religion in the USSR" by the Ukrainian delegate from London; "Communism as a 'Religious' Doctrine" by Fr. Ugolino Catt, O.E.S.A., university professor and author; "Religion as the Best Weapon against Communism" by His Lordship Mgr. Emm. Galea, Bishop of Tralles, Vicar General and Locum Tenens, Malta.

8. The Enslaved Nations equal the Key Position in the Anti-Bolshevist World Front

A lecture was held on this subject by Jaroslaw Stetzko, and on "Anti-Communism as a World Offensive" by G. M. Vella-Gatt, the Secretary-General of the "Lega Anti Kommunista".

A lively discussion was held after each speech and lecture.

On the last day of the Conference several resolutions were moved and after thorough discussion were adopted. We are publishing the full text of these resolutions.

On the Sunday a big procession was held to mark the day of "Christ the King". 104 organizations, all bearing banners, took part in this procession. About 35,000 persons were present on this occasion.

At 5 p.m. on November 4th His Excellency the Bishop of Malta celebrated a memorial mass in St. John's Cathedral to commemorate the victims who laid down their lives for Christianity and their country.

Social Events during the Conference

The guests were received by the Prime Minister Hon. Dr. *Giorgio Borg Olivier*, His Lordship Mgr. Emm. Galea, His Excellency Sir *Maurice Dorman*, G.C.M.G., K.C.M.G., C.M.G., Governor of Malta, and the American Consul-General *B. W. Ruffner*.

The delegates were invited to a dinner given by the President of the "Lega Anti Kommunista", F. C. Torreggiani, and the Hon. Mabel Strickland. A cocktail party was given in their honour by the President of the "Lega Anti Kommunista", F. C. Torreggiani, the Grand Prior of the Order "St. Agatha of Paterno", and the American Consul-General B. W. Ruffner.

The hall in which the Conference was held was decorated with the flags of all the subjugated peoples, as well as with ethnographical maps and data pertaining to the number of inhabitants.

The Maltese press published detailed reports in English and Maltese on the Conference every day.

On November 2nd a representative from the headquarters of the Mediterranean NATO addressed the foreign delegates. His speech was followed by a lively discussion.

Resolutions Adopted in Malta

On Cuba

WHEREAS *the Russian Communists came into power in Moscow in 1917 and thereafter seized power by deception and force in the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union after the latter had attained their independence following the break-up of the Russian Empire, and*

WHEREAS, *following World War II the Communists expanded their power by the same ruthless means into the nations of Eastern Europe and also into China, East Germany, North Korea, North Vietnam and most recently by subversion into Cuba, and*

WHEREAS, *in every nation where the Communists have come into power it has been against the will of the people and they have maintained their control only by force, terror and deception, symbolised by the Iron Curtain, and*

WHEREAS, *the Communists have used the Captive Nations as bases in preparation for further aggression, including the placement of missiles aimed at Western Europe and elsewhere, and most recently in Cuba, with the capacity of missile attack against all Europe and both North and South America, and*

WHEREAS, *the United States of America and other free world nations, because of such Communist aggression, have established defensive military bases at the request of the nations in which such bases are located, to prevent further Communist expansion beyond the present line of the Iron Curtain which encloses the Captive Nations, and*

WHEREAS, *the President of the United States, by taking a firm and unconditional stand that the missile bases in Cuba must be immediately dismantled, has caused the Communists to agree to dismantle the Cuban missile bases,*

NOW, THEREFORE,

BE IT RESOLVED *that this International Conference fully supports and highly commends the President of the United States for his courageous free world leadership by his taking a firm and effective stand to bring about the dismantling of the missile bases in Cuba which threaten both North and South America;*

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED *that it is the purport of this Malta Conference that the defensive military bases established by the United States of America and other free world Nations be fully continued and maintained against Communist aggression and that their removal be considered only when the Communists withdraw their occupation from Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, North Caucasus and other subjugated nations of the U.S.S.R. as well as from Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Czechia, Slovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, North Korea, North Vietnam, Tibet, mainland China, etc., so as to permit the peoples of these enslaved nations to regain their independence and live in freedom and peace.*

Submitted by former U.S. Congressman Hon. Charles J. Kersten

On the Political Offensive against Russian Colonialism

The International Conference on Communism which took place in Malta, between 27th October and 4th November, 1962, urges the Governments and the peoples of the Free World:

to expose the Soviet Union with its satellite countries as the Russian Colonial Empire, and condemn it as the most brutal form of colonialism of all times;

to take the political offensive, in every respect, against Russian imperialism, since Russia, as history teaches us, has never relinquished its positions voluntarily, but has only yielded to the threat of superior power;

to regard as the main objective of the political campaign of the free and subjugated world the liberation of all the nations enslaved in the Russian Communist Empire through the disintegration of the latter into independent national States, and to take active steps in this direction;

to support the national liberation struggle for freedom and independence of the subjugated peoples behind the Iron Curtain in order to defeat Communist tyranny and the Russian empire;

to proclaim a Freedom Manifesto by the Governments of the world as the Magna Carta of the independence of all peoples and freedom of individuals and social justice;

to set up in the free world a coordination centre of psychological and political campaign in joint effort with the representatives of the national liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain;

that the Free World be made to realise that the policy of coexistence is a trap designed by Moscow for the recognition of the present occupation of the subjugated nations which are serving as bases for further unhindered expansion by all methods with the final aim of world conquest;

not to confine the "Captive Nations Week" campaign solely to the U.S.A., but to extend it to all the other countries of the free world.

On Discontinuance of Relations with Communist Governments

WHEREAS the Russian Communists have come to power by deception and force and through like manner overran the various nations of the Soviet Union, and which was later repeated in the case of the satellite countries, and

WHEREAS the aggrandisement policies of the Kremlin encompass domination over the whole world and subjugation of the entire human race, and

WHEREAS the Kremlin is making use of international democratic institutions only to serve its own undemocratic and totalitarian policies, as a propaganda platform, and as a directive centre for spies and saboteurs; now

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the International Conference meeting in Malta unfalteringly condemns the domination and imperialistic aims of the Soviet Socialist Government, and its inhuman treatment of the enslaved nations, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that in the sense of this the Malta Conference recommends all the Governments of the Free World to discontinue all relations, from political to economic, with the enemies of humanity, so as to manifest publicly and unequivocally their abhorrence and condemnation of the Soviet Socialist system and aims, which have been conceived and perpetrated on the principles of force and violence.

On a University for the Youth of Africa and Asia in Malta

WHEREAS the Russian Government provides scholarships for thousands of young students from Asia and Africa at the special universities in Moscow, Tashkent and

Prague with the aim of training them not only in academical subjects, but above all to indoctrinate them with Communist ideology, for subversive work in the interests of Moscow in their respective countries;

BE IT RESOLVED that the International Conference meeting in Malta recommends to the Free World to set up as a countermeasure a special university for the youth of Africa and Asia, and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED that this university be established in Malta where the cultures of three continents meet, and which through its historical past, national traditions and Christian tolerance presents a favourable atmosphere for foreign students, thus its success may be assured; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a Radio Station be built in Malta with the purpose of transmitting to Africa, Asia and the Middle East, as well as to the Balkans, Caucasus and Ukraine; which Radio Station shall be an important weapon in the cold war in the psychological field.

(Submitted by Prince Niko Nakashidze.)

On the Ecumenical Council

WHEREAS the International Conference on Communism meeting in Malta, which is taking place during the greatest Christian event of our times – the Ecumenical Council – deeply regrets the absence from the Council of a number of imprisoned or forcibly detained Church Dignitaries from behind the Iron Curtain, in particular His Eminence Cardinal Mindszenty, Primate of Hungary, His Grace Archbishop Joseph Slipyj, the Ukrainian Metropolitan, His Grace Archbishop Beran, the Primate of Czechia, His Eminence Cardinal Arteaga, Archbishop of Havana, and other Church Dignitaries, and

CALLS UPON the entire civilized world to an energetic defence of the Church persecuted by the Bolshevik regime, through a religious revival and spiritual reparation.

The West to Help Malta

The International Conference on Communism in Malta, October 27–November 3, 1962, expresses its appreciation and gratitude to the “Lega Anti Kommunista” of Malta for its excellent work in preparing and convening this Conference which may be of historical importance in the development of the struggle against Communism and Russian imperialist expansion through the Mediterranean to the Northern littoral of Africa and South and Central America.

This Conference urges the Governments of the Free World to extend an all-round assistance, particularly economic aid, to the Maltese people so as to develop Malta into a bastion and centre for organising an effective counter-action to the spread of Communism and Russian domination in the Mediterranean and Africa.

With its religious, cultural and political traditions and geopolitical position, Malta, as a bulwark of Christianity, is predestined to the fulfilment of such a historical task.

(Submitted by Jaroslaw Stetzko on behalf of the Foreign Delegates.)

Of Thanks to His Grace the Archbishop of Malta

WHEREAS the International Conference on Communism, meeting in Malta between October 27th and November 4th 1962, was honoured by a personal message from His Excellency Sir Michael Gonzi, Archbishop of Malta, who is presently participating in the Vatican Ecumenical Council,

RESOLVES to offer filial thanks to His Excellency Sir Michael Gonzi, Archbishop of Malta, for his message of greetings inaugurating this International anti-Communist Conference, and we members of the Malta "Lega Anti-Kommunista", together with the representatives of the International anti-Communists, promise him that, every one of us in his or her respective Country will do his or her best to fight Communism and defend wholeheartedly the Christian Church.

On Condemnation of Soviet Russian Methods

WHEREAS the International Conference on Communism meeting in Malta has considered the ruthless methods practised by the Soviet Russian Government in combating the national liberation movements of the nations enslaved in the U.S.S.R. and in the satellite countries;

RESOLVES to condemn these methods and in particular the assassinations of the leaders of the national liberation movements abroad organized by the Russian secret police (K.G.B.) at the orders of the Soviet Government and Communist Party authorities, as in the case of Stefan Bandera, the Ukrainian liberation movement leader, murdered in 1959.

On Greetings to Well-Wishers

WHEREAS the International Conference on Communism convened in Malta between October 27th and November 4, 1962, has received the support and cooperation of distinguished well-wishers who expressed their intention of attending, but found visa formalities difficult to overcome in time.

THEREFORE, the delegates here present at this International Conference wish to express their regret at these delays and other obstacles from any official quarter, and

RESOLVE to forward fraternal greetings to those Individuals and Organisations who were unable to attend owing to circumstances beyond their control and,

FURTHER RESOLVE to send a copy of this Resolution to the Hon. the Prime Minister of Malta, the United Kingdom High Commissioner in Malta and to the Commander-in-Chief of Mediterranean NATO.



At the reception given by Madame Yoshiko Kishi during the APACL Conference in Tokyo.

The Trial of USSR-Government in Karlsruhe

Bohdan Stashynsky, self-confessed murderer of the Ukrainian Nationalist leader Stefan Bandera, and of the anti-Communist publicist, Dr. Lev Rebet, began his trial before the High Court of the German Federal Republic in Karlsruhe on Monday, October 8th.

The trial of Stashynsky is of historical importance to the Ukrainian people and the great interest which the Ukrainian emigrants showed in it is therefore understandable. It is 35 years since the notorious trial in Paris of Schwartsbart, the murderer of Simon Petlura, President of the Ukrainian Republic. This is therefore the second time in recent history that world attention has focussed on Ukraine and Bolshevik methods of dealing with their opponents.

The Ukrainian communities throughout the world were shocked, firstly by the murder of Stefan Bandera, and secondly, by the confession of his murderer. Numerous demonstrations indicated the anger and indignation felt at this further proof of Moscow's crimes, and Ukrainian communities generously donated to the fund which made it possible to publicise the trial for the Ukrainian cause.

Stashynsky was tried by a panel of five judges under the Presidency of Dr. H. Jagusch. The other judges were Drs. Weber, Wiefels, Hengsberger, and Schumacher. The prosecutor was Dr. Kuhn and the Counsel appointed by the State for the defendant was Dr. H. Seydel of Karlsruhe.

Dr. Hans Neuwirt of Munich; Mr. Charles Kersten of Milwaukee, former U. S. Congressman; and Dr. Padoch, appeared for the widow and family of Stefan Bandera. The widow of Dr. Lev Rebet was represented by Dr. Michr.

The Accused

On August 12, 1961, the day before the Berlin wall went up, a man crossed from East to West Berlin and identified himself to the interrogation authorities as Bohdan Stashynsky. From that date onwards he was in the custody of the West German Federal Republic.

The full confession which he made was the subject of many investigations and could be considered as credible. The confession formed the basis of the indictment. It explained the death of both Ukrainians, Dr. Lev Rebet and Stefan Bandera, and stated that both were assassinated by poison for political reasons. After the confession it became clear that Stashynsky did not act on the instruction of any "foreign" power but that he was given his orders by the highest authority in the

Soviet Union. His reward was the highest military honour – the Order of the Red Banner – and a certificate issued by the President of State Voroshilow and the Secretary of the Supreme Soviet. These honours were handed to him by Shelepin, head of the State Security Service.

The trial of Stashynsky illustrated that the Soviet authorities have no scruples in their desire to silence their enemies, even if it means penetrating sovereign territory and breaking all the principles of international law.

The trial also showed the people of the free world the significance in Soviet eyes of the Ukrainian people and their leaders.

The person of Stashynsky, the double murderer at the trial, revealed the criminal methods of Moscow which tries to suppress the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people by the most ruthless means, even the liquidation of Ukrainian fighters for freedom outside Ukraine. The trial also exposed the Moscow organizers of murder, of espionage – the superiors and bosses of Stashynsky.

The main task of the High Court in Karlsruhe was to investigate the criminal activities of the agent Stashynsky in the territory of the German Federal Republic. But Stashynsky's criminal activities in Ukraine, in 1951–52, could not be concealed during the trial. He confessed to denouncing members of the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement, with collaboration in the persecution of the Ukrainian people who supported the struggle for liberation in Ukraine.

The indictment was only made public at the opening of the trial. It was simple in form and accused Stashynsky of carrying out two political murders on German Federal territory and of spying activities on behalf of Soviet Russia.

Stashynsky was rewarded for his services with the highest honour and therefore, behind the contemptuous figure in the Karlsruhe dock stood the Soviet authorities who hold in captivity the peoples of many nations and are prepared to use any method, to commit any crime, even murder, to maintain their colonial empire.

During his interrogation in the Court on Monday, Stashynsky confirmed his previous confession. He gave detailed information about his family life, how he became involved and recruited to work for the KGB by the Railway Police; how he was threatened by Capt. Sitnikovsky of the KGB for his family's activities in the Ukrainian underground movement.

Stashynsky said his first task for the KGB was to penetrate into the Ukrainian underground movement and find out the circumstances and the people involved in the killing of the Communist writer J. Galan. After he carried out that task he was included in the special group which operated against the insurgents.

Later, he spent two years on an espionage course in Kyiv. Prior to going to Kyiv his alias was Oleg and during the spy course he was known as Moroz. Later still, when he went to Poland he was Kachor and then assumed the personality of a German national Josef Lehmann.

Replying to the President, Stashynsky gave a detailed account of the national, political, religious and economic conditions in Western Ukraine during the Polish, German and Russian occupations with special reference to his own village of Borshchevychi, near Lviv.

Stashynsky over-emphasized the local differences between the Polish and Ukrainian people and completely disregarded the struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgents against Hitler Germany.

During Monday afternoon he detailed his coming from the East to the West and the methods he used to acquaint himself with the emigrant Ukrainian Nationalist Movement. He told of going to Rotterdam at the time of the memorial service for Konovalts in 1958 and of taking photographs by which to identify Ukrainian leaders. He also detailed how he received his instructions for further activities in the West from his contact "Sergei".

Stashynsky also spoke of collecting information about American forces and bases in Germany.

Two important things emerged from Tuesday's hearing of the Stashynsky trial in Karlsruhe. The first was that the order for the murder of Dr. Lev Rebet came from Moscow - "the man from Moscow" as Stashynsky repeatedly called his special instructor. The second was the two contradictory lines of Stashynsky's defense - "I was a soldier and compelled to carry out orders", and, "I was a victim of the system".

The day started with the President of the Court trying to get from Stashynsky more detail about the various towns in which he alleged he worked under KGB instructions and about the locale of his native village in Western Ukraine. He was asked about Lviv where he carried out his first "commission" and about the details of his movements in Munich, the scene of his two murders.

He was questioned too in detail about his movements in Essen where he went to familiarize himself with his Lehmann alias. Though sometimes hesitant on the details of his movements, Stashynsky showed no such hesitation when he described his brief-

ings by "Sergei". He described in detail how he was instructed in the use of the murder weapon and on the experiment with a dog.

After describing how he made himself familiar with the habits and movements of Rebet, by the use of rooms opposite to where Rebet lived and worked, he stressed that at this stage he had no idea that he was to be asked to murder Rebet.

The "Man from Moscow"

This instruction was given to him on a visit to Berlin where he first met "the man from Moscow", introduced by the inevitable Sergei. Asked about his reaction to the instructions, Stashynsky said he was "shocked" but that he made no protest, either to Sergei or to "the man from Moscow". He also said that at this meeting he was told that the weapon had already been used and that "it was 100 per cent foolproof".

If things went wrong, he had a number of things he had thought out to do.

The details of his shadowing of Rebet in Munich had all the ingredients of a Hitchcock film. Though there was some hesitation in some of his answers about his movements, there was no hesitation at all when he described how the murder weapon was concealed and carried. He described the arrangements made for the delivery of the weapon and said that if all else failed "it would be delivered" by "Diplomatic Bag to Munich".

Probably the most important part of Tuesday's hearing was at the end when the moral question of why he agreed to carry out the murder was probed by the President.

He had used the word "traitor" in his several statements. Did not this suggest he knew the moral implications behind the word? Did he think it right to kill Rebet? Did he believe in God?

The Moral Issues Involved

After some hesitation Stashynsky said "I cannot answer that question" and his answer to the others were evasive. Replying to Mrs. Rebet's Counsel who suggested that it was an honour for him to be selected for these special tasks, he said: "It was not an honour."

He repeated several times that he came from a "decent" home with a religious background and therefore had doubts when faced with tasks that posed moral questions. But he saw that political killings did occur and was convinced of their necessity. He had been taught that the leaders of organisations were dangerous and once disposed of, it was simple to deal with the rank and file. When pressed about his thoughts after the killing of Rebet, Stashynsky said that he had weighed it carefully in his mind and had decided that on political grounds, and within the Soviet system, "it was right and lawful".

Throughout the trial, spectators were struck by Stashynsky's apparent complete lack of emotion. When holding the model murder weapon in his hands and describing the Rebet killing, his voice was firm and clinical – the expert demonstrating a scientific process.

Murder of Bandera a Russian Government Decision

It seems that the film of Bandera's funeral, shown to Stashynsky in November 1959 shocked him profoundly. When he saw Bandera's body and the numerous Ukrainians who came to pay their last homage, doubts began to enter his mind about the killing. The views expressed by his superiors, that the Ukrainian Liberation Movement and its leaders were "traitors", preventing Ukrainians from returning "home" – this view was shaken after he had seen this film.

A number of important points arose out of Wednesday's hearing.

1. Stashynsky said quite categorically on Wednesday that the killing of Bandera was not ordered by "lesser fry" in the Soviet hierarchy. He stressed again and again that the decision had come through Shelepin, head of the Security Service, and after the question had been decided by the government through the Central Committee. In this regard he instanced that he was told that all responsibility would be taken in the delivery to him of the murder weapon and, if necessary, the "diplomatic bag" would be used to get it to Munich.

2. Stashynsky said that in the case of Bandera the decision had been to use an improved, double-barrelled weapon; (a) because it was important that the attempt should be successful and (b) because the eventuality of Bandera having a "body-guard" with him had to be considered. Though the finding of two bodies apparently dead from "heart failure" was too fantastic for anyone to believe, Bandera's liquidation was considered so important by the Russian government that even this risk would be taken.

3. In the instructions about the delivery of the weapon to him, Stashynsky said Moscow took full responsibility. He was instructed on what precautions to take and what to do in case of difficulty.

4. Stashynsky had been told that the most favourable conditions for carrying out Bandera's murder was when he found him alone and he spoke of one occasion when such an opportunity arose, with Bandera in his garage, but Stashynsky had doubts when he was close to his victim, who was unaware of how near death he was. Later, when he realised the consequences of failure to himself for not carrying out his instructions, he busied himself with finding duplicate keys. A new weapon was sought from Moscow and the plan for the eventual killing went ahead.

5. The main conclusion from Wednesday was that Stashynsky was the typical 'Soviet man'. His terminology when describing the underground liberation movement, OUN, etc. showed his conditioning to the acceptance of the idea that the OUN committed "crimes" and their aims were interpreted narrowly as purely nationalist. For instance, on the first day he spoke only of local differences between Poles and Ukrainians and said nothing about the wider struggles against the Germans and the Russians. He spoke also of the emigrant movement being in league with France, Britain, Germany and the Americans and when asked by Mrs. Bandera's Counsel about his motives for killing Bandera, he said Bandera was the "leader" of the emigration and of OUN, but said nothing about his significance to the wider liberation movement, especially in Ukraine.

6. Examples of Stashynsky's use of Soviet phraseology were numerous – When the Russians occupied Western Ukraine he said "the country was reunited with Russia" – and the use of these terms supports the Russian Communist line.

7. The strength of Stashynsky's defense that he was "carrying out the orders given him by his superiors" was shown on Wednesday night when the President, quoting from the German Federal Criminal Code, suggested that such a defense might prove "extenuating circumstances".

Ukrainian emigrants all over the world would be shocked if such a defense were successful in the case of Stashynsky, who through this trial has proved to be a cold-blooded killer, prepared to do anything to save his own miserable skin.

The Trial of USSR-Government

The hearings of the Stashynsky trial on Thursday and Friday confirmed our view that the line of his defense had not changed. The evidence also confirmed that Stashynsky was being trained by the KGB as a professional killer and that his next victim was to be *Jaroslaw Stetzko*, former Ukrainian Prime Minister, Chairman of the *Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)*, and leading member of OUN.

OUN the Main Target of KGB

Suggestions from East Berlin sources at the opening of the trial that it was "an anti-Soviet show rigged up by the West German Secret Service" (*Berliner Zeitung*, 8.10.62) were disproved by Stashynsky himself. This quotation is a shorter version of a press conference in East Berlin by Werhun (another Communist agent), in April 1962, at the time when the Stashynsky trial was first scheduled to begin. These suggestions also show that Russian propaganda can find no better arguments to

try to mislead Ukrainian opinion about the murder of Bandera.

Stashynsky was on trial because of his own confession, and during the trial he showed that he was a KGB Agent, trained especially to deal with emigrant Ukrainian liberation organisations and particularly with OUN, of which Bandera was the leader and of which Mr. Stetzko is a prominent member.

He gave evidence of his "trailing" of Mr. Stetzko, and his familiarity with Mr. Stetzko's background was shown when Dr. Neuwirth asked him: "Who is Dankiw?" (Mr. Stetzko's assumed name) and without hesitation Stashynsky replied: "That is Stetzko, Prime Minister of the Ukrainian Government when the Germans came!"

"Soviet Man" or KGB Agent

The attempt by Stashynsky on Thursday morning to portray himself as a pathetic figure - the "Soviet Man" - a victim of the system and compelled to do things which were repugnant to him, was nullified in the afternoon, particularly when replying to Counsel for Bandera and Rebet. During the morning he spoke about "conflicts", about "my heart being in my throat" when he saw his subsequent victim Bandera. But these "conflicts" were always resolved according to the KGB instruction and, as the President of the Court put it to Stashynsky: "But you never missed."

The pattern of all Stashynsky's "conflicts" were revealed during these last few days. When his own interests did not conflict with those of the KGB, he obeyed the KGB. Earlier in the week he had spoken of being instructed by the KGB that he must become reconciled with his parents - "come to terms with them". When Dr. Neuwirth asked on Thursday afternoon: "Why was this necessary?" Stashynsky shrugged his shoulders: "Because they (the KGB) insisted."

Future Fields in the West

After the killing of Bandera and his return to Moscow, Stashynsky said he was to be trained for other work in the West. He spoke specifically of England and America. He was to study Western culture, literature and language in preparation for this new task. He had read Canaris' book about the methods used by the Gestapo, had analysed the book and concluded that the methods of the Gestapo were identical with those used by the KGB.

But the KGB were slow to make arrangements for his re-training and his courtship of Inge Pohl had created new "conflicts".

One gathered that had the KGB speeded up their arrangements for Stashynsky's re-education and appointment to another field of operation, plans for his "escape" to the West would never have been made.

It was not until he became aware of some mistrust on the part of his superiors that plans for his "escape" were prepared.

Stashynsky's Doubt and Conflicts

Stashynsky, while trying to create his sympathetic picture on Thursday morning, said he spoke to Sergei about the "widows and children" of his intended victims. Sergei's reply was: "Some day they will be grateful that a "traitor" was killed!" Dr. Michr took up this question in cross-examination when he referred to Stashynsky's use of the word "traitor" in his statements. Dr. Michr said Stashynsky might have used the word in relation to those who were against Russia. But from his family background he must have known of the struggles of the Ukrainian people against the Poles, Germans and Russians, invaders of Ukraine from before 1917 and after, and that the word "traitor" had a different connotation for Ukrainians? Stashynsky's reply, arrogantly thrown back at Dr. Michr, was that he was not "a professor of history!"

Dr. Neuwirth also pursued the question of Stashynsky's pretended ignorance of Ukrainian history. The KGB agent said "No" each time when he was asked did he know about Petlura (Simon Petlura was President of Ukraine in 1918 and was killed in Paris by the Russian agent Schwartzbart on May 25, 1926), about Chuprynka (Taras Chuprynka was Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and was killed in action on March 5, 1950, in Bilohorshcha, near Lviv - *quite close to Stashynsky's native village*). He said he did not know Halychyn, Dobriansky, Smal-Stotsky - all prominent Ukrainians in USA. (Halychyn was found dead in 1961 on the stairs of an underground station in New York.)

Such ignorance on the part of a man whose family were intimately involved with the Ukrainian Liberation Movement was too complete to be real.

Expert Evidence on Poison and Stashynsky

Expert witnesses on Friday gave evidence about the poison used to kill Bandera and Rebet and about the neutralising tablets Stashynsky said he had used when about to commit the murders. These showed that the poison was cyanide with some nicotine extract and that this was found in post mortem examinations of both bodies.

The examining officers said Stashynsky showed no signs of being under stress or that he was under any compulsion to make the confession. This was confirmed by Stashynsky's own evidence.

The first examining officer said that at first he was sceptical about Stashynsky's statement but as he went on he found the statement plausible. Stashynsky told him about the two murders he had committed. *When speaking of the actual murders his tone of voice was no different from when describing other incidents.*

Dr. Butler, expert on Soviet Affairs, gave a history of Shelepin, the structure of the KGB, about OUN and its activities. Replying to Stashynsky's Counsel, Dr. Butler said that the organisation of Bandera was active in exile and in Ukraine. Dr. Butler also spoke about "the Lippolz story" (Bandera was killed by Myskiw, a close associate, who, in fact was in Rome at the time of Bandera's death). After Bandera's death and the "explanation" of it put out by Liehholz (alias Lippolz) in East Berlin in October 1961, radio-telegrams to a Russian agent in the West were intercepted. The "telegrams" asked for informations about press reactions to the "Lippolz story".

Dr. Butler also described the three liberation organisations OUN (R), Stefan Bandera; OUN (M), Col. Melnyk, and OUN (Z), Dr. Rebet; he stated that in Soviet eyes OUN (R) was regarded as the strongest.

"Liberalisation" in the Soviet Union

Dr. Butler, replying to a defense question, said that after Stalin's death there had been "some kind" of liberalisation in the Soviet Union. In all serious cases decisions were made only by the highest government authorities.

(That the "satellites" had no control over KGVb activities had been shown earlier by Stashynsky's evidence. Orders and instructions to KGB agents in Warsaw or East Berlin came direct from Moscow and were acted on without any consideration of the "satellite" governments, so-called sovereign republics.)

Stashynsky fully Responsible for his Actions

Professor Rauch, psychiatrist, said Stashynsky was well-educated and well-controlled, intelligent and resourceful. He had been trained to control his emotions and in all regards was a well trained agent. He was not given to phantasy, but was a realist. He relied for decisions on authority and even in the "escape", the initiative had come from his wife. He lacked active imagination and could not conceive the result of his activities.

He was, said Prof. Rauch, a product of early training, which had developed only the necessary facets of his character and suppressed others.

Asked by the defense if there was any possibility of an emotional disturbance in

early life making a marked impression on Stashynsky's character, Dr. Rauch said there was no reason to suspect this and Stashynsky was *fully responsible for what he did.*

Jaroslaw Stetzko to be Third Victim

Born in 1912, Jaroslaw Stetzko became a member of the illegal Ukrainian Military Organisation (UVO) while still a youth. As an OUN Executive Committee member in Western Ukraine he was responsible for ideological and political publications.

In 1934, in Lviv, he was arrested by the Polish police, and in the notorious "Bandera Trial, 1935-36" he was sentenced to five years imprisonment. He was released in 1937 as a result of a general amnesty and resumed his activities in OUN.

After the death of Konovalets (killed by a Soviet agent in Rotterdam in 1938) Mr. Stetzko was given the task of making preparation for the Second OUN Congress.

When Ukrainian Independence was restored on June 30, 1941, Mr. Stetzko became Prime Minister of the Ukrainian Government and when he and Bandera rejected the German ultimatum to recall the proclamation of Ukrainian Independence, he, like Bandera, was arrested. In 1941 he was taken to Berlin and from there went to the concentration camp in Sachsenhausen.

Released in 1944 he again became a leading figure in OUN and was soon elected President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. During numerous visits all over the free world he has propagated the liberation of all non-Russian nations from Moscow colonialism.

Mr. Stetzko has just returned from the Congress of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) in Japan.

Bandera — the Victim — Speaks for Himself

Dr. Jagusch, President of the Court, read a biography of Stefan Bandera which showed clearly the role he played in the Ukrainian Liberation Movement throughout his life, both in emigration and in Ukraine. From his account, Bandera's active participation in the struggle for Ukrainian liberation from Moscow was shown.

Khrushchov, a Party to Murder

Stashynsky said clearly that the order for the killing of Bandera came from the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the government. He mentioned Shelepin with Alexei Alexeyevitch and Georgy Aksentieyevich.

The very close relationship between the government, Central Committee and the ministries (including KGB) was clearly elucidated by Dr. Butler. His explanation showed

that without doubt the decision to kill Bandera could not have been reached without the active and willing consent of Khrushchev.

It was also clear to all observers in the Court that Khrushchev was directly implicated in the murder of Bandera.

Monday's hearing of the Stashynsky trial began with the accused reminding the Court of his motives for murder and that threatened by the police he found himself in the ranks of KGB, became a convinced Communist to whom the Ukrainian Resistance Movement leaders Bandera and Rebet were "enemies of the people"; acted under the pressure of the orders which were given him by the highest authorities.

Attorney General demanded two Life Sentences

Having clearly analysed both the statements of Stashynsky and the corroborating evidence, as well as experts' evidence, the Prosecution considered Stashynsky fully responsible for the double murder he committed on German territory and demanded 3 years imprisonment for spying and two life imprisonments for murder, and that Stashynsky should be deprived of his citizen's rights for life.

Very important and well presented were the speeches in Court by the Counsel appearing for the victims; Dr. Neuwirth, by comparing and contrasting the types of people in the service of Russian imperialism, made an analogy of Mr. Khrushchev with the accused. Stashynsky retained outward relations with the Ukrainian people but inside he was a Russian, a traitor to his people, *a renegade*.

Well balanced and rather convincing was the speech by Dr. Padoch, and the strongest in words and in its direct indictment of the Russian Communist Government was the speech by Mr. Kersten which we here reproduce in full.

Moving and without hatred for the accused were the speeches by Mrs. Rebet, and in particular by Miss Natalia Bandera, the daughter of the victim, when she resolutely repudiated the words supposedly said to Stashynsky by Sergei, that the children of the victims would one day be grateful to him, because he murdered the traitors.

Sympathy of the Court for Ukrainian Liberation Movement

From all the speeches it was clear, that both victims, Prof. Lev Rebet and S. Bandera, the OUN leader, gave their lives for the freedom of Ukraine, which is linked with the freedom of mankind, and that the main culprit, the real murders, the Russian Communist State, should be brought to justice beside Stashynsky.

The question of the real murderer being not in the person of Stashynsky, was taken up by the Defense, Dr. Seydel, who brilliantly presented the case of his client. He treated the problem of the Ukrainian fight for independence with understanding and respect.

Stashynsky's Guilt

Stashynsky recognized his guilt and begged the High Court to be guided by mildness when considering his sentence.

Plea of Charles J. Kersten

former Member of the U. S. Congress (5th Dist. Wisconsin) on behalf of the widow of Stepan Bandera at the murder trial of Bohdan Stashynsky - Federal Court of Germany, Karlsruhe, October 15th, 1962.

As a member of the American Bar I appreciate the courtesy granted me to appear in association with my colleagues, Mr. Neuwirth and Mr. Padoch, in behalf of Mr. Bandera, the widow of one of the victims of the defendant.

The High Court has done the free world a great service, particularly by bringing the facts of the Stashynsky case to public attention, in the democratic tradition of Western civilization, especially in its objective questioning.

The Court brought out clearly that *any* Free World nation could be the hunting ground for the Soviet KGB.

The mystery of the cyanide gun that makes murder look like death from a heart attack has been exposed. Operations of the Russian Communists on foreign soil are not likely to be successful elsewhere.

It was proved that the defendant after killing Mr. Bandera and Mr. Rebet was to have a wider scope of action in the future. Stashynsky was graduated to a lifetime job of high level professional killer of "enemies of the Soviet Union". He was a brilliant product of Russian Communist training. He was to learn English. Eventually, his field would probably be Great Britain and the United States.

If Stashynsky had not defected, some stubborn anti-Soviet UN delegate, for example, might one day be found dead in New York, victim of a "heart attack" produced by this masterpiece of Soviet science.

The Court has inquired about the motives for his killings.

The motive of killing Bandera told the defendant by his KGB masters was that Bandera used terror to prevent the return of immigrants from Germany to the Soviet Union. In this respect the smear of Bandera was a complete fraud. The widow of Bandera, to save the good name of the deceased, for which she has the legal right, desires to remove this fraudulent smear.

The killing of Mrs. Bandera's husband was no ordinary murder perpetrated by an individual. It was not just a gang killing.

The evidence shows that the murder of Bandera was decreed by the government of the Soviet Union. Soviet Russian science was enlisted to fabricate a new weapon for which the West did not have a defense. The perpetrator was put through a long period of government training. He was assisted in the careful preparation for the crime by a large section of the KGB. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet awarded the perpetrator with the Order of the Red Banner.

The reason the Soviet government, headed by Khrushchov, decided to kill him was because Stepan Bandera was the leader of the widespread underground resistance in Ukraine to Russian Communist Occupation. Bandera was a symbol of the struggle for a free and independent Ukraine, a non-Russian nation of 45 million people with their own traditions, culture, language and civilization.

Ukrainian national resistance to every foreign occupation – particularly Russian Communist occupation – has been proven over and over again.

Russian Communist methods of suppressing Ukraine's never-ending struggle for freedom are as ruthless as any in the recorded history of tyranny. In the years 1932–33 the Russian Communists removed all the food and seed produced in the country, creating a man-made famine that took the lives of over 5 million people. In the vicinity of Vinnytsia some 10,000 Ukrainian prisoners were murdered by the NKVD during the years 1938–40, at the time when Khrushchov was the first secretary of the Communist Party in Ukraine, i. e. the Russian Governor in Ukraine.

At about the time when Khrushchov was meeting with President Eisenhower in Geneva in 1956 his tanks were crushing the bodies of over 500 Ukrainian women – political prisoners – into the ground when to protect them from NKVD they had formed a ring around their men in a concentration camp in Kingir.

As Soviet Russian secret service killed Bandera and Rebet in 1957, so they killed the Ukrainian leaders, Petlura in Paris in 1926 and Col. Konovalts in Rotterdam in 1938. It was their plan to take the life of Mr. Stetzko, President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and former Prime Minister of Ukraine.

On this occasion I would like to point out that the American Committee on Communist Aggression of the U. S. House of Representatives issued the Special Report of the Congress entitled, *Communist Takeover and*

Occupation of Ukraine. This Report was submitted to the House of Representatives on Dec. 31st, 1954, by the Committee on Communist Aggression, of which it was my honor to be chairman. Massive Ukrainian national resistance to Communist rule is described on page 31 and elsewhere in this Report. The accused testified to this resistance during the trial.

Our Committee held extensive hearings – the sworn testimony of hundreds of witnesses – in the United States and Europe, including Germany, in 1953–54 with regard to all the Captive Nations. The Committee issued 26 Reports on the Captive Nations. It was our conclusion that the internal resistance of the enslaved nations to Russian Communism was the greatest deterrent to war.

Not until resistance to Communist occupation is finally liquidated can the Soviet Russian imperialists safely launch military operations for world conquest.

The escape of Stashynsky was a shock felt at the Russian Communist summit. Stashynsky held state secrets involving criminal action in the free world by the highest echelons of the Soviet Government.

Communist propaganda spread the false story that a Ukrainian, Myskiv, had poisoned Bandera at the direction of Federal Minister Oberländer under orders from General Gehlen.

Also in connection with this trial, the press service of the satellites made the same false charges, spreading the story that the German intelligence, of which the expert has given testimony here, organized the murder. Unbelievable, but true, there were assertions in this false propaganda that the highest Court of the German Federal Republic is acting according to instruction. To all these false charges I can say as an American that this trial was held in the highest traditions of democracy and justice.

I was deeply impressed by the objective and human way in which every opportunity was given to the accused during the Court trial proceedings.

The Communists felt safe in thus trying to smear Oberländer, General Gehlen and the German government by using Myskiv's name because Myskiv had died in the meantime. But this story exploded when it turned out that Myskiv was in Rome on the day when Bandera was murdered and was seen there by many people.

The stark facts of Stashynsky's revelations were confirmed in every respect by overwhelming documentary and other evidence, in the trial before this Court – even to the Communist radio's frantic efforts to locate

Stashynsky after he fled, admitting, thereby, that Stashynsky was their agent. This was a very painful affair for the Communists. It involved Shelepin - and more.

This much must be said for Stashynsky. He was formed in the de-humanizing mould of Communist training from youth, so well described by the Communist theoretician, Lunacharsky, "We hate Christianity and Christians. Even the best of them must be looked upon as our worst enemies. They preach the love of our neighbors and mercy, which is contrary to our principles. Christian love is an obstacle to the development of the revolution. Down with the love of our neighbors. What we want is hatred. We must learn to hate and it is only then that we shall conquer the world."

This was the milieu in which Stashynsky was trained. But even then he fled and brought to the West the facts with which to unmask Soviet Russian Government criminal action that is more deadly than the assault of a rattle snake which, at least, warns before it strikes.

Stashynsky, as a member of the KGB consciously carried out the orders of the Soviet Council of Ministers. Mrs. Bandera does not seek vengeance but justice for Stashynsky, recognizing that he was not arrested in the course of his crimes, but fled to the west and voluntarily told the full story of the Soviet Government crimes and his part in it. This has helped the free world and he should be given credit for it.

Mrs. Bandera points to Voroshilov's signature to the Order of the Red Banner awarded to the perpetrator as a signed confession of first degree murder of her husband by the Soviet Government itself.

Mrs. Bandera seeks justice against the real murderers of her husband.

Surely this is not the forum in which Mrs. Bandera may sue for financial damages against the guilty Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union. But it is our intention, in the proper tribunal to seek judgment in her behalf for actual and punitive damages against the Soviet Government.

It is also true that this Court cannot impose a criminal punishment upon the real culprits. But the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Mr. Shelepin and Mr. Khrushchov should be hailed before an international tribunal for this murder and for any other crimes.

They have ruthlessly destroyed her husband and her family life and they should be made to pay. If any money is ever collected from the Soviet Government either by attaching their property in the Free World or other-

wise, it is Mrs. Bandera's wish to turn it over to the Ukrainian Red Cross.

But, more important to Mrs. Bandera is to ask this Court's judgment and declaration that it was the Soviet Government that is guilty of the murder of her husband.

I have said that this was not a gang murder. But in a very real sense it is a gang murder. The Soviet Council of Ministers entered into a criminal conspiracy to take the life of Stepan Bandera on foreign soil and ordered Stashynsky to carry out their mission.

This was the conspiracy of a gang to commit a crime.

It may be said that this Court's judgment holding the Soviet Government guilty of the murder of Stepan Bandera in Munich, Germany on the 15th of October, 1959 - three years ago today - would be without adequate precedent.

But the heart attack weapon used in this case is without precedent. Awarding the highest State honors for perpetrating murder is without precedent. Training agents for clandestine killing on foreign soil in peace time is without precedent. A government using murder as an instrument of policy is without precedent.

I believe the judicial process of this Court is not powerless to protect the sovereignty of its own government from such contemptuous and flagrant acts. The West must develop unprecedented means to cope with unprecedented dangers.

The Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, in this case, has been proved guilty of murder in the first degree. This Court may not be able to prescribe the punishment for the real culprit. But it can render an historic judgment and declaration finding the Soviet Government guilty of murder, a judgment that will hearten a large part of mankind that is afflicted with the Russian Communist conspiracy.

This Court's judgment that the Bolshevik government in this case be a conspiracy to commit murder, will be heard around the world.

Such a judgment will be like the sword of St. Michael the Archangel to help unmask the Soviet Russian leaders, to show them before mankind for what they really are. It will reduce their power to hold nations in slavery and their power to make war.

If this becomes the result of the Stashynsky trial then the cause of Freedom and Peace has been advanced and Stepan Bandera has not died in vain.

Have YOU given it a thought?

What About Russian Colonialism?

This country and other free nations of the world are being abused each day by the ceaseless and vicious Russian propaganda accusing the West of every sin under the sun.

One of Moscow's most favoured bogeys is Western "colonialism" and "imperialism." *The fact that Britain has given freedom to hundreds of millions of people in the former colonies, while Russia has been constantly expanding her slave empire, murdering millions of people and deporting tens of millions in the meantime, is completely overlooked by Khrushchov and his bootlickers.* Russia attacks Britain and the West and hopes thus to gain the sympathy and support of the unwary in Asia, Africa and Latin America, for her aggressive plans.

By shouting about Western "colonialism" Russia hopes to draw attention away from the fact that she herself keeps in abject misery and subjugation hundreds of millions of non-Russian people: Ukrainians, Turkestanians, Byelorussians, Hungarians, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Poles, East Germans, Czechs, Slovaks, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Georgians, Armenians and many, many others.

While Russia and her satellites constantly utilise the forum of the United Nations to attack the "colonialism" of Great Britain, France and even the USA, Western representatives, for the most part, sit there in embarrassed silence, as if afraid to utter a word about the Russian "skeleton in the cupboard."

This situation is far from satisfactory. *The world must be plainly told which power practises colonialism and imperialism in a most brutal form.* A splendid opportunity to state the facts is offered by the present session of the United Nations General Assembly which has just opened. The world must be informed of the suppression of national freedom and independence of numerous nations by the murderous Russian colonialist regime!

The United Nations must condemn Russian aggression and enslavement of Nations! Russia must be asked to give back freedom and independence immediately to all the nations enslaved by her!

It is Britain's opportunity and duty as a responsible nation to give a lead in this respect at the forum of the UN.

You also can help to condemn morally Russian enslavement of other peoples by

Statement by Hon. Ch. Kersten before the Press in Karlsruhe

The decision of the German High Court is a just and great victory for Truth; it unmasked the Russian Communist Government as the real Killer; the evidence at the trial clearly proves that it was the Soviet Government that selected Bandera as its victim because he was the symbol of National Resistance to Russian rule in the non-Russian nation, in Ukraine. The Russian Council of Ministers gave the order to kill!

Russian science made the cyanide poison-gun.

Russian police set up the plans and put Stashynsky under its discipline to carry them out. The Russian Government approved Stashynsky's act and ennobled the murder by conferring a high State order on him.

On behalf of Mrs. Bandera we plan to accuse Khrushchov as the head of the Russian Government of this murder before the UN Commission on Human Rights and to explore a possibility of having a suit for damages instituted on her behalf against the Russian Communist Government in the International Court at The Hague.

voicing your opinion publicly. Write to the press, to your M.P., to the United Nations, asking them to have constantly in mind the plight of the nations enslaved by Russia.

Only by hitting back at the Russians' tender spot, that of Russian colonialism, can the West break the power of Moscow, win the sympathies of African and Asian countries and halt the Russian drive to dominate the world.

THE RUSSIAN COLONIAL EMPIRE:

	<i>Area (sq. miles)</i>	<i>Population</i>
A. "SOVIET UNION"	8,599,800	219,745,000
including:		
I. "Union Republics" in the U.S.S.R.:		
Ukraine	232,000	43,527,000
Byelorussia	80,150	8,316,000
Turkestan, including:		
Uzbekistan	158,100	8,986,000
Kazakhstan	1,064,100	10,934,000
Tadzikistan	54,000	2,188,000
Turkmenistan	188,400	1,683,000
Kirghizstan	76,600	2,318,000
Georgia	26,900	4,271,000
Azerbaijan	33,400	4,117,000
Armenia	11,300	1,958,000
Lithuania	26,200	2,852,000
Latvia	24,700	2,170,000
Estonia	17,400	1,235,000
Moldavia	13,000	3,106,000
Total	2,006,250	97,661,000
II. Russian "Federation"	6,593,550	122,084,000
Including the Ukrainian and Byelorussian territories outside their respective "Republics," and conquered territories of Siberia, Idel-Ural, Cossack Lands, North Caucasia, Karelia, Yakutia, Buryat-Mongolia etc., about	5,000,000	45,000,000
B. RUSSIAN SATELLITES IN EUROPE:*		
Poland	121,000	30,100,000
Czecho-Slovakia	49,500	13,822,000
East Germany	41,400	17,188,000
Hungary	36,000	10,065,000
Rumania	91,600	18,633,000
Bulgaria	43,000	7,906,000
Albania	10,700	1,625,000
Total	393,200	99,339,000
C. RUSSIAN SATELLITES IN ASIA:		
China	4,300,000	656,630,000
Mongolia	1,750,000	937,000
North Korea	87,200	10,789,000
North Vietnam	63,000	15,917,000
Total	6,200,200	684,273,000
D. RUSSIAN SATELLITE in AMERICA:		
Cuba	44,200	6,933,000
Grand total	15,237,400	1,010,290,000

Published by the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations Delegation in Great Britain.

* Jugoslavia is a Russian satellite, too.

Byelorussians in the West Hampered in Their Struggle against Communism

The Background

From one of the reports on education in the U.S.A. we learned that student graduates know a little more about foreign affairs than they did on entering college, that the U.S.A. is extending its influence all over the world, yet few courses in geography and history are being offered. The report also reveals that ignorance is greatest about the very countries which affect the U.S.A. most - Russia and Eastern Europe in general.

I would like to add that a similar state of affairs exists here in this country, with the only difference that though our students have more opportunity to study the subjects in question - they have far more chance to learn any false data offered to them by lecturers who in turn acquire their knowledge from Russian pseudo-scientists in the form of carefully prepared bias material, or sometimes absolute nonsense. For instance: "Sir Winston Churchill was a sympathizer with the Fascists." From the Soviet official edition of "Modern History of Britain." "English is a jargon of traders, tongue of the ruling class and snobbish intellectuals. The English language corrupted people in foreign lands . . . No one can call himself a scholar if he does not know Russian." - this is an extract from the Russian "Literary Gazette", February 1949. We have recently been hearing a lot about so-called "cultural exchanges", but I wonder if any one needs such "cultural" treasures in exchange?

Many years ago agents of Russian imperialistic thought were infiltrating the West in order to present here the Russian (Muscovite) version of history which would camouflage the Russian policy of extermination of non-Russian peoples in the Russian Empire. Yet in 1872 here in England the Russian paper "Forward" was published. The contributors to this paper were three gentlemen from Vilna: Aron Zundelowitch, A. Liberman and Mr. Yokhelson, who wrote articles in which, among other things they stated: "We are not concerned with the nationalities or races . . . all of us living in Russia are Russians, we have the same interests and customs." It is of interest that all three came from non-Russian territory at the time when Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian and Polish patriots were fighting Russian imperialism in order to win freedom for their respective countries.

If we add to Messrs Zundelowitch, Liberman and Yokhelson of those times many writers, of similar tendencies, of today, thousands of diplomats of formerly Tsarist

Russia plus a much more numerous staff of Soviet diplomatic missions, who are harbouring trained agitators and spies, then we shall realize the strength of this sort of "cultural" impact on British and American education.

The Terminological Confusion

As far as the history of Byelorussia is concerned, this huge army of Russian forgers and misleaders can boast of great achievements. They managed to introduce such terminological chaos and confusion that not only ordinary persons but even learned historians and linguists have difficulty with this subject. The two most often confused terms are: "White Russians" and "Russian Whites". White Russians or Byelorussians is an ethnic designation referring to an inhabitant of the country called White Russia or Byelorussia which is a founder-member of the United Nations Organization.

"Russian Whites" however are anti-Communist Russians in opposition to their counterparts "Russian Reds".

To call an anti-Communist Russian a White Russian is as incorrect, as to call a member of the Indian Communist Party a Red Indian. This sort of confusion spread and cultivated goes to such an extent that very often people are driven into believing that "Russians" and Byelorussians are synonymous terms.

Due to one of the Russian transcriptional tricks, by division of the word Byelorussia in two - "Byelo" and "Russia" the reader is confused and induced to think that Russia is meant. Division of the term Byelorussia is done very often intentionally and is misleading.

I would like to stress that the term Byelorussia originated from the name of the country "BYELARUS", a name which takes its origin from far antiquity, from the words BYELA (means free or white) and RUS, as for example: Land of Rus, language of RUS the territory of the ancient RUS, called (NOT RUSSIAN) and the people occupying RUSES.

Those who have made it their business to filch the substance, may naturally think it is their business to filch the picture also. For instance on the majority of Western maps the Byelorussian S.S.R. is shown as White Russia but in the catalogue of the flags of the United Nations Organization we find the name of "Byelorussian S.S.R." Thus there is a country a member of the UNO, there is a flag of that country, but there is no territory attributed to it on the map.

Citizenship and Nationality

Confusion concerning historical geographical and political terms may very often lead to a situation in which the security of the state is involved. For example, fresh in our memory are the cases of the German spy of Scapa Flow, of the Russian spies Fuchs, Pontecorvo, and the recent case of Blake who also spied for Russia. The true nationality of the above-mentioned spies was obscured by the misinterpretation of the meaning of the terms: citizenship and nationality. All spies in question were British citizens but of German, Italian, Jewish or of mixed nationality respectively.

Why is it that in the registration of foreigners citizenship of the Soviet Union is identified with the term Russian when Russians themselves never commit this mistake.

It is interesting that even the British Minister of Education in a recent speech expressed concern about confusion in English terminology and gave an example: "I was mad about my flat". In New York, he said, that meant: "I was hopping with rage that I had a punctured tyre." In London it meant: "I simply adored my apartment." Sir David Eccles, speaking at a lunch given by Commonwealth and American clubs in Rome went on: "The danger is very real that English will break down into Oxford English, Australian English, New York English, Russian and Chinese English. The Americans and ourselves are largely to blame."

Discrimination against Byelorussian Nationality

How unpleasant this truth is felt to be is shown by a number of small incidents during recent years. From many Byelorussian institutions and private persons were sent letters of request to high State Departments and to the press when misdetermination of the nationality was in question for registration or for other purposes. Some letters vanished without reply, but some were answered. I shall try to convey to the readers the general attitude by mentioning two of them, which reflect the state of mind of the people who are responsible for documentation or for press reports here and in the U.S.A.

In one case petitioners were informed by a *high state official* that after careful consideration of the representation he: "regrets that he cannot agree to their being described as of Byelorussian nationality for the purposes of their registration . . ."

The representative of the press had this to say on the subject: "In answer to your suggestion, that the use of the term 'White Russians' is wrong when referring to anti-Communist natives of Russia, I am afraid I

can only say that, well-founded as your complaint obviously is, I nevertheless feel that the term 'White Russian' has since 1917 become so accepted in the English language, that to attempt to make a change now would only further confuse the vast majority of our readers." He thinks however that "in the present state of affairs confusion can be avoided by the use of the alternative term 'Byelo Russian' when referring to the true White Russian." Why he uses division of the term "Byelorussian", the writer does not explain.

But the case would be incomplete without the following "exhibit" which I have in my possession; it is a photostat copy of the official document on which is endorsed "RUSSIAN BYELO" nationality. This is an example of the extent to which the intentional distortion can go. It is a complete mystery why different combinations and tricks are used in order to dodge endorsement of the Byelorussian nationality and, contrary to the statements of persons involved, to introduce false data concerning nationality.

Discrimination against the Byelorussian Language

As an example of the corruption of educational institutions we should like to mention a publication of the United Nations Educational, Social, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The title of this publication is "The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education" in the "Monographs on Fundamental Education series". Second Printing, Paris UNESCO, February, 1958.

The information, contained in this publication, about the Soviet Union is, in comparison with the abundance of data on the other countries, superficial and misleading. For instance, only the twenty-six main languages in Europe and USSR are declared as "official" languages; the rest are "vernaculars". "Some of these vernaculars are dialects of main languages." Here, in addition to mention of Frisian, Walloon and Alsatian, we also find the following statement: "Ruthenian and White Russian speakers can understand Great Russian." The inclusion of "Ruthenian and White Russian" in the paragraph discussing the dialects or variants of "main" languages give the reader the false idea that "Ruthenian and White Russian" are variants or dialects of the "main language" - Great Russian.

I do not wish to dwell on the history of the "Great" Russian language but I would like to inform the gentlemen "linguists" of the UNESCO briefly that "Great" Russian is one of the three Eastern Slav languages. The two others are: Byelorussian (White Russian) and Ukrainian (or Ruthenian, as this term is incorrectly used by the UNESCO

linguists). Neither of these three languages is a variant or dialect of the other. Prior to the Middle Ages there existed a common RUS (not a RUSSIAN) language for all the RUSES. With Christianity the Slavonic Church language, a Balkan tongue which became the ecclesiastical language in all RUS (Russian), Ukrainian and "Great" Russian.

With the development of the Rus language there comes the differentiation into Middle Byelorussian, Ukrainian, Russian and consequently into modern Byelorussian (White Russian), Ukrainian and "Great" Russian.

Prof. W. Morfill in his book "Poland" (London, 1893) said that the White Russians (Byelorussians) formed the most civilized element in Eastern Europe. "In their language," he said, "have come down such legal documents as the kings of Poland issued to their subjects e. g. those of Vladislav II in 1420-1423, that of Casimir given in 1468, and the Statute for the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1529."

Russia (or Muscovy as it was called in English until the beginning of the 18th century) was most of the time in question, both politically and economically wholly a fief of the Tartar Horde, subjected to all the conditions of feudal tenure.

After the liberation from the Tartar yoke Russia grew stronger and stepped up the policy of the conquest of the Byelorussian and the Ukrainian lands. Russia's rulers, realizing the cultural backwardness of their country, started deporting en masse the civilized Byelorussian and Ukrainian element into Muscovy. Here are the words of the prominent Russian linguist O. Bessonov, who wrote in his book "The Byelorussian Songs", Moscow, 1871:

"The social and cultural rise in Byelorussia produced many great intellectuals, who overstepped the limits of the Byelorussian schools in their teaching and served as an example in many ways. Far greater was the Byelorussian influence in Muscovy through wholesale transfer of the intellectuals from Byelorussia into the Muscovite State at the end of the seventeenth century..." Taking into account the above statement, it would seem more appropriate to describe Russian as a dialect of Byelorussian or Ukrainian. "These learned men who came to Muscovy, said Bessonov, brought a shining glory to Byelorussia."

The statement of the author of the UNESCO publication that "Ruthenian and White Russian speakers can understand Great Russian" will not bear criticism after one has read the following document published by the Academy of Science of the BSSR, Minsk, 1956, and quoted in the book by V. Barysenka, "The Byelorussian writers of the second half of the 19th century".

"Letter No 14 of the Police Department to the Chief of the Gendarmerie of Minsk. Subject: Translation into Russian of 8 manuscripts of A. Hurinovich. 7 January 1894. Secret.

"During the search in the lodgings of Adam Hurinovich, a former student of the Technical Institute of St. Petersburg, among other things eight exercise-books of manuscripts in the Byelorussian dialect were confiscated. The police Department encloses above mentioned manuscripts and asks you to order these manuscripts to be examined by experts in the Byelorussian dialect, and to have them translated into Russian..."

No comment is needed. The UNESCO linguists solved this problem far more easily than the Russian Commandant of the Gendarmerie. They accepted description of the Byelorussian language as a dialect from Russian imperialistic sources and promptly came to the conclusion, that "Ruthenians and White Russians can understand 'Great' Russian."

It looks as though discrimination of the Byelorussians by the "Voice of America" and the BBC is based on such irresponsible statements of the "experts" of the UNESCO type. I would advise these gentlemen to acquaint themselves with the classical work (in English) of Prof. R. G. A. de BRAY, B.A., "Guide to the Slavonic Languages" published in London, 1951.

It is a pity that such "experts" and their name is "legion" are very often chosen by the United Nations Organisation to decide the fate of nations. As a result of such advice, agreements such as those of Yalta and Potsdam, Korea, and Vietnam, were concluded, and scandalous action was taken by the UNO in Katanga.

After all, if the Byelorussians understand Russian, why then did the Kremlin order Byelorussian broadcasts from Moscow to be relayed for Byelorussians abroad. Is this not done for purely propaganda purposes, namely to point out to Byelorussians that they should not put any hope in the help of the West where even their Byelorussian language is discriminated, and that in the promised free Europe of tomorrow there will be no place for an independent Byelorussia.

The West must wake up; it must cast out from its ranks the enemies of the enslaved peoples of USSR, and must truly and wholly adhere to the motto of the A.B.N.

"Freedom for all nations, freedom for all individuals."

Without these principles, victory over Bolshevism will never be achieved.

Ukrainians Denounce Oppression of their Kinsmen by Communist Russia

*Two National Ukrainian American Leaders Warn of Dangers of Appeasement
Toward Moscow*

CLEVELAND, Ohio, June 24. — Although the present dictator of the USSR, Nikita S. Khrushchov, finds himself in a delicate and precarious economic position, there is evidence that the United States is attempting to extricate him from the mess by a process of “softening” its stand with regard to the Soviet colonial and imperialistic empire. Such a policy of “softness” is now being advocated by Walt W. Rostow, Chief of the State Department’s Policy Planning Council in Washington.

This was one of the main topics discussed at a mass rally, sponsored by the Ukrainian Liberation Front organizations of Greater Cleveland, which was held today at the Lincoln High School Auditorium, 3001 Scranton Road, with several hundred persons attending. Dr. Zenon R. Wynnytsky, noted Ukrainian physician, was chairman of the protest rally.

Ignatius M. Bilinsky, managing editor of “*America*”, Ukrainian Catholic daily of Philadelphia, Pa., and secretary of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, and Walter Dushnyck, editor of “*The Ukrainian Quarterly*” and “*The Ukrainian Bulletin*” in New York, were the principal speakers at the rally.

Mr. Bilinsky, who spoke in Ukrainian, stressed the plight of the Ukrainian people under the Communist tyranny of the Kremlin and the attempt of the Soviet government to eradicate the Ukrainian freedom movement and its leaders. He stated that the assassinations by KGB agent Bogdan Stashynsky of two outstanding Ukrainian freedom fighters, Stepan Bandera, head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), and Dr. Lev Rebet, in Munich a few years ago, are eloquent proof that the Kremlin is afraid of the Ukrainian liberation movement and endeavors to destroy it by liquidating its leaders both in enslaved Ukraine and abroad. Mr. Bilinsky criticized the State Department for its refusal to support the captive nations committee in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Mr. Dushnyck, who is a veteran of the U.S. Armed forces and took part in bitter campaigns in the Central Pacific during World War II, spoke in English. He presented a vivid picture of Russian Communist persecution of the Ukrainians, and outlined the efforts of free Ukrainians for the liberation of their home country. He pointed out the zigzagging of U.S. foreign policy toward the captive nations behind the Iron Curtain. He warned that a threat of appeasement on a grand scale is hanging over this country, if the U.S. Government is to follow the recommendations of “softness” toward the USSR and Communism in general as advocated by certain elements in our State Department, especially Walt W. Rostow, Chief of the Department’s Policy Planning Council. Mr. Dushnyck praised the Hon. Michael A. Feighan and the Hon. Frank Lausche, Congressman and U.S. Senator, respectively, for their far-sighted approach and support of all captive nations.

A series of resolutions was unanimously passed by the rally supporting the Flood Resolution and expressing protest against the State Department policy, especially the so-called “Rusk Letters,” in which the Secretary of State said that “Ukraine, Armenia and Georgia are traditional parts of the Soviet state.”

Protest Meeting in Great Britain

RESOLUTIONS

of the Protest Meeting of East European Exiles and their British Friends, initiated by the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations Delegation in Great Britain, at the Caxton Hall, London, on 19th September 1962

We, free spokesmen in Britain of the peoples subjugated by Russia, both inside the U. S. S. R. and in the so-called "People's Republics" of Central and Eastern Europe who have likewise been deprived of their independence in all but name by the same power, appeal to the conscience of the Free World and to the United Nations as the supreme embodiment of that conscience, and strongly urge:

A) that the issue of Soviet Russian colonialism be openly and fully debated at the current session of the United Nations General Assembly in accordance with the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial territories and peoples, passed in the 15th session of the UN General Assembly on 14th December 1960;

B) that a resolution be passed by the UN General Assembly demanding the restoration of independence to all nations at present under the Russian colonial rule, both inside the U. S. S. R. and in Central and Eastern Europe;

C) that, in implementation of the above resolution, Russia should be asked to withdraw her armies of occupation and administrative machinery from these countries and free elections should be held in them under the supervision of the UN; the same right to national independence which has already been granted to over 700 million Asians

and Africans should be enjoyed by the nations at present under the Soviet Russian rule;

D) that the General Assembly should apply the principles of the Preamble and Article 1, Paragraphs 1 and 2, of the Charter of the United Nations to these peoples and thus recognize their right to choose the form of government under which they wish to live and to establish free States of their own within ethnographical boundaries;

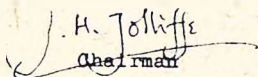
We wish to emphasize that we do not seek to establish any regime other than one based on true democracy, responsive to the will of the people as expressed through unfettered parliamentary elections.

E) Should the Soviet Government disregard such a decision, the UN General Assembly shall, in accordance with Article 6 of the Charter, exclude the U. S. S. R. and the "People's Democracies" from the Organisation for the violation of its Charter.

We appeal to the Governments of the free countries of the world, and especially to Her Majesty's Government, to raise the problem of Russian colonialism at the current session of the UN General Assembly and to support the just claims of the nations at present subjugated by Russia to their full freedom and independence.

We appeal to the conscience of the former colonial peoples, who have themselves been helped to attain their independence, to support, as members of the United Nations, the resolution on colonialism passed in the 15th session of the General Assembly inasmuch as it applies not only to themselves, but also to the non-Russian peoples within the Soviet Bloc.

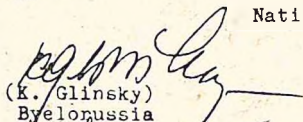
For and on behalf of the participants in the Protest Meeting:

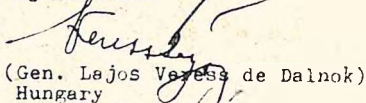

J. H. Jolliffe
Chairman

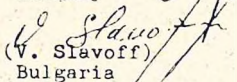
Presidium of the Meeting

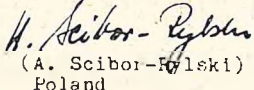

W. Oleciw
Secretary

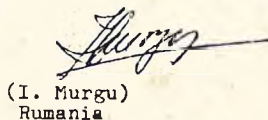
National representatives:

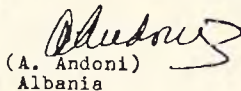

(K. Glinsky)
Byelorussia

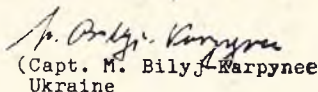

(Gen. Lajos Veress de Dálnok)
Hungary


(V. Slavoff)
Bulgaria


(A. Scibor-Pylski)
Poland


(I. Murgu)
Rumania


(A. Andoni)
Albania


(Capt. M. Bilyj-Karpynee)
Ukraine

N.B.: There were 320 participants at the above Meeting.
The Resolutions were approved unanimously.

Among English Friends

Address by J. Stetzko at the reception of the Anglo-Ukrainian Society in Bradford, Great Britain, July 1962

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is a great pleasure for me to be present here among you at this reception, and I wish to express to you my sincere thanks and appreciation for your kind hospitality and friendly attitude to my compatriots, Ukrainian emigrés, to exiles from other countries enslaved by Bolshevism, as well as to myself.

This reception, this friendly atmosphere is, I am sure, an expression of your sympathy for our just cause, for our struggle against the centre of evil in the world today.

I am aware of the fact that in many countries of the free world there is a certain reserve with regard to the political emigrés. Some people regard them as men of the past, others – as disturbers of peace. However, it should not be forgotten that political emigrés of today are people who did not bow to brutal force, but stood fast to their convictions; out of love for their country, out of love of liberty, out of loyalty to their religion and cultural traditions, they were compelled to go into exile. Like many others, I do not belong to those emigré politicians who were expelled by their own peoples. It is already the third time that I, as a fighter for the freedom and independence of my nation, have been compelled to leave my country because of foreign occupation, and to live abroad.

The first time I had to stay in exile after having been imprisoned for several years by one of the occupants of Ukraine before the war. My second period of exile was spent in the German concentration camp at Sachsenhausen – Oranienburg near Berlin. The third time I was forced to go into exile after the return of the Russian occupation armies to Ukraine at the end of the last war.

Without wishing to draw too close a parallel, I should like to recall that, among others, President de Gaulle, the Dutch Queen, Emperor Haile Selassie, the King of the Hellenes, and the well-known Czech leader Masaryk, were exiles at one time, too. And my bitter enemies, the enemies of my nation, the Russians must not forget that their leader Lenin, too, lived for many years in exile in the West and even received assistance from the so-called Western capitalists.

Twenty years ago I was thrown by the Gestapo into the Nazi concentration camp at Sachsenhausen – Oranienburg near Berlin, because I refused, in the name of the Ukrainian people, to accept Hitler's ultimatum to resign from the post of Head of the Government of Ukraine, to disband the Government and to revoke the act of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence of 30th June 1941. Confined in a cell in the concentration camp I happened to make contact by means of knocking on the wall in a language of signs, with the British Air Force major, Hugh Falconer. Since then we have remained good friends until this day. Together we planned the liberation of the political prisoners, Ukrainians, British, French, Poles and others. My English friend, Hugh, even at that time realised the tremendous danger to the entire freedom-loving mankind from Russian imperialism, which under the mask of Communism aimed at world conquest. At that time Ukraine carried on her struggle on two fronts – against Germany and against Russia, for her national sovereignty and independence. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the UPA, created twenty years ago, was then carrying on its heroic struggle under the command of General Taras Chuprynka who was killed in March 1950 in battle with the Russian Security Troops.

My English friend in the prison admitted that, had the allies backed the national liberation movements against both Germany and Russia, they would perhaps have been able to defeat Bolshevism as well. And today we would have peace and security in the world, for neither the Third Reich nor the Communist Russian empire would be in existence. Instead, there would have been free and independent national States in Eastern Europe. There would have been no threat of an atomic war, for small national States would have no need of and would be incapable of producing these weapons of mass destruction. In the interests of security of the peoples of the world the Russian colonial empire must be split up into independent states of the peoples now enslaved by Russia.

What is the point of preserving the monstrous Russian empire, when such famous empires as the British and the French which have done a lot of good for the cultural, social and political progress of the Asian and African peoples, have granted freedom to their former colonies? In contrast with the Western empires, Russia has been subjugating peoples that were on a higher cultural level and with more progressive political ideas. It is a tragedy that when there are almost no colonies left in Africa, Europe is becoming a colony of new barbarians. Ukraine, a country with a thousand-year old culture and political traditions, a European social system, has become a colony of Russia, and her lawful rights have been trampled on. What about Poland, or East Germany, or, for that matter, Georgia and Armenia?

Moscow's aim is to create a world-wide Soviet Union, that is a world Russian colonial empire. Among the greatest barriers to the realisation of the ambitions of the Kremlin, stands this country which Russia also wishes to subdue and enslave.

It is absolutely necessary for the free world to start a political offensive against Russian colonialism, to unmask the true face of Communism as a novel form of Russian colonialism.

Khrushchov recognises the immense importance of the national liberation ideas and movements and juggles with them in the struggle against the West. At the same time the new Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union says that the task of the Party of the USSR is: "to combat all phenomena and remnants of every kind of nationalism and also to endeavour to bring about the elimination of any symptoms of nationalism". Further the demand is made "to overcome the trends towards local patriotism and egoism, as well as to combat relentlessly the trend towards national narrow-mindedness and exclusiveness, towards the idealisation of the past, and outmoded customs and usages". This is additional proof of how powerful and how dangerous liberation nationalism is in the interior of the Soviet Russian sphere of domination. It is indeed regrettable that Western policy is at best lukewarm in its support of the liberation nationalism which opposes the most ruthless colonial empire of all times. It is our sincere conviction that the world can be saved from an atomic war only if it really supports the national liberation revolutions inside the Russian empire which would lead to the break-up of the Bolshevist slave system and the restoration of the independent states of Ukraine and other nations. We think that peace can be preserved only when the West possesses military superiority in atomic and conventional weapons over the Bolshevist empire, and if it helps the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain to prepare for national revolutions for the break-up of the Russian colonial system. The way to peace lies not via disarmament but through rearmament and revolutions inside the Red Russian empire.

We, Ukrainians, are against an atomic war, for our country has suffered enough in the last two world wars, when it was a battlefield, but we do not wish to live in slavery. The Ukrainians value freedom, human dignity and national independence above life. For Ukrainians it is better to be dead than red.

In this free country, the Ukrainians see how the British people value freedom and human dignity and are grateful to Britain and her people for their hospitality and kind treatment, as well as their sympathies for the Ukrainian struggle for freedom.

Our cause is the cause of entire mankind, for our enemy is also your enemy. The Kremlin cannot tolerate freedom in any part of the world and aims to destroy it in this country, too. Assistance to the Ukrainian liberation struggle is assistance to the entire free world, and to everyone of us here.

May I once again express my sincere gratitude to all of you, and especially to our British friends, for giving me the opportunity to attend this pleasant occasion, and express my warmest wishes for the continued success of friendly relations between the Ukrainian and the British people, now and in the future.

An Open Letter To The German Press

Some weeks ago Paul Wilhelm Wenger, editor of the German paper "Rheinischer Merkur", launched a campaign against the Ukrainians, in which, among other things, he branded them as anti-Semites. The motives which prompted Mr. Wenger to start this campaign are incomprehensible not only to us Ukrainians but also to other freedom-loving Europeans who are not prepared to accept Bolshevik subjugation. Mr. Wenger directs his accusations, above all, against the Ukrainian "Nightingale Legion", which was set up within the framework of the German Army. This legion marched into Lemberg on June 30, 1941, after the Russians had crushed the revolt of the Ukrainian nationalists there. On the same day I was elected Prime Minister by the Ukrainian National Assembly.

For the events in Lviv as far as the Ukrainians were concerned I thus bear the responsibility, that is to say for the period of about 2 weeks, until I was arrested by the Gestapo, after I had refused to co-operate with Hitler's government since the latter was not prepared to recognize Ukraine's independence.

The "Nightingale Legion" was formed at the instigation of Admiral Canaris, Captain Prof. Dr. Hans Koch, Prof. G. Gerullis, and others, without Hitler's knowledge, but with the consent of certain pro-Ukrainian German Supreme Command circles. From the experience taught by history these far-sighted anti-Bolshevist German military persons and patriots, who pursued no conquest-aims as far as Ukraine was concerned, assumed that it would not be possible to survive a conflict with the Bolsheviks unless Ukraine's independence were recognized and the Ukrainian army fought on Germany's side as her ally. It is absurd to accuse Admiral Canaris, in particular, of having had the intention to set up a "destruction unit against the Jews" within the German Army.

The aim of the Ukrainians was the fight against their old Russian enemy and for the restoration of Ukraine's independence. Neither the Poles nor the Jews were at that time enemies of the Ukrainians. It was obvious to all politically minded persons that Ukraine must concentrate on its own front. As the politician responsible for events at that time in Ukraine, it was for this reason my task to see that the front against the Bolsheviks was strengthened. But when it became apparent soon after the outbreak of the war that Hitler's government had no intention of respecting Ukraine's independence aims, the Ukrainians were confronted by the situation which they had feared from the outset, namely that of a second front against Hitlerist Germany. Poland had been conquered, therefore she was no longer our enemy. Quite apart from all human, religious and moral considerations, it would thus have been politically absurd to organize anti-Jewish pogroms at a time when we might expect a second front any day.

I myself can only designate the entire action directed against the "Nightingale Legion" as a press campaign launched successfully in Germany by the Bolsheviks in order to cover up their own mass-murder of thousands of prisoners in the Lemberg prisons, a crime which was carried out at Khrushchov's orders, and to cast the blame on to the Ukrainian nationalists or the Germans, as in the case of the Polish officers who were murdered in Katyn.

The Ukrainian commander of the "Nightingale Legion" was Roman Shukhevytch, who was later commander-in-chief of the valiant Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which fought on two fronts against Soviet Russia and Hitlerist Germany. Practically all the officers and soldiers of the "Nightingale Legion" went over to the UPA, that is to say to the Ukrainian national liberation army and assumed important posts there, for after

the Ukrainian government had been arrested they refused to serve in the German Army in view of the policy of extermination pursued by Reichs Commissar Koch in Ukraine.

The UPA and its commander-in-chief, General Taras Chuprynka (the name by which Roman Shukhevytch was also known), became the representatives and champions of the freedom ideas, of humanity and Christianity in the countries occupied by the Russians.

Today the Bolsheviks try to make out that the Ukrainian commander of the "Nightingale Legion" and his soldiers were murderers, anti-Semites and bandits, in order to defame and disparage the liberation army and the hero of the fight for freedom, Taras Chuprynka.

The German journalists who take part in this campaign and write articles in the German national Christian press which are in conformity with Moscow's intentions, are playing the same game as the Bolsheviks and, what is more, are running down their own sincere anti-Communist statesmen.

The anti-Nazi freedom fighters of Ukraine who, like myself, spent years in Nazi concentration camps, are hardly likely to put their trust in such representatives of present-day Germany as for instance Mr. Wenger. For he is, after all, trying to put the blame for the crimes committed by Khrushchov or by the Gestapo in Ukraine either on to the Ukrainian nationalists, who were persecuted by Hitler, or indirectly on to Germans who were well-disposed towards the Ukrainians.

Surely Mr. Wenger's friendly feelings towards Poland do not necessarily demand that he should be hostile towards the Ukrainians? I, too, am in favour of and support Poland's independence. But that does not mean that I have assumed an anti-German attitude, even though I suffered a great deal in a concentration camp under the Hitler regime.

The quotations cited tendentiously by Mr. Wenger in his press article clearly show that he is determined, whether right or wrong, to bring moral discredit on the "Nightingale Legion", the Ukrainian liberation unit in the German Army.

The book by Alexander Dallin from which he quotes is not an objective source, since the information which the author has gathered is only one-sided. He erroneously assumes that he can render his Jewish people a service by giving a subjective account of events. But he completely ignores the views expressed by me, for example, in this respect, even though I was head of the Ukrainian government at the time in question. Nor does he mention the fact that three members of the Ukrainian government - Ivan Klymiv-Legenda, Dmytro Jaziv and A. Piasezky - were murdered by

the Gestapo, and that Bandera spent years in a concentration camp.

In my opinion the said German journalist should have used other sources, too, and not merely those which were in keeping with his prejudiced attitude.

Mr. Wenger's statement that Stephan Bandera was an "anti-Jewish, anti-Polish, national socialist obsessed, nationalist leader" is in no way true.

Surely no one would think of reproaching the Germans in the East Zone of Germany for fighting against the Soviet Russian occupation, or the French for having fought against the German Nazi occupation, in the way that Mr. Wenger reproaches Bandera. I should like to point out most emphatically that Bandera was not anti-Jewish in his attitude. If Mr. Wenger is really a Christian and Catholic minded journalist, then the least he can do is to retract his defamation of this Ukrainian martyr, who was murdered by the Russians.

The German Public Prosecutor's Department has already announced that Bandera was murdered by a Soviet Russian agent. But in spite of this fact Mr. Wenger still refers to Bandera's death as a "mysterious case". In his article he also ascertains that "the Ukrainian pogrom was an historic fact". Who ascertained that it was an historical fact?

Mr. Wenger mentions "the excesses committed by Bandera which aimed to bring about a purge of the Polish upper class". This is definitely a lie, for Bandera at that time was not even in Lviv. He had already been placed under police surveillance in Cracow on July 1st, and on July 5th he was arrested and taken to Berlin.

Mr. Wenger's statement that the Warsaw Minister Pieracki was eager to effect a reconciliation with the Ukrainians is equally false. Quite the contrary, in fact. As Minister of the Interior of the undemocratic Warsaw government, a military dictatorship, Colonel and later General Pieracki was one of the most ruthless oppressors of West Ukraine. He was responsible for the so-called "pacification" of the Ukrainian territories, in the course of which Catholic priests, women, children and old persons were beaten and tortured in a most inhuman manner, atrocities which at the time evoked protests on the part of various British Labour M.P.'s. For these atrocities he paid with his life, for the Territorial Leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), on the strength of the death sentence passed by the Ukrainian Revolutionary Tribunal, gave orders that he was to be shot.

Incidentally, Mr. Wenger takes good care not to mention the dreadful pogrom against the Jews which took place during the Pieracki era.

Did he never hear of the suggestion made by Foreign Minister Beck, namely that the Jews should be resettled to Madagascar, a suggestion which he even ventured to put forward in Geneva? And is Mr. Wenger really not aware of the fact that the first concentration camp in Europe was set up this side of the Iron Curtain, in Beresa Kartuska in Poland, where numerous Polish democratic politicians were tortured to death under dreadful conditions?

Did he never hear of the worldwide campaign for the social democrat Dashynski, who came from the old Austria?

Why is Stauffenberg regarded as a hero in Germany today? Whereas Bandera, who fought for the liberation of his native country from alien rule, under which it was subjugated, is now defamed as an anti-Semite, as a leader of gangsters and as a murderer by journalists who claim to be Christian and democratic.

Present-day Germany regards the murder of a tyrant as a heroic deed, if Hitler is the tyrant in question. But if the champions of freedom of other nations, as for instance Ukraine, fight against their *foreign* tyrants, they are promptly banded as criminals. The Ukrainians Insurgent Army (UPA), under the command of Roman Shukhevytch, that is to say Taras Chuprynka, the former Ukrainian commander of the "Nightingale Legion", killed the Soviet Russian Marshal Vatutin, the Red Police Deputy Minister of Defence Walter Swierczewski, and the NKVD General Moskalenko in combat. Is Mr. Wenger of the opinion that these were also crimes?

Nor is it in keeping with the truth that "because of Bandera's part in the murder of Pieracki, Himmler preferred him to the more moderate Ukrainian leader Melnyk", as Mr. Wenger affirms. Bandera was never in contact with Himmler at all, and the OUN never collaborated with the Gestapo. On the contrary! We preferred to be in touch with those persons of the Supreme Command of the German Army who were well-disposed towards Ukraine, such as Admiral Canaris and Field Marshal Brauchitsch.

Mr. Wenger has apparently no knowledge of historical events at the time in question, for he ignores the fact that it was precisely at the instigation of Göring and Himmler that the Ukrainian nationalist Mykola Lebid was extradited by the Berlin government in 1934 and was later sentenced to death in the Bandera trial in Warsaw. Himmler thus "preferred Bandera to Melnyk to such an extent" that he handed over Bandera's co-worker to the Polish police.

Wenger's statement that "the 'Nightingale' battalion was set up with the co-operation of Dr. Oberländer immediately after a Ukrai-

nian nationalist congress in Cracow in April 1941, preparatory to an attack on the Soviet Union" is completely incomprehensible. When I read this statement I thought it had been written by Adenubey. Is it a crime to want to liberate oneself from alien rule? Would it be a crime for the free Germans to prepare the liberation of their enslaved fellow-countrymen in the Soviet Occupied Zone of Germany in the event of an aggressive Bolshevik policy providing the historical pre-conditions for such a situation?

I fail to see why the "Rheinischer Merkur" printed such an article at all.

Mr. Wenger writes about a so-called "invasion pogrom" allegedly carried out by the Ukrainians. Such a thing never happened. But he intentionally conceals, or, rather, only very briefly touches on what he calls the "retreat pogrom" of the Soviet Russians. Thousands of Germans, Ukrainians, Poles, and also Jews can testify to the dreadful atrocities committed during this "retreat pogrom".

But Mr. Wenger does not appear to be interested in the Bolshevik pogrom. There is testimony by eyewitnesses, including Polish witnesses, available to the effect that the Polish professors in Lviv were murdered by the Gestapo. But Mr. Wenger tries to blame the Ukrainians for these executions. It is time he realized that the "Nightingale" was a disciplined military unit under the control of the German Army and a combatant group which was trained politically in the Ukrainian freedom-loving spirit.

The allegation that the pogrom in the former NKVD prison in Lemberg was staged by the "Nightingale Legion" is a fictitious story. As the Public Prosecutor has stated that the perpetrators of the pogrom cannot be ascertained, Mr. Wenger, in view of the fact that the accusation against the "Nightingale Legion" cannot be maintained, now casts the blame for these incidents on to other Ukrainian groups inspired by Bandera, as for instance the militia or the marching formations.

The use of the term "marching formations" proves to anyone who knows anything at all about the subject-matter in this case that Mr. Wenger must have occupied himself very intensely and successfully with the latter!

According to the information that I have received, a further lawsuit is to be expected in the case of the 2nd company of the "Nightingale Legion". It is to be hoped that Mr. Wenger will not tie himself down again so over-hastily and will not resort to the same way out again, namely by blaming another Ukrainian group, since it was not the one in question. Mr. Wenger would do well to consider whether it is wise to co-operate with

Grigol Robakidse

On November 20, 1962, the famous Georgian writer and poet Grigol Robakidse passed away in Geneva, Switzerland, at the age of 83.

our common arch-enemies, who are endeavouring to prove by every means available, whether fair or foul, that the said atrocities were perpetrated by Bandera's supporters. I would expect a German journalist to adopt the course of objective research when trying to ascertain the truth.

Of all the peoples of Europe the Ukrainians probably suffered most under Hitler's rule. About 3 million Ukrainians were either killed or imprisoned during this period. But the "Rheinischer Merkur" has apparently never heard of the campaign directed against Germany by the Ukrainians who were languishing in Nazi concentration camps. Nor have I so far ever written anything in the Western press about my experiences in Nazi concentration camps, as for instance Germany's Jewish friends have done.

I am of the opinion that one should not hold the German peoples responsible for the crimes committed by a regime of tyrants, especially not as we Ukrainians have a common aim and also a common enemy with the Germans and all the other free peoples of the world. On the other hand, however, I consider it dishonourable to try to blame one's own crimes on to others in order to clear oneself. If the Gestapo, for example, shot the Polish professors in Lemberg, Mr. Wenger does not need to cast the blame for this crime on to the Ukrainians.

We have the courage to admit what we did. We did not differentiate between Bolshevik agents, whether they were of Ukrainian, Polish or Jewish birth. But that has no connection whatever with anti-Semitism. Whether certain circles like it or not, we shall continue to combat all Moscow's hirelings, whatever nationality they may be, not only in our own interest but also in that of Germany and the entire free world.

It is not befitting for a Christian people to cast the blame for various misdeeds of its own on to other defenceless persons. Above all it is disgraceful that the said people has not the courage to openly attack the Bolshevik enemy as the chief enemy of Germany as well as of Ukraine and to condemn this enemy's crimes, which are far worse than all other crimes - even those of Hitler. One should bear in mind Churchill's statement: "We have killed the wrong pig!"

We did not expect to be attacked in such a vile manner by the German Christian press. We can only hope that the latter will revise and rectify its attitude in this respect. For Mr. Wenger has - though he may perhaps not be aware of the fact - done the Moscow government a service with his article.

April, 1962

Jaroslav Stetzko

The deceased founded the new school in Georgian literature. At the turn of the century he studied philosophy in Leipzig and Paris. On his return to Georgia he held popular lectures on philosophy, aesthetics, poetry and literature, and in addition published numerous essays on these subjects. He deserves especial credit for having derived his vocabulary from the old classical Georgian scientific and philosophical works and for having revived this language, which under Russian rule had fallen into oblivion. He introduced a new language and a new style of narration and description in Georgian literature. He was a master of the graphic style; a great poet and artist who portrayed human emotions and feelings with profound insight and described Nature in all its beauty with the talent of a painter.

He derived his philosophy of life from the fundamental moral source of the people. He was a devout Christian and mystic. When Georgia was occupied by Russia he remained in his native country with his people. But in the end he was unable to endure conditions there, and in 1928 he left Georgia.

He was sharply criticized, but his name still lives on amongst the Georgian people. Nowadays there is considerable controversy there about his plays, but his name is not mentioned. The people, however, know who the author of them is, and he is, indeed, one of the immortals of the Georgian nation. His novels "The Snakeskin Shirt", "The Murdered Soul" (which deals with the moral tragedy of the people under foreign Russian Communist tyranny), "The Call of the Goddess", and "The Guardian of the Grail", etc., have all been published in German.

In exile Grigol Robakidse was the great representative of the elite of Georgian national intellectual and cultural life. N. N.

Revue de Karthéologie

The following publication has recently appeared: "Revue de Karthéologie", Journal for Georgian and Caucasian Studies, No. 41/42, Paris, 1962. 196 pp. Editorial office: 8, rue Berlioz, Paris 16.

This publication contains articles in English, French and German by well-known American, English, French, Norwegian, Czech, Belgian and Georgian scholars, who deal with the various historical, cultural and linguistic problems of the peoples of the Caucasus.

Help Chinese Refugees in Hongkong

Dear Sir:

Recently the enslaved Chinese people on the mainland started to flee, hordes after hordes, to freedom because they can no longer tolerate the oppressions of the Chinese Communist tyranny and the famine on the mainland during recent years. At the first stage of this event, the Chinese Communist regime dared not stop them openly, lest such a measure would evoke reactions. Subsequently, with the mass exodus of Chinese refugees into Hongkong becoming ever-expanding, the Communists, on the pretext that it was the free world that refused to admit the refugees, changed their tactics by employing armed suppression measures to stop the exodus. Now, despite the fact that the Hongkong authorities have blocked the fleeing routes and rejected further entry into Hongkong of Chinese refugees and would round up the refugees for deporting back to the Chinese mainland so as to cut down on the number of refugees entering Hongkong, the refugees in their struggle for existence and freedom are now seeking other means of escape, and Macao is their new destination, instead. As a result, the number of refugees fleeing to Macao each day rose to four or five hundred. Their determination to dash through the Iron Curtain, regardless of enormous hardships, is indeed deserving of the deep respect and sympathetic concern of the free people all over the world.

Although during the past ten odd years, there have been incessant flights to freedom by the Chinese people from the mainland because of the intolerable Chinese Communist tyranny, the recent massive flow of refugees from the Chinese mainland is unprecedented. According to an official announcement of the Hongkong authorities, during the period from early April to the latter part of May of this year, more than 80,000 refugees fleeing to Hongkong have been forcibly sent back to the Chinese mainland. This is not only a strong evidence of their miserable life under the intolerable Chinese Communist tyrannical rule through the years, but also a clear indication of their opposition to the Chinese Communist regime.

For humanitarian reasons, the Government of the Republic of China has announced its willingness to accept, at any cost, all Chinese refugees who want to come over to Taiwan for resettlement. Moreover, it has decided to send 1,000 tons of rice to Hongkong for emergency relief. It is our firm belief that in spite of the clamp-down on the exodus recently by the Chinese Communists, the Chinese people on the mainland who are aspiring for existence and freedom not only will not stop fleeing but, on the contrary, will step up their flights. Hence, we wish to make the following urgent appeals to all freedom-loving nations and peoples throughout the free world:

1) In the name of humanity and fraternity, you should kindly extend to the Chinese refugees your greatest concern and sympathetic support:

2) To uphold the cause of human dignity and to support the principle of voluntary repatriation as set forth by the United Nations, you should kindly approach the Hongkong authorities to liberalize their restrictions on the entry of the Chinese refugees into Hongkong and stop sending back any more Chinese refugees; and you should also establish close co-operation with international relief organizations to work out arrangements whereby those would-be deportees to the Chinese mainland could be sent to Taiwan or any other nations and localities willing to admit them according to their free will; and

3) In view of the urgency of relief work for the refugees, you are cordially requested to launch in your part of the free world a fund drive or urge your govern-

ment or the local philanthropic and religious organizations to make donations in cash or in kind for aid to the ever-increasing Chinese refugees in Hongkong and Macao.

We are of the opinion that the recent mass exodus from the Chinese mainland is a definite sign that the Chinese Communist regime will collapse in the near future. For the purpose of calling the free world's attention to this event and thereby soliciting its sympathy to intensify relief to the Chinese refugees in Hongkong and Macao, we hope that in the name of humanitarianism and justice you will kindly issue statements, make comments or employ other effective measures to publicize this mass exodus, so that more importance and significance could be attached to this event on a world-wide scale. We very much appreciate receiving from you copies of documents of that nature, if any.

We take this opportunity to extend to you once again our hearty thanks for your most kind support and co-operation.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,
Ku Cheng-kang, President
APACLROC

APACL Freedom Center

Dear Sir:

Pursuant to the Resolution on the Establishment of the APACL FREEDOM CENTER as adopted at the Second APACL Extraordinary Conference held in Seoul, Korea from May 10 through 15, 1962, we have taken an initial step toward the actual implementation of the Resolution by organizing the Preparatory Commission for the APACL FREEDOM CENTER.

The Preparatory Commission will execute the preliminary work and liaison business for the Center until the actual functioning of the Center begins. The functions of the Commission shall include among other things fund-raising campaigns and construction work for the Center.

The Commission is composed of 30 members who were chosen from among members of the Korean delegation to the Extraordinary Conference and other prominent persons enthusiastically supporting the anti-Communist movement of our League. Mr. Kyu Hah Choi who was the Chairman of the said Conference has been elected to the chairmanship of the Commission, and the Commission has begun its functions since June 2, 1962.

Additionally, we wish to inform you that the Commission has already chosen the site of the Center and that, as the preliminary survey for the construction work is under way.

It is also advised that the Government of the Republic of Korea has already promised to provide the Center with a substantial amount of money to meet necessary expenses and that we are also launching positive fund-raising campaigns.

Taking this opportunity, we would like to solicit you to extend your full support to the Commission in its implementation of the preparatory tasks for the establishment of the Center so that the Center could start functioning at an early possible date.

The address of the Preparatory Commission is as follows:
130-2 Kwanhun-Dong Chongro-Ku, Seoul, Korea

Demands to the United Nations and to the whole Free World

(To the debate on Russian colonialism)

One of the most important aims of the anti-Bolshevist enlightenment of the free world is the exposure and unmasking of Russian colonialism. The problem of our epoch is not Western but Russian colonialism. Not the imaginary danger of American imperialism or West German militarism, but the destruction which threatens the whole world by barbarous Russian colonialism camouflaged as Communism! And this danger must be faced and exposed.

Colonialism must be liquidated *everywhere in the world* and not only in the sphere of influence of the Western empires.

1) The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), together with the so-called people's democracies, represents the largest and most ruthless colonial imperium in the world, namely the Russian imperium. Communism and the alleged support which Moscow hypocritically accords to the national freedom aims of colonial and dependent peoples on this side of the Iron Curtain are nothing but a cunning camouflage for the Russian imperialists' own conquest aims and intentions; those same imperialists who are out to occupy the *place hitherto occupied by the Western empires* and who are constantly endeavouring to establish a Soviet Union of global dimensions, that is to say a Russian colonial world empire.

2) Neither the Soviet Socialist Republics of Ukraine and Byelorussia, nor the People's Republics of Bulgaria, Hungary, Roumania, Poland, Albania and so-called Czechoslovakia (CSR), which are members of the United Nations, nor the Soviet Socialist Republics of Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia and Moldavia, nor the Soviet Republics of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Tadzhikistan and Kirgizstan formed by the partition of the Turkestanian Mohammedan nation, nor North Korea and North Vietnam, nor the German Democratic Republic, still less the so-called Autonomous Republics of the USSR, can be regarded as independent states of the peoples concerned, for they are all obviously merely colonies of the Russian imperialists. All these so-called independent states are unable to secede from the Russian imperial centre of their own free will without the application of violence, for the Russian army and the terrorist system introduced in these countries by the Russian armies of occupation immediately after these countries were conquered render a free expression of will on the part of these subjugated peoples impossible. The revolts which have occurred in Hungary, Poland, Ukraine and East Germany during recent years are the most obvious proof of this fact.

Paragraph 17 of the Constitution of the USSR provides for a "voluntary" secession of the individual nations of the USSR, but the centralized terrorist apparatus of the Russian imperium and, what is more, the necessary "formal" consent of the Moscow metropolis in such a case render any realization of this right to secession from Russia of the peoples enslaved in the USSR impossible (§ 20 of the Constitution of the USSR).

3) The peoples of Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, North Caucasus, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, Idel-Ural, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Albania, East Germany, North Vietnam, North Korea, and Laos, as well as the Karelian Finns, Cossacks and others are waging a revolutionary fight for the disintegration of the Russian colonial imperium into independent

democratic national states of all the peoples enslaved in the Communist sphere of influence, for the liquidation of Russian colonialism, for the rights of the individual, for freedom of religion, and for social justice, against the exploitation of the individual by the state or by some other person, and against the national and human discrimination practised by the Russian Communist chauvinists and racialists.

4) These subjugated peoples are also against the Peking Communist imperialists and aggressors who crushed the freedom of the courageous Tibetans in bloodshed and, together with Moscow, are threatening to enslave those parts of Korea, Vietnam, Laos and other countries of Asia which are still free. It is only the government of the Republic of China, which has its provisional seat in Taipei, which really represents the will of the Chinese people as a whole. The admission of the Peking mass-murderers of the peoples of China, Korea, Vietnam, Tibet and Laos to the United Nations in the era of the global fight against colonialism and for human and national rights would only accelerate the downfall of the United Nations.

For this reason the liquidation of Russian and Peking colonialism is an imperative and, indeed, the most vital task of the present era in history.

5) We, the spokesmen of our peoples enslaved by the Russian colonial overlords, who have been forced to leave our native countries and, enjoying the freedom of the democratic world, seek to defend the national, human and religious rights of our peoples, appeal to the freedom-loving world and, above all, to the United Nations – in the interests of the entire freedom-loving peoples of the world, who are threatened with enslavement by the Russian tyrants, as well as in the name of the principles of the United Nations which have been accepted by the free world – to deal with the following points at one of the next sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations:

a) to condemn Russian colonialism and to adopt a resolution on the absolute necessity of a liquidation of Russian colonialism and of the disintegration of the Russian colonial imperium into independent democratic national states within the ethnographical borders of all the peoples subjugated in the USSR and in the so-called satellite countries. The fact that the enslaved peoples have no independent national states represents a discrimination as far as the individual is concerned, for the realization of democratic rights cannot be achieved without the realization of national independence;

b) a decree should be drawn up by the General Assembly of the United Nations to the effect that Russia, in accordance with the preamble and Paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Statutes of the United Nations, should withdraw its armies of occupation as well as its police and other terrorist apparatus from the countries enslaved by Russia, and should at last cease interfering in the internal affairs of the enslaved peoples and threatening the latter with the application of violence in the event of insurrection, namely by the renewed forcible invasion of its occupation forces. The subjugated peoples should attain their national and state independence again, and should be able to elect freely their own parliament and government without foreign intervention or control, and should be able to organize their own national armies as a guarantee of their independence. The Russian state should be confined to its own ethnographical areas;

c) should the Russian imperialists and colonial slave-drivers, however, disregard the decrees of the United Nations, since in any case they are endeavouring to bring about the enslavement of the whole world under their Communist colonial rule, then the only alternative left to the General Assembly of the United Nations is to exclude the USSR and its puppet governments in the so-called satellite countries

from this organization on the grounds of the constant violation, on the part of the Russian colonial overlords of the constitutional charter of the United Nations in accordance with Paragraphs 6 and 27, section 3, of the Statutes of the United Nations;

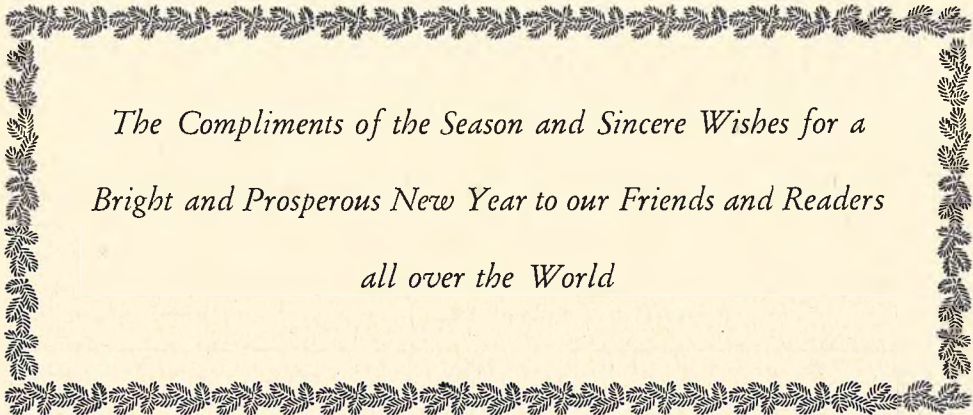
d) in this way the United Nations would be able to do justice to their important task and could develop into a global liberation organization without the colonial slave-drivers and mass-murderers. As spokesmen of the peoples enslaved by Russian colonialism, the representatives of the revolutionary national liberation movements of our subjugated peoples should be recognized and admitted to the United Nations; all artificial state structures created by force, in which one people subjugates another, should be liquidated and in their stead independent democratic states should be set up according to the ethnographical principle;

c) the General Assembly of the United Nations should declare its solidarity with the resolution of the US Congress on "Captive Nations Week" (Res. H. Con. 636-86th US Congress) and should exhort its members, through the intermediation of their parliaments and governments, to support the national revolutionary fight for freedom of the peoples enslaved by Russian colonialism.

Those who help the enslaved and subjugated are also helping themselves in this way!

f) We for our part guarantee our wholehearted support for the project of forming a permanent committee of the US Congress for the subjugated peoples (Flood resolution) and we regard the initiative taken by Congressman Flood as an important step in the worldwide political fight against Russian colonialism and Communism.

g) At the same time we condemn the statement made by US Secretary of State Dean Rusk, to the effect that the question of the independence of Ukraine, Armenia or Georgia is not of current importance since these peoples are "traditional parts of the Soviet Union", and are surprised that Dean Rusk is not relieved of his office in a democratic country seeing that he has thus opposed the unanimous resolution of the US Congress on "Captive Nations Week". His statement is a betrayal of the noble ideals of the USA, the home of freedom in the world! By his statement, which clearly expresses an anti-American attitude, Dean Rusk is undermining the prestige of the USA in the subjugated and in the entire freedom-loving world and has rendered Communism and Russian colonialism a service.



*The Compliments of the Season and Sincere Wishes for a
Bright and Prosperous New Year to our Friends and Readers
all over the World*



OBITUARY

Simeon Ovtsharov Harisan



Simeon Ovtsharov Harisan, Chairman of the Control Commission of the Bulgarian National Front, Vice-President of the Friends of ABN in Chicago, Chairman of the Control Commission of the American-Bulgarian League in Chicago, holder of the Victoria Cross, a former member of various national, cultural and professional organizations, and, lastly, departmental head of the municipal administration of Chicago, passed away in Chicago in October this year.

His death is a heavy loss to the Bulgarian emigrants all over the world and also to the friends of the ABN.

True, the deceased did not lay down his life whilst fighting in armed combat for the liberation of his native country Bulgaria – as was always his wish, but he dedicated his life to this same ideal, which he served with noble self-sacrifice to the very end in spite of being a very sick man.

For the Independence of Croatia

Buenos Aires, September 1962

To His Excellency
U THANT,
Secretary General of
the United Nations

Your Excellency:

The purposes of the United Nations in the first place are, according to Article 1 of the Charter of the United Nations, to bring about by peaceful means the settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace and to develop respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples.

The Croatian nation has had its own statehood for over 1000 years and is entitled, as any other nation, to the right of self-determination.

These principles have been violated by the fact that the Croatian nation, without being consulted and against its express will, has been incorporated into the multi-national and artificial Yugoslav State actually under a Communist dictatorship.

In view of this, the Croatian Liberation Movement, which embraces 240 Croatian organizations on five continents, on behalf of the Croatian nation, enslaved under a totalitarian government of a Communist dictatorship, requests the Organization of the United Nations:

To grant, in the interests of universal peace, to the Croatian nation its natural and inalienable right to freedom and its own independence, and to this end, under the sponsorship of the United Nations, that a plan be implemented by which the Croatian historical and ethnical territories be peacefully separated from Yugoslavia, so as to enable the Croatian people in their own sovereign and democratic state to choose the government under which they wish to live.

I beg Your Excellency to present this request to the Security Council or to the General Assembly for an urgent consideration.

For the Croatian Liberation Movement:

Dr. Stjepan Hefer
President

Ukrainian Nationalism

The Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Skaba, recently declared at a Party meeting in Kyiv that the fight against Ukrainian nationalism was one of the most important tasks of the Party. He criticized the lack of political interest and the consumer attitude of the young people in Ukraine, who were demanding all the amenities of life for themselves.

BOOK - REVIEWS

Salvador Diaz-Versón: *Yal el mundo se oscurece*. — Novela histórica sobre la revolución de Cuba. ("The World is already growing Dark". — Historical novel about the Cuban Revolution) Published by Ediciones Botas, Mexico, 1961.

This work by the writer and revolutionary Salvador Diaz-Versón, who was born in Cuba and who for many years has been fighting Communism, is written in a realistic and historical style like a report. S. Diaz-Versón presents us with a picture of the dreadful tragedy of the Cuban people under the ruthless terrorism of the barbarous Communist dictatorship.

It is significant that the author begins his book with the words: "Comrade officer! Come and arrest two counter-revolutionaries!" These words are spoken by a young lad, who thus betrays his parents to the Communist hangmen. The author then depicts the indescribable sufferings of this couple, a professor and his wife, who are taken from prison to prison and endure interrogations and tortures until they both collapse and have to be taken to hospital. With the help of a priest they manage to escape from the hospital and are hidden by friends, who arrange for them to flee from Cuba. They try to reach the coast of Florida in the USA in a fishing-boat. But when they are still 30 hours away from the coast, a fighter-plane of the Cuban air force suddenly circles over them and signals to them to return to the Cuban coast. The pilot of the plane then fires his machine-gun on the defenceless persons in the boat and two of them are killed. In the nick of time an American plane appears in the distance and this proves their salvation. Soon afterwards the refugees are picked up by an American ship. Their flight to freedom has been successful.

In the introduction to his book the author says: when He created the world God gave us the sun to light our path and to raise our mind and our soul from the depths. Man stepped out of the mist in order to live in a bright and wonderful world, which he himself intended to create. But out of the diabolical sub-consciousness of some persons there rose up a cruel doctrine, which darkened the world, which is directed against all the ethical, moral and cultural values of our civilization, against Christianity, and even against man himself, and which seeks to destroy everything.

On the cover of the book there is depicted the red hand of Communism, which hovers over the earth, and casts its shadow on the

world and thrusts man back into darkness again. And this same shadow rests heavily on Cuba, which has been languishing under Red Communist rule since the revolution. This book is intended as a warning, lest what has happened in Cuba should also happen in other countries that are still free.

The great narrative talent of Salvador Diaz-Versón is revealed in this book, which will undoubtedly profoundly stir all readers in the free world — and, we hope, cause them to reflect and ponder. *M. Y.*

Trần-Tâm: *Neutrality and Its Evolution—World Peace*. APACL Saigon (Vietnam) 1962. 104 pp.

The author deals with neutrality as it is interpreted by the Russian and Chinese Communists. He states that:

"The so-called neutralism, a strategy conceived and wanted by the Kremlin, should burst out in all games by the observation of the circumstances surrounding it. Neutralization is never claimed for the pro-Communist countries, but only for pro-Western countries. On the other hand, the claim is always made at Moscow time, i. e. at the climax of a seething crisis boiling in the Soviet cauldron. Finally, the usual means proposed to turn a disputed country neutral consists in the formation of a so-called coalition government." (pp. 34–35).

Trần-Tâm continues as follows:

"Long experiences, ranging from Negrin to Castro and through Chiang Kai-shek to Benes, have taught us how such coalitions end; coalitions which are nothing but popular fronts..." (p. 35)

The author is of the opinion that it is scandalous to count as neutralists, as is now customary among statesmen and writers in the West, such countries as Indonesia, Cuba, Guinea or Yugoslavia, where the official government organs sing the praises of the Soviet Union and shout diatribes against the West.

Communism's double face—as state and as party—constitutes one of the fundamental facts which must never be lost sight of. It is one of the intentions of Communist political warfare to make the Western statesmen and politicians believe that the two faces are distinct. To put one's trust in this form of so-called "neutralism" is tantamount to letting oneself fall into the enemy's trap.

The author goes on to state the following:

"In the political field, the Communists regard neutrality as the process of dividing the political resistance of their enemies to the attacks of Communist political warfare. In other words, neutrality is a Communist trap calculated to ensnare the enemy so that the Communists may easily realize their ambitions and at the same time dissipate

the enemy's vigilance and reduce the importance of the threat posed by political aggression..." (p. 39)

Trân-Tâm proposes that in the face of these facts the Western World should not continue to withdraw and yield to the Communists by means of political concessions of neutrality. Communist strategy will allow only temporary or local peace according to the military, political and geographical circumstances prevailing. But this strategy will only result in creating a breach in the barrier formed by the forces of the Free World to maintain common security and peace, as well as modern civilization. This strategy will also result in the breaking down of the fighting forces of mankind into small pockets, thus becoming easy preys to the gradual and systematic aggression of the Communists, according to their "oil stain" strategy.

The logical conclusion of the above enumerated facts is - and the author is convinced of it - the following:

"If in the future, the Free World will continue to fondle the middle-of-the-road policy, as they are now doing, International Communism will then have new victories to mark on its chart of sovietization of mankind..."

"The Free World must mobilize all its efforts so as to paralyze all activities and the development of the Kremlin and Peking, and to prove effectively that the line and doctrine of Marx and Lenin are out-of-date, erroneous notions contrary to the aspirations of mankind, including the peoples now living inside Communist-controlled areas.

"Only when the Free World achieves this task can it turn on the offensive in this war and lead the Kremlin and Peking into a new period of conflict - a new period that will mark seriously many events within the kernel of International Communism" (pp. 52 to 53).

The booklet was published in two languages (in English and French) and is probably intended, above all, for Western statesmen and politicians. It contains concise information on the historical development of the term "neutrality" and how it was distorted by the Communists for political purposes. The author of the book also published the following valuable manuals indicating the world-wide Communist danger, as:

1. The Storm Within Communism;
2. Communism and War in Asia (second and revised edition);
3. S.O.S. From South-East Asia;
4. The S.E.A.T.O. Problem.

The magazines published by APACL furnish full documentation about the violations of international law committed by the Russian and Chinese Communists.

V. Ivonivsky

Sensacionales Revelaciones de un Comunista Arrepentido y La Educacion Publica en los Manos de los Comunistas.

("Sensational Revelations of a Repentant Communist" and "Public Education in the Hands of the Communists".) Published by the Anti-Communist People's Front, Mexico, 1962. 41 pp.

Seldom have we read a pamphlet which contains such convincing arguments on the subversive activity of the Mexican and Russian Communists in Mexico. The subject-matter is confined solely to facts and all superfluous propaganda against the large-scale subversive activity of the Russians in the said Central American state is avoided. Only names, actual facts and quotations are cited. The logical conclusion to be drawn is left to the criticism of the reader. Communist subversion in Mexico, which had already assumed large proportions but could be checked in time, is still financed and furthered wherever possible by all sorts of means by the diplomatic representations of the so-called Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the island Republic of Cuba. With the funds available to the Communist agitators in Mexico it would hardly be possible to achieve any significant success amongst the patriotic-minded population of Mexico.

The pamphlet gives the reader an accurate picture of Communist infiltration not only in Mexico but also in other (in particular Latin American) countries.

The Communists have managed to cause considerable harm in the public education system. In this respect they have corrupted or misled many of the teaching staff and employees of the educational institutes. Fortunately, however, it has been possible to avert a greater disaster in this sector in time.

All those who wish to learn more about Communist subversion and want to help combat it should certainly read this pamphlet (either in the original Spanish edition or in a translation).

V. Luzhansky

K. V. Taurus: Guerilla Warfare on the Amber Coast

Published by Voyages Press, 35 West 75th St., New York City 23, 1962. 110 pp.

This book deals with the Lithuanian guerilla warfare against the Soviet Russian aggressors in 1944-1952. K. V. Taurus is the pseudonym of a Lithuanian freedom fighter; his identity must be withheld for obvious reasons. The book gives proof that, some experts to the contrary, the Soviet Russians have more reason to be afraid of vast popular guerilla movements than the Western countries.

The author states that "Truman and Churchill erred when they proclaimed on May 8, 1945, that the war in Europe had been brought to an end. In fact, war was still violently raging on the Amber Coast, in small and peaceful Lithuania" (p. 32). The bloody clash was immediate between small detachments of the Lithuanian resistance forces and the Russian NKWD-police trailing the Soviet Russian front army.

Almost all groups of freedom fighters had been merged with the Lithuanian Freedom Army (LFA), and functioned under a joint command. Most of the units were headed by officers of the former Lithuanian national army.

The Lithuanian Freedom Army was joined by people from all walks of life, — workers, farmers, employees, students and professional people. The principle of the LFA Constitution became the code of conduct of these diverse elements:

"The ranks of the freedom fighters are open to Lithuanian men and women, irrespective of age, who have high moral standards, courage and determination; who have never committed any acts against the Lithuanian nations; and who are totally devoted to the liberation of Lithuania . . .

"In his actions, the freedom fighter is always guided by the good of Lithuania, disregarding any personal advantage or profit" (p. 34).

In accordance with the Constitution each freedom fighter must use an assumed name. Thus the forest became peopled with names borrowed from nature, from Lithuanian folklore and from Lithuanian history: Naktis (Night), Viesulas (Whirlwind), Kregzde (Swallow) etc.

The unfavorable evolution of international events for a speedy liberation of Lithuania was one of the reasons for the LFA's decision to end armed resistance against the so-called Soviet Union. The resistance was meant then by peaceful means in the economic, cultural and religious fields.

In the meantime, the Soviet Russian administration endeavours to deprive the Lithuanian people of their personal and national identity by:

(a) the eradication or destruction of Lithuanian national traditions and customs;

(b) falsification and distortion of the Lithuanian past and removal of historic monuments;

(c) forcible imposition of Soviet Russian atheism and the Soviet Russian "version" of dignity, truth, morality, freedom and democracy;

(d) imposition of Kremlin dogmas, as the sole and binding criteria for creative work, on Lithuanian writers, artists, scientists and the intellectuals in general;

(e) corruption of the Lithuanian language with Russianisms;

(f) glorification of all that is Soviet Russian and isolation of Lithuania from the cultural life of the West.

Although the Lithuanian armed resistance lies in the past, the war against the Russian aggressor on the Amber Coast goes on.

The book is a very good manual on Lithuania and the Lithuanian people in the past and the present time. It proves that the Lithuanians will not cease to fight until the Soviet Russians have been obliged to leave the enslaved and terrorized Lithuanian country. Of course, the free world should encourage and support the Lithuanian David to struggle against the mighty Soviet Russian Goliath.

The book is a first-hand account of Lithuanian guerilla warfare against Soviet Russian colonialism and can be recommended to all those who wish to study Russian matters and the liberation policy aimed at Russian colonialism.

V. Kapotivsky

"Camps de concentration en U. R. S. S. Pourquoi et pour qui existent-ils?"

("Concentration Camps in the USSR. Why and for whom do they exist?") Published by the A. B. N. Mission in Taipei, Taiwan, 1960. 85 pp.

This book contains extremely interesting and extensive documentary material on the subject of the physical extermination of entire peoples in the concentration camps in the remote regions of the USSR. The modern Red Russian Pharaohs have succeeded in setting up within the Soviet Union, which in any case can already be regarded as a prison of peoples, an even worse prison, where conditions are ten times more dreadful than the scenes depicted in Dante's "Inferno". The murder of entire peoples carried on for centuries by the Russians reached its climax after the Russian October Revolution in 1917. According to the calculations of the author of this book, at least 30 million non-Russians have perished in the Russian concentration camps so far. And the word non-Russians must be stressed, for the percentage of Russians (mostly criminal elements) in the concentration camps is extremely small (about 15 per cent) compared to the number of prisoners of non-Russian origin.

The Ukrainians — as the largest non-Russian people of the Soviet Union — constitute practically 50 per cent of the total number of prisoners. In spite of the high mortality rate, they do not, however, despair. During the fierce riots which broke out in the concentration camps prior to and, in particular, after the death of Stalin the Ukrainian prisoners played a leading part in

organizing these insurrections and, by joining forces with other non-Russian prisoners such as Georgians, Byelorussians, members of the Baltic countries and of the Central Asian peoples, managed to cause the Soviet Russians so much uneasiness that the latter began to promise an "alleviation" in the unbearable regime in the camps and also the abolition of these camps. But, of course, these are all lies.

The author bases his arguments almost exclusively on eyewitness reports, on well known publications, on statements, by prisoners who succeeded in escaping from the hell of the concentration camps, and also on the records of international investigatory committees. The information supplied by the German doctor and former prisoner in the Vorkuta camp in the Arctic Circle, Joseph Scholmer, which he has published in his book "Die Toten kehren zurück" ("The Dead Return") Cologne-Berlin, 1954), and by Adolf Silde in his book "The Profits of Slavery", published in Stockholm in 1958, is particularly interesting. So, too, are the records of the investigatory committee of the U. S. House of Representatives ("Communist Take-over and Occupation of Ukraine", Special Report No. 4, U. S. House of Representatives, H. Res. 346 and H. Res. 348, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1955), and numerous publications on this subject in

English, French, German, Ukrainian and many other languages.

The author stresses that in founding the concentration camps the Red Russians were pursuing the diabolical plan of 1) physically exterminating the non-Russian peoples, or at least their elite, in the camps in order to consolidate Russian supremacy in the USSR, and 2) preventing their economy, which is built up on the forced labour in the concentration camps, from collapsing. The Englishman W. E. R. Piddington, the author of the book "Russian Frenzy", who was released from the concentration camp in Vorkuta, has very aptly described the significance of the concentration camp system in the USSR for Moscow when he says that "if one were to liberate all the political prisoners in the concentration camps, the Soviet economic system would collapse" (quoted from the pamphlet "500 Ukrainian Martyred Women", Statement of Dr. Varkony. New York, 1956, p. 101).

This book is undoubtedly a valuable contribution towards the literature on the concentration camps in the USSR and also towards a better insight into the political character of the present-day Soviet Union, which was created exclusively "to the glory of the Russians".

V. Ivonivsky

Vital Questions of the Danube Peoples

Resolution of the Young European Study Group Congress, September 1962.

On September 1st and 2nd this year's Congress of the Young European Study Group was held in Passau. The theme was "Vital Questions of the Danube Peoples". In various lectures and discussions the situation which has ensued in particular in Bulgaria, Roumania, Hungary and Slovakia since 1944/45 was dealt with and thoroughly examined. As a result, the following resolution was adopted:

- 1) The military collapse in Europe was disastrous for all European peoples and, above all, for those of the Danube region.*
- 2) The present Soviet regime in Southeast Europe will only continue to exist as long as Moscow's imperialism supports it.*
- 3) In previous declarations on the German question the Young European Study Group has already advocated the realization of the unlimited right of self-determination for all peoples. Only the free, immediate will and decision of the peoples can effect a satisfactory solution of all fundamental questions, in particular in questions pertaining to state affinity, form of government and social order.*
- 4) We do not think that there is any sense in negotiating with Moscow as long as the West is not seriously determined to assert and support the unlimited right of self-determination - for the peoples in the sphere of the Soviet colonial system, too.*
- 5) The Young European Study Group is definitely of the opinion that the task of asserting right and freedom throughout Europe in the first place devolves upon the European peoples themselves. Passau (Germany), September 2, 1962.*

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Sentence against Bogdan Stashynsky

“The accused is found guilty on two charges of aiding and abetting a murder and on charge of treachery. He is sentenced to a total punishment of eight years penal servitude.”