

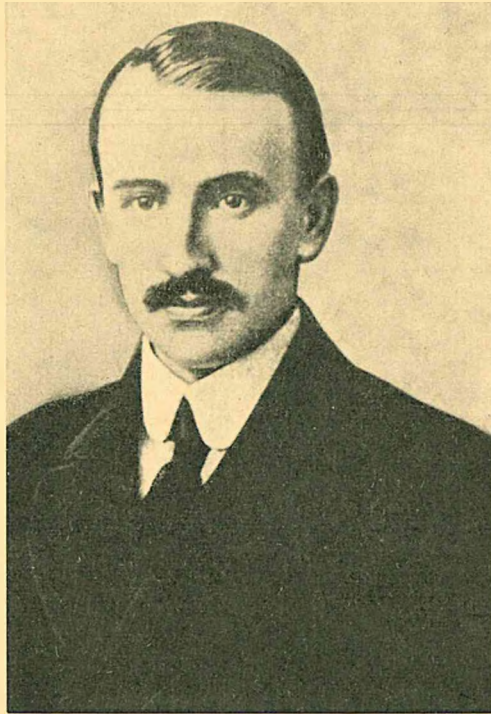
ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Professor Pranas Dovydaitis

The Great Lithuanian Patriot



Murdered by Moscow

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Professor Pranas Dovydaitis Tortured to Death by Moscow's Agents

During the period of Lithuania's independence Pranas Dovydaitis was a professor, a politician, a prominent personality in public life, the editor of numerous scientific papers and periodicals, a fighter for the restoration of the freedom and independence of his fellow-countrymen, for the recognition by the public which was their due as workers, and for social justice, and also a Prime Minister. He was born in 1886 and was the son of a farmer.

Whilst he was still a schoolboy he already devoted himself to the fight against tsarist subjugation in Lithuania. He fought against the Russification; he read and also circulated publications which were prohibited by the tsarist government amongst his Lithuanian fellow-countrymen, and spread secret appeals directed against the tsarist government, etc. On account of this activity he was expelled from school. He was promised re-admission on condition that he abandoned his resistance activity against tsarism in Lithuania, but he refused to accept this condition and did not return to school. He studied at home secretly and, after having completed the curriculum of the grammar school, passed the school-leaving examination with distinction. On the strength of this examination he was admitted in 1908 to the faculty of law at Moscow University, though he was more attracted to philosophy, history and the natural sciences. In fact, he was more interested in these subjects than in any others during the era of Lithuania's independence. He had merely chosen law as his subject at the university in order to be able to work in Lithuania after completing his studies, for the tsarist regime did not allow Lithuanians of every profession to work in their own country. He had only attended lectures in the above-mentioned subjects as a guest-student and not as a regular student, that is to say in addition to his main course of study in the faculty of law.

Whilst a student he won a competition set by the faculty of history and philology, for which he was awarded a silver medal by the university.

It was during this period that he took an active part in the activity of the Lithuanian students, occupied himself with Lithuanian national and religious questions, and also secretly organized the Catholic youth of Lithuania, known as the "ateitininkai" ("the coming generation"), etc.

As a champion of the freedom of Lithuania he was elected to the Council of the Lithuanian State, which on February 16, 1918, proclaimed to the world that Lithuania had regained its independence and sovereignty.

Professor Dovydaitis was the chief organizer and leader of the Christian workers in Lithuania and a fierce opponent of Communism.

Under the tsarist regime he managed to escape imprisonment and exile. But when Red Moscow occupied Lithuania, Professor Dovydaitis and his family were arrested by Russian agents, namely on June 15, 1941, and were deported to the Soviet Union. He was separated from his wife and children, and was abducted and tortured to death.

The Oecumenical Council and the Expectations of the Faithful of the Persecuted Church

Not only the Ukrainian public but also many circles in the West have approved of the protest by the Ukrainian bishops in the Vatican against the presence of the delegates of the Russian Orthodox "Church" as observers at the Oecumenical Council. A big response by the world press to this protest clearly indicates that the Ukrainian ecclesiastical dignitaries can count on the moral support of the freedom-loving, anti-Communist West, since human rights, human dignity and the right to freedom of religious faith are recognized there.

The Ukrainian nationalist liberation movement, which in its fight for the freedom of the Ukrainian people upholds the Christian and national idea as the vital force in the life of the Ukrainian people, is greatly perturbed at certain measures adopted by some Vatican circles, who are endeavouring to establish a kind of *modus vivendi* with the atheistic governments, since they obviously hope that these governments will make certain temporary concessions of a local nature for the churches in the regions in question. In this respect one should however bear in mind that these governments will on principle continue to maintain a hostile attitude towards the Church as well as towards the rights of individuals and peoples. For it is obvious that neither their doctrine nor they themselves as representatives or servants of the Russian atheistic, imperialistic centre are likely to accept or adopt any fundamental changes.

The Ukrainians have indeed set their hopes on the noble plans of Pope John XXIII which are to create a basis for the restoration of the Christian unity, for there could not be a finer and more magnanimous idea than this amongst the Christians at the present time. Nevertheless we are of the opinion that the course which certain circles of the Vatican intend taking in order to carry out the papal plan in practice does not always seem to be right. For these circles for inexplicable reasons are – as far as orthodoxy is concerned – attaching most importance to the question of the Russian Orthodox Church. With the help of this Church the circles who are at present influential in the Vatican are hoping "to convert the East". And the said circles are dazzled by this illusion to such an extent that they are obviously – and on the strength of so-called realistic considerations – also pursuing a policy of opportunism with

regard to the present "Orthodox" Russian "Church", which is headed by the "Patriarch" Alexej. Two years ago we were already perturbed at a grave step on the part of the Vatican diplomats, according to which they refused to continue to recognize the diplomatic representation of (non-Communist) Lithuania and Poland and based their refusal on international legal considerations which were of secondary importance. We recently learnt from the press that the Pope received an official representative of Communist Poland in audience. The spokesman of the Union Secretariat, which is headed by Cardinal Bea, is reported to have stated that, in the event of certain preconditions being fulfilled, there would be a possibility of the Vatican entering into diplomatic relations with the USSR. Can it be that the Vatican circles still believe in something in which not even the children in Ukraine believe, – namely that structural changes are possible in the atheistic regime, which is now led by Khrushchov and which until recently was led by Stalin? As regards this subject one only needs read what that disillusioned Yugoslav Communist Djilas says in his book "Talks with Stalin":

"Stalin's successors are continuing his work; the inner structure of their regime is composed of the same elements, of the same ideas, conceptions and methods which prompted Stalin . . . Even today, after the so-called de-Stalinization, one can unfortunately only reach the same conclusion as in former times: those who want to live and survive in a world which is different to the world created by Stalin are obliged to fight. For Stalin's world has not ceased to exist; its character and its power have been preserved unbroken."

Can it be that this truth, which is so obvious to Djilas, has not been comprehended by the said Vatican circles?

Are not the ruthless suppression of the Polish, Hungarian and German revolts as well as of numerous riots by the Ukrainian prisoners in the Soviet Russian concentration camps, the persecution of the Ukrainian churches, the arrest and imprisonment of the Ukrainian priests and their Metropolitan, the incarceration of individuals and the genocide committed against entire peoples, the tyranny and enslavement, the murder of Stephan Bandera and Lev Rebet, which was organized by the deputy Prime Minister of

the USSR. Shelepin, the militant atheism, and other similar conditions, sufficient proof that the attitude and the policy of the Soviet Russian regime remains unchanged? Does all this indicate any "structural changes in the regime" and prompt us to assume that some form of coexistence with this godless regime is possible: For the Church of Christ there can never be any coexistence with the forces of evil, — not even if the entire world were to agree to such a coexistence. For the Church must always combat the forces of evil. Nor can it change its attitude to meet the earthly well-being of its believers, namely because they might be persecuted for their religious faith. No, the Church must constantly defend the truth and God and must combat the undue importance attached to material values, love of ease and comfort, and worldly pleasures. And in this respect the priests and the ecclesiastical dignitaries should set the faithful believers an example.

Even the mention of a possibility of the Vatican entering into diplomatic relations with the USSR, though this is to depend on the fulfilment of certain preconditions, creates the illusion that structural changes are possible in the Red Russian imperium. This merely confuses and misleads the faithful and is, in any case, reprehensible. And it shakes the trust of the faithful in the Catholic Church, which has always been a citadel that was inaccessible to destructive, Russian, Communist, masonic and "progressive" ideas. Do certain opportunist-minded ecclesiastical dignitaries allow the commanders of this citadel, too, a possibility to make a compromise with the Devil, and can it be that this citadel houses the wooden horse of Troy?

Strictly religious dogmatic problems are not within our province. The decisions reached by the Oecumenical Council in this respect are accepted by the faithful Catholics. But as regards the question of an anti-Communist attitude the faithful are on the side of the Ukrainian ecclesiastical dignitaries, on the side of the uncompromising fighters against Communism, on the side of the champion of a spiritual crusade against godless Moscow — Cardinal Ottaviani, who rejects all possibility of a "coexistence" with the Russian tyrants and their "Church" and thus defends the Ukrainian priests and the Ukrainian Metropolitan and martyr Josef Slipy, who have been incarcerated.

We always assume that *unity of action* on the part of the Christian churches in their fight *against atheism*, as represented by Moscow, is possible. A unity in dogmatic questions depends upon the Grace of God and also upon the tedious and systematic work of many years, but unity in the fight against militant atheism, against tyranny and slavery, and for the rights of the individual as a

being created in the divine image, and for the freedom of religious faith, is now more than ever possible and real and, indeed, imperative. It is extremely regrettable that the invitation of representatives of the Russian "Orthodox Church" to the Oecumenical Council has made all this impossible. For the presence of the delegates of the Kremlin, attired in priestly robes, at the Oecumenical Council in the Vatican created an entirely different moral situation and an entirely different atmosphere for the discussions held by the Council elders. For the Council cannot become a council of the militant Church against the godless on a global scale if the Moscow representatives of the godless regime continue to be present, since all condemnation of this regime, which is hostile to man, would arouse opposition on the part of the "observers". Moscow has unfortunately succeeded in paralysing the *militant Church* in the West. For this reason the Council is at the moment not in a position to defend uncompromisingly *every* religion which is being persecuted in China, Korea, Vietnam, the USSR, Albania and in other countries, and to condemn the persecutors, for the representatives of the "Church" from the Soviet Union who are present at the Council would defend the "freedom" of religion in the USSR and thus ridicule everyone else. It is hardly likely that any great, historical decisions will be reached at present as regards *a crusade of the spirit and of the idea* against atheism and against the persecution of religion behind the Iron Curtain. This has incidentally been corroborated in a cynical and symbolical manner by the Moscow "Patriarch" Alexej (who has his representatives at the Council), who at a diplomatic reception held recently in Moscow kissed Nikita Khrushchov like a brother, that is to say a man who liquidated the restored Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAPZ) and the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and who has murdered hundreds, in fact thousands, of priests and true believers in Ukraine. And this man, the hangman of Ukraine and, above all, of the two Ukrainian Churches, is kissed by the "Patriarch", who incidentally has been decorated with the highest Soviet order, whereas the representatives of the "Patriarch", without the least respect and in complete disregard of the ritual of kissing the Pope's ring which is customary in the Christian world, merely shake hands with His Holiness.

The assertion that the delegates of the Russian "Church" at the Oecumenical Council are representatives who are not connected with the Soviet government, since the Church is separated from the State on the strength of the Constitution of the USSR, and that the ecclesiastical delegates cannot therefore be held responsible for the crimes of the

Bolshevist regime, is nothing but a sophism of dialectical materialism, which likewise blinds the initiators of the invitation. In this connection the fact must be borne in mind that the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Catholic Church were not liquidated solely by the Russian secret police. The Lviv "Council", which "decided" to conclude a "union" with the Church of Moscow, was arranged not only by the NKVD but also by the "Patriarch" Alexej. This same "Patriarch" appointed his supporters as bishops, enforced his supreme authority on the Church which had been liquidated by applying violence, and transformed the Catholic priests who had been in danger of being shot into "Orthodox" priests, etc. Alexej worked hand in hand with the NKVD. He designated Stalin, the most ruthless persecutor of Christianity of all time, as an envoy of God. If Alexej believes in God, why did he not defend the Ukrainian priests who died for Christ? He should not have placed terrorized Ukrainian Catholic priests and even priests of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church under his "jurisdiction", for he must have been aware of the fact that this was not a case of a "voluntary conversion", for these unfortunate priests were "converted" by means of NKVD guns. The representative of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Professor of Theology Dm. Tsakons, designated the observers of the Russian Church as "political agents who are endeavouring to bargain over the 'peaceful coexistence' between the Soviet state and its Catholic subjects".

As has already been pointed out, the fact that representatives of the Russian "Church", that is to say of the Church which is morally and in practice responsible for the terrorization and persecution of the Ukrainian Churches, are taking part in the Council in the Vatican, is undermining the morale of the faithful of the two Ukrainian Churches. The man who approved of the arrest of the Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan and of the Ukrainian Orthodox priests who were not prepared to recognize the Patriarch of Moscow (and what is more, he was extremely pleased that the Ukrainian Churches were liquidated by the NKVD), the man who gave Stalin his blessing and recently kissed Khrushchov, the man who tried to persuade the Ukrainian Metropolitan to betray the Ukrainian Church by offering him the highest post in the Moscow Patriarchate, — this same man, as if to ridicule all Christians, sends his delegates to the Oecumenical Council in the Vatican, *whilst the fighter and advocate of Christ and of unity with the Apostolic See — the Ukrainian Catholic prelate, Dr. Josef Slipy, languishes in Soviet Russian prisons and, in spite of his great sacrifice, is still denied the title of a cardinal.*

Those Vatican circles who decided to invite the Russian "Orthodox Church" to the Oecumenical Council have in the meantime no doubt realized that they made a sad mistake in assuming that "the experience of the past two thousand years" would be able to outwit the cunning of "Communism merely a hundred years old". For they themselves were outwitted by the Russians, who by cunning methods managed to get the Patriarch of Constantinople, Athenagoras, excluded from the Council so that they might remain the sole spokesmen of "Orthodoxy". If solely the genuine and true Orthodox Churches and in particular the persecuted Churches were taken into consideration in this respect, then the participation of representatives of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church as observers in the Oecumenical Council would naturally be extremely desirable. In that case the delegates of the "Patriarch" Alexej would have no business to be present amongst the Council participators.

Incidentally, a straight and uncompromising course, as well as dogmatism should remain firmly anchored within the Church, but opportunism, tactical considerations and relativism are out of place. Principles and not tactics must rank foremost. The path to unity does not lead via opportunism and collaboration with the "Church" which supports the government of tyrants and atheists and, what is more, serves the aims of the regime of the atheists, but via a *crusade* against these tyrants and persecutors of religion, these modern Neros and Diocletians.

The hopes set by certain Vatican circles on the "conversion of the East" via Moscow (Russia) would be realizable, given a "slight" precondition: namely that the Catholic Church changes its spiritual structure fundamentally and becomes a refuge for servilism and Caesaropapism and an instrument of Russian world Messianism, with a Russian as Pope and *the Kremlin instead of Rome* as the centre of the Catholic Church.

The opinion naturally obtrudes itself that the Oecumenical Council will not succeed in fulfilling the noble intentions of Pope John XXIII if the militant Church in the catacombs behind the Iron Curtain is not allowed to express its views at this Council. It would be fatal if the confidence of the faithful in the Catholic Church, in its capacity hitherto as a bulwark in the fight against godlessness, tyranny, slavery and moral degeneration, were shattered. And there is danger of this being the case if the guiding principles pursued hitherto in this fight and the uncompromising rejection of all collaboration and any kind of "dialogue" with the advocates of the godless regime and of slavery are undermined. For the strength of the Catholic Church

always lay in its uncompromising fight against the forces of evil and in the dogmatic and indisputable emphasis of its truths, which are based on the divine revelation. And the Church has never made a pact with the Diocletians and Neros, nor with the heathen pontiffs, but has always fought with the weapons of the spirit, of faith, of the Christian idea and of martyrdom for the victory of its truths. It never aimed to establish any coexistence with tyranny, tyrants and blasphemers. The Church of Christ prefers to be persecuted rather than to enjoy protection. The Church always forgave those who were converted and even made them its champions; the Sauls became Pauls, but the Church never sought to make any pacts with the Sauls. It never allowed itself to be humiliated, nor did it ever negotiate with those who persecuted its faithful, or with those who negated the Church itself.

In our opinion the Church should also defend social rights, as many of the great Popes have done, and it should further the realization of social justice by preaching idealism, self-sacrifice and altruism and, at the same time, opposing egoism and hedonism both in practice and in every other respect. It should not ignore the national rights of the subjugated peoples, but should support them, for this, too, is part of the realization of divine justice.

We had hoped that the present Oecumenical Council would advocate the protection of all the persecuted churches in the world and the freedom of religious faith. We were firmly convinced that the Catholic Church would initiate the union of all Christians in the fight for God on earth and for the defence of His laws . . .

We likewise felt justified in hoping that the Council would issue a renewed appeal for a crusade of the spirit and the Christian idea for the rebirth of Christianity in the spirit of the early centuries of its existence, - for a *different* and more austere mode of living, for purity of morals, for asceticism, for social and national justice, and against hedonism and materialism, against the moral degeneration which is becoming increasingly widespread in the West; for the rebirth of religious faith and moral principles, for the liberation of the individual from the fetters of godlessness and indifference, for a new way of life for individuals and for peoples, for a new and courageous approach on the part of the entire Christian Church, of the universal Church towards the persecuted Church, since this Church must be regarded as the standard-bearer of our day.

We nourished our hopes with the thought that the Council would devote its attention chiefly to the ruthlessly persecuted but militant Christianity of Ukraine, Hungary, Lithuania, Caucasia, China and Vietnam, as

well as of all the peoples enslaved by the godless regime.

We furthermore hoped that the "silent" Church would have an opportunity at the Council to tell the whole world about the manner in which the godless tyrants persecute Christ, negate and scorn man, God's creature, and ruthlessly crush every religion.

- We expected a fighting spirit to manifest itself against the Antichrist, who dared to undertake a campaign against Christ and against all the religions of the world.

Above all, we expected a spirit of regeneration to manifest itself, and, in the second place, other resolutions and decisions, which were to serve as a basis for unity. That is to say, in the first place a unity in spirit, in a definite attitude to life, in the primacy of self-sacrifice, asceticism and of heroism "for our nearest neighbours" in the fight against the godlessness which dares to attack the whole world and which has as its allies religious indifference and the priority of materialism before idealism. For the Christian Church will never speak the same language as all the Diocletians and Neros, or as all the chief pontiffs of the type such as that atheist Alexej, just as the early Christians had nothing in common with the heathens.

The Metropolitan Count Sheptyzky, the Metropolitan Lypkivsky and the Metropolitan Slipy revealed the same courageous attitude which was manifested by the leaders of the early Christians. To us they are an example worthy of imitation.

We are gratified that our Ukrainian ecclesiastical dignitaries candidly and openly voiced the truth in Rome. In this respect they have the full support of the entire Ukrainian people, regardless of any difference in religious creeds. For our Ukrainian prelates defended truth and also indicated the course which Western Christianity should follow.

Our arguments would not be complete and it would be a serious omission on our part if we did not quote in conclusion the noteworthy statement which our prelate, Archbishop Dr. Ivan Butchko, made on the occasion of a press conference held in Rome on October 30, 1962, when he told German journalists:

"The Ukrainian prelates were always unwavering in their faith. None of them ever betrayed Christ or the Church. They all sacrificed their life for their religious faith. Only one of them, namely the successor of the Metropolitan Sheptyzky, - Archbishop Josef Slypy - is still alive today in Siberia. He is the *great* but also the *unknown* absentee in this assembly of the Council. It seems to be more acceptable to some persons if his name and also the name of the persecuted Church are

passed over in silence. If we were living in the days of the Apostles, St. Peter would languish a long time in Herod's prison. But in those days the Church prayed for him . . . We Ukrainian bishops are now forced to reveal the truth about the situation behind the Iron Curtain. But many persons accept this situation as though it only concerned us. From the worldly point of view we have nothing more to lose. But in spite of this, our Church continues to live on in secret and to train new persons who can indeed be called true and devout Christians. Nevertheless we consider it our duty to warn all those who fail to assess godless Communism rightly. The decalogue intended for young Communists contains the following passage: 'Do not forget that the clergy must be regarded as the fiercest enemies of the Communist state. Fight religion on every occasion. He who is not a convinced adherent of the godless movement, is not a good Communist. For atheism and Communism are inseparable. These two ideals constitute the basis of the Soviet government'.

But has this 'basis' been established after 45 years of Soviet Russian rule? No! For in the hearts of the faithful faith and hope are still alive. And it is this faith which enables them to endure sorrow and suffering. And it can be assumed that it is thanks to this suffering that we here in the West are still free. It is by the Grace of the Holy Ghost that we are able to send delegates to this Council from all over the world and that we are able to assemble here in order to bear

the Cross of Christ and also help our brothers to bear it."

The Ukrainian press has devoted appropriate attention to these courageous words by the Archbishop of the Ukrainians in exile. We trust that his words will meet with the response that they deserve in the circles to which they are addressed. The attitude of the entire Ukrainian people in this respect is the same as that expressed by Archbishop Butchko in so impressive and convincing a manner.

In conclusion we wish to stress that our criticism is directed *not* against the Catholic Church as an *institution* but against certain ecclesiastical dignitaries. For we know only too well that the Church can never reconcile itself to Communism - for the two are as different as fire and water. But some ecclesiastical dignitaries are such opportunists and so calculating that they are either not capable of seeing, or refuse to see the danger which threatens and interpret the self-satisfied and deceptive smiles of Alexej or Nikita as an indication of a change for the better. The Church as an institution, however, will never follow the course adopted by these opportunist dignitaries.

For this reason we hope that the second session of the Vatican Oecumenical Council in the autumn of 1963 will not disappoint the hopes of the incarcerated, persecuted and subjugated Christians, but will show the whole world that the Church is the eternal protector of the righteous who suffer, fight and die for it and for truth.

AF ABN Political Forum

The American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc Nations (AF ABN) in the USA are organizing a political forum on the subject of the "Policy of Free Countries towards Russian Communist Imperialism and Liberation of the Subjugated Nations" in New York, in the rooms of the "New Yorker Hotel", on February 9, 1963. The Ambassadors to the UNO, Congressman Michael A. Feighan, former Congressman Charles Kersten, as well as the President of the Central Committee of A. B. N., Jaroslaw Stetzko, will participate in the forum. The session of the forum is to begin at 5 p. m. and the banquet at 7 p. m.

TASS Attacks the Tokyo Conference

The news agency of the Soviet Russian government, TASS, recently attacked the Tokyo Conference for having condemned Soviet Russian colonialism and having demanded the de-colonization of the Russian empire.

TASS was above all indignant at the fact that one of the participators in the conference of the "ancients" (an allusion to the participation in the conference of two former Prime Ministers of Japan, Mr. Kishi and Mr. Yoshida) was J. Stetzko, the initiator of the resolution on Russian colonialism, which was proposed by Professor Sükrü Esmer, the delegate from Turkey.

The Attitude of the Turkestanian Intellectuals to Communism

In the course of the tour of inspection which Khrushchov undertook in the Soviet Republics of Turkestan from September 27th to October 5th, 1962, he held a number of speeches, in which he admonished the population to fulfil its duties and to intensify its labour effort. He described the allegedly happy and carefree life of the people of Turkestan, which, according to his statements, they owe to the leadership of the Communist Party, but, so he stressed, they must also show themselves worthy of this life.

In the speech which he made in Ashkhabad, the capital of Turkmenistan, on September 30th, 1962, he said:

“I frequently meet Moslem representatives from other countries and have long talks with them. These representatives of the Moslems abroad always affirm that their peoples envy the Moslems in the Soviet Orient – what is meant is Turkestan – because of their happy life and would also like to lead such a life”.

On the other hand, the imperialists of the West maintained – and we quote Khrushchov’s own words — that “you have become slaves of Communism”. In his lengthy arguments he designated this opinion on the part of the West as a lie and affirmed that the people of Turkestan were free and independent.

The people in Ashkhabad, who had been conveyed by lorries from the villages and towns to the capital in order to welcome Khrushchov, kept silent on hearing these statements, and of course no one ventured to contradict the dictator. But these Moslems who have been degraded to a colonial level cannot understand why the Moslems in other countries should allegedly envy them and should want to give up the freedom they have obtained in order to become Communist slaves and a Russian colony. For the Moslem population in Turkestan is only too well aware of the “blessings” of Communism, of its alleged freedom and its “carefree” life, and is therefore by no means convinced. This fact can also be seen from the internal differences amongst the Party leaders, which are naturally concealed from the peoples of Asia and Africa and also from the delegates of these countries who visit the Soviet Republics of Turkestan.

By means of decrees, declarations, appeals, meetings, propagandists and agitators the Communist Party and the Soviet governments in the five Soviet Republics of Turkestan again and again endeavour to spur on the population to the maximum labour efficiency in industry and agriculture; for the chief problem which continues to be a source of worry to the Communist organs is the realization of the decrees issued by the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the fulfilment of the quotas of the Seven-Year Plan. For this reason Khrushchov recently once more exhorted the people of Turkestan to work harder and described their allegedly enviable life, of which, so he stressed, they must show themselves worthy.

But the desired results have so far not been achieved, and even Party leaders like Rashid(ov), the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tadzhikistan, have been obliged to ascertain that the attitude of the population and in particular of some of the Turkestanian intellectuals has not changed. And this fact is apparent not only as regards labour efficiency in industry and agriculture but also in the ideological sector.

Since the Communists are of the opinion that only those who are completely convinced of the Communist ideology will make the utmost effort for the state and the Party, and hence for the economy, too, they regard ideological training as their chief task, in order to produce trustworthy "Soviet subjects" and efficient workers.

As was reported by the paper "Kizil Uzbekistan" on January 25, 1962, Rashid(ov) issued directives to the members of the Intellectuals' Congress in Uzbekistan, which was attended by 1,200 delegates. He accused the intellectuals of Turkestan of failing to exert a decisive influence on the people and of isolating themselves from the latter. He emphasized the fact that they were not taking an active part in combatting the nationalist trends still prevalent in Uzbekistan, and added that this was the reason why the production plans in industry and agriculture were not being fulfilled. He closed his speech, which consisted solely of accusations and reproaches and lasted for hours, with the words: "Enough of this subject! It is time you now realized the situation!"

Steps are now being taken in Uzbekistan in keeping with these directives, and the intellectuals are being employed to a greater extent in the ideological fight.

The same conditions also prevail in Tadzhikistan. At the 14th Party Congress of Tadzhikistan on September 23, 1961, Rasul(ov) issued various directives, which are still being followed today. He likewise accused the teachers, students, writers and poets, and even some Party functionaries of adopting a passive attitude.

He said:

"Some of our Party comrades and the intellectuals are afraid to mix with the people and spread the Communist ideology. What are they actually afraid of?"

These accusations are based on a directive which was issued at the beginning of 1961 when the Communist Party leaders decided to investigate and study the general attitude of the population and the situation as a whole in the towns and rural areas. To this end agitators, Party functionaries, as well as intellectuals, as for instance writers and poets, received instructions to mingle with the urban and rural population and to establish closer contact with the latter in order to ascertain the opinion, mental attitude and sentiments of the people.

The results of this research were to be analysed and compared with various data and reports. New propagandist and psychological directives were then to be drawn up in order to be able to train all classes of the population more effectively for the Communist ideology. It was affirmed that only in this way could an increase in production in industry and agriculture be achieved.

As was reported by "Soviet Tadzhikistani", it was ascertained only a few months later that this experiment had proved a failure. Not only did the people refuse to be questioned and watched, but those who were entrusted with this task - scientists, writers and various Party functionaries - did not carry it out efficiently. The Communist Party leaders themselves admitted that there was a breach between the Party and the population. And since the intellectuals and many of the Party functionaries are only too well aware of this fact, they are loath to mix with the people.

In his violent criticism Rasul(ov) affirmed that the intellectuals of Tadzhikistan and some of the Party functionaries were even working hand in hand with the people against the directives of the Communist Party, or at least were tacitly tolerating the attitude of the people and their passivity. He quoted various examples, such as for instance the negative attitude of parents to the Soviet schools, an attitude which, so he stressed, was in some cases supported by the authorities. Many children and in particular girls are removed from school by their parents before they have completed their education. Birth certificates are even faked

with the knowledge of the teachers and authorities in order to make girls appear older than they really are. They then leave school at an early age and get married. This fact seriously affects economy, for, as Rasul(ov) stressed, industry and agriculture are in this way deprived of valuable labour.

As in Uzbekistan, so too in Tadzhikistan, the intellectuals are accused of fostering and supporting nationalist and reactionary trends in their circles. Rasul(ov) reproached certain persons in Party and government posts with trying to split up the population into different groups according to geographical conceptions in order to thus isolate them. He added that this tendency was most apparent amongst the intellectuals of Tadzhikistan, and emphasized that the latter must be made to realize that every Soviet citizen in every Republic of the Soviet Union had the same rights, regardless of where they were born or of which nation they belonged to. By this statement he was implying that the Tadzhik intellectuals do not regard the Russians as members of the Tadzhik nation but as foreigners who are excluded from the community. The First Secretary of the Communist Party of Tadzhikistan himself thus admits the prevalence of strong anti-Russian trends; for if such trends were non-existent, the Communist Party leaders would not consider it necessary to draw special attention to them.

Naturally pressure is constantly brought to bear on the intellectuals of Turkestan by means of accusations and threats of the kind expressed by Rashid(ov) and Rasul(ov). But in spite of this fact it is obvious that the Turkestanian population and many of the intellectuals refuse to allow themselves to be intimidated or influenced, for passive resistance continues and their attitude remains the same.

These facts show only too plainly that up to October 1962 the Communist ideology and the rule of the Russians had made very little impression on the Moslem population of Turkestan, in spite of all the accusations and threats of the Communist Party and even though an entirely different picture is shown to the delegates from Asia and Africa who visit Turkestan. Nor can all Khrushchov's fine phrases alter the situation in this respect.

Ukrainian Deeds for Independence

Excerpts of Remarks by Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller delivered at Triennial Convention of Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, New York, October, 1962

This convention is a sobering reminder to all the world that the cold war at many times and places is not cold at all. It costs the lives of men like *Lev Rebet* and *Stepan Bandera*, the Soviet-murdered Ukrainian underground leaders.

It is a desperate competition for the liberties of living men and women – and of children.

It is a deadly combat in which no day goes by without the risk of life – the loss of life – by human beings who have the God-granted will to oppose tyranny at whatever cost.

This gathering can serve to remind the world that the price for every day of a people's captivity is paid in human suffering.

A further price is expatriation. A century ago, the spiritual voice of Ukraine's freedom, *Taras Shevchenko*, accepted that cost with gallantry. In one of his songs, *Shevchenko* said:

“It does not matter to me, If I shall live or not in Ukraine . . .”

He meant that banishment from his beloved homeland was part of the struggle for his homeland's freedom.

But Ukrainian deeds, and your people's dedication, remind the world that no price is too high and no fight too long in the cause of freedom that this congress has pursued for a quarter of a century.

In this cause, you have the heartfelt allegiance of everyone who believes in men's right to govern themselves. We share your distress over the Red imprisonment of Metropolitan Joseph Slipy. We cry out with you against the Soviet persecution of millions for their Jewish faith. We deplore the Red oppression of the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches.

In our lifetime, human freedoms have been ravaged in nation after nation by Communist colonialism. It is significant that no people have willingly voted themselves into Communist domination and that no free plebiscite is ever permitted on whether Communist dictatorship shall be continued.

We in America owe faith to the people of these captive nations. America's spirit was forged by settlers who came to found a land free of political, economic or religious oppression.

The people of the United States, through the U.S. Congress, have recognized this proud trust. In a joint resolution, Congress has pointed out that, in the eyes of the enslaved peoples, America is the citadel of human freedom. These peoples look to us for leadership in seeking their liberation and independence and restoring the enjoyment of their religious freedoms. If we fail to provide this leadership, we not only doom these captive peoples but place our own freedom in jeopardy.



Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller with the representatives of the Ukrainian Congress Committee

Republican Congressional leadership is pressing for creation of a Special House Committee on Captive Nations. As Republican National Chairman William E. Miller has said, this committee is needed to preserve and broadcast truths about the captive nations. In Representative Miller's words, "These truths form our greatest weapons for winning the cold war."

Among these truths are the facts – the undistorted facts – about the status of the people of *White Ruthenia, Ukraine, Georgia and Turkestan*.

A symbol of the bond of common purpose uniting the free Ukrainians with America's people is the monument to Taras Shevchenko which will soon stand in Washington. The Shevchenko statue will be a reminder of the ideals of personal freedom and national independence that Shevchenko shared with Abraham Lincoln.

We in New York are proud that Senator Jacob K. Javits was one of the proponents of the joint resolution in Congress authorizing the Shevchenko statue. I am proud that I had a part in the Shevchenko Memorial Committee's proclamation program. It is my hope that I can take part in the Shevchenko memorial's dedication in Washington next Spring.

For the free Ukrainian spirit lives in the words of Taras Shevchenko:

"It makes great difference to me
That evil folk and wicked men
Attack our Ukraine, once so free,
And rob and plunder it at will.
That makes great difference to me."

As it did to Shevchenko, Ukraine's oppression makes great difference to you who are here tonight, and to all of us who share your faith in Ukraine's liberation, your belief in man's right to be free, your dedication to man's brotherhood under God.

Right Time to Expose Russian Colonialism

INTERVIEW

with Her Excellency Madame Tran-Van-Chuong, Permanent Observer of Viet-Nam to the United Nations, given on November 22, 1962:

Question: Does Your Excellency agree with the contention that Soviet-Russian colonialism definitely exists?

Answer: Yes, very definitely. It should be added that a Communist-Chinese colonialism is also developing as well.

Question: Do you, Madame, consider the Soviet Union as a multi-national state, in which Communist Russians are the dominant ruling group, while the non-Russian nations (Ukraine, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Georgia, Latvia, Armenia, Lithuania, Azerbaijan, Estonia,) are colonially enslaved peoples?

Answer: The Soviet Union is an imperial state, not a homogeneous national state, in which the non-Russian nations are colonially subjugated by the Soviet-Russian imperialists and colonialists.

Question: Is the bloody warfare, presently going on in Viet-Nam, regarded by the Viet-Nameese Government as a civil war or as a national defensive war against aggression directed, organized, and outfitted by Soviet-Russian colonialists?

Answer: This war is an undeclared war organized, directed, and outfitted from outside by a Communist satellite, North Viet-Nam, which is helped and supplied by both Red China and the U. S. S. R. In my opinion Russia and Communist-China would like to divide the world between themselves.

Question: If the statement is true, that Soviet-Russian and Communist-Chinese colonialists are the enemies of the strivings of the Viet-Nameese people toward full independence, sovereignty, and national integrity, is it equally true that both the Viet-Nameese and the Ukrainian nations should closely cooperate in their struggle for existence, because their aims are identical: to liquidate Soviet Russian and Communist-Chinese colonialism?

Answer: Russian colonialism is not only the enemy of Ukraine and Viet-Nam but also of the whole Free World. Russian colonialists first enter the garden, then the kitchen, next the dining-room, subsequently the drawing-room and the bedroom, lastly the second floor, and finally the whole house is occupied. The house is the Free World. Hence all the subjugated nations should be joined by the still free nations in a common struggle for liquidation of the colonialisms, because alone they do not command the required power to achieve liberation.

Question: Should the Free World expose and condemn Soviet-Russian colonialism?

Answer: Now is the right time for the Free World to expose and condemn Soviet Russian colonialism and to stress its menace to the free nations.

Question: Is there a need for a proclamation by the Free Nations that all rights to full independence and national integrity should be recognized to all nations enslaved within the Soviet Union as well as to all nations subjugated or attacked by Russian and Communist-Chinese colonialists?

Answer: Yes, such a proclamation would show that the free nations recognize the right to independent national statehood to every nation which is at present subjugated by Russian and Communist-Chinese colonialists. Consequently the hope in eventual liberation will rise among the enslaved peoples which would in turn strengthen their resistance to colonial domination and would increase the pressure upon the imperialists to loosen the fetters of the colonial yoke upon the subjugated peoples.

Question: Does Your Excellency recognize the full right to a national independent state and the exercise of real sovereignty to the enslaved Ukrainian nation?

Answer: The Ukrainian nation is freedom-loving. Its permanent struggle to liberate itself proves that Ukraine is aspiring to possess an independent sovereign national state, not dominated by any form of Russian colonialism.

Question: Should there be established as soon as possible a world-wide front of freedom-loving peoples which would give effective assistance to the liberation struggle of the nations enslaved by Russian and Communist-Chinese colonialists?

Answer: Yes, the struggle against these colonialists must be conducted on a world-wide scale and assistance adequate to needs should be given to all liberation movements fighting to dismember these colonial empires.

Question: In what areas and how can the Viet-Nameese people cooperate with the Ukrainian people in common efforts to liberate fully their respective nations from Communist aggression?

Answer: Close friendship and cooperation in the common struggle against the common enemy should be established in all possible spheres and areas.

Free Nations Should Show More Initiative

*Interview with H. E. Mr. Liu Chieh, Permanent Representative of China
to the United Nations, on October 10, 1962*

Question: Does Your Excellency agree with the contention that the rulers of the Soviet Union are Russian imperialists and colonialists who conquered by force and subjugate the nations which are within the Soviet Union and outside it with imposed Communist regimes, as for example, in Ukraine, on the Chinese mainland, in Georgia, in Poland, in Hungary, etc.?

Answer: I definitely agree. My recent speech in the U.N. answers this question very emphatically on the subjugation of non-Russian peoples, as for example Ukraine. Soviet-Russian colonialism and imperialism are the worst forms that the world has ever seen in exploitation of non-Russian populations. It is more cruel and unscrupulous than any other colonialism.

Question: Can the policy of peaceful coexistence between the free nations and the Communist-Russian bloc assure freedom and peace to the free nations?

Answer: Peaceful coexistence is a Communist slogan having an opposite meaning than in the West, namely, coexistence under Communism. Soviet-Russians are encroaching on South East Asia by peaceful coexistence. They demand absorption into the Communist-Russian empire. There is a Chinese proverb that may be applied to Russian Communist colonialism: "It is like a tiger and you eventually wind up inside him."

Question: How can the Free World contribute to the eventual liquidation of the Communist-Russian empire and re-establishment of independent national governments on integral national territories of all peoples at present subjugated by Communist-Russian colonialists?

Answer: One way is for the free peoples to realize the menace of Communist colonialism and to defeat it. The Communist-Russian threat to freedom takes many forms and we must try to respond to all manifestations of it. Unfortunately the free nations have not yet formulated any plan, while the Communists have been working at it for years and have not stopped suppressing freedom. NATO, SEATO, and other alliances were brought into being to combat and to contain Soviet-Russian colonialism but I do not think it is enough, because they are aggressive and try to subvert countries and they fight wars by proxy, as in Viet Nam, Korea, Laos. The free nations should show more initiative.

Question: Does the possession by the Russians of hydrogen weapons prevent realization of the liberation policy?

Answer: I do not think so. There is always a danger of nuclear war, but what is the alternative? I do not mean to say that free nations want war, but the Russians are also aware that they would be destroyed. Russia is bluffing. Their goal is complete subjugation of all peoples. The object of Moscow is to conquer the world and by having dangerous weapons they are trying to blackmail the free nations. But the free nations cannot accept this.

Question: Why do so many independent nations which until recently were themselves under colonial domination not oppose but tolerate the existence of Soviet-Russian colonialism?

Answer: Many of the former colonies that have emerged into free nationhood have been fighting the Western form of colonialism and have not been aware of the Eastern colonialism that Soviet Russians stand for.

Question: For what reasons did the United Nations until now not make the slightest move in order to liquidate Russian colonialism while at the same time it energetically pursues the goal of complete liquidation of European colonial domains?

Answer: Not all nations are aware of the new form of colonialism. Others cling to the containment policy. My statement in the speech before the United Nations explains this.

Question: In what way can the United Nations contribute to the liberation of nations subjugated by the Communist Russians?

Answer: The United Nations Charter provides for this. Primary purpose are international law and justice. It provides also for establishment of human rights and freedoms and to avert any aggression and to condemn infringement on human rights. The United Nations is a combination of members and not an organization "per se". The Charter is not implemented by all members but is used as a forum on which Communist delegations are blackmailing while other nations stand aside. Therefore, the Charter is not being fulfilled.

Question: What can and will the Chinese Government do in the near future in order to further the goal of liquidating Communist Russian colonialism?

Answer: We are fully aware, more so than other countries, of the full threat of Communist Russian colonialism, whose main object is to dominate the 600 million of our countrymen and to rule over many other Asian and European nations. In Asia we are the strongest and most determined force against Communism. We urge united and strong effort to defeat the purposes of the Communists. Our Delegation in the United Nations is making every effort to expose Communist imperialism.

Question: What could the United Nations do in the field of human rights in order to alleviate the condition of slavery under which the subjugated nations live?

Answer: The United Nations can do a lot on the basis of the Charter. On the Hungarian question the United Nations should keep this topic, to keep the world aware of such things as Soviet subjugation of many countries. It should expose slave conditions in various countries under Communist domination. I pointed that out in my speech. All the peoples under Soviet-Russian rule should be given the right guaranteed by the U.N. to choose for themselves the regime they would like to have. In the field of human rights the United Nations can do a lot by bringing to attention various aspects of Soviet disregard for the basic human rights.

National Chinese Action on the Mainland

Taipeh, Jan. 10th. — It is reported by the official news agency of Free China that National Chinese guerillas blew up a power station on the Chinese mainland in December. Six Soviet mechanics were killed. The agency also reports that four big engagements

took place between the guerillas and Communist troops and that a number of guerillas were killed during combat. The report is based on information received from the National Chinese secret service.

The information regarding the death of six Soviet mechanics refutes the reports according to which the Soviet Union had recalled all its mechanics from the Chinese.

Friendship Formed On Battlefields

Speech held on the 20th anniversary of the formation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, on October 14, 1962

It is a great privilege to me to address a few words to you in the name of the Hungarian Federation in Great Britain on the anniversary of the formation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. And my pleasure is all the greater since I know the significance of the aim and aspirations of the Ukrainian people to create, or to be more correct, to re-create an independent Ukraine, and in particular because I was an observer and an eyewitness of the struggles which led to the formation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

Since the first world war the Ukrainian underground and over-ground movements have manifested various forms of activity, and from time to time they had different purposes. But the main aim and essence of these movements, however, always remained the same, namely an independent Ukraine.

The faith of both our nations was the same in World War II and in the struggle against Nazism as it now is in the fight against Communism.

I myself experienced the enthusiasm with which the Ukrainian people welcomed the German armies, and also the disappointment and disillusionment which manifested itself when Hitler's political machine, the Gestapo, entered their country.

The liberation of Ukraine for which all Ukrainians hoped never took place, though it would have been the only sensible thing, nor did the independence of Ukraine materialize, since Hitler lacked all sympathy for the feelings and ambitions of other nations.

The Hungarian occupation forces viewed all the events which occurred in Ukraine at that time with sorrow, and hence it was quite natural that great sympathy and understanding soon developed between the Hungarians and the Ukrainians, and that this fellow-feeling should later become informal co-operation.

I clearly recall the inspection by the Chief of Staff of the Hungarian Army when the Ukrainian insurgents cleared a way for him through the mine-fields wherever he went. What is more, all the Hungarians were profoundly impressed by the fact that, when we were abandoned by the Major Powers in our heroic fight in 1956, the only power that came to our aid was Ukraine, namely the Ukrainian units forced to serve in the Soviet army; they went over to our side and served our cause, for they realized that we were fighting for the liberation of our nation. Thus the Ukrainian and Hungarian friendship was created and, since it has been shaped and formed on the battlefields, is far more valuable than any friendship which is merely political could ever be. And as emigrants living in exile we, too, must foster this same spirit.

We must never lose sight of our main aim and of our chief enemy, nor must we let a wedge be driven between us, which would be to the great satisfaction of the Communists. All differences must be eliminated between the emigrant organizations of the nations behind the Iron Curtain, for the West will not overcome such differences for us. It is therefore our duty to give each other the strength which is needed to liberate our countries. And the first step towards this liberation is the restoration to all the peoples concerned of the territories taken from them by force by Soviet Russia.

Cleansed by our sufferings, we – the Ukrainians and the Hungarians – must always take our mutual interests into consideration, for in this way we can regain the liberty which we long for.

And it is in this spirit that I wish to express the message of greeting of all the Hungarians in Great Britain, namely the hope that the Ukrainians may very soon achieve their aim – an independent Ukraine.

General L. D. Veress

Roumania – A Satellite of Soviet Russia or a Bulwark of Western Thought

During the past 150 years Russia has invaded or annexed Roumanian territory no less than 12 times. On some occasions she even entered Roumania as a friend or ally. But on every occasion she brought sorrow, suffering and devastation to Roumania, for her aim was always to conquer and incorporate new territories and to destroy the national peculiarities and ancient traditions of all the peoples who were an obstacle to her expansion plans.

With the rise to power of Communism Russia's urge to conquest received a new impetus and an ideological justification. In recent years her aims, based on the idea of bringing about a completely new order in the world, have become exorbitant. Nationalism founded on the urge to conquest has combined dialectically with the grotesque teachings of a world-embracing deliverance dogma, to form a global, aggressive, imperialist ideology that has developed a new technique of subjugation, new subversive methods and conquest practices and has set up a dogmatical justification for the most dreadful series of crimes ever experienced in the history of mankind. By establishing a Communist network of conspiracy which covers the whole world, sovietized Russia secured for herself – far beyond her state frontiers and amongst other peoples and in other countries – the complicity of fanatical, discontented, adventurous, ambitious and antisocial elements, whose task it now was to further the unique expansion aims of their degenerate spiritual home by means of plots, acts of sabotage and treachery.

In Roumania, however, this large-scale subversive activity did not prove a success. In spite of the unfavourable geographical position of Roumania, the Communist organization of this south-westerly neighbour of the Soviet Union, which was located on one of the main expansion lines of the latter, – according to the repeated admissions of Roumanian Communist Party leaders – at the time of the unconditional capitulation of the Roumanian army, which was the result of internal treachery, only numbered about 1,000 members – with a total population of about 20 million. The Roumanian nation, an essentially peasant-nation orientated towards Western culture and adhering unswervingly to its Christian faith, not only rejected the new dogma, which had been created as a figment of the imagination of certain unpractical fanatics and was unworthy of mankind, but also spontaneously, consciously and most decidedly combatted it. Prior to the invasion of the Red Army, Communism in Roumania suffered the most thorough and most spectacular defeat in the whole of its history so far. If internal differences and the mediocrity of the reigning and intrigueing political upper class of Roumania, as well as a weak-willed but ambitious king and the blind faith of the government leaders in the political far-sightedness of the West, had not led to an overhasty and unconditional capitulation, and if Roumania, incidentally like all the other East European countries, had not been abandoned to the Soviet Russian moloch by the Western powers, the Communist danger in Roumania would have been eliminated for all time.

At the time of the unconditional capitulation of Roumania on August 23, 1944, one of the most critical moments in the eventful history of Roumania, the country more or less was without an efficient political leadership. The revolutionary elements, the leading members of the so-called historical parties*) and King Michael, all of

*) The National Liberal, the National Farmers' and the Social Democratic Parties.

whom, in collaboration with the few Communists in the country, had overthrown the dictatorship of the non-party and not very popular head of state, Antonescu, had no clear idea of either the true aims of Russia or the intentions of the West. In addition, most of the intriguers had exhausted their political wits during the years of the personal dictatorship of King Carol II, who had supported them without reservations. For some time now, they had no longer enjoyed any support at all amongst the masses. The army, which, at the time of the coup d'état against Antonescu that led to the capitulation, was involved in heavy combats against the superior strength of the Red Army, was embittered at the fact that the revolutionaries had left them in the lurch. After the King had issued orders to lay down arms more than 150,000 Roumanian soldiers were taken prisoner by the Bolsheviks. The only political power which, because of the support that it enjoyed amongst the people and by reason of its long experience in fighting against Communism, would have been able to set up an internal front to prevent the spread of Communist power was the Iron Guard. But by a coup d'état in 1941 Antonescu had had thousands of members of this Party arrested and had induced the German government to place the leaders of this Party who had fled abroad in so-called protective custody in the concentration camps of Buchenwald, Dachau and Oranienburg. And when the Soviet troops occupied Roumania those members of the Iron Guard who had been arrested continued to remain in captivity under even more rigorous conditions. The national government which had been hastily and provisionally founded in Vienna was then only able to organize a fight against the Soviet Russian occupation during the early years from abroad. And this was possible to an even less degree after the revolutionaries in less than three years had gradually abandoned Roumania and the Roumanian people to the Communists. A solution of the Roumanian problem was now only possible in connection with world-wide factors. But this solution lay in other hands.

The process by which Roumania was gradually delivered up to the Communist Party was by no means glorious and can be recounted in a few words. The first royal government which was set up under the Marshal of the Royal Household, General Sanatescu, only united the members of the three above-mentioned political parties and of the Communist Party for a short time. His successor, General Radescu, who later fled abroad, was only able to hold the "bourgeois" position until March 6, 1945. On that day the King was forced by the Kremlin's deputy Foreign Minister Vyshinsky, to entrust the government to a puppet of the Communists, Petru Groza. Thus the path was paved for the gradual dissolution of the bourgeois parties, for a large-scale purge in the administration and the army, for the annihilation of the resistance groups, the abolition of the monarchy, the state control of trade and industry, the collectivization of agriculture, and the setting up of an omnipresent and omnipotent Communist apparatus, etc. By 1948 the most important stages towards the complete communization of the country had been achieved. And the Roumanian people who had always refused to accept Communism were, owing to the pressure of circumstances, now subjugated under the Red knout indefinitely.

In a way the Roumanians' attitude towards Communism today is even less friendly than it was at the time of the occupation of their country nearly two decades ago. In those days a minority, those who were politically indifferent and ignorant, and some opportunists, etc., fell a victim to the same illusion as did those of their own politicians who delivered up the country to the Communists and as did the Western politicians who believed in the patriarchal good-naturedness of "Uncle Joe".

Today however, after nearly twenty years' occupation, there are no longer any politically indifferent persons and all illusions have long since been shattered. The fact that the number of members of the Communist Party has increased to several hundred thousands merely reveals that the Roumanian people, forgotten and aband-

oned by all and left to their own fate, are working out their own methods of how to survive.

Apart from the members of the direct subjugation apparatus (police, secret police, etc.), the Party leaders of the country as a whole and of the local regions, the heads of the administration and of the army, there are hardly any convinced Communists in the ranks of the Party. By joining the Communist Party most of the members have merely sought to achieve a temporary adjustment to the changed conditions in their country and in this way ensure a slightly more bearable life for their family and safeguard themselves against the arbitrary intervention of the security police. Some of them continue their resistance against Communism in a subtle but extremely dangerous manner. The majority of Party members would in any case break away from the Party at the first sign of any upheaval in Communism. Only the "true" members, the fierce fanatics and, above all, those who have committed crimes in the name of a criminal ideology, are bound to the regime for better or for worse. But the number of these arch-Communists, who, even though they are constantly in official contact with the rest of the population owing to the absolute rule of the Party, are nevertheless isolated in a mental and spiritual ghetto, does not exceed a few thousand. And the chasm between them and their fellow-countrymen cannot be bridged.

The persecution of both the active and also the potential opponents of the regime continues unabated, not only because the spontaneous opposition against Communism is in evidence everywhere, but also because the Communist Party, which is constantly suffering new reverses as a result of its outmoded views regarding economic and planning demands and its entirely false attitude as regards human and social nature, is always obliged to look for new scapegoats. The Party is thus forced again and again to take action; hence the series of trials of a political nature never comes to an end and is not likely to do so.

On the other hand, however, the methods adopted by the Roumanians in fighting Communism, above all after the abandonment of Hungary by the West in 1956 – a fact which was regarded by the Roumanians and by all the other subjugated peoples as a betrayal of their independence aspirations – have been adjusted to the attendant circumstances and to the realization that the West is not interested in their fate. Since the Roumanians now know that they can no longer hope for any support from the free world in the near future – a fact which seems to be corroborated by the willingness of the leading Western politicians to make compromises as regards Soviet Russian demands, an attitude which is regarded behind the Iron Curtain as a willingness to capitulate – and have, moreover, also realized that in the approaching fight against Russian Communist tyranny only those who are long-winded will have a chance to survive, they have abandoned the method of spectacular trials of strength and have resorted to the method of waiting for a more favourable opportunity to present itself in the historical constellation of Roumania.

Like all other subjugated peoples who have fallen under the Soviet Russian knout through no fault of their own, the Roumanians have done their utmost to ward off Communism. Thousands have sacrificed their life or their freedom in the grim fight for the cause of freedom. The lack of understanding on the part of the Western world, which has ignored their fight and no doubt even regarded it as inopportune, has proved an important ally for Communism since it enabled the latter to consolidate its position in leisure. Fundamentally, the indifference of the free world has harmed Roumania's resistance movement more than the direct intervention by the Kremlin hangmen. But neither the lack of understanding of the one, nor the incomparable terrorist methods of the other have succeeded in breaking the will to resist of the Roumanian people against the Russian occupation and their hatred of the latter's diabolical ideology. In a manner adapted to circumstances and conditions, this will

to resist will continue until a victory is achieved, or until an ultimate defeat, which would inevitably also mean the downfall and decay of Western civilization as a whole. In the worldwide conflict for the salvation or destruction of this civilization the Roumanian people, who in the last war sacrificed thousands of their sons on the eastern front, have a clear conscience.

In the Light of Facts

REMARKS

Regarding a Proposed Resolution of the Canadian Government Condemning Soviet Russian Colonialism and Imperialism

While in the past the United Nations dealt thoroughly with the problem of colonialism in certain areas of Africa and Asia there did not forthcome any move to place on the agenda of this international organization the question of liquidating the greatest and most ruthless colonial empire — the Soviet Russian imperium, which continues its existence in the form of the so-called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Undoubtedly there will be placed on the agenda of the 17th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations various matters connected with the liquidation of the remnants of Western colonialism. It is a proper time also that similar action should forthcome in respect to the Soviet Russian colonialism which at present is enslaving scores of nations within and outside the USSR.

The fact that the USSR is a colonial empire has been proven beyond any doubt and it was many times emphasized by the statesmen of the Western powers. President Kennedy of the United States stated in his address before the 16th Session of the General Assembly: "... there is no ignoring the fact that the tide of self-determination has not yet reached the Communist empire where a population far larger than that officially termed 'dependent' lives under governments installed by foreign troops instead of free institutions ..."

Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker of Canada stated on November 21, 1961, the following: "The Soviet Union, while pretending otherwise is a colonial power and a colossus of empires. It dominates, subjugates and exploits vast areas . . . the Soviet Union, by force of arms, has deprived highly developed countries of their independence . . . and ruthlessly suppressed every attempt on the part of their people to maintain any semblance of national identity. For Communist Russia to pose as the champion of human liberty and the liberator of captive peoples is a complete travesty of truth."

The existence of Soviet Russian colonialism has been further well verified by the *United States Department of State* in its publication "*Case Studies in Soviet Imperialism*". Implicitly it is stated therein that the independent Georgian, Ukrainian, Azerbaïdzhanian, Armenian, Turkestanian, Estonian, Lithuanian and Latvian national states were conquered by force of the Russian Red Army and thereafter received imposed "Soviet Socialist Republics". In addition Soviet Russian colonialists extended their empire after World War II to the nations of Poland, Hungary, Czechia, Slovakia, Eastern Germany, Rumania, Bulgaria, Mongolia, Northern Korea, Northern Viet-Nam, Cuba, as well as assisted in imposing Communist regimes upon the Chinese mainland, Tibet, parts of Laos, Albania, Croatia, Serbia, and sections of South Viet-Nam.

According to this State Department's publication — the Russian colonialism functions also in the cultural aspect as a policy of Russification, in the religious field as an enemy of all religions, and in racial relations as discrimination against Turkish peoples.

The United States Government issued another document dealing with exposition of Soviet Russian colonialism. It is the letter of Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson to the President of the General Assembly dated November 25, 1961, known also as General Assembly Document A/4985.

The U. S. Representative declared: "The Soviet Union is fearful that the solution of outstanding colonial problems involving the West will impel the United Nations to focus attention on the situation in the vast Soviet empire . . . Wherever the influence of the Soviet armed forces could be brought to bear, independent countries were absorbed and their national aspirations savagely repressed by a Soviet State bent on the eradication of the national identity of all peoples within the Soviet domain."

Ambassador Stevenson used such phrases as "disgrace, barbarity, and savagery . . . of

Soviet imperialist rule...". Khrushchov is quoted as having said: "Even the slightest vestiges of nationalism should be eradicated with uncompromising Bolshevik determination." Then the Ambassador applied the phrase "the Soviet Union's own dark record of imperialist oppression and exploitation".

In view of a clear case of Soviet Russian colonialism we wish to suggest that it should not be difficult from points of morality and international law to formulate this case in terms of United Nations procedure, because appropriate principles are ready for application. We have in mind particularly the "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" as well as the Genocide Convention and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In the "Declaration on the Granting of Independence..." the General Assembly recognizes the need of "respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of all peoples..." It further acknowledges "the passionate yearning for freedom in all dependent peoples" and "that the peoples of the world ardently desire the end of colonialism in all its manifestations". The General Assembly believes that "the process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible" and is "convinced that all peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of their sovereignty and the integrity of their national territory". "It solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations." Then the Assembly demands: "Immediate steps shall be taken in all territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or color, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom."

The Genocide Convention states that "genocide is a crime under international law, contrary to the spirit and aims of the United Nations". Besides genocide "the following acts shall be punishable: conspiracy to commit genocide, direct and public incitement to commit genocide, attempt to commit genocide and complicity in genocide".

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights enumerates all the main rights which every person should enjoy, but most of which are taken away from populations of the Communist ruled states, the regimes of which were imposed by force of Russian colonialist expansionist means.

In the light of the above facts, we cherish a strong hope that the governments of the free world will resolve that in their best national interests it would be useful to an-

nounce the necessity of exposing Soviet Russian colonialism over many peace-loving and freedom-loving nations. Such exposition would then be surely coupled with condemnation of this greatest colonial empire and as the best forum will be chosen the United Nations General Assembly Session. Any positive action will bring the gratitude and friendship of millions of people suffering under tyranny and foreign oppression.

*Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation,
Central Committee.*

*Extracts from Resolution
of the Meeting of Ukrainians and representatives of other nationalities, of London and area, at St. Pancras Town Hall, on 14th October, 1962*

We urge the Governments of the free world to raise the problem of Russian colonialism and imperialism at the forum of the United Nations.

We urge the General Assembly of the United Nations to demand from Russia:

1) an immediate restoration of national freedom and independence to all the nations enslaved by her, both within the USSR and in the so-called satellite states;

2) a prompt withdrawal of all Russian occupation troops, police and administrative apparatus from the enslaved countries; this to be followed by free elections in those countries under the supervision of the United Nations, to enable the nations at present enslaved by Russia to elect the Governments of their choice.

Should Russia refuse to comply with these demands, we urge that she be expelled from the United Nations, that her policy be condemned by the entire civilized world, and that she be boycotted by all free nations.

*For and on behalf of the Presidium
of the Meeting*

*Capt. M. Bilyj-Karpynech, Chairman
I. Dmytriv, Secretary.*

"Milli Turkistan"

In its editions No. 92 and No. 93 "Milli Turkistan", the organ of the National Turkistanian Unity Committee, publishes a number of articles which deal with the vital national problems of Turkestan in the fight against Russian colonialism and Communism, as for example the leading article "Turkestan during 45 Years of Soviet Russian Rule", which appears in several sequels, and the articles "Russification Policy in Turkestan", "Russia's Language Policy", "Russian Policy under the Motto of Friendship", and "Cultural Life in Turkestan and Soviet Russian Colonialism", etc.

Political Murder Becomes An Institution

Extracts of Oral Opinion of the Court in the criminal case against the Soviet subject, Bogdan Stashynsky, pronounced by the President of the 3rd Court of Criminal Appeal of the Federal High Court on Friday, October 19, 1962.

The days of the two eras of murder under Stalin, when the dictator still raged against his former co-fighters and against the Soviet peoples and had millions of persons killed, the days of the bloody Yeshovtchina up to 1938 and of arbitrary murders between 1945 and 1953, were, it is true, over. Even Khrushchov, according to his own words in public, had at that time feared for his life. Of the members and candidates of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as many as 112 were liquidated in the course of the years up to 1953. With Khrushchov's notorious speech the 20th Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union ushered in the restoration of the so-called socialist lawfulness. What that meant as far as the home policy of the Soviet Union was concerned, is of no interest in this trial. Externally this murder trial has unfortunately definitely proved that so-called coexistence and so-called socialist lawfulness by no means exclude so-called individual terrorism, — all of these terms used in the Communist vocabulary.

Stalinism is dead. But individual murderous terrorism still lives on. The real change which has taken place thus has not the least connection with lawfulness: the Soviet secret service no longer commits murder arbitrarily and of its own accord. Murder is now only carried out at the explicit orders of the government. Political murder has now, as it were, become an institution. A co-plaintiff has very aptly quoted Djilas' "Talks with Stalin": "Stalin's world has not disappeared, its character . . . has been preserved unchanged."

There is certainly something depressing about the facts established from this first evidence in the trial. The political leadership of the Soviet Union, the leadership of a world power which is wont to be proud of its history and civilization, and moreover the present leadership of the country that has given the world a Pushkin, Gogol, Chekhov, Leo Tolstoy and Fyodor Dostoievsky, and in more recent times Mayakovsky, Sholochov and Pasternak, — the political leadership of this country, a member of the United Nations which entertains correct diplomatic relations with the German Federal Republic, considers it expedient to have a murder by poison, decided at least on a government level, committed on the sovereign territory of the German Federal Republic as a state order. On the certain assumption that this

deed would not come to light, this same leadership acts in defiance of all international rules of decency, of the German penal laws and of its own laws in order to liquidate a political opponent. But every political murder, like a political lie, is in the end directed against its instigator. The Federal High Court knows from a previous trial that the Soviet Union used a member of its embassy in Bonn for espionage in the German Federal Republic. This court is now obliged to ascertain with regret that the political leadership of the Soviet Union also officially orders and has murders carried out on German territory . . .

* * *

A celebration was held in Stashynsky's honour in the Soviet prohibited zone of Karlshorst. There are still people in that sphere of influence who regard the idea of committing a murder by poison for the Soviet Union as an honour and a distinction. — Stashynsky was summoned to Moscow. There the then president of the KGB, Shelepin, *not* a trained agent himself, conferred the Order of the Red Banner on him for the successful execution of an important government task. The diploma which he received was signed by Voroshilov, head of state. The conferment, however, was kept a secret, and, contrary to the usual custom, no mention of it was made in the "Pravda". But Stashynsky later received a testimonial from the KGB which in veiled terms confirmed the task he carried out and the conferment. Stashynsky produced the original testimonial in this court and it is undoubtedly genuine. Stashynsky had to give Shelepin an account of the murder. He was surprised at various questions that were asked regarding insignificant details, — as for instance, the exact spot in the house where he had fired the weapon, and whether Bandera was really carrying some red tomatoes in his hand. He did not know that Shelepin had meanwhile read certain press reports which did not tally with his own report of the deed as regards these details. In the meantime, however, it was ascertained that there was a simple explanation for these deviations. To his horror Stashynsky now learnt that he was to be employed as a professional murderer — his own expression — in the future, too, once the Bandera case had been forgotten. The Court of Criminal Appeal of the Federal High Court agrees to the indictment inasmuch as the two crimes constitute murder by poison. According to

the law, a murderer is a person who kills a human being unlawfully with malice aforethought. From the moment such a person begins his activity the judicature of the Federal High Court which is applicable in such cases is irrevocable and unswerving. According to this judicature, murder with malice aforethought is committed if the murderer intentionally takes advantage of the fact that his victim is unsuspecting and defenceless. It is not a stipulation of the law that the murderer himself should have caused the victim to be unsuspecting, or should have influenced him in this respect. A person is unsuspecting if he is not on his guard at least at the time in question against an attack by the perpetrator in question. This view is also held by the Chief Court of Criminal Appeal of the Federal High Court. It is therefore of no legal significance in this case that a person such as Bandera, who had every reason to be careful, carried a weapon on his person and had a body-guard. At the time of the murder Bandera was completely unsuspecting towards the accused, as his behaviour showed. In view of the conclusive evidence of this case, the Court of Criminal Appeal sees no reason to query the judicature applied hitherto. Incidentally, these carefully planned murders would still be acts of murder even according to an amendment of the law. A person who squirts deadly poison into the face of another human being at close range and in doing so takes the latter completely by surprise and thus attacks him in such a way as to make all reasonable defence impossible, is rightly regarded as a murderer if he intends to commit the deed on his own initiative and as his own deed . . . * * *

In this connection the Court of Criminal Appeal, after a careful study of the judicature and the views of jurisprudence, agrees with the opinion of defence counsel: in neither case was the accused the perpetrator of a murder though he carried out the acts of killing alone, but only a tool and an assistant. The perpetrators, that is to say the murderers, are those persons who were responsible for planning and plotting the murders down to the last details as regards the victims selected, the place, time and method of murder, and instructed the accused to carry them out within a limited space of time, and gave him the instrument and means with which to carry out the murders. Stashynsky followed their instructions exactly. They must therefore be held responsible for this entire action in the legal sense as murderers. Since they hold high-ranking offices in the sovereign territory of a foreign power, they are withdrawn from our efforts to ensure that justice is done, although in the long run no one can escape his just

punishment. As far as the accused is concerned, many legal experts hold the opinion that a person who commits a deed entirely on his own must without exception always be condemned as the perpetrator. This argument sounds plausible, but on closer consideration gives rise to serious misgivings. The main misgiving has actually already been indicated with remarkable unanimity by all those involved in this trial, including the co-plaintiffs, who are not legal experts: since there are nowadays states which plan political murders, issue orders that they shall be carried out and ideologically train certain of their subjects to do so, the individual who is obliged to live in such a prison atmosphere is certainly in a strange and unusual position, inasmuch as his state designates as meritorious and necessary, actions which all civilized states condemn and punish as crimes. This holds good internationally, not only amongst states but also likewise in the case of a change of regime in Germany. I am referring to nationalist socialist Germany and men like Eichmann. Those who morally resist such negative forces, stand alone within the masses when confronting them. Those who succumb to these forces, succumb to a skilful, overpowering, officially controlled mass-influence; they do not succumb to incentives which come under the general category of criminology. The above-mentioned objective theory regarding the perpetrator does not take these facts into sufficient consideration. It is moreover confined to the presupposition that we are still living in a morally uniform and stable world. And for this reason we cannot agree with this theory.

Nor has the Federal High Court ever agreed with this theory. On the contrary, all the Courts of Criminal Appeal have always decided that even a person who commits a crime alone can nevertheless simply be the assistant of some other person. This was the decision reached by the 1st and 4th Court of Criminal Appeal in 1961 and 1962. The 5th Court of Criminal Appeal has added an important amendment, which has also been approved by us; namely that the fact that a crime is committed alone must be taken into consideration as an important indication that someone else is the real perpetrator. This applies in this case, but does not incriminate the accused any further. In short, he is not the Eichmann type who joyfully obeys his "Führer" and carries out the orders he receives with even greater emphasis. As a co-plaintiff aptly said, the accused was at the time in question a poor devil who acted automatically under the pressure of commands and was misled and confused ideologically. In his innermost heart he was repulsed by these crimes which had been planned down to the smallest details; he was not part of them; he had no personal interest in them

like a hired assassin has; he only appeased his conscience with difficulty and temporarily; he was not eager to commit the murders, even though he was, unfortunately, successful. He was a typical example of an abused tool of high-ranking wirepullers, an assistant and henchman in the truest sense. For this reason it is just and fitting to condemn him only as an assistant. This does not, however, imply a fundamental mitigation of the judiciary applicable in cases of murders.

The conclusive evidence has, however, also shown that Stashynsky's action cannot be excused on the legal grounds of a state of compulsion. At the moment of committing the murders he was not threatened physically and compelled to commit these acts. It is true that in view of the rigid pressure of commands exercised by the KGB such a state of compulsion might have ensued in the course of similar situations in future. But one must wait and see whether such a threat will be forthcoming. It is quite possible that the KGB in its own interests will refrain from such a threat. One cannot, as it were, stare at the arbitrary methods of dictatorships like a rabbit stares at a snake mesmerized and find reasons to excuse a person on such grounds in advance. For that would mean that all such crimes are sanctioned automatically.

* * *

I now come to the sentence to be allotted. Upon instructions the accused himself killed two persons. But in doing so, he was only the tool of ruthless forces. He has finally realized and admitted this fact and repents of his deeds. From the outset he has confessed fully and without sparing himself and has made no attempt to gloss over facts. Of his own free will he has taken the legal consequences of the murder of Rebet, which aroused no suspicion whatever, upon himself in order to have a clear conscience. Under extremely difficult circumstances and at great risk to himself he has broken with the past. He gave himself up to the police, and was certain of being accused of murder and of having to suffer all the consequences for his deeds, even though he may, in keeping with human nature, have hoped that there might be some way out. Under difficult moral conditions and external circumstances and in spite of his grave guilt, he has made great efforts to mend his ways and has not relaxed his efforts in this respect. Indeed, one can say that he has *finally* fought a good fight and has stood the test. At great danger to himself he has brought the extremely reprehensible methods of political conflict, which are a mockery of every form of civilization, to the notice of the public. Though he has burdened himself with heavy guilt as a result of the political deformation of his

moral ego and under the pressure of orders from his superiors, he is now, however, prepared to atone. *There is no reason to burden him with the guilt of his wirepullers. They will not escape from their guilt, for in the long run no one can flee from their guilt.* The sentence pronounced by this court is not intended to destroy the accused. As far as humanely possible, it is to help him to atone. The separate sentences for each of the two cases of murder are 6 years penal servitude; the sentence for treachery is 1 year penal servitude. A total sentence of 8 years penal servitude, allowance to be made for imprisonment pending trial, suffices for atonement.

Moscow Planned Another Murder

2nd day of the trial, October 9, 1962.

President: Did you receive instructions in 1959 to carry out a certain task with regard to a gentleman in Munich who was connected with the Ukrainian movement?

Accused: Yes, I did.

President: What did you ascertain?

Accused: Sergej*) gave me a name and an address. I was to go along to this address, take a look at the house and surroundings, and report on the lock on the entrance-door. The name was Dankiw. I could see from the name-plate by the bell that a man of that name lived there. This was all I ascertained and then I took a look at the lock. I ascertained that it was a safety-lock. I reported this fact to Sergej.

Advisory Judge: Did Sergej tell you whether Dankiw was an alias?

Accused: Yes, he told me it was an alias and he also told me the real name.

4th day of the trial, October 11, 1962.

Accused: I had already begun to watch Dankiw's movements and it was now plain to me that after the two successful murders this was to be the third one that I was to carry out. It would be just the same as in the previous cases. At first I had watched the movements of the persons in question, and then the murder would follow later.

President hands the accused a picture of a house and asks him whether he knows the house.

Accused: That is the house where Mr. Dankiw lived, whose movements I watched.

Attorney Neuwirth: One other question: When you heard the name Dankiw, did you know who was meant?

Accused: Yes. Do you want me to say the real name?

Attorney Neuwirth: Yes please.

Accused: Jaroslaw Stetzko, Prime Minister of Ukraine in 1941 when the Germans came.

*) KGB officer.

What Steps has the Federal Government taken?

At the 51st session of the German Bundestag on December 7, 1962, the Berlin deputy of the CDU Party, *Prof. Dr. Friedensburg*, raised the following question:

“What steps has the Federal Government taken on the strength of the findings of the Stashynsky trial with regard to approaching the responsible Soviet government in order to ensure that no more systematically planned murders will in future be carried out by foreign secret services on German soil?”

The answer given in writing by the Federal Government to this question is worded as follows:

“The Federal Government is in unanimous agreement with the entire German people as regards the verdict reached by the Federal High Court in the case of the assassination of the leaders of the Ukrainian emigrants, Bandera and Rebet. As the trial has revealed, the party responsible for these murders is not Stashynsky but the Soviet secret service.

The question as to what further steps will be taken by the Federal Government in this matter can only be dealt with when a written confirmation of the findings and verdict of the Court is available.”

Hon. D. J. Flood

For a New House Committee on Captive Nations

Extracts from Congressional Record

If the State Department wants to win the friendship of 96 million Russians at the cost of alienating over 100 million non-Russians, the House has not determined whether the Department sincerely believes the Russians could be bought without compromising the principles for which we stand, and without opening the United States to the defeating criticism that, wherever it suits our selfish purposes, we forsake our principles and support the philosophy of tyranny and the violently anti-democratic regimes . . .

The House has not requested an explanation from the State Department for its lukewarm support of the United Nations inquiry into Russian colonialism. It has not asked the Department whether the ruthless Russian colonialism is considered as different from the enlightened colonialism as still practised by some Western nations, and which the Department so vigorously opposes.

Finally, the House has not scrutinized on its merits the State Department's untouchable policy of opposing the Soviet Union's dismemberment nor evaluated advantages that may result from, first, breaking up the biggest war machine in history which menaces our own security; second, reestablishing the balance of power in Europe; third paving the way toward a community of free, democratic nations; and, fourth, abolishing mankind's most ruthless imperial dictatorship . . .

Therefore, the only effective solution is to establish a new House Committee on Captive Nations . . .

Hence, our State Department lags far behind our President in understanding the tide of nationalism which moves towards the Communist empire. Congress must not lend itself to the State Department's errors in strategy and policy. Rather Congress should move ahead with the President, preparing for the day when the riptide of national independence dismembers the Russian empire.

The Future Potentialities Of Siberia

VI.

The Government of Independent Siberia

The Beginnings of the Siberians

Up to the conquest, the large and remote space of Siberia was populated by the aboriginal tribes. In the 1580's eight hundred Cossacks crossed the Urals and reached the Pacific in the 1640's. Since then Siberia has become a melting pot of many races, nationalities and religions. The origin of the Siberian people follows close with the origin of the Americans or with the peoples of the British Dominions. The Siberians are descendants of the Cossacks, the bold adventurers who went to Siberia to conquer and explore her virgin wastes; they are descendants of the political exiles, peoples of great intelligence, education and idealism; they are descendants of the freedom-loving peasants who were forced to seek a new life. These elements were psychologically more advanced than those who stayed at home and meekly submitted to the conditions of slavery introduced into the Russian social order from the reign of Godunov. These people possessed initiative and courage, the qualities which are so essential for the formation of a national character. The primitive, hard conditions prevailing at that time in Siberia, quickly weeded out the weak and favoured the survival of the fittest.¹ Thus in the process of three hundred years a new nation was born, a hardy race that was ideally suited to the Siberian climate which gradually gave them a character of their own.

A typical Siberian is far more independent in his mental outlook and outward conduct than a Russian peasant for instance. He considers himself a free man, equal to other fellow-men. He lives in a spotlessly clean house and dresses in good, clean clothes. His food in quality and in quantity is superior and more plentiful than that of a Russian peasant. He is sturdy, bold and healthy. He is accustomed from his childhood to handling arms, and is usually a good shot.

The Siberians are quick to learn; they can adapt themselves better than others to new conditions; they are enterprising to the point of rashness. At the same time they are not so softhearted and compassionate as the Russians for instance. They are more selfish, harder and more matter-of-fact, though always ready to help in a case of real need. Never having borne the fetters of serfdom, the Siberians are democratic in their general outlook. It is well known how difficult it was for the Soviets to establish their power in Siberia and with what determination the Siberians defended their political and economic independence.

With the development of social life and spread of education the Siberians began to assert themselves. First, they fought for the development of popular education and for the establishment of universities in Siberia. Up till 1917, there was only one university for the whole of Siberia, that of Tomsk, with two faculties, law and medicine. There was also one higher technical school in Tomsk.² The leaders in this movement were Young Siberians who were students of the higher schools in Russia. There they were treated as a lower class, students from the backward country, a penal colony. In the seminars and universities they organized themselves into Siberian Circles so-called "Sibirskoe Zemliachestvo"³ where they discussed the problems of Siberia.⁴ There political thought was formed, and there they learned the obligations to Siberia as distinguished from those to the Muscovite empire. There they protested

against the subordination of Siberian interests to the self-aims of the Muscovite government. There the idea of Independent Siberia was born.⁵

Soon this separatist movement was brought to Siberia by the student members of "Sibirskoe Zemliachestvo". The movement for an Independent Siberian State spread like wild fire all over Siberia.

Prince Koropkin in his diary, *Zapiski Revolucioniera* writes: "in 1860, in his own office of the Governor-General of the Eastern Siberia, young people of his environment, discussed the possibility of establishing the United States of Siberia, federated with the United States of America."⁶

The Case of Independent Siberia

In 1865, the Russian government discovered the existence of the Separatist movement in Siberia.

On May 21, government officials found many leaflets in the possession of a cadet of the Siberian Cadet Corps. The leaflets were addressed to the "Patriots of Siberia" and pointed out that Siberia was conquered by the people who ran from Czarist oppression, but later was seized by the Czars. They deprived the people of their land, rich in mineral resources; the Cossacks lost their independence and Siberia was degraded to colonial status. Instead of the process of law, the government introduced capital punishment, katorga and slavery. Therefore, Siberia needed the republican form of government, an Independent Siberian State, and for this purpose agents were collecting money, preparing plans and youth was being trained for the armed uprising. The pamphlet concluded with these words; "Long Live Siberia from the Ural Mountains to the Shores of the Pacific."⁷

Arrests were also made in many other Siberian cities as for instance, Omsk, Tomsk, Krasnoyarsk and Irkutsk. The first trial against the Siberian separatists was held in the city of Omsk and the first accused were Grigorii N. Potanin, a venerable Siberian patriot, explorer, and writer, author of the Siberian Duma and the first President of the Siberian Government, Nikolai Yadrintsev, a prominent journalist, ethnographer and historian, the founder of Siberian separatism, and Professor Schapov, a well-known ethnographer and historian, as well as many government officials, Cossacks, business people and the members of the student organizations "Sibirskoho Zemliachestva."⁸

This Separatist movement did not die with the trial in Omsk. In the Siberian daily papers and monthly periodicals, Siberian separatists advocated the union of all co-operative societies as an All-Siberian Union⁹ and by this means they intended to build a sound economic basis for an Independent Siberian State.¹⁰

The movement for Independent Siberia which began in the middle of the nineteenth century gained its momentum after the revolution of 1905 and especially after the collapse of the Imperial Russian Government in the Spring of 1917.

The First Government of Independent Siberia

On August 2, 1917, at the first Siberian Regional Conference, in the city of Tomsk, in the presence of sixty-seven delegates under the chairmanship of Potanin the embryo of an Independent Siberian Government was formed. Two main declarations were adopted: One on the principles of Siberian Independence and the other on the convocation of the first All-Siberian Regional Congress. During the first session of this conference, the White and Green (Snow and Forest) Siberian flag, with the inscription "Long Live Independent Siberia", was hoisted for the first time in the history of Siberia. Later, this flag became the battle flag of the Siberian patriots in the struggle for independence.¹¹

The first All-Siberian Regional Congress met on October 8, 1917, in the public recreation hall of Tomsk University, with one hundred and sixty-nine delegates from various provinces of Siberia and thirty-three delegates represented twenty-three united national organizations of Siberia.

The Congress drafted a constitution, placing the supreme legislative power in the Siberian Regional Duma and the executive power in a cabinet of ministers responsible to the Duma. The Congress also proposed certain organizations of an All-Siberian importance, such as a Siberian Regional Land Committee, a Siberian Economic Committee and a Siberian Statistical Institute.¹² For final approval, the constitution was to be considered by the Siberian Constituent Assembly, which was to be elected by universal suffrage on the basis of proportional representation.¹³ The Congress, therefore, elected an Executive Committee consisting of eight members to carry out those decisions.

But the Bolshevik revolution in Petrograd caused the Executive Committee to hasten the convocation of the Extraordinary Siberian Congress and the election of a Provisional Siberian Government. These measures were deemed necessary to save Siberia from Communism.

On December 6, 1917, in the city of Tomsk in the presence of one hundred and fifty-five delegates an Extraordinary Siberian Congress met.¹⁴ With respect to the current political situation this Congress issued the following declaration:

At a time when Siberia is in this state of chaos, with no central democratic authority, with the approaching financial catastrophe, urgent need of money, menace of famine in its eastern and northern parts, complete dislocation of communications, and the paralysis of all industry, commerce and trade, the Congress, in order to save Siberia, shall endeavor to create an All-Siberian socialist authority including representatives of all socialist parties from the National Socialists to the Bolsheviks and the representatives of nationalities. This authority is to be vested in a Siberian Regional Council which is responsible to the Duma.¹⁵

The Congress also elected a Siberian Regional Council of seven members under the leadership of G. N. Potanin. This Council was instructed to convoke a Siberian Regional Duma, to prepare for the election of a Siberian Constituent Assembly, and to organize finances, nationalities and war committees.

According to the will of the Extraordinary Siberian Regional Congress, the Siberian Regional Council became the first Provisional Government of Siberia.¹⁶

On January 20, 1918, about one hundred delegates from different parts of Siberia arrived at Tomsk. The prime task of the Siberian Duma was the preparation for and convocation of a Siberian Constituent Assembly. At that time the Bolsheviks assumed power in Petrograd and their influence had been steadily growing in those parts of Siberia which were not at all touched by politics, that is, along the Trans-Siberian Railway.

On the night of January 25, 1918, the Tomsk Bolsheviks surrounded the house where the delegates of the Siberian Duma lived and arrested all those whom they were able to find. Among those arrested were some members of the Siberian Regional Council.¹⁷ Those delegates of the Siberian Duma who escaped arrest were determined to hold a meeting of the Siberian Duma, in spite of Bolshevik opposition. On January 28, in the presence of more than forty delegates the Siberian Duma met. At this historic meeting the first Siberian Government was formed. Twenty ministers were elected with Peter Derber as Minister President.¹⁸

The objects of the new Siberian Government were: to establish public order with the purpose of assuring the inviolability of person and of property; to oppose actively the Bolsheviks; to defend the political and economic independence and

territorial integrity of Siberia; to convene the Siberian Constituent Assembly; to resist actively the peace concluded with the Central Empires by the Bolshevik Government; co-operating in this with the Allied Powers, with the view of concluding jointly with the allied nations a general democratic peace; to establish friendly relations with the allied and neutral nations.

The Siberian Government stated that in undertaking these important and difficult obligations the Government of Siberia recognized that it would be capable of carrying them out only with the ready and energetic assistance of the Allied Governments.¹⁹

The political situation for the newly elected Siberian Government was grave. The Bolsheviks were extending their influence to one region after another. In February 1918, the more active members of the Duma and of the Government decided to move eastward to Harbin which was the principal centre of the anti-Bolshevik forces in Siberia. It was also considered easier to start diplomatic relations with the allied forces. Derber remained for a time in Tomsk organizing military anti-Bolshevik groups which were put in touch with the secret emissaries in all the important towns of Siberia.

The actual power behind the government was at first provided chiefly by the Czech troops²⁰ who were scattered over the entire length of Siberia's railway, from the Urals to Vladivostok. They numbered about 50,000 men. Together with the young Siberian Volunteer Army they undertook to clear Siberia of the Bolsheviks. At the end of May 1918 they captured from the Bolsheviks the important cities of Omsk, Tomsk, Barnaul, Semipalatinsk and Novo-Nikolaevsk.²¹

After the overthrow of the Bolsheviks' rule in Western Siberia the temporary control was handed over to the West Siberian Commissariat, and at the end of June the West Siberian Commissariat, which had its headquarters in Omsk, handed over its authority to the members of the Siberian Government, who had been elected by the Siberian Regional Duma at its meeting in January 1918. This Siberian Government, known also as the Omsk Government, included five new members and formed a government under the presidency of P. V. Vologodsky. This Government was more moderate than the previously mentioned Government of Siberia, which left for Harbin. General Grishin-Almazov, a man of talent and energy, was in charge of the military forces, which grew from a few hundred to two hundred thousand men and continued as the main anti-Bolshevik army in Siberia. On the fourth of July 1918, the Siberian Government declared the political independence of Siberia united from the Urals to the Pacific.

Meanwhile other events were taking place in the liberated territories from the Bolsheviks. On the Volga in Samara an anti-Bolshevik government was formed, and in Ufa a conference took place to which all the separate anti-Bolshevik governments sent their delegates. The Allies and the Czechs participated too. After a great deal of controversy a compromise was worked out by which the Ufa Directorate of five was formed. On October 9th the Directorate moved to Omsk. The Siberian Government at Omsk, by various means, escaped being engulfed by the Directorate. The Directorate ended its brief career when it was overthrown by a group of monarchists and military officers of the old regime and instituted themselves in power with Admiral Kolchak as their champion.²²

There was a general protest against Kolchak's seizure of power from members of the Duma, Constituent Assembly, zemstvos and municipalities, but Kolchak put down opposition with an iron hand. History proved, he said, that republics needed in such emergencies a military dictator. He ruled as a little czar. He revised the laws discriminating against the Jews and persecuting the Siberian patriots who fought for an Independent Siberian State. He started up the distilleries and selling vodka at six roubles (\$ 3) a pint, collected a large revenue, although it meant that

a million bushels of grain were converted into alcohol while Omsk was overcrowded with starving refugees.²³

The motto of Kolchak as "Supreme Ruler" was "safety first", if we may judge from the following decree, issued by him:

"Any attempt on the life or health of the Supreme Ruler or any forcible endeavor to wrest power from him, will be punished with death; any attempt to destroy the existing Government or to divide the Country into parts by force, will be punished with death; an offense against the Supreme Ruler in words, writing, or printing, will be punishable with imprisonment; and failure wittingly to execute his order and decree will be punished with deprivation of civil rights and penal servitude."²⁴

The Czechs, being a democratic people, were highly incensed at the Kolchak regime and were disposed at first to withdraw and leave Omsk. General Syrov, commander-in-chief of the Czech army, said:

"The change of Government has killed our soldiers. They say that for four years they have been fighting for democracy, and that now that a dictator ruled in Omsk they are no longer fighting for democracy."²⁵

On September 5, 1919, the President of the Siberian Regional Duma, I. Vakushevs, issued the following manifesto:

"In these days of fresh trials, when our Fatherland is face to face with the great perils, which threaten it from within and from without, I consider it my duty as the elected representative of Siberia, to address to my country the following manifesto:

Nine months of dictatorship by Admiral Kolchak, who has, by sheer violence, overthrown the representative Government of Directorate, have now brought Siberia to a state of complete disintegration and ruin . . . A wave of peasants' risings—those same peasants who a short time ago chased the Bolsheviks out of the country — swept through Siberia and clearly revealed the deep discontent of the population. The Government took no steps to appease the country, except flogging and shooting and brutal violence exceeding that of the Bolsheviks. Always busy with intriguing and political moves, the Government did not show the least trace of statesmanship. It failed even to introduce unity into the administration, and to curb local satraps, everyone of whom behaved as an absolute autocrat, making laws and ruling the population according to his discretion . . . Both town and rural councils have again and again warned the Government, pointing out that the salvation of the country will be found not in the dictatorship and in bayonets, but in the creation of a power that will have the authority and confidence of the population . . . It is now too late to negotiate; the enemy is at the gate. For the sake of the Fatherland we must act . . . As the President of a Siberian representative body, I take upon myself the great honour and responsibility of inviting the population of Siberia to proceed immediately to create a body of representatives of the peoples.

So long as the Constituent Assembly of all Siberia is not convoked, such a representative body must be created by the town and rural councils elevated on the basis of universal suffrage, and also by the local executives of the Cossack Regions and various nationalities. I invite all these local executives to elect immediately representatives to form the Assembly of Siberia (Zemsky Sobor) . . .

I publish the above manifesto, being deeply convinced that the country will find ways and means to enable its elected representatives to accomplish their sacred duty toward their Fatherland.

In a complete union of all elements of the population grouped round the assembly of the land, hand in hand and ready for sacrifices, there and there only lies the way of salvation for the country. of the defense of the people's freedom and authority against all aggressors and usurpers.²⁶

The Fall of Omsk

In order to form a new Siberian Government the Siberians needed more time. Meanwhile the White armies were defeated in the Ural regions. The entire eastern anti-Bolshevik front collapsed and the Kolchak soldiers deserted to the Bolsheviks' side by the thousands and little opposition was offered to the advance of the Bolsheviks toward Omsk. The Kolchak government moved from Omsk to Irkutsk in October, and on November 14, Omsk was abandoned to the advancing Bolsheviks. The retreat became chaotic, military formations were broken. According to the reports of the Stevens Commission, the Bolsheviks captured in Omsk eleven generals and 1,000 other officers and 39,000 of the Kolchak troops, as well as 2,000 machine guns, 30,000 uniforms, 4,000,000 rounds of ammunition, 75 locomotives and 5,000 loaded cars.²⁷ The remnants of Kolchak's army, some 30,000 half-trained draft troops, left for Novo-Nikolayevsk. 600 miles east of Omsk. On the morning of February 7, 1920, the local red revolutionary committee of Irkutsk captured and condemned Admiral Kolchak to death and he was promptly shot.

The Bolsheviks occupied Siberia west of Lake Baikal, while east of Lake Baikal was under the control of local revolutionary bodies composed largely of municipal councils, zemstvos and co-operative societies.²⁸

¹ Anatole V. Baikalov, "Siberia Since 1894", *The Slavonic Review*, 11: 328-340. January 1933. - ² *Ibid.*, p. 340. - ³ S. H. Svatikov, *Rossia i Sibir; k istorii Sibirskogo oblastnichenstva v XIX*. Prague, the Organization of Siberians in Czechoslovakia, 1929. pp. 47-53. - ⁴ Siberia was always treated as a colony. It was deprived even of local self-government which was granted to the European provinces after the great reform of 1861. The country was governed by the state officials, mostly of inferior type, who did not know the local needs and requirements, and did not understand the mentality of the people. This sort of neglect and exploitation of the Siberians created general discontent and gave food for political independence. - ⁵ Svatikov, p. 52; George K. Guins, "Sibirskoe oblastnichenstvo", *Vozrozdienie* (La Renaissance). Paris, 11: 144-151, September-October, 1950. - ⁶ George K. Guins, "Sibirskoe oblastnichenstvo", *Vozrozdienie* (La Renaissance). Paris, 11: 145, September-October, 1950. - ⁷ Svatikov, p. 58; George K. Guins, *Siberia, the Allies and Kolchak*. Peking, 1921. p. 69. - ⁸ Svatikov, p. 58-63; Guins. p. 69. - ⁹ In 1908 Siberian co-operative societies formed a central organization, the Union of Siberian Creamery Associations. This Union organized the sale of butter and the purchase of goods for co-operative states. In 1916 the Union of Siberian Co-operatives Unions was started, *Zakupsbyt*, which also absorbed many of the co-operative dairies. These two unions had in 1918 over two million members, and their joint turnover reached the figure of some 400,000,000 roubles. The credit and loan-co-operative associations also reached a high stage of development, their total number in 1917 being 1,500 and their aggregate capital 20,000,000 roubles. The Siberian co-operative organizations, apart from serving the economic needs of the population, were also engaged in cultural work; they published journals, maintained elementary and secondary schools, arranged popular lectures, conducted training courses, etc. - ¹⁰ Anatole V. Baikalov, "Siberia Since 1894", *Slavonic Review*, 11: 336-340, January 1933. - ¹¹ Ivan A. Yakushev, "The February Revolution and Siberian Regional Congresses". *Volnaia Sibir* (Free Siberia). Prague, 1927, No. 2. pp. 13-22. - ¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 27-40. - ¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 33. - ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 36. - ¹⁵ This declaration should be considered as an indication of a strong influence and penetration into the Siberian Independent movement of the Russian Socialist Revolutionists. According to the decisions of the Congress, the Siberian Duma was to consist of representatives of zemstvos, officials of the municipal governments and democratic and revolutionary organizations. - ¹⁶ Ivan A. Yakushev, "The February Revolution and Siberian Regional Congresses". *Volnaia Sibir*. Prague, 1927. No. 2. pp. 33-40. - ¹⁷ Ivan A. Yakushev, "The Outline of the Independent Movement In Siberia". *Volnaia Sibir*. Prague, 1928. No. 3. pp. 9-23. - ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-27. - ¹⁹ "Autonomous Siberia Asks for Allied Aid". *The New York Times*, Sunday, April 21, 1918. p. 3, col. 2. - ²⁰ Gt. Brit. Parliament. House of Commons. *Parliamentary Debates*, 110: 1761, November 4, 1918. - ²¹ "What

News and Views

International Crisis and New Aggression

January 23, 1954, was an eventful day when over 22,000 anti-Communist Chinese and Korean POWs of the Korean War under the custody of the United Nations forces in Korea, determined to choose freedom against Communism, eventually regained their freedom, thanks to the insistence of the United Nations on the principle of voluntary repatriation.

The anti-Communist POWs, with a spirit of unswerving determination not to succumb to Communist threats and inducements, crushed Communist intrigue to brain-wash them, upheld international justice and thereby set a most glorious example in human history in fighting for the cause of anti-slavery and freedom. Therefore, since January 23, 1954, the people of the Republic of China designated that day as ANTI-COMMUNIST FREEDOM DAY to commemorate their fighting spirit for the cause of freedom, and planned to launch the FREEDOM DAY movement on a large scale from then on, in order to unite forces of justice the world over in a common effort to give help to the Communist-oppressed people in their struggle to regain their freedom . . .

On that occasion, we people from all walks of life in the Republic of China, in an attempt to enhance the political impact of this freedom movement and to encourage the captive peoples to be more determined and active in their struggle for freedom, have decided to set the increasing support for the captive peoples behind the Iron Curtain in their struggle for freedom as the central theme of our commemorative activities for that occasion.

What we wish to point out particularly to the free world is: the Soviet imperialists, while creating tension on the Berlin problem, are using the tactics of "peaceful-co-existence" as a smoke-screen to cover their sinister plot of infiltration and subversion against the free world after having been forced to retreat from Cuba as a result of the firm action on the part of the United States. And at the same time, the Chinese Communists are playing the main role of aggressor in Asia. They not only are helping the Viet Cong to carry

out armed subversive activities in Vietnam, but also are kindling a war against India, thereby posing a serious threat to the whole of Asia.

In our opinion, the purpose of the Soviet Russian and Chinese Communists' expanded aggression is to divert the enslaved peoples' attention from their miserable plight, thereby reducing their resistance and easing up the internal crises. Particularly to be noted is the fact that the rule of the Chinese Communists is now nearing the brink of collapse, due to the transformation from economic crisis to political crisis resulting from the great famine which lasted several years on the mainland on account of the Chinese Communists' tyrannical rule. Hence, at this juncture, we wish to urge the free world to realize that in view of the impossibility of co-existence between slavery and freedom, the only way for the self-salvation of our free people at present is to increase our support for the captive peoples in their struggle for freedom, thus bringing our struggle into areas behind the Iron Curtain, so as to expedite the collapse of the Communist regime, the tearing down of the Iron Curtain in both Europe and Asia, and the liberation of the Communist-enslaved peoples. *Ku Cheng-kang*

Taipeh Considering Offensive

The National Assembly of Free China on December 25, 1962, adopted a resolution inviting the government to enter into negotiations with the United States and to effect a revision of the defence agreement between the USA and Free China. The purpose of this revision is to be the abolition of the clause pertaining to the defense of Free China so as to let Taipei have a free hand in launching an offensive long since due against Red China. In the resolution, which was unanimously approved by 1,400 deputies, the government is also invited to launch a counter-offensive against the Chinese mainland without delay.

The "Hongkong Times" reported on December 25, 1962, that Free Chinese troops recently carried out a commando raid on the Chinese mainland and destroyed a Communist people's commune. According to information received from refugees from China by this paper, this raid took place on December 20th. The commando, which consisted of 50 Free Chinese soldiers, succeeded in getting back to its boats after the raid without any casualties.

Happened at Omsk", *Independent*, 97 : 175, February 8, 1918. — ²² Louis D. Kornfield, "President Wilson on Siberia". *Nation*, 109 : 258-61, August 23, 1919. — ²³ "What Happened at Omsk", *Independent*, 97 : 176, February 8, 1919. — ²⁴ *Ibid.* — ²⁵ *Ibid.* — ²⁶ "Manifesto of the President of the Regional Duma of Siberia". *Contemporary Review*, 117 : 253-255, January-June, 1920. — ²⁷ "The Fall of Omsk". *Independent*, 100 : 184, December 13, 1919. — ²⁸ "Out of Siberia". *Independent*, 101 : 323-325, February 28, 1920. To be continued.

From Letters to ABN

The Situation in India

The situation in India has now changed somewhat. True, this change is hardly in evidence in the official departments. The highest positions (higher administrative posts and the so-called Defence Committee) are still held by the Indian Communist Party, and this continues to be the case in spite of the fact that the government has arrested several hundred pro-Chinese Communists. Only recently the Prime Minister rendered the Communists a great service by affirming – and this statement was promptly circulated by the press and the radio throughout the country – that the Indian Communists were 100 per cent patriots. Either Nehru is still asleep, or else he is so closely associated with Moscow that he cannot think and act otherwise. After all, he has been the best horse in the race outside the Russian colonies for some time. On the whole – with but a few exceptions – the press and the official circles take good care not to express any opinion which might be unfavourable towards Russia. Russia is a subject that is tabooed. Nikita had promised MIG's and they will now probably proceed to India under the Chinese flag when there is a chance of an attack by bombs.

The reaction in the various parties, that is to say in all the parties apart from Congress and the Communists, is different to that in official circles in India. All the opposition parties, such as Swatantra, Jana Sangh, the Socialists and the Praja Socialists, have adopted an anti-Communist attitude. They are all demanding that the Communist Party should be prohibited, that all Communist leaders should be arrested, and that all Communists should be removed from state positions in which they might endanger the security of the country (the reference is to workers in the armament factories). In addition, they are demanding that all Communist newspapers should be prohibited, that Free China should be recognized, as well as freedom for the Dalai Lama and permission to form an exile government in India. But only recently Nehru once more rejected this request on the part of the opposition. The former President of the Republic of India, Dr. Prasad, is acting as the spokesman of these parties and he has announced a campaign against the Communists. Consistent with their views, these parties are also demanding a union with the Western front.

Under pressure of public opinion the Communist Party has now seen itself obliged to

issue a communiqué (accepted with 60 to 30 votes) which condemns Chinese aggression. Some politicians (as for instance Jana Sangh) affirm that this communiqué was drawn up by Krishna Menon in collaboration with the Soviet Embassy. Thus the Communists can now continue to hold their positions and to sabotage defence efforts secretly and also pass on first-hand information either to the Chinese or to the Russians. The Communists even go to such lengths as to threaten anti-Communists by telephone with death. These 100 per cent patriots, as Nehru calls them, can only be brought to their senses by a national government.

The average Indian is now fairly confused. He does not know what attitude to take. For years he only heard watchwords about Chinese fraternity, about the capitalism and imperialism of the West, and hence his sympathy for Russia was naturally aroused. Some Indians have begun to wake up. They are horrified at the Chinese atrocities. But they still do not realize that all Communists are alike, whether they hail from China or from Russia. They affirm that Russia has helped India, but they do not know that Russian aid, minute compared to Western aid, is merely indirect aid for the Communist Party in India. And India will be obliged to bleed for this aid.

Some Indians, but unfortunately they are only few in number, have meanwhile realized the danger which Communism represents.

B. M.

*

Dear Sir,

I have been making good use of your publication "ABN Correspondence" in my classes at the two universities here, where I teach. The copies arrive regularly... I wish to translate the article on Siberia by M. Dankewych and also other articles into Chinese.

Prof. Cheng Teng-kao,
Taipei, Taiwan, Free China.

*

I have read with great pleasure the last number of ABN and the report on the two Congresses in Tokyo and Malta.

Prof. Leo Magnino,
Istituto Internazionale per lo Studio
dei Problemi Etnici e Delle Mino-
ranze, Rome, Italy.

*

I am in close contact with Ukrainians in Manchester and London because I intend to

carry on anti-Communist work proclaiming the policy of the ABN.

I am aged 18, and at present there is only a handful of young people in my anti-Communist group, but when we are bigger I hope we can have some affiliation with ABN.

D. H.,
Manchester, England.

*

It is with sentiments of deep appreciation that I write this letter to thank you for your great kindness in sending me "ABN Correspondence" which I have read with very great interest.

We, the people of the Republic of China, are giving our response to the Captive Nations Week movement sponsored by the United States.

As far as I know, freedom and slavery can never exist side by side, and freedom will ultimately triumph over slavery... The Communist regime has failed in all its aspects from the political and from the economical as well as from the human point of view. All these facts are a prelude to the outbreak of large-scale anti-Communist movements and to the collapse of the Peiping regime!

Hai Sung Tao Hsieh,
Taipei, Taiwan, Free China.

*

I am very interested in reading your "ABN Correspondence", which I get through some of the people here. I should be very happy if you would kindly send me the past and present series of "ABN Correspondence" to enable me to go through the same, and also any other of your publications of which you have copies to spare.

T. G. Swaminathan,
Tiruchi, India.

*

I take a special interest in the problems concerning Communism and the captive nations.

In view of the enormous importance which your bulletin has reached in this respect, I should like to be able to read it regularly,

and I am therefore writing to you to request you to send me "ABN Correspondence". Furthermore, I should also like to ask you to kindly send me some general documentary data on your organization.

Tommaso Andrea Figallo,
Genova, Italy.

*

I was very pleased indeed to receive from your office a few days ago no less than 9 recent numbers, and I am writing to thank you for your kindness in sending them.

"ABN Correspondence" is a hard-hitting and factual journal and stands out in pleasing contrast to some of the compromising periodicals with which we are all too familiar in this country.

H. W. Henderson,
Glasgow, Scotland.

*

I have just received, via Madrid, your excellent publication "ABN Correspondence", the most eloquent expression of the martyred nations of East Europe subjugated by the Red Moscow yoke. Of course, I should like to receive this periodical regularly, since it gives us interesting information on the fight which is being waged for freedom. As President of the International Institute for Byelorussian Studies of Santa Eufrasinia de Polock I congratulate you sincerely on your work and shall be only too pleased to collaborate with you.

Dr. Teodoro Lascaris Comneno,
Tunja, Colombia, S. America.

*

I would be pleased to continue receiving your excellent bulletin. Thank you.

Dr. R. E. Kuttner,
Omaha, Nebraska, USA.

*

Please continue sending me your "ABN Correspondence" as I am greatly interested in the ABN and in the subjugated peoples.

J. M. Visser,
The Hague, Holland.

Croats Demand Their Own Independent State

The setting up of an independent Croatian state outside the Yugoslav state structure and the right of self-determination for all Croats were demanded by the 80 delegates who took part in the recent annual general meeting of the Croat National Committee in Munich. The delegates of the Croat exile organizations came to the Bavarian capital to attend the meeting from all parts of West Europe. The National Committee of the Croats addressed an urgent appeal to the government of Austria and Italy asking for a more humane treatment to be accorded to Croat refugees. It is stated in this appeal that in 1962 Austria extradited about 1,000 Croatian refugees to Yugoslavia, and that Italy sent about 600 Croatian refugees back to Yugoslavia every month in 1962.

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✱

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✱

Khrushchov's Crimes In Ukraine

A Documentary Report

✱

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by

Volodymyr Kosyk

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Ukrainian Metropolitan Archbishop Josef Slipy



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in Russian Concentration Camps

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Ukrainian Metropolitan Archbishop Josef Slipy Released After 18 Years' Imprisonment In Russian Concentration Camps

Metropolitan Josef Slipy was born on February 17, 1892, in the Podilya region of Western Ukraine. He completed his grammar school education in Ternopil in 1911 and subsequently studied theology at the seminary in Lviv, and at the University of Innsbruck. While at this university, he wrote a thesis in German on "The Teachings of the Byzantine Patriarch Photius on the Holy Trinity". In 1920 he went to Rome and studied at the Gregorianum. He speaks five languages fluently in addition to his native Ukrainian and the classical languages – German, French, Italian, Russian and English. In 1922 he was appointed professor of dogmatic theology at the seminary in Lviv by Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytzky. In 1926 he was appointed rector of the seminary and president of the Scientific Theological Seminary. In 1930 he was elected to the Shevchenko Scientific Society for his outstanding services to education.

Since Metropolitan Sheptytzky wished to found a theological academy on the lines of West European universities, he sent Rector Slipy to various institutions throughout Europe in 1928, in order to introduce the best methods of Catholic educational institutions into the curriculum of the Ukrainian Theological Academy in Lviv.

Metropolitan Josef Slipy contributed to many periodicals which dealt with theology and especially with Church Unity. He attended and lectured at unity meetings in Velehrad, Prague and Pinsk and always maintained friendly relations with the Orthodox.

In 1939 he was consecrated as coadjutor and assistant bishop to Metropolitan Sheptytzky. He became Archbishop of the Metropolitan See of Lviv (Halych) upon the death of Metropolitan Sheptytzky on November 1, 1944.

On April 6, 1945, the Russians printed slanderous material directed against the Metropolitan and five days later arrested him, together with all the other bishops of the Province of Halych – Bishops Gregory Khomyshyn, Ivan Latyshevsky, Nicholas Charnetsky, C.S.S.R., and Nykyta Budka. Later on, two other bishops were also put into prison – Bishop Josaphat Kocylovsky, O.S.B.M., and Bishop Gregory Lakota. In March 1946, Metropolitan Slipy was sentenced in Kyiv to eight years' imprisonment in Siberia. After eight years he was tried again in Moscow and Kyiv and sentenced to a further seven years.

Metropolitan Slipy was condemned three times by Moscow for refusing to renounce the Catholic faith and become a puppet of Red Orthodoxy. It was reported that his tormentors broke both his arms because he dared to write a pastoral letter to his faithful. Today he is free.

The release of the 71-year-old Primate of Ukraine was announced in Moscow on Saturday, February 9.

Archbishop Slipy arrived in Rome as news of his release became known. The following afternoon, Cardinal Amleto Cicognani, Papal Secretary of State, and Cardinal Gustavo Testa, Secretary of the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Church, called at the Archbishop's quarters and later accompanied him to the Pope's private apartments.

Pope John XXIII said it was "a most touching consolation" when the Ukrainian Metropolitan Archbishop Josef Slipy was unexpectedly released.

The Catacomb Church In Ukraine

"Die Weltwoche" No. 1528 (Zürich, Switzerland) and the "Salzburger Nachrichten" (Austria) of February 16, 1963, have published the following commentary by Werner Scharndorff:

Since 1956 the arch-Stalinist Khrushchov has been trying with increasing success to pose to the West as the bearer of "Socialist lawfulness". Within the past two years he also attempted to pass himself off as a friend of the Church. The dispatch of congratulatory telegrams to Pope John XXIII, the sending of observers of the Russian-Orthodox Church to the Vatican Council, the visit of the Secretary of the Union of Christians to Moscow, and similar incidents are intended to show Khrushchov in this role. So far, the highlight of Khrushchov's new course has been the release of the Ukrainian Metropolitan of the Greek Catholic Church, Dr. Josef Slipy, from prison and banishment in Siberia, and what is more, the issuance of a Soviet passport, which, according to all the information available, also allows the Archbishop to return to the Soviet Union. Archbishop Slipy remains silent. We therefore consider it all the more necessary to recall the history of this hero of the catacomb church, of his persecution by the Gestapo and the Soviet Russians.

On November 1, 1944, the Metropolitan of the Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine, Archbishop Sheptytzky, died under circumstances which up to this day have not been clarified and which were extremely suspicious. Archbishop Sheptytzky was succeeded by his coadjutor, Dr. Josef Slipy. Archbishop Sheptytzky was one of the persons, who, on June 30, 1941, participated in the proclamation of independent Ukraine in Lviv which was carried out at the initiative of the Ukrainian National Movement. Berlin, which had entirely different plans for Ukraine, refused to give its consent to this proclamation, and most of the nationalists involved were arrested by the Gestapo. Archbishop Sheptytzky and Bishop Dr. Slipy were placed under house arrest, and from then until the end of the war were subjected to countless interrogations.

Subsequently the Soviet Army invaded Ukraine and with it came the Prime Minister of the Ukrainian SSR and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, Nikita Sergejevitch Khrushchov. In March 1945 Khrushchov accused the Greek Catholic Church of Ukraine of being an organization of agents and spies. After Khrushchov's proclamation the large-scale campaign to liquidate the Church was

launched on April 11, 1945. Archbishop J. Slipy, Bishop Budka and Bishop M. Tsharnezky were arrested by the NKWD in Lviv, Bishop H. Chomyshyn and Bishop I. Latyshevsky in Stanislaus, the Apostolic Exarch for Ukraine in Germany, Father P. Werhun, in East Berlin. That very same day in Poland the Bishops J. Kozylovsky and H. Lakota were extradited to the Russians by the Polish state security authorities.

In March 1946 these bishops were brought to trial before the Supreme Military Tribunal. Khrushchov called this trial an extremely necessary purification of the Ukrainian soil. The Bishops Slipy, Budka and Latyshevsky were sentenced to 8 years and Bishop Tsharnezky to 5 years' imprisonment. At the same time, from March 8-10, a "synod" of the Greek Catholic Church was organized by the competent Soviet authorities. It decreed the liquidation of this Church and its amalgamation with the Russian Orthodox Church.

In view of the military tribunal held in Kyiv, the official residence of Khrushchov, a tribunal, which, it is true, was not open to the public, but nevertheless received a great deal of publicity, this resolution, passed by 261 priests under severe pressure, does not seem surprising. But even these priests were not spared. Khrushchov set up several concentration camps for priests in Horodok, Lavriv and Sambir, which were soon filled with the priests of the Greek Catholic Church. On January 1, 1948, TASS stated that the Greek Catholic Church of Ukraine had ceased to exist.

At that time, however, the Greek Catholic Church of Ukraine actually still existed. It continued to live on in the Ukrainian insurgent army groups, who, up to the middle of the 1950's still continued their desperate fight. As late as the summer of 1953 the writer of this article himself encountered in the prisons of Lviv Greek Catholic priests who a little while previously had still been active as chaplains of the insurgent army groups. Even later in the concentration camps of Vorkuta he came across numerous Greek Catholic priests who, unbroken in body and spirit, together with many priests from Catholic Lithuania, were the champions of a true catacomb church in the 20th century. Among them was Bishop Tsharnezky, who in the above-mentioned trial was sentenced to only five years' imprisonment but was still held in captivity many years after the "termination of his sentence".

It was not until 1956 that Bishop Tsharnezky was finally released and he died in banishment at the beginning of April 1959.

Shelepin – The Chief Perpetrator

Extracts from the Written Opinion of the Federal High Court in Karlsruhe in the Criminal Case against the Murderer of Stephan Bandera and Lev Rebet

The fight of the Ukrainians, who achieved their political aim – the establishment of their own independent, sovereign, non-Communist state – for a short time in 1941 under Prime Minister Stetzko, was soon also directed against the German Occupation. In 1943/44, when the German troops retreated and the Soviets returned once more, both an open and a partisan resistance on the part of the Ukrainians, which lasted for years, began against the Soviet regime.

* * *

Stashynsky no longer raised any objections. He considered it pointless to do so, for, as a KGB man, he accepted the fact that the “highest authority” must be a committee on at least government level, as a matter of course, and he realized that the orders of this “authority” would have to be carried out unquestioningly regardless of any misgivings or scruples. He also told himself that perhaps “the men at the top” were planning something, the significance of which he did not recognize. At the end of this talk “Georgij” had some champagne brought in and drank a toast to the successful execution of the plan. Stashynsky was given a ticket for the grandstand at the May Parade on Red Square. Before he left Moscow he received the double-barrelled pistol, packed in a metal cylinder, as well as instructions regarding the customs formalities, should his travel documents bearing the army postal service number of the KGB not suffice. On May 4th, in East Berlin, he handed over the weapon to Sergej, who was already informed about the talk which had taken place in Moscow.

* * *

On this trip Stashynsky was also instructed to ascertain the Munich apartment of the Ukrainian exile politician “Dankiw” and to examine the lock on the entrance-door there. He knew that this was the alias of the former Ukrainian Prime Minister Stetzko. He also assumed that this reconnaissance was to serve as a preparation for an attempt to assassinate Stetzko. He also carried out this task in accordance with the orders that he had been given.

* * *

At the beginning of October 1959, when he was already secretly hoping that the KGB would not expect him to commit any more murders, he was informed by Sergej that orders had just come through from the “highest authority in Moscow” that he, Stashynsky, must now liquidate Bandera. He realized that he had hoped in vain. He regarded it as pointless to voice his objections and counter-arguments to Sergej, since the latter was only a middleman who passed on orders to him and, in any case, was, as Stashynsky himself testified in court, obviously a cynic, and because the arguments which he had voiced to “Georgij”, who was higher in rank than Sergej, in January 1959 in Moscow had proved ineffective.

In November 1959 Stashynsky was introduced to a Soviet general, whom he presumed to be the KGB chief of East Berlin, by Sergej in the Soviet prohibited zone of Karlshorst. Holding a glass of cognac in his hand, the General stood up and

Bishop Budka died in the concentration camp in Karaganda at the beginning of September 1949; Bishop Latyshevsky died in exile in Siberia in 1959. The Bishops who were arrested in Poland and extradited to the Russians also died in concentration camps.

Bishop Kozylovsky died in prison in 1947, and Bishop Lakota died shortly afterwards in Vorkuta.

Such were the results of Khrushchov's activity in Ukraine, even though it only lasted a few years.

declared that for having executed an "important government commission" Stashynsky had been awarded the Order of the "Red Banner", which would be conferred on him by the KGB Chief, Shelepin, in Moscow. In the course of the dinner given on this occasion the General had Stashynsky give him an account of the details of the murders. He told Stashynsky that he would have to remain in Moscow for a time until the Bandera affair, which "had caused somewhat of a stir", was forgotten, and added that he would be trained in Moscow for further tasks "in the West".

* * *

On December 4th or 5th, 1959, Stashynsky had to report to Shelepin. The latter had been a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Supreme Soviet since 1952 and at the end of 1958 had been appointed head of the KGB, even though he does not hail from the KGB since he is a politician. In addition to Shelepin, the departmental head "Alexej" and also Georgij Aksentevitch, who in April 1959 had passed on the order to Stashynsky to kill Bandera, were present on this occasion. Shelepin read out a document stating that for executing an "important government commission" Stashynsky, by a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of November 6, 1959, had been awarded the Order of the Red Banner. He then showed Stashynsky this document and drew his attention to the signatures of Voroshilov, at that time Chairman of the Presidium, and of Georgadse, the then Secretary of the Presidium. The document conferring the Order of the Red Banner on Stashynsky was placed in the personal files on account of its strictly confidential nature. Shelepin then had Stashynsky give him a detailed account of the murder of Bandera; he put various questions to Stashynsky and made him draw a sketch of the scene of the crime. From the precise questions which Shelepin put to him, Stashynsky concluded that the KGB had watched his movements whilst he was carrying out this murder. Shelepin then talked about Stashynsky's future career and his personal affairs. In spite of "Alexej's" opposition, Stashynsky obstinately persisted in his request for permission to marry Inge Pohl. He described her as a person of excellent qualities, whose feelings were pro-Soviet, and said that he got on very well with her. He added that she was a sincere admirer of the Communist system. Shelepin emphasized that there were plenty of pretty girls in the Soviet Union, too. But Stashynsky refused to be dissuaded from his request. The reason he gives for his insistency and cunning on this occasion: "It was a case of saving my soul, for I already despised myself for my deeds and I had come to a parting of the way . . ."

* * *

In addition, he received a certificate in the form of a testimonial from the "Director of the Scientific Research Institute, P. O. Box 946", which is really a KGB department. This document certified that "for successful activity in working out an important problem . . . in accordance with a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of November 6, 1959, he was decorated with the Order of the Red Banner".

* * *

The correctness of his statements regarding his reconnaissance of the Munich apartment of the former Ukrainian Prime Minister Stetzko is corroborated by the fact that, on being shown photographs that were only printed during the trial and were not marked in any way, Stashynsky indicated the exact position of the house, the apartment and the entrance-door.

* * *

The "testimonial" made out on December 28, 1960, by the "Director of the Scientific Research Institute, P. O. Box 946", which, it has been ascertained, is in reality a KGB department, states that "Comrade Stashynsky Bogdan Nikolajevitch,

born in 1931, worked in this Research Institute from March 1951 to December 1960, and proved to be an honest and conscientious worker . . . and punctually and successfully carried out the work entrusted to him", and also that "for successful activity in working out an important problem he was decorated with the Order of the Red Banner, in accordance with a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of November 6, 1959".

This is documentary proof both of the entire period of his service with the KGB, which Stashynsky mentioned during the trial (from 1951 until the beginning of 1961, study of languages), and of the conferment of the Order. The reason given for this conferment ("successful activity in working out an important problem") tallies in essence with the reason which, as Stashynsky stated in court, was given him by the Soviet General in Karlshorst in November 1959 and by the KGB Chief, Shelepin, in Moscow in December 1959 ("for executing an important government commission").

* * *

At the end of September 1961 the witness "X", previously referred to in the trial, already received a secret letter from the KGB. In it he was warned to be on his guard against the statements of the man with whom he had been in contact in 1956/57, that is to say Stashynsky, and was requested to destroy all the documents he had received at that time, and also to report either on October 8th, 15th, or 22nd, 1961, at a certain place, which was specified, and to use certain passwords, likewise specified, for the purpose of receiving further instructions.

* * *

On October 13, 1961, a propaganda campaign was launched in the Soviet Occupied Zone of Germany, the purpose of which was to spread the falsehood that the Ukrainian emigrant Myskiv had murdered Bandera on October 15, 1959, at the instructions of the German Federal intelligence service, and had himself later been murdered. At the end of October 1961, the German Federal intelligence service intercepted several radio messages from the Soviet secret service to an agent in Germany, in which this agent was requested to report on the effect of the Myskiv propaganda and as to whether it was necessary to continue this propaganda.

* * *

Stashynsky was fully aware of the fact that his victims were unsuspecting and defenceless at the time of his committing the murders, and he was also aware of all attendant circumstances on which this defencelessness was based. He took advantage of these factors when committing the two murders. The persons from whom he received his instructions had taken these factors into account when planning the murders.

Perpetration. According to the indisputable findings of the trial, orders were issued to the accused in the case of both crimes by a Soviet "highest authority", at least on a government basis and with the participation of Shelepin, the then chairman of the Committee for State Security in the Council of Ministers of the USSR. This is proved by the facts that have been ascertained, in particular by the manner in which the orders were issued, by the conferment of the Order of the Red Banner and the document pertaining to this conferment. The expert von Buttlar has convincingly proved that the following conditions have existed during the period since Stalin's death in 1953: prior to this date orders to kill and other arbitrary measures against Soviet citizens and other persons were frequently issued by the head of the KGB (formerly MGB, NKVD, GPU). According to information ascertained by his department, so von Buttlar said, since about 1956 (20th Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) such orders and measures could now only be decided by a committee consisting of several members of the government

and no longer by the KGB. This information tallies with the detailed statements which were made by the accused regarding the issuing of orders and which were in no way contradictory or embellished. These statements are also confirmed by the fact that Stashynsky was awarded the Order of the Red Banner for executing "an important government commission" (as the Soviet General in Karlshorst and Shelepin in Moscow stressed), or, as the "testimonial" from the KGB of December 28, 1960, affirms, for "working out an important problem". In issuing orders that these two murders were to be committed, the persons from whom Stashynsky received his orders determined the main features of these murders (the victim, weapon, antidote to counteract the poison, manner of using the poison, time of murders, scene of murders, journeys of the accused) beforehand. They therefore acted with malice aforethought. The poison-pistol "used on several occasions and always with success", made at their instructions, the individual orders and instructions to carry out the murders, prove that they planned homicides, that is to say murders, in which the fact that the victims were unsuspecting and defenceless at the time of the murder was to be used to advantage; further, that they planned the perpetration of these murders in this way, and that they intended these murders to happen. As the originators of the plan to murder and as wirepullers in the truest sense, they manifested the will and intent to perpetrate these murders, and it is immaterial from the legal point of view which individual persons manifested this will and intent to perpetrate the murders. These originators of the plan to murder are therefore the perpetrators, namely the indirect perpetrators. * * *

Recently, however, certain modern states under the influence of radical political views, an in Germany under National Socialism, have adopted the method of planning political murders or mass-murders, and of issuing orders that such foul crimes are to be committed. In committing such officially ordered murders, the persons who merely receive and carry out these orders are not prompted by the usual personal or other motives defined by criminology. On the contrary, they find themselves in the morally confusing and often hopeless situation of having been ordered to commit most heinous and reprehensible crimes by their own state, which to many persons, as a result of clever mass propaganda, seems to be an indisputable authority. They obey such orders and instructions under the influence of political propaganda, or under pressure of commands from the authority in power, or under similar influences exercised by their own state, from whom, on the contrary, they might justifiably expect the preservation of law and order. These dangerous criminal impulses emanate not from the persons who receive the orders, but from those who represent the state power and thus violently abuse this power. And such orders to commit murders are not even confined to the territory of their own state. As this trial has shown, they also extend to the territory of other states.

These special circumstances of crimes ordered by the state do not however by any means exonerate those who participate in such crimes from criminal guilt. Every state community can and must demand that everyone should unconditionally refrain from crime, including crimes demanded under abuse of state powers of authority. If it were otherwise, then every social order would disappear and political crime would have free scope. The deeper reason for the reproach of guilt lies in the fact that man has certain standards regarding a free, responsible and moral self-determination and is thus capable of deciding for right and against wrong, of adjusting his behaviour to the norms of duty and obligation in the legal sense and of avoiding all that is prohibited in the legal sense as soon as he reaches moral maturity and as long as his inclination to free, moral self-determination is not temporarily paralysed by abnormal circumstances, as defined in Paragraph 51 of the German Criminal Code, or permanently destroyed (Federal High Court Statute 2, 194, 200).

In both cases the persons who gave Stashynsky his orders were the persons who determined whether and how the crime was to be committed. They made the decisions regarding the crimes, determined the victims, chose and tried out the weapons and the poison, gave the accused orders as their tool, dictated the carefully planned "legends", determined the trips of the accused to Munich and their duration exactly, and gave explicit orders down to the last detail as to where and when the crimes were to be committed. True, Stashynsky committed both murders outside the sphere of influence of the persons from whom he received his orders.

* * *

At the instructions of a foreign power the accused has killed two persons in the Federal Republic of Germany who were entitled to the latter's protection. This is a grave charge against him. But in committing these murders he was merely the unwilling tool of ruthless, political instigators.

* * *

On the strength of the evidence adduced in this trial the guilt of those from whom he received his orders is far greater. Without their system of individual political terrorism these two murders would not have happened. Without any scruples the Soviet Russian leaders from whom he received his orders considered it appropriate to issue orders that two political murders were to be committed in the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany and had these murders carried out, and in doing so, flagrantly violated all international principles of civilization and the obligations of international law which arise out of correct diplomatic relations between two states. The accused cannot therefore be burdened with the guilt of the high-ranking instigators of these crimes.

Those Who Are Guilty Should Be Called To Account

At the Feb. 7th parliamentary discussion, concerning the statement made by the government of the German Federal Republic, the Chairman of the CDU/CSU, former Foreign Minister, Dr. von Brentano states as follows:

The written opinion and verdict pronounced by the 3rd Court of Criminal Appeal of the Federal High Court in the trial of the Soviet Russian subject Bogdan *Stashynsky* was recently made known. The accused was sentenced to eight years penal servitude for aiding and abetting murder in two cases. I quote the following argument from this opinion:

"Without any scruples the Soviet Russian authorities from whom he received his orders considered it appropriate to issue orders that two political murders were to be committed in the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany and had these murders carried out, and in doing so, flagrantly violated all international principles of civilization and the obligations of international law which arise out of correct diplomatic relations between two states."

I ask the Federal Government whether it is prepared to forward the records of the trial to the government of the Soviet Union with the request that those who are guilty of these crimes should be called to account. I also ask the Federal Government whether it has already considered the question of bringing up this matter before competent international authorities and institutions, as for instance, the International Court of Justice at The Hague, or the United Nations.

One is filled with horror and indignation when, on reading the opinion and verdict of the court, one visualizes what could happen on German soil at the orders of a foreign power.

What Now?

*Conclusions to be drawn from the verdict of the Karlsruhe court in the trial of
Bandera's murderer*

We have before us the arguments on which the verdict pronounced by the German Federal High Court in Karlsruhe in the trial of the assassin Bogdan Stashynsky (who murdered Stephan Bandera and Dr. Lev Rebet) is based; and in which emphasis is in particular placed on the fact that the main perpetrators are the government of the USSR, headed by Khrushchov and his right-hand man, Shelepin, who was recently appointed deputy Prime Minister and who is the only person – apart from Khrushchov – to be a member of both the Secretariate and the Presidium of the Communist Party of the USSR.

The following arguments are cited in the opinion of the Federal High Court: "Stalinism is dead. But individual murderous terrorism still lives on. The real change which has taken place thus has not the least connection with lawfulness: the Soviet secret service no longer commits murder arbitrarily and of its own accord. Murder is now only carried out *at the explicit orders of the government*. Political murder *has now*, as it were, *become an institution* . . . The political leadership of the Soviet Union, the leadership of a world power which is wont to be proud of its history and civilization . . . the political leadership of a country that is a member of the United Nations and entertains correct diplomatic relations with the German Federal Republic, considers it expedient to have a murder by poison, decided at least on a government level, committed on the sovereign territory of the German Federal Republic as a state order. On the certain assumption that this crime would not come to light, this same leadership acts in defiance of all international rules of decency, of the German penal laws and of its own laws in order to liquidate a political opponent. But every political murder, like a political lie, is in the end directed against its instigator . . . This court is now obliged to ascertain with regret that the political leadership of the Soviet Union also officially orders and has murders carried out on German territory."

We have only quoted a short passage from the verdict pronounced by the Supreme Court of Justice of the German Federal Republic, but it is a verdict that is unique and unparalleled in the jurisdiction of the free world.

This same court, against whose verdict there can be no appeal, has ascertained beyond all doubt that *the government of the USSR*, headed by Khrushchov and Shelepin, *bears the main responsibility for the murders of Stephan Bandera and Lev Rebet*, and for this reason the court *condemns* this government morally and legally. The fact that Shelepin has been appointed to the extremely important post of chairman of the Control Commission of the government and of the Communist Party of the USSR indicates fairly clearly the extent to which he has been of service to Moscow as the chief of the KGB secret police. It is indeed a mockery of the administration of justice throughout the whole world to appoint a person who is directly responsible for the said murders to such a post. The government of the USSR derides the fact that the Supreme Court of Justice of the German Federal Republic has condemned both morally and legally a member of the government of the USSR as a criminal. The police of any country which such a criminal enters should immediately arrest him on the strength of warrants of the Interpol and extradite him to Germany.

The Supreme Court of Justice of the German Federal Republic has ascertained that

a) the government of the USSR has violated the sovereignty of the German Federal Republic in spite of the fact that it entertains diplomatic relations with Bonn;

b) the rights of the individual in the territory of the German Federal Republic have been ruthlessly violated by the government of the USSR. In addition to the two above-mentioned murders, Shelepin also gave orders that a third murder was to be organized and carried out, namely the murder of Jaroslaw Stetzko, who lives in the territory of the German Federal Republic.

The public of the free world hopes that the government of the Federal Republic of Germany will

a) send a protest to the government of the USSR through the German Ambassador to Moscow. Under normal circumstances, in which no regard need be paid to any "coexistence", one should, on the strength of the above-mentioned verdict, break off diplomatic relations with such a government of criminals;

b) submit the entire material of the Karlsruhe trial to the International Court of Justice at The Hague in order to protect the sovereignty of one's own territory and the rights of the individual on this territory;

c) submit the entire case to the Committee for Human Rights in the United Nations, since both the German Federal Republic and also the USSR have signed the Declaration on Human Rights in the United Nations Organization;

d) the German section of the International Jurists' Commission, the commission which recently examined the administration of justice in Spain, for example, and published extensive documentary material on this subject, should undertake to collect and publish documentary evidence regarding the violation of Germany's sovereign rights and of human rights in German territory by a state which entertains normal diplomatic relations with the German Federal Republic;

e) the Chief Public Prosecutor of the German Federal Republic should consequently demand the extradition of Shelepin as a criminal through the Federal Government in Bonn, in order to take legal proceedings against him in Germany, that is to say in the country in which he has committed his crimes - two cases of actual murder and one of attempted murder.

To cite an example in this connection: if in some state other than the USSR a centre of international conspirators and assassins were discovered, who were organizing and having crimes such as murder, abduction, etc., carried out, and their chief were exposed as the instigator and organizer of these murders, then the government of the German Federal Republic would most certainly demand the extradition of such a criminal. The fact that the chief perpetrator in this case is a Vice-Premier is of no account, for a gangster's crime remains a gangster's crime and murder remains murder, and the abduction of individuals remains abduction, regardless of whether this gangster's crime is perpetrated by Al Capone or Shelepin. If Al Capone were to enter French territory and from there organize robberies and murders in Germany, the Bonn government would undoubtedly demand his extradition once they discovered that the members of his gang had murdered someone in Germany... For this reason it is appropriate that I myself, as the person who was also to be murdered at Shelepin's orders, should request that the government in Bonn should demand the extradition of the Vice-Premier of the USSR, Shelepin, the person who planned, organized and issued the orders for the murder of the two freedom fighters, Stephan Bandera and Lev Rebet, and in this respect it is immaterial whether this demand for extradition be crowned with success or not.

It is in this case a question of a moral and legal attitude towards the murders and the organizers of the murders, as was incidentally stressed, in a manner that was objective and also unique in the history of political trials, by the Supreme Court of Justice of the German Federal Republic under the presidency of Dr. Hein-

rich Jagusch, — namely that the murders in question must be imputed to the government of the USSR. The Federal High Court designated the criminal Stashynsky as an “assistant” and pointed out that the main perpetrators were Shelepin and the government of the USSR. The German Federal Government should draw the logical conclusions from this opinion if it does not want to leave the Federal High Court in the lurch. Either Stashynsky is the main perpetrator, in which case he should be sentenced to two terms of life-imprisonment, or if, *according to the conception of German jurisdiction*, he is only to be regarded as an “assistant”, then the *main perpetrator* must be sentenced accordingly, that is to say the Chief Public Prosecutor of the German Federal Republic, with the aid of the government in Bonn, must take the necessary legal measures in order to ensure that the main perpetrator is extradited. It is to some extent immaterial whether justice overtakes him or not in the meantime. In his arguments the President of the 3rd Court of Criminal Appeal of the Federal High Court, Dr. Heinrich Jagusch, very courageously and very rightly said that there were no reasons why one should cast the blame of the main perpetrators on to Stashynsky. *For the main perpetrators would not be able to escape from their guilt, just as no one in the long run can escape their just punishment.*

At the moment it is imperative that Interpol, on the strength of the precise legal indictment drawn up by the Chief Public Prosecutor of the Federal High Court and with the co-operation of the German Federal Government, should issue a warrant for the arrest of the criminal Shelepin and likewise of the “President” Voroshilov (who at the instigation of Khrushchov in his capacity as head of the government of the USSR signed the conferment of one of the highest Orders of the USSR on Stashynsky for the murders) and should endeavour to arrest these criminals as soon as they appear in the territory that is accessible to the Federal Chief Public Prosecutor, that is to say in any country of the free world. In this respect the fact that they are leaders of the “mighty USSR” is not of decisive importance. What is above all important is that *these individuals should be branded by the disgrace of vile crimes* and that uncompromising anti-Communists, basing their arguments on the legal opinion of the court, for these additional reasons should thus be justified in demanding the exclusion of the Soviet criminals from international organizations. For no one will be so naive as to expect a concrete result from such a decision. The essence of the matter lies rather in a *moral and legal* exposure and condemnation, for the most effective and important factor in the fight against Bolshevism is at present a *moral mobilization*. From this point of view the verdict of the Federal High Court is of great historical significance, even though the length of the sentence pronounced on Stashynsky is naturally from our point of view by no means sufficient, since the “assistant” should in any case have been sentenced to 15 years’ imprisonment. But this fact is only of secondary importance provided that action is taken against the government of the USSR and provided that one does not attempt to hush up the whole matter, or drop it completely, allegedly so as not to complicate American and Russian negotiations regarding Berlin. The Ukrainian and pro-Ukrainian circles in the West are acting rightly in demanding that the government in Bonn should take the above-mentioned measures. Demands by telegram and in writing to this effect are most certainly justified, for this is a matter which has roused public opinion all over the world and cannot be postponed indefinitely. *The verdict pronounced in Karlsruhe should be the beginning* but by no means the end of the action taken on account of the murder of Stephan Bandera and Lev Rebet. Nor should the government in Bonn alone take the initiative. The United Nations and also the government of the USA and of Canada, in which countries there are countless Ukrainians, should also take action accordingly.

In addition, the undersigned, as a person who was likewise to be murdered at Shelepin's orders (and this fact was ascertained by the Federal High Court), and *in the name of all those* who are threatened by the fate of Stephan Bandera and Lev Rebet, *requests the German Federal Government to afford all these persons legal and concrete protection* against the measures planned against them, such as murder and abduction, on the part of the Vice-Premier of the USSR and chief criminal, Shelepin, the chairman of the supreme Control Commission of the Soviet Union and of the Communist Party of the USSR. I base this request on the facts ascertained by the Federal High Court, which stated that I was also to be murdered by order of the government of the USSR. It is less important that the measures of the German government should lead to an actual success. What is more important is that the law should be respected and that the human rights, which the German Federal Republic has promised to respect, should really be protected. My request is not based on any political fact, if the German authorities do not wish to take such factors into account, but is made on the strength of human rights and in the name of these human rights.

Let us assume, for example, that the German police learn that a group of gangsters is planning to rob and murder a German, then the police will most certainly surround the house in which the German lives and protect him against these gangsters. If, on the other hand, there is no doubt about the fact (and the gang of Red Russian government criminals, who supported Russian science in its invention of a dreadful weapon of murder and had the power of the Soviet Russian imperium at their disposal, has murdered two freedom fighters) that the government of the USSR carries out such crimes, why should not the government of the German Federal Republic, in whose territory the freedom fighters now find themselves as a result of the aftermath of World War II, protect these freedom fighters? And this all the more, since not merely one of these persons was a prisoner in the Nazi concentration camps until he was liberated by the Allied forces... Nor did the undersigned come to Germany of his own free will, since he was arrested in Lviv and imprisoned by the Gestapo in Berlin and in the concentration camp in Sachsenhausen.

We - prisoners of the Nazi concentration camps - think we are justified in pointing out that various countries, not without evident reason, extradite Nazi criminals at the request of the countries concerned so that these criminals may be sentenced. Hence we ask: why can one not demand the extradition of the Russian Bolshevik criminals such as Shelepin, seeing that the Supreme Court of Justice of democratic Germany has objectively ascertained Shelepin's guilt?

If the government in Bonn fails to draw the logical conclusions from the Karlsruhe verdict, then the Bundestag, that is the Federal Parliament, should take this matter up. In view of the fact that the Bundestag discussed the matter of the "Spiegel" with considerable interest and attention on three occasions, it should likewise protect the sovereignty of the German Federal Republic, in whose territory the assassins who receive their orders from the government of the USSR behave as if they were at home. And the Bundestag should also protect the human rights which Khrushchov violates not only in his own sphere of influence but also elsewhere, inasmuch as he orders the murder of freedom fighters on German soil. For, after all, the freedom fighters are also human beings, even in the world of today which has become shallow and materialistic as a result of its inordinate desire for pleasure.

Upon receiving the *written* opinion and verdict of the Federal High Court, the German Federal Government and the Bundestag should take action immediately.

It is to be hoped that the competent Congress committees in the USA which investigated Khrushchov's crimes and also published valuable documentary material on this subject, will also investigate the murders in Munich. The documentary material

of the Federal High Court which is placed at the disposal of the U. S. Congress will suffice to condemn the gangsters of Moscow at least morally . . .

Stephan Bandera laid down his life not only for the freedom and independence of Ukraine, but also for the security and independence of the free world, including the Federal Republic of Germany. Will this free world make an effort to condemn its murderers at least morally?

We – the freedom fighters of the enslaved world – do not intend to wait. We must act without delay, regardless of how the free world and its responsible leaders react to our opinion.

United States Policy Toward The Captive Nations

*Address of Hon. Michael A. Feighan, United States Representative 20th District - Ohio.
Delivered at the Political Forum of American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of
Nations Inc. in Hotel New Yorker, New York, Saturday, February 9, 1963*

Mr. Moderator, distinguished members of the panel, and friends:

The great challenge of our times is the new colonialism, the new imperialism of Moscow. This challenge poses a clear and present danger to representative self-government, to individual liberty, to the basic freedoms cherished by all mankind and to a peaceful world in which justice, charity, tolerance, and brotherhood govern the relations between nations. For the ideology which motivates the new imperialism holds that all civilizations must be purged of the past and be transformed into colonies subservient to the materialistic will of Soviet Russia. And those, past and present, who man this drive to world empire, leave no doubts about their fanatical dedication to those objectives.

Hence in the vortex of American foreign policy are the Captive Nations. They are the victims of the new imperialism, the new colonialism of Moscow. What we do or fail to do in restoring to them their rightful place in the community of civilized nations is the surest test of our intentions and the honest measure of our dedication to the cause of peace with justice.

Yet we do not have a uniform and clearly defined policy toward the Captive Nations. This vital area of our foreign policy is beset by dangerous contradictions, prejudice, and self-defeating doctrines. The extent of this disarray at the vortex of our foreign policy is observed best by an examination of the term Captive Nation and its application to our nation's commitments.

If we turn to the Congress of the United States for such a definition we find an official expression of directness and clarity in Public Law 86-90, the Captive Nations Week law. That law identifies the Captive Nations by name, not only the so-called satellites and the Baltic States, but the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union – including several whose names have been purged from the great book of history by the Russian imperialists and one that has been partitioned by the Muscovites into five so-called Soviet Republics. Also one finds in that law the names of the Asian nations whose national integrity has been subverted by the Red Banner of modern-day Russian imperialism, and those three nations which have been partitioned by Communist aggression and Red Army occupation. But equally important to the findings of that federal statute is its identification of Russian Communism as the despoiler of national independence and master of the techniques of national servitude. Finally, Public Law 86-90 finds that the aspirations of the people in the Cap-

tive Nations for freedom and national independence constitute a powerful deterrent to war and one of our best hopes for a just peace.

I believe, therefore, it is proper to conclude Congress is not responsible for the dangerous contradictions and prejudices which attend our government's approach to the central issue of Captive Nations versus Imperial Russian Communism. Truth and objective fact on this central issue, established by the two-year official inquiry of the Select Committee to Investigate Communist Aggression of the 83rd Congress, guided the language and intent of Public Law 86-90. It is worth noting in this connection that the validity of the voluminous reports, basic findings, conclusions and recommendations of that Select Committee remain unchallenged to this day. As is known, the Moscow propaganda organs reacted violently to the work of that Select Committee, but Russian governments, whether under the Tsar or the Commissars, have always worked in the shadows where truth is a stranger and objective fact is an unwelcome lamp.

Under our Constitution, Congress does not set our foreign policy any more than it has authority to execute it. That authority and the responsibility which accompanies it rests with the President and he is free to select those whom he wishes to share either or both with him. Congress can exercise regulatory authority where public funds are involved in the execution of foreign policy, in matters of foreign trade, and the Senate must ratify treaties with foreign powers. Congress reserves the exclusive right to declare war, which invariably results from a failure of foreign policy, yet has very little real authority over its formulation or execution. Nevertheless, Congress, as the voice of the people, possesses ways and means to exercise an influence on foreign policy – not the least of which are the “sense of Congress” resolutions such as were passed on the Berlin crisis, the Cuban crisis, the Middle-East crisis and on the Captive Nations. So we must look elsewhere for the source of the dangerous contradictions and prejudices which attend our policy toward imperial Russian Communism.

The most obvious place to turn next is to Secretary of State Dean Rusk because his greatest claim to fame in this critical policy area arises from an ill conceived letter bearing his name and addressed to the Chairman of the House Committee in connection with a pending resolution to establish a Special Committee on Captive Nations. That letter expressed opposition to the establishment of such a House Committee and defended the legitimacy of Russian colonialism in Ukraine, Georgia, and Armenia on the grounds those nations were traditional parts of the Soviet Union. While stating that our government has consistently upheld the right of subjugated peoples in the Soviet Empire to national independence, governments of their own choosing and to human rights and freedom, Rusk then restricts these rights to formerly independent nations. The tragic comedy of the Rusk letter is that it exposes a profound official ignorance of the fact that Ukraine, Georgia, and Armenia all were independent nations in the wake of World War I and that their independence was subverted in the first wave of imperial Russian Communism. He then compounds his comedy of errors by claiming that our government's support for the right of formerly independent nations 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” because this would put us in the position of “seeming to advocate the dismemberment of an historic state”. Such tortured reasoning as this is common to Russian thinking and mythology, particularly when the political principle of self-determination must be abused and perverted to defend modern-day Russian colonialism. Moreover, it parallels the irrational thinking found in the “Lenin-Stalin Solution to the National Question”¹⁾ which, by the way, the ideological organs of Moscow are now using to argue their case for a permanent partition of Germany

and the strangulation of Berlin.²) The greatest fantasies of history are those based solely upon "Russian Truths" which crawl out from the shadows of despotism where, as is well known, truth is a stranger and objective fact an unwelcome lamp.

In a spirit of fair play, I suggest all the blame for this tragic comedy of errors does not rest solely on Secretary Rusk. He is not generally regarded as an authority on Russian colonialism or the supporting tactics of imperial Communism. Moreover experience in recent years has taught us that Secretaries of State are seldom masters of the Department over which they serve and more often than not the entrenched bureaucracy are in sure, if subtle, command of policy.

Now we turn to the Department of State, to that entrenched bureaucracy of "Russian experts", who, somewhat like Ole Man River, just keep rolling along their erroneous course despite changes in national administrations and growing protests of an aroused electorate. There we find concentrated the disciples of a mythical doctrine - Russia the Sacred Cow - an untouchable Russia whose ruthless imperialism they now find to be exercising a "mellowing" influence on the highly civilized non-Russian nations imprisoned behind the Iron Curtain. Unmindful of the fact that imperial Russian power has posed a constant threat to Europe, the Near and Middle East and Asia for many centuries they defend the Divine Right of Empire claimed by an unbroken line of imperial ambitions centered in the Kremlin.

That same group in the State Department produced the doctrine of "non-predetermination" toward the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union which haunted the Eisenhower Administration. In brief, that doctrine holds that if the unbridled right of self-determination was extended to the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union this would result in a prejudgment on the political future of the Eurasian land mass now under control of Moscow. The implied admission is clear. The non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union would choose the course of national independence which would mean the end of imperial Russian power. Rights to national independence, to self-government, to basic human rights and freedom are thus withheld from millions of peoples inhabiting that darkened area of the world. Like the current ideological elite of the Kremlin, who defend the Lenin-Stalin theories on self-determination through K. Ivanov in the Communist party organ Pravda³), the Russian experts in our State Department sap the life-blood of self-determination by forbidding its application to the heartland of the Russian empire.

Such massive discrimination against some submerged nations held in colonial bondage by Moscow does severe damage to the honesty of our intentions with regard to imperialism and colonialism. We have demonstrated our support for national independence movements in South and South East Asia, in the Middle East and in Africa, despite what it cost us in our relations with some of our NATO allies. But we have demonstrated an unwillingness to support national independence movements which would reduce the power of aggression held by those who would destroy us. It is little wonder that so-called neutralism has become popular and profitable in recent years or that the concept of a European "third force" now threatens the stability of our NATO shield. Principles must be applied to all without fear or favor if they are to be regarded as the hallmark of American foreign policy.

Let me make it clear that I am not engaging in a blanket charge against all the Area Desks and Divisions of the Department of State. I am speaking about the entrenched bureaucracy of "Russian experts" in the Department who backstopped the Rusk letter, who authored the doctrine of non-predetermination and whose thinking is allied with the "Lenin-Stalin Solution to the National Question". There are many within the Department who reject policy based upon Russian myths and who are informed of the facts on Russia, the Russians and their empire. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, for example, is informed on the facts about the formerly indepen-

dent status of Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, and the other non-Russian nations forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union. He made this clear in a United Nations debate on colonialism when he reviewed the history of Soviet Russian imperialism, charging the Russians with subverting the national independence of those nations, among many others. This defense of historical truth by Ambassador Stevenson took place in the United Nations a short while before Secretary Rusk assumed the indefensible position as protector of Russian colonialism in his letter to the House Rules Committee. This episode underscores what I mean by the dangerous contradictions and prejudice which log-jam the vortex of American foreign policy.

Let us now turn our examination of this vital issue to the constitutional source of American foreign policy – the President of the United States. The public statements, addresses, published papers, and public commitments of President Kennedy serve as the basis for this examination. Here the record is clear, devoid of contradictions and limitations on governing principles, and deeply rooted in our American political heritage. In his address before the General Assembly of the United Nations on September 25, 1961, President Kennedy analyzed the new colonialism of Moscow and called for the unfettered, universal application to the principle of self-determination in these words:

“But colonialism in its harshest forms is not only the exploitation of new nations by old, of dark skins by light – or the subjugation of the poor by the rich. My nation was once a colony, and we know what colonialism means; the exploitation and subjugation of the weak by the powerful, of the many by the few, of the governed who have given no consent to be governed, whatever their continent, their class, or their color.

And that is why there is no ignoring the fact that the tide of self-determination has not reached the Communist empire, where a population far larger than that officially termed ‘dependent’ lives under governments installed by foreign troops instead of free institutions, under a system which knows only one party and one belief, which suppresses free debate and free elections and free newspapers and free books and free trade unions, and which builds a wall to keep truth a stranger and its own citizens prisoners. Let us debate colonialism in full and apply the principle of free choice and the practice of free plebiscites in every corner of the globe.”

In an address at Buffalo, New York, on September 14, 1962, before a Pulaski Day Observance, President Kennedy called out for an active policy toward the Captive Nations. He said:

“What policies can we pursue to encourage what Thomas Jefferson called the disease of liberty? It is not enough to make speeches about liberations. Our government must pursue an active policy which holds out the promise of freedom behind the iron curtain.”

Those who hide behind the fear of nuclear war or use the so-called nuclear stalemate argument to kill political action in the cause of peace with freedom will find no comfort in this commitment by President Kennedy. And those who are informed on the realities of the Russian problem must redouble their efforts to bring about the implementations of policies calculated to encourage the “disease of liberty” behind the iron curtain. For the nurtured seeds of liberty bring forth the sturdy trees of national independence. The time is long overdue for a full scale political confrontation with Russian imperialism. Here the prospects of escalation into world peace with freedom are practically unlimited. Alternative choices now open to us, including political inaction, could well railroad us to defeat – with or without a nuclear war.

But a few weeks ago, in his State of the Union message, President Kennedy again displayed his keen perception of the growing political storm within the Empire of Moscow when he observed:

"The disarray of the Communist empire has been heightened by two other formidable forces. One is the historical force of nationalism – and the yearning of all men to be free. The other is the gross inefficiency of their economies. For a closed society is not open to ideas of progress – and a police state finds that it cannot command the grain to grow."

Basic to the Berlin Crisis is the issue of unfettered application of the political principle of self-determination. And the crisis of Berlin is tied irrevocably to the broader issue of Captive Nations because it can not be separated from the larger question of a free, united and democratic Germany. President Kennedy announced our policy on that issue as follows:

"The United States Government continues to believe that there will be no real solution to the German problem, nor any real tranquility in Central Europe, until the German people are reunited in peace and freedom on the basis of the universally recognized principle of self-determination."⁴)

The dangerous conflict between the policies of President Kennedy and those expressed by Secretary Rusk in his letter to the House Rules Committee heralds the need for immediate and far reaching changes to bring State Department policies with regard to self-determination, the rights of nations, colonialism, and imperialism in line with those announced by the President. If the entrenched bureaucracy of Russian experts in the State Department are allowed to work their will against the policies of the President of the United States, representative self-government in the United States is doomed. Meanwhile, we will continue to suffer the pains of national frustration and economic dissipation until that Gordian Knot on our political ideals is severed.

It is fair to say that so long as these dangerous contradictions and prejudices continue to log-jam the vortex of American foreign policy we may not claim a policy toward the Captive Nations. And all the rest of our foreign policy which of necessity must take its direction and strength from the vortex is immeasurably weakened.

What is needed if we are to win our goal of peace with freedom is a new horizon of ideals to which the foreign policies of our government can be firmly attached and against which we can make reliable evaluations on the rate of our progress. President Kennedy has made a strong start in illuminating a horizon of ideals, based upon our American political heritage and toward which he endeavors to move the future of the world. But we can not accomplish this monumental task alone. And his efforts are retarded by the old frontiers of reaction and discrimination within our government which, as I have indicated, continue to exist and to exert an unhealthy influence on our attitude toward the Captive Nations.

The old frontiers of prejudice and discrimination toward the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union still existing in the Department of State are no less a formidable barrier to peace than is the Berlin Wall. In some respects those old frontiers are more formidable. It is quite reasonable to conclude that had our foreign policy been free of those prejudices during World War II we would not have the problem of Captive Nations today – at least not its present magnitude. But we can be sure the Berlin Wall will not come down so long as the old frontiers of a Russian beachhead on our policies remain in force. We can hardly expect to accomplish in Berlin, surrounded as it is by the Red Army, what we have failed to accomplish within our own government, free as it is to take corrective actions.

It is not difficult, in the light of this examination of the forces and counterforces at work in the crucial area of American policy toward imperial Russia, to understand

Freedom Will Ultimately Prevail

Address

by His Excellency Nobusuke Kishi at the Closing Ceremony of APACL, October, 1962

Fellow Delegates, Observers and Friends:

It is with an uplifted mind but with a heavy heart that I address these closing remarks to you: My mind is uplifted because of the impressive results achieved by the present Conference: my heart is heavy because of the painful parting which is now approaching. During the brief span of five days, the Conference has achieved a good deal, thanks to your most generous cooperation. We have exchanged views freely and frankly on the common danger which menaces us all in Asia and elsewhere and the means to cope with it. In the course of earnest debates both in the plenary and committee sessions, the Conference has heard a number of constructive and comprehensive proposals and the substance thereof has been incorporated in the Declarations and Resolutions adopted by the Conference. These will, epitomizing as they do the conscience of mankind, go a long way towards ensuring and enhancing the cause of liberty to the defense of which we all, dear Friends, dedicate ourselves unflinchingly.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I found it most gratifying that though the issues were grave, deliberations deep and their tone exalted, we felt throughout that we were holding an intimate family council – brothers, sisters and cousins knit together by an unbreakable tie of kinship. Indeed, the sense of kinship is so strong that we feel confident, supremely confident, of overcoming whatever difficulties may beset us. We all recognize that those difficulties created by the Communists are the most perilous and pressing. We all agree that Asia is the primary target of Communist offensives and that our region is presently in manifest danger. Consequently, we feel called upon to redouble our joint efforts to repulse these offensives and consolidate peace and tranquility in our part of the world.

Now, I must ask the indulgence of our learned Chinese friends, for, I venture to refer to the famous classic “Han Fei Tsu”.

A Prince was writing a letter by candle-light to another prince when the light became dim. So, the Prince called out to an attendant “Raise the light!” As he so commanded, he wrote unwittingly the words of command “Raise the light” in the letter. When his friend received this princely epistle, he felt inspired by this command and invited a very wise statesman to assume the premiership. As a result, his country prospered greatly. Is this not an episode pregnant with deep meaning?

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is, I believe, the duty of the APACL to raise high the torch of Freedom to dispel the shadow of oppression, and expose and eliminate the dark designs of the Communists to subvert and subjugate the whole world. We are certain that the bright torch of Freedom will eventually penetrate even the thickest curtain – or wall, for that matter – be it of iron or steel, bringing with it a message of hope to the fettered peoples – hope of an early restoration of liberty. Firmly convinced that freedom will ultimately prevail throughout the world, we now take leave of you, Dear Comrades.

In closing, I wish to thank you all, on behalf of my delegation, for the kind cooperation you have accorded us in bringing this memorable Conference to a successful conclusion.



Nippon Kokumin Kaigi Fighting Communism In Japan

*Address by Prof. Tetsuzo Watanabe,
President of Free Asia Association at
a dinner party for delegates participating
in the APACL Conference in Tokyo,
October, 1962.*

On behalf of the Nippon Kokumin Kaigi, I extend to you a most sincere welcome to this dinner party.

We have the greatest pleasure in meeting all the delegates and observers from the many countries who are participating in the 8th APACL Conference here in Tokyo. It is a pleasure not only to us but also to all Japanese people that the 8th APACL Conference is being held in Japan.

I would like to mention my impressions of the APACL Conference. As a Japanese delegate, I attended the 6th APACL Conference at Taipeh, the 7th Conference at Manila and the extraordinary Conference in Seoul. Through these experiences I learnt much and I earnestly wanted leading Japanese politicians to participate in this movement of APACL. Therefore when Mr. Kishi accepted the office of chairman of the Council of APACL, I was very pleased. I thought this would be a start towards cultivating a better understanding of the APACL movement among Japanese politicians and all other Japanese people. I am sure that this 8th Conference will be effective in strengthening the importance of the APACL movements not only in our country but also all over the world. I do hope that the APACL Conference will develop on a world-wide scale. I am sure that it will be regarded as the most important and practical anti-Communist Conference.

Recently problems of Berlin, Cuba, Laos and the South Viet-Nam are grave. And red pressure on the straits of Formosa is being intensified. In Africa the solution of the Congo problem seems to be almost impossible. Under these serious circumstances it is necessary for free nations of the world to be firmly united against Communism.

In autumn last year, U. S. Senator Fulbright wrote in the magazine "Foreign Affairs" about the inefficiency of the United Nations, and the necessity of strong union amongst free nations of the world. Mr. Tran-Tam, general secretary of APACL, advocated the necessity of the union among free Asian countries in his book "SOS From South East Asia". And U. S. Senator Thomas Dodd in his article in the "National Review" of August 1962, also indicated the inefficiency of the United Nations, and the danger of neutralism, co-existence, and the coalition policy. Every day we see Communism gradually invading and infiltrating all parts of the world. In order to win the fight against it, free nations must be closely united and must devise a

concrete counter-move. Japan has not been able to afford to participate in anti-Communist movements as she has been engaged in the reconstruction of the country since the end of the war. Besides, newspapers in Japan do not take a positive attitude towards the anti-Communist movements. But today people in our country are slowly realizing the danger of Communism and the importance of fighting against it. Our Nippon Kokumin Kaigi has been organized on these lines and it is now playing an important role in the fight against Communism in Japan.

I do hope this 8th APACL Conference will be successful and the future of APACL will be prosperous.

In 1920, three years after the Soviet Revolution I criticised Communism in my lecture at Tokyo Imperial University and stressed that Communism is entirely contrary to human nature. After the war my co-fighters, Dr. Kitaoka, and I fought against the Communists of all Japan in the big labour dispute of Tohho Movie Company and after a bitter struggle lasting 200 days we finally won.

When I was a professor I was young and my hair was black. Now my hair is quite white but my spirit is still young. I will continue to fight against Communism together with all of you.

* * *

The Nippon Kokumin Kaigi was formed on March 10, 1959, as a liaison body for more than 40 anti-Communist organizations in Japan. It holds a plenary conference and convenes its many committees into session every month.

The Nippon Kokumin Kaigi has so far organized regional chapters in 30 prefectures since December 1960 when the first chapter was established in Sendai, Miyagi Prefecture. It is thus conducting a national campaign throughout the whole of Japan, from Hokkaido in the north to Kyushu in the south.

The Nippon Kokumin aims at:

Coping effectively with the infiltration of international Communism, promoting the united action of the Japanese people with a view to achieving their moral ideal, and ensuring effective cooperation and partnership among the member organizations.

The Nippon Kokumin Kaigi's liaison with the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League is managed by the Free Asia Association (representative: Dr. Tetsuzo Watanabe) with the support and cooperation of 8,000,000 persons belonging to the member organizations of the Nippon Kokumin Kaigi.

The Nippon Kokumin Kaigi at present consists of the following 42 organizations:

Asian Peoples' Association, The Constitution Research and Development Association, Assembly for the Constitution Problems, The Association for International Developmental Cooperation, The National Conference for Land Development, Japan Foreign Affairs Research Society, The Shuyo-dan, The New Youth Conference, The New Cultural Japanese Conference, Free Asia Association, The Free Cultural Peoples' League, The Seikyo-Sha, The Home of Infinite Life, Teachers and Friends Association, The National Voters Conference, The All-Japan Religion and Politics League, Global Culture Association, Taikoayasaka-kai, Central Labor Problems Association, The Association of the East-Asia League, The Japan Association for the Advancement of Education, The Association for the Construction of Japan, The Japanese Veterans Association, The Japanese Disabled Veterans Association, The Japanese Retired Public Servants Political League, The National Association for Public Welfare, The Association for Service, Civil Defense Association, The Rik-kenyosei-kai, Army Officers Association, The Military Pensioners League, The Kokuchu-kai, The Showa Politics and Economy Research Society, The New Japan Conference, The Current Topics Research Institute, The Association for Defense of Free Japan, The Jinjahondio, Navy Officers Association, The Association for the Reversion of the Chishima Islands, The Institute for the Town Policy, The Fuji Poetry Association, The National Kaiken League.

Protection

Against Crime Demands At Least Formal Protest

The Federal Chancellor,
Dr. Konrad Adenauer,
B o n n

Frankfurt on Main,
Unterweg 10,

January 16, 1963

Sir,

In the recent sham fights for the security of the law in the Federal Republic some circles have maybe intentionally, others perhaps unintentionally, overlooked a case which, in view of its special character, demands the greatest attention on the part of all those who are genuinely concerned about the preservation of the constitutional statehood in that part of Germany which is free.

At the end of 1962 the Federal High Court in Karlsruhe presented its written opinion and verdict in the trial of the Soviet subject Bogdan Stashynsky, who as an agent of the Soviet Russian State Security Committee in 1957 murdered Professor Lev Rebet in Munich and in 1959 Stephan Bandera. It is stated in this opinion that both murders "on the strength of the conclusive evidence adduced at the trial, were ordered by a Soviet 'highest authority', at least on a government basis and with the participation of Shelepin, the then chairman of the Committee for State Security in the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and that the accused was ordered to carry them out." In accordance with other decisions reached by the Federal High Court and the former Reichs Courts, the court in this case distinguished between the perpetrator of murder and the mere assistant to murder, and thus clearly stated that the Council of Ministers of the USSR is the perpetrator of the murders.

This verdict on the part of a democratic independent court has proved that the "political leadership of the Soviet Union, the leadership of a world power which is wont to be proud of its history and civilization . . . the political leadership of a country that is a member of the United Nations and entertains correct diplomatic relations with the German Federal Republic . . . considers it expedient to have a murder by poison, decided at least on a government level, committed on the sovereign territory of the German Federal Republic as a state order".

One cannot fail to see in these arguments of the court a description of a state of affairs which in an unparalleled manner threatens the security of the law in the Federal Republic. Countless views pertaining to this aspect of the matter and urgent enquiries have been sent to me, asking whether the Federal Government will not at least reply with a protest to the violation of our sovereignty and constitutional state order by a foreign power. Surely it is not in keeping with the principles of international law for a foreign government to be allowed to hire murderers and give them orders to kill persons whom they regard as their political opponents, on the sovereign territory of our state? Many circles of the population are rightly asking themselves what will eventually happen if incidents of this kind are accepted without any protest. Self-respect and protection against crimes of this type demand that at least a formal protest should be sent to Moscow.

Sir, I take the liberty of submitting these viewpoints and considerations to you and should be obliged if you would inform me whether the Federal Government, on the strength of the findings of the Federal High Court, has already sent a protest of the Federal Republic to the government of the USSR, or intends doing so in the near future.

Yours faithfully,

Richard Hackenberg, MdL.

The "Patrice-Lumumba-University for Friendship among Peoples" in Moscow

In the Soviet Union as well as in other Soviet bloc countries increased efforts have been made during the past few years to speed up the formation of scientifically trained national intelligentsia cadres for the development countries, in addition to the training of Communist functionaries for these countries, which is being continued.

The number of these "normal" students from non-Communist countries, and primarily from the development countries, attending Soviet Universities has considerably increased. Sizable groups of foreign students have for the first time made their appearance also in other countries of the Soviet bloc. Most of the required scholarships were granted on the basis of international cultural agreements, and also by the Communist International Union of Students (secretariat in Prague), by the Communist World Federation of Democratic Youth (secretariat in Budapest), and finally through special organizations of the United Nations (UNESCO, WHO).

The ever-increasing extent of this "scholarship offensive" of the Soviet bloc, certain organizational shortcomings in the present system of scholarship grants, difficulties in incorporating foreign students into the universities of Soviet bloc countries, and other difficulties finally led to a plan for setting up a special university for students from Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The result of this development has been the "University for Friendship among Peoples", founded in Moscow in 1960.

This initiative on the part of Moscow has frequently been overestimated and misinterpreted in the West. It was doubtlessly overestimated at least in its present-day importance to the extent that people let themselves be impressed by the figures quoted by Moscow with regard to the tens of thousands of applicants, while they failed to compare objectively the relatively small figure of students actually enrolled (500 in the first study year 1960/61 and 1,300 in the second study year 1961/62) with the tens of thousands of students from development countries who receive their university training in the West. However, in the long run the effectiveness of this initiative, which indicates large-scale, long-term and consistent planning, should not be underestimated either.

On the other hand, it would be misinterpreting the new institution if, in ignorance

of its specific tasks, one would simply compare it with existing institutions for the training of Communist agents and functionaries - as this has frequently been done. The aims and importance of the new "University for Friendship among Peoples" become only comprehensible if seen against the background of Moscow's global political strategy in regard to the development countries.

1) *Continuity and Changes in Moscow's Strategy towards the Development Continents.*

As is well known, the Soviet Communist leaders have already at an early stage attached decisive importance to the indirect route to be followed by world revolution. Thus Lenin saw the decision in the revolutionary world battle ripen by way of a detour via China and India. When with the final breakdown of the Communist revolutionary attempts in Hungary and Germany his hopes that the firing spark of the Russian revolution would directly leap over to the highly capitalist Europe were frustrated, he drew the following conclusion in 1923:

"The outcome of the fight depends in the last instance on the fact that Russia, India, China etc. represent the gigantic majority of the world's population. However, it is just this majority of the world's population which has in recent years been pushed with unusual rapidity into the fight for its liberation so that there cannot be the slightest doubt as to the final outcome of this struggle." (Lenin, "Rather less but better", Pravda, 4 March 1923 in: Selected Works in 2 vol., Moscow 1942, vol. 2, page 1018 of the German edition.)

Stalin stated even more clearly, as early as 1918:

"It is the mission of Communism to rouse the oppressed peoples of the East from their centuries' long sleep, to animate the workers and peasants of these countries with the revolutionary spirit of liberation, to mobilize them for the fight against imperialism and thus to deprive world imperialism of its reliable hinterland, its inexhaustible resources." (Stalin, Works [German edition], Stuttgart 1951, vol. 4, pages 150/51.)

This policy of Soviet Russia and world Communism towards the development countries, showing continuity in its strategic aims, has changed in several respects since Sta-

lin's death. Khrushchov used the possibilities offered to him by the continuous progress of decolonization to extend the direct field of action of Moscow's foreign policy – which under Stalin had cautiously been restricted to the countries of eastern Europe and Asia adjacent to the Soviet Union – also to Africa – which is on the point of awakening to independence – and to the Latin-American sub-continent – which is in a state of ferment. Khrushchov has also taken advantage of the new tactical possibilities inherent in the de-colonization process. Unlike Stalin he did not have to confine himself primarily to the subversive employment of the Communist parties, which were still rather weak in the development countries, but could also exploit the influence exerted by the Soviet Union and its satellites in the fields of foreign policy, economy and propaganda for cultural relations.

Of course, a change in Moscow's foreign policy tactics is now required on account of the fact that contrary to the doctrinal Communist wishful thinking neither the Communists nor the – in most cases not even existing – proletariat but the nationalist bourgeois forces were able to assume and to maintain the leadership in the anti-colonial fight and in the newly developing countries. The doctrinal distrust nourished by Stalin with regard to the nationalist bourgeois and partly semi-feudal governments of the new Afro-Asian countries is replaced by Khrushchov by a complete policy of contacts in the first place designed to alienate these countries from the West and by an exploitation of their anti-colonialist feelings in order to push them gradually into an "anti-imperialist", i. e. anti-western alliance with the Soviet bloc which – as is alleged – would only be natural for these countries.

As to the influence which Moscow attempts to exert on the domestic situation of the new countries, a change in tactics is noticeable as well. If, in the past, priority was given to the tactics of political revolution, i. e. a so-called nationalist bourgeois revolution controlled by the Communists and designed to grow immediately into a social ("proletarian") revolution to be followed only at a later stage by a cultural revolution, it is now the intention to launch the attack primarily at the cultural and economic level so as to create the conditions for a subsequent political and social revolution.

In this changed overall political concept of the Communist strategy of conquest vis-à-vis the development continents the method of carrying out a propaganda offensive in the cultural field naturally has to play an increasingly important part. In fact, the Soviet Union as well as the other Soviet bloc countries have in the last few years

developed their cultural propaganda in the emerging countries into one of their most effective offensive weapons. In addition to the intensive use of the customary cultural propaganda media, such as the exchange of visits, artists' tours, broadcasts and pamphlets, they realized that it was decisive in these countries to exert as profound an influence as possible on them, as the countries involved are precisely those where the training of a national intelligentsia is a decisive condition for progress in the fields of technology, economy and civilization and whose choice of their future position in the world in the political as well as in the intellectual and cultural sphere can be essentially determined by a Communist-indoctrinated or at least pro-Soviet intelligentsia.

The aim of this comprehensive initiative, i. e. the training in the Soviet Union of leadership cadres from non-Communist countries in preparation of the Soviet-Communist penetration and conquest of these countries as a long-term objective, is, it is true, nothing new. What has been changed, however – as compared with the Stalin era in accordance with the new foreign-political and world revolutionary strategy of Moscow – are the methods employed and the countries of origin of the students for this new university. These were extended from Asia and North Africa to Black Africa and Latin America.

Foreign Communist leadership cadres have been trained in the Soviet Union ever since the early twenties. It was chiefly the "University for Workers of the East" which was used for this purpose and which had been founded in Moscow in 1921 in addition to a University for the Peoples of the West.

This "University for Workers of the East", which existed in Moscow until 1930 and subsequently in Tashkent until 1952, has produced most of the leaders of the Communist parties of Mongolia, Korea, China, Indonesia, and other Asian countries. It was also a hotbed for schooling the new Communist intelligentsia of the Asian Republics of the Soviet Union. Members of 50 nations and national groups of Soviet Asia and non-Soviet Asia attended this university. Its training aims and methods were fully in line with the then-ruling Stalinist concept of priority for the political revolution in the countries of the East (including, in the Soviet interpretation of this term, Soviet Asia, East and South Asia, the Middle East, and North Africa). As a purely party-political university, the teachers of which included high-ranking party and state functionaries of the young Soviet state, this university was exclusively used to train Communist professional revolutionaries. None else but Stalin had given to this university the following clear mission:

"To forge real revolutionaries who, armed with the theory of Leninism and endowed with the practical experience of Leninism, are capable of accomplishing the immediate tasks of the liberation movements in the colonies and countries living in dependence." (From a speech held by Stalin on the fourth anniversary of the foundation of the University and published in "Pravda" on 22 May, 1925; later published in the German edition of Stalin's works, Stuttgart 1953, Volume 7, page 130.)

The new "University for Friendship among Peoples" is, however, distinctly different from similar institutions of the past with regard to its tasks, training methods, and selection of students.

While the training of revolutionary Communist cadres was the openly-admitted aim of the former "University of Workers of the East", an activity being continued in numerous agents' schools carefully screened-off to the public, the primary task of the "University for Friendship among Peoples" is to supply the leading cadres for the anti-western "national liberation movements" and thus the re-orientation of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the fields of foreign policy, economy and culture. Thus, a directive concerning the selection of students lays down

that not more than 25 per cent of the applicants for scholarships are to be admitted from Communist quarters, while the bulk of students should come from bourgeois and other not explicitly Communist classes and should at a later stage represent the desired so-called "national", i.e. anti-western, intelligentsia. In the curriculum emphasis is to be placed – at least according to official statements – on specialized studies. In spite of this the students are naturally – as will be seen later – continuously exposed to Communist attempts at indoctrination, although in a more subtle form, chiefly through the constant contacts they have with Communist youth and students organizations and, last but not least, through the one-sided influence exerted by their environment in the course of their 5 to 7 years of studies which they are compelled to spend entirely in Moscow.

This University, therefore, does not directly carry on the tradition of the former "University of Workers of the East". Its task is rather to supplement the training of agents, which is being continued elsewhere, by creating a scientifically trained anti-western national intelligentsia and with the help of the "export of science" the cultural and economic expansion of the Soviet bloc is to be speeded up. *To be continued.*

S. M.

Militarism in the Soviet Union

Russian propaganda makes a lot of fuss about the peaceful policy of its government. The Fifth Column in the West likewise does its utmost to convince the public that Moscow is doing all it can to preserve peace. But the tests which Moscow carries out with atomic weapons at regular intervals and Soviet troops and rockets on Cuba have once again proved what Moscow's intentions and plans really are.

In addition to the preparations of the army and of the Party and all its branches, there is in the USSR an organization which is preparing the population for war, and in this respect pressure is exercised above all on the youth there. This organization is known as the DOSAAF, – "Dobrowolnoje obschtschestwo sodjejstwija armiji, awiatziji i flota" ("Voluntary Society for the Co-operation of the Army, Air Force and Navy"). The president of the DOSAAF is Army General D. Leljuchenko, and the vice-president Lieutenant-General S. S. Shtylov.

This organization trains specialists for Soviet Russian military detachments; it is concerned with the physical efficiency of the latter, and it also disseminates propaganda, by means of which it seeks to prepare the population psychologically for a war. 62 per cent of the Komsomol members (the Communist youth organization) belong to the DOSAAF. The organization has its own committees in the individual regions and districts, as well as its own cells in the provinces. It has large material means out of the state funds at its disposal. Thus, in the region of Dnepropetrovsk, for instance, the DOSAAF permanently employs 500 workers, whilst the regional committee of the same organization in Dnepropetrovsk consists of 25 workers. In

the territory of the USSR the DOSAAF has more than 1,700 independent clubs in which young persons are trained in various special technical branches, engage in sports and also prepare themselves for a military career.

The Central Committee of the DOSAAF includes two All-Union federations, which deal with every sector of military sports. Thus at the beginning of last year there were 3,620 so-called sports champions (according to the "Komsomolska Pravda" of May 23, 1962).

The chairman of the federation for the entire sports sector of the air force of the USSR, V. K. Kokknaki, stated that last year 18,000 competitions were held; 189 persons became champions since they achieved records, which were recorded by the air force federation.

In May last year an All-Union Congress of the DOSAAF was held. It was attended by the following well-known personalities: Minister of Defence of the USSR, Marshal Malinovski, the Marshals Rokosovski, Budjony, Chuikov, the Chief Marshal of the Air Force Vershynin, Admiral of the Navy Gorshkov, the President of the political sector of the army, Army General Epishev, the member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR, A. Shelepin, and the First Secretary of the Komsomol, S. Pavlov, as well as various other prominent persons.

This congress adopted a number of resolutions, some of which we quote in brief below:

1) As many as one million specialists in various technical professions are to be trained in the clubs of the DOSAAF every year.

2) The development of military sports must be promoted amongst the masses, and efficiency in sports must be increased in order to ensure a greater number of champions.

3) The number of members who engage in military sports must be doubled. 4 million persons, including 5,000 champions, must be trained in sports.

The DOSAAF organization holds courses in the villages and towns in which the participators are instructed in protective measures in the event of atomic war. These courses consist in 22 lessons and lectures.

As can be seen from an article in the periodical "Partijnaja Zhiznj" ("Party Life") of August 15th, 1962 (p. 18), the DOSAAF has been entrusted with the task of preparing the population of the USSR for war. The said journal stresses the fact that one of the most important tasks of this organization is to prepare the population for war and also for defense in the event of an atomic war.

"Truth of Christ will be Victorious"

(The following telegram was sent to Metropolitan Slipy by J. Stetzko, ABN-President, at present visiting the USA.)

His Eminence the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Archbishop Josef Slipy,

Vatican

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and in particular of the Ukrainian revolutionary movement, I extend to Your Eminence, the steadfast martyr for Christ and Ukraine and for all the faithful persecuted by godless

Moscow, our sincerest greetings and our obeisance in profound veneration and filial devotion.

The example set by Your Eminence leads all the enslaved peoples to hope that the Truth of Christ will ultimately be victorious on earth.

We humbly beg Your Eminence to bless our fight.

*Jaroslaw Stetzko,
President of ABN, former Prime Minister of Ukraine.*

The National Policy of the Communist Party of the USSR in the Light of Recent Events

It is an established fact that the national policy of Khrushchov's regime is based mainly on the decrees of the 22nd Party Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR. In these decrees mention is made both of the prosperity and the decay of the peoples of the USSR. But the discussion which started in the Soviet Russian and pro-Soviet press after the said Congress with regard to the national question in the USSR during the so-called construction of Communism, showed only too plainly that the Party will in future be interested not so much in the prosperity but rather in the assimilation and decay of the peoples (in the second stage). Theoretically this policy is based on the construction of Communism, during which era the peoples and their individual linguistic and cultural characteristics must disappear.

At a first glance — and if one takes Communist theoretical considerations as a starting-point in this respect — all might perhaps appear to be in order. For the construction of Communism demands an assimilation and eventually a decay of peoples so as to make the creation of a single universal language and culture possible. But the fact is overlooked that the construction of Communism announced by the Communist Party of the USSR is by no means universal, but is being realized within the Soviet Union. And for this very reason the discussion which started in the USSR regarding the future of the peoples in the era of Communism and the practical policy of the Party in this sector have in reality led to a hegemony of the Russian language and culture. Khrushchov's theoreticians began to expound the doctrine that only the Russian language and culture should occupy a predominant place in the USSR since this would further the construction of Communism and that all the peoples of the USSR should adopt this language and culture as their own. In other words, the non-Russian peoples should voluntarily allow themselves to be russified.

It is hardly necessary to prove that, even from the point of view of this Russian Communist theory, the Russian considerations regarding the subject of the "assimilation" of the peoples within the USSR and of the construction of Communism and the decay of peoples are the characteristic expression of a modern Russian imperialism, which is merely disguised by the Communist phrase-

ology. Without going into the question as to whether the Communist theory of the decay of nations at the time of a universal hegemony of Communism is right or not, one is bound to admit that under the present conditions in the USSR it is by no means in keeping with the realities which the international Communist theories aim to foresee.

In spite of this fact, the leaders of the Party and of the regime have made the theory of the decay of nations in the era of an international Communist rule the basis of the construction of the so-called Soviet Communism, a fact which in practice will result in a further intensification of the russification measures directed against all the non-Russian peoples, which, incidentally, was already the case in Stalin's day. And in this connection we should like to stress that the so-called de-Stalinization course has not prevented Khrushchov and his regime from accepting this "acquisition" of Stalin's national policy as a basis for their national policy. For it was under Stalin that theories began to be set up about the leading role of the Russian people as the "elder brother", about its language and culture, as well as about a temporary stage in the construction of Communism (or even of socialism), namely to the effect that in this transition period international zonal languages must be formed and that in this connection the zonal language in the USSR must definitely be the Russian language. In Stalin's day a general intermingling of all peoples was carried out in the form of compulsory, collective resettlement and, in fact, by the deportation of entire peoples, as well as by the persecution of national languages and cultures, in the course of which action the Russian language was forced on the non-Russians by every possible means. Under Stalin the physical liquidation of the leading classes of the non-Russian peoples was effected and non-Russian Communists were also included in these measures on the charge of nationalism.

Khrushchov's de-Stalinization in the national sector has solely been confined to the cessation of the Stalinist national genocides on a large scale. But Khrushchov has sought to retain all the other "attributes" of Stalin's national policy. And not only to retain them, but even to expand them and to intensify them in the framework of the present "construction of Communism". The prac-

tical russification aims of the Party in the present stage are mainly in evidence in the school sector. The new school law which was forced on the public in the individual non-Russian republics against its will states that parents in the national republics are entitled to choose the language in which their children are to be instructed. Hitherto the national principle regarding instruction held good, at least theoretically. The consequences of this new law soon made themselves felt. Whilst referring to the "free will" of the parents, which is really the will of the Party (and this has always been and will continue to be the case under totalitarian regimes, whatever their colour), the Khrushchov regime began to carry out the russification of the national school system in the national and autonomous republics of the USSR.

As a rule this process is calculated to take not just a year but a somewhat longer period. In view of the opposition of the population and above all of the national intelligentsia, the russification process is carried out very carefully in the so-called "sovereign" national republics. And it can be assumed that in these republics some of the local Party leaders also show considerable unwillingness to put this policy into practice, or even openly oppose it.

Recently there have been more and more reports, for instance, about considerable opposition to the russification policy of the Party on the part of the Asian national Communists. In No. 23 last year of the periodical "Partijnaja Ziznj" ("Party Life"), which is published by the Moscow "Pravda", there appeared an article which indicated that the Asian republics were putting up a fight against Khrushchov's russification measures. After expressing its opinion in profuse terms on the subject of the friendship and prosperity of the peoples, the periodical writes as follows:

"Nevertheless there are more and more cases of parents quite obviously forcing their children against their will to attend the national schools regardless of the fact that the second mother-tongue spoken at home is Russian. And it frequently happens that people prefer to pay a subscription for a national periodical rather buy a Russian paper."

Opposition on the part of the peoples of the Central Asian republics to the Russian language which has been forced on them has apparently assumed such proportions that the central organ "Utschitelskaja Gazeta" ("The Teachers' Gazette") feels obliged to deal with this question in its editions of November 17th, 20th and 22nd, 1962. This journal states that no attention whatever is paid to instruction in the Russian language there. Children move up into a higher class even if they have poor marks in Russian

or can hardly understand this language at all, whereas they have to stay in the same class if they have poor marks in French or English. The journal stresses that marks for Russian are merely regarded as being of the same value as marks for drawing and singing, and adds that in many of the elementary schools instruction in Russian is only carried out in theory. Consequently, most of the students who register at the universities and colleges have not even an elementary knowledge of Russian. In conclusion, the journal points out that no one worries about this state of affairs.

The russification process in the so-called autonomous republics, most of which belong to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (R.S.F.S.R.), is far more dynamic in character. As a result of the tsarist and Red russification policy a Russian majority was formed in these republics. Owing to a short period of national independence in 1918, a regeneration process began and continued even during the early years of the Red regime. This resulted in the formation of a national school system and a national culture in the individual republics. Under Stalin, however, a stop was put to this process everywhere. Nevertheless, the national school system — at least as far as the national language was concerned — was preserved in these autonomous republics.

At present the Party resorts to citing the clause referring to the "will of the parents" and has launched an attack on this school system in order to russify it completely. This fact is confirmed by the articles which are published in the Soviet Russian press. The journal "Narodnoje Obrazovanie", No. 12, 1962, for instance contains an article, entitled "The Schools in Chuvash", by the Minister of Education of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Chuvash, Jegorov, in which it is pointed out that there are about 1000 schools, including 150 secondary schools, in this autonomous republic. In spite of this fact, however, it is obvious from Jegorov's other remarks that the aim of all these achievements in the school sector is not the welfare of the people of Chuvash but the destruction of their language and culture. During the past year an intensified russification process has already commenced in this country.

"At the wish of the workers in our Republic — so Jegorov affirms — the Russian language was introduced last year as the language of instruction in the upper classes of the eight-year and secondary schools. During the past year the schools in the Republic — taking the wishes of the parents and of the pupils into account — have introduced instruction in the Russian language, from the fifth class onwards. All the general subjects and in particular the subjects of the poly-

technic curriculum are included in this instruction. This year a number of schools were opened in Chuvash in which Russian is the language of instruction from the first class onwards . . .”

As can be seen from an article entitled “The Schools in the Udmurt Autonomous Republic” which was published in the first number of the above-mentioned journal this year, there are now only a few schools left of the 500 national schools which still existed in this republic under Stalin. In all these schools instruction is given partly or completely in the Russian language – allegedly at the wish of the parents. In this way the Soviet Russian “achievements” in the national schools sector in Udmurt, Chuvash and in all probability in all the other autonomous republics of small peoples are brought in line with the “achievements” of the tsarist era. As is pointed out in the said article, there was not a single national school in Udmurt under the tsars. And very soon there will not be a single national school there under the Soviet regime.

Certain obvious conclusions can be drawn from all the above facts: the russification process of the school system in the autonomous republics has assumed dynamic proportions, for the resistance of these small peoples is considerably weaker than the resistance of the larger peoples in the constituent republics of the USSR. This is also due to the fact that the Russians constitute the majority of the population in the territories of the small peoples as a result of the previous colonization. In Udmurt, for example, there are only 600,000 Udmurts as compared to 1,000,000 Russians, whilst in the Tatar Autonomous Republic the Tatars only constitute 47 per cent of the population as compared to 44 per cent Russians, the remainder consisting of other nationalities. The same conditions also prevail in the other autonomous republics. In this way Khrushchov is at present astutely making use of the weakening of the national element of these republics, which was effected under Stalin, for the purpose of completely liquidating the national characteristics of the small peoples.

These peoples were tackled first of all in the plans of the Party. As already pointed out, the national republics cannot be russified as rapidly since they are stronger than the small peoples. But in the national republics, too, the Party relies mainly on the Russian element, which increased considerably in the Stalin era. And Khrushchov’s russification policy is nowadays based on this fact.

The conception which the Party has of the further development of the “coexistence” of the peoples subjugated under the Russian

regime is revealed in an article published in the first number this year of the periodical “Polititscheskoje Samoobrazowanije” (“Political Self-training”). The article is entitled “The International Training of the Workers and Political Enlightenment”, but has no connection whatever with either internationalism or training. It stresses the inevitability of a further intermingling of the Soviet peoples. As an example the Tatar Autonomous Republic is quoted, where representatives of “40 different nationalities” live and work together in an atmosphere of comradeship. In this republic, so the article stresses, there is not a single industrial enterprise which has a purely Tatar character. A similar “internationalization process” is also in evidence in the Tatar provinces. In this connection the article points out: “During the past years new multi-national economic units have been established on the basis of the intensification of the agricultural co-operatives.”

The purpose of this “internationalization” is obvious. The various peoples who have been driven together from all parts of the USSR are obliged to use the Russian language in order to be better able to understand each other. And the children of these peoples are forced to attend Russian schools. In this way the autonomous republics, and later also the national republics, are gradually to be deprived of their national character until eventually they are national in name only. Naturally these russification aims meet with a desperate resistance not only in the national but also in the autonomous republics. In the above-mentioned article on the Tatar Autonomous Republic, for instance, it is stressed that the “harmonious” co-operation of the peoples who at present inhabit this territory is disturbed by Tatar nationalism. This nationalism is expressed above all in the demand that the national Tatar culture should be separated from the culture of the other peoples and that its development should be confined within the framework of national traditions. Behind the scenes of the compulsory coexistence of the peoples a fierce fight is being waged on the part of the enslaved peoples against Russian nationalism and imperialism, which by every means available are seeking to unify the USSR as regards language and culture.

Though this de-nationalization process may have a certain prospect of success in the autonomous republics owing to the numerical inferiority of the peoples who inhabit these territories, the preconditions for a russification in the national republics are very poor, and for this reason the russification aims in these countries, like the aims of other forms of colonialism in other parts of the world (the collapse of which

we have witnessed), are doomed to failure. For the present trend of the historical process is towards the national emancipation of all peoples. This fact is at present clearly evident in the countries of Asia and Africa. The co-operation of the peoples is effected on an entirely different basis, as can be seen in the West. Inasmuch as the peoples in the West retain their national, cultural sovereignty, they seek to realize their state and economic unions on the basis of the equality of partners. In the so-called Soviet Union Russian imperialism is endeavouring to destroy the national and cultural characteristics of the peoples subjugated under the Soviet

regime by applying violence, and it is precisely this fact which constitutes the basis of Khrushchov's national policy.

We have in this article intentionally quoted examples of Khrushchov's national policy in the autonomous republics in order to illustrate its ruthless imperialist and predatory character more clearly. In the so-called "independent" republics of the USSR, as we have already stressed, a strong reaction to the russification policy of the Kremlin is in evidence. This reaction is expressed in a cultural revival and in a fierce political resistance. But we shall deal with this question in another article.

News and Views

Political Forum of the AFABN

The American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Inc. (AFABN) held a political forum in the New Yorker Hotel in New York on February 9, 1963.

The following persons appeared as speakers of the forum: H. E. Dr. Tingfu F. Tsiang, Ambassador of China to the U. N., H. E. Soo Young Lee, Permanent Representative of China to the U. N., Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine, the Honorable Michael A. Feighan, Congressman of Ohio. In their speeches they dealt with Russian-Communist imperialism and the liberation of the peoples subjugated by Russia. The closing speech was delivered by former Congressman Charles Kersten. At the Forum Banquet the speakers were Dr. Gabor de Bessenyei, President of the AFABN, His Excellency Liu Chieh, Permanent Representative of China to the U. N., and Dr. Edward O'Connor, Advisor in the White House. The Forum, in which about 400 persons participated, was opened by the Chairman of AFABN, Igo Bilinsky, who emphasized the necessity for cooperation between nations from different continents in their fight against Russian imperialism and Communism. He also stated that the U. S. policy of containment was not only a failure but moreover contributed to the subjugation of new countries and peoples by Moscow. The indivisibility of freedom in the whole world, he stressed, should be the leading principle of the liberation policy on the part of the free countries – and in particular the U. S. A. – in the struggle against Bolshevism, and not just a pragmatistical slogan of political tactics.

Referring to Moscow's imperialistic aims in the world, H. E. Dr. Tingfu F. Tsiang, Ambassador of China to the U. S. A., presented a profound analysis of Communist imperialism on the Asian Continent, as well as of the principles governing the U. N. and its actions. H. E. Dr. Tingfu F. Tsiang also emphasized the differences between the policies of western countries, which prepared their former colonies for a state life of their own and continued to cooperate with them even after their independence, and those of Russian imperialistic tyranny, which he said, did not recognize the principle of self-determination of nations. Incidentally, in his speech given at the 15th Assembly of the U. N. he also drew attention to this fact, and appealed to the U. N. not to forget Ukraine and other subjugated peoples. Communist imperialism is today the greatest threat to the free world, and therefore all measures should be taken to liquidate it.

The second speech was given by H. E. Soo Young Lee, permanent representative of Korea to the U. N. In his speech he described the atrocities committed by Communist tyranny in Korea, and stressed, that the truth about the situation of

the subjugated peoples should be spread throughout the free world. Even if the negation of human rights has become a permanent one, has it become a lesser evil? The peoples living in freedom should not forget the ideals and principles for the realization of which they must strive unitedly.

The President of the Central Committee of ABN, Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, spoke about the situation behind the Iron Curtain, and about the important role played by the subjugated nations, which are the key power, in the fight against Bolshevism. Mr. Stetzko had come from Europe to attend this conference. He pointed out that the free world still does not recognize the moral and physical strength of the subjugated peoples who outnumber the Russians in the Soviet Union and who are continuously fighting for their national independence. In the global struggle against Russian imperialism the subjugated nations constitute a third force without whose cooperation it would be difficult to defeat Russia. The examples of history are only too revealing. The subjugated peoples look to the free world for support, but even if it is not given them, they will continue to fight for their liberation, relying on their own strength and believing firmly that God is on their side.

A general analysis of American policy toward the subjugated nations was presented by former Congressman, the Honorable Michael A. Feighan, who is known for his speeches in defence of the subjugated peoples in the U. S. Congress. He particularly criticized the harmful trends in the policy of the U. S. State Department, and censured Secretary of State Dean Rusk for his negative attitude towards Ukraine and other subjugated nations, as well as the so-called "Russian experts" from the State Department who were the instigators of the notorious letter by Secretary of State Rusk to the Congress Committee. Congressman Feighan cited historical examples of the aggressive policy of Russia, whose imperialistic aims were the same during the tsarist regime, as during Stalin's and Khrushchov's rule. The speaker emphasized the necessity of a change in the policies of the State Department which contradict the principles proclaimed by President Kennedy. He also emphasized the necessity for the appointment of a special committee in the U. S. Congress for the study of the problems of the peoples subjugated by Moscow.

The speeches aroused great interest among the audience who took a lively part in the discussions during question time.

The closing speech was given by former Congressman Mr. Charles Kersten, who summarized the ideas expressed by all the other speakers and appealed to the subjugated nations to coordinate their political activities in their fight against Bolshevik tyranny.

Congratulations to Ukrainian Metropolitan Josef Slipy

Telegram sent to His Excellency, Archbishop Ivan Bucko, Rome

Overjoyed at the release of the sorely tried Primate and Head of the persecuted Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Metropolitan and Archbishop Kyr Josef Slipy, we take the liberty of asking Your Excellency to convey to His Eminence our gratification and our sincerest greetings. Our organization, in which the representatives of all the peoples of every religion and creed, who have been subjugated by Russia, are united, expresses its admiration and veneration for His Eminence and wishes him many more years health and strength so that he may be able to continue his noble work for the liberation of the Church which is subjected to persecution by the Communist regime and for the welfare of all suffering peoples and individuals.

*On behalf of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations:
Secretary-General Prince Niko Nakashidze.*

Katanga And The Right Of Self-Determination

The Atlantic Charter, which was also proclaimed by the USA, clearly stresses the right of all peoples to a government of their own choice, to the four freedoms and also to independence. The Charter of the United Nations Organization pledges the United Nations to maintain international peace and to ensure that disputed problems amongst the peoples are settled by means other than armed violence; the United Nations are to further the right of self-determination of the peoples and to promote the latter's national, state and economic independence. It is their duty to ensure that the idea of national and personal freedom is respected. All this is stated in the Charter.

But what actually happens in reality? When the freedom of the Hungarian people was ruthlessly trampled under foot by the Russians, when Tibet was in danger of being crushed in bloodshed, when the Ukrainian insurgents in the Soviet Russian concentration camps were murdered in a most bestial way, when Khrushchov's tanks mowed down and massacred the heroic Ukrainian women who fought for freedom in the concentration camp in Kingir, — the United Nations kept silent!

And what is the attitude at present as regards Katanga? A small, heroic people is striving to attain its independence; it has gone over to the side of the West, to the side of the white man, and for the first time on the African continent is endeavouring to set up a common front of the white men and the negroes against the Russian menace. And what answer does it receive from the West?

It seems to us that certain agreements exist between Washington and Moscow, as a result of which a "compromise" was reached on Cuba regarding, among other things, the price for the abolition of U.S. rocket bases in Turkey and in Italy, as was demanded by Khrushchov; the capitulation of the United Nations before Kadar was effected, and a unanimous decision was arrived at regarding the liquidation of Tshombe, who so far fought for the independence of Katanga, which has banished the spectre of the Communist Congo of the Lumumba era.

Katanga possessed an organized state system; its administrative system was sound; its economic life was comparatively well organized; the population was provided for and was definitely on the side of the West against Communism. The Congo, on the other hand, was and still is in a state of chaos, since the United Nations Organization has proved incapable of establishing any order in this large country even though

it has spent millions on the "expansion" of this country.

But who is behind the United Nations? The USA and the USSR. The USA has apparently agreed with the USSR to liquidate Katanga's independence even against the wish of Great Britain, France and Belgium. In the Congo there is a joint front of the USA and the USSR against the other NATO states. Are the interests of the USA in Katanga more closely allied to those of the USSR than to those of the allies of the NATO? The situation is certainly extremely alarming. The USA disregards the principle of the self-determination of the peoples, supplies arms and supports U Thant and other neutralists, who in reality are pro-Communists, so that coloured military contingents can crush the freedom of the people of Katanga in bloodshed. It is indeed disgraceful that the freedom-loving Swedes and Irish continue to keep their military units in Katanga, where the Indian and Ethiopian contingents are conducting themselves with unbelievable brutality. Why do the Indians not give evidence of their "heroism" by fighting against Red China, which has attacked their country?

If Tshombe were not such a convinced anti-Communist as he has been so far, but a "progressist", like Nkrumah, for instance, then he would certainly continue to remain President of Katanga, recognized by Moscow and later also by the United Nations.

The name of Katanga will also go down in the annals of the fight against the international mafia, which aims to bring about the disintegration of the nations and uses every possible opportunity to deal the idea of the nation a blow.

The Congo is not an homogeneous national community, — it is an administrative and colonial legacy of Leopold II, who "united" various territories of the "blacks" as a whole. The people of Katanga are entirely different from those of the Congo. This is confirmed by the fact that the Katangese put up a fight and are prepared to sacrifice their lives for the freedom and independence of their country. Someone is therefore prepared to fight for the cause of freedom. For mercenaries alone would certainly not hold out so courageously.

It is indeed a disgrace that the greatest world power — the USA — supplies arms against the fighters for the freedom of the Katangese people. And it is both a disgrace and a tragedy that under President Kennedy, a young man and a former courageous soldier, the noblest ideals of the USA should have been thrown overboard. The USA was

apparently the only world power which was guided by moral principles in its international relations; for years it refused to recognize the so-called USSR, and it still does not recognize Red China; and this attitude was based above all on the moral attitude of the Americans to politics. The resolution adopted by the US Congress on the disintegration of the Russian imperium is likewise based on the moral principles of the American people regarding international relations. As regards Katanga, however, America has unfortunately adopted George Kennan's theory, according to which the USA should disregard moral principles in politics.

Does anyone really seriously believe that by appropriating the cobalt deposits (Katanga supplies 80 per cent of the world production of this valuable metal) one can strengthen one's position in the world, or that cobalt will end the state of chaos in the Congo?

Why should any people sacrifice its freedom for the interests of a foreign state? Why do not the moralists of the international mafia pledge themselves to help the Congo, instead of trying to force Katanga by atrocities and other reprehensible means to effect the economic recovery of the Congo. Such a recovery cannot be brought about by such methods. For the chaos and the economic plight of the Congo have not resulted from Katanga's withdrawal from the former Belgian colony, but out of the confusion which has been brought into the country by the new (and this time they are coloured) colonial rulers from the United Nations, who not so long ago were slaves themselves and are now endeavouring to subjugate other peoples (in this case their own brothers). Belgium was in former times able to maintain law and order in the Congo; there was no poverty or starvation there, even though the United Nations and the USA did not provide economic aid to the value of millions of dollars in those days. The Belgians administered affairs more wisely than either U Thant, the Ethiopians or the Indians, in whose own countries poverty, starvation and chaos constantly prevail... It is indeed a mockery of history that those who yesterday were still incapable of ruling themselves, today administer affairs in the Congo.

And another point which should be stressed: the Russians, though they are members of the United Nations, have not given a penny towards improving conditions in the Congo, yet it is precisely with the Russians that Washington makes an agreement regarding the enslavement of Katanga. Surely this is not logical! The coloured government chiefs are angry with Tshombe because he refused to join them in following the course of neutralism and instead allied himself

with the white men against Communism. And what have the white men done? They have presented Tshombe with the liquidation of the independence of his native country! One can but ask, — what is the West heading for?

I do not know what the people or peoples of the independent state known as the "Ivory Coast" are called. But independence was even conceded to them without self-determination. To Katanga, however, self-determination was not even conceded on paper. Why did not the international mafia at least for appearances' sake put the suggestion to Tshombe that a plebiscite should be held on self-determination (*if the plebiscite of blood by which Katanga proclaimed its will to independence did not suffice*)? Such a plebiscite could at least have been held on paper and under the supervision of objective observers, since this mendacious world so firmly believes in ballots. If the international mafia makes out that Tshombe is a "separatist", then they could at least have allowed the Katangese, who support Tshombe and are sacrificing their lives for the independence of their country, the right to express their will, namely whether they are in favour of Tshombe or of Adula, by means of a plebiscite under the supervision of objective Swedes, Swiss, Austrians and Irish. U Thant — a spokesman of the neutralists — knows only too well that both in a plebiscite and in combat the people support Tshombe; for this reason he declared recently, when pro-Communist Nkrumah demanded that Tshombe should be tried before a court for the liquidation of Communism in Katanga by the "murder" of Lumumba, that no one doubts the legality of Tshombe. Thus if the United Nations recognize the legality of Tshombe, this is the same as admitting that the ideas advocated by Tshombe are the ideas of Katanga. On what right do the United Nations base their argument if they liquidate the independence of Katanga?

This is an example of mendacity such as one seldom finds in the world. At the same time it is a lesson to those who are subjugated and are striving to attain freedom and independence. The international mafia will threaten Ukraine, too, and other peoples subjugated in the USSR as soon as our countries liberate themselves from Moscow's yoke. There will most certainly be people who will affirm that "Russia will die of starvation", and that Ukraine must therefore be left in the Russian complex, so that the Russians do not die out as a result of starvation. The example of Katanga is most enlightening. Ukraine also possesses its "cobalt": iron ore deposits, coal, golden wheat, fertile soil, and the beautiful Black Sea. Either alone, or jointly with the "white" Russians, the international mafia will want to ad-

minister affairs in Ukraine. Hence we must be vigilant! Ukraine must never become an object of international bargaining! It will drive out the international mafia, as it has hitherto driven out the Russians and will continue to do so. Regardless of all else, — the national idea will prove victorious. And the example of Katanga may also serve as a lesson to the Ukrainians abroad: namely to enter into no discussion with the Russian imperialists and their hirelings. For no Ukrainian who is a patriot will have any desire to belong to any international organization, of which a Russian imperialist is a member! In this way there will be no likelihood of creating the illusion that any compromise could be at all possible with the enemy of the people and of mankind. And it is under this motto that we must wage our fight. S. S.

BOOK - REVIEWS

Documentary Report on the "Conférence sur la Guerre des Soviets"

Between Nov. 18 and 22, 1961, a "Conférence sur la Guerre des Soviets" under the leadership of the former Minister and present Member of Parliament, Ivan Matteo Lombardo, took place in Rome.

After the conference an extensive documentary report was issued giving the details of the conference such as a list of the participants, all speeches, discussions, resolutions accepted, etc. The report is arranged in chronological order and also contains an index of the 107 speakers. Delegates from 44 nations participated in the conference.

We congratulate Mr. Lombardo on his effective work with regard to the publication of this two-volume report, in which all speeches appear in their original language

and also in translation, either in English, French or German.

ABN was well represented by delegations of Byelorussians, Bulgarians, Georgians, Roumanians, Slovaks and Ukrainians.

Gustav A. Wetter: *Sowjetideologie heute* ("Soviet Ideology Today"). Fischer Bücherei KG., Frankfurt on Main and Hamburg, 1962. 339 pp.

A. Wetter's research of dialectical materialism can be regarded as a life's work. Soviet Russian philosophers constantly endeavour to refute Wetter's views on the Soviet ideology. The fact that two authorities on this subject — A. Wetter and W. Leonhard, — though they both take a different stand, have jointly published a work in this field, proves that there can be nothing speculative about a study of the Soviet Russian ideology.

The pragmatism of the Russian Communist, or rather Marxist Leninist ideology shows how ideas, which in essence are not contestable, can by exaggeration and intentionally false philosophical treatment very easily become a lie. For the compactness of the Soviet ideology "is not only a contradiction of reality, but on closer inspection also shows itself to be merely a sham compactness..." (p. 330).

The author is of the opinion that the contrast between the West and the Communist East as "free" is solely drawn in the name of intellectual freedom, for this free expression of opinion objects to an ideology dictated by the state. This intellectual freedom prompts us to demand that "in view of the ultimate purpose of human existence we should be allowed to make our own decision on our own personal responsibility" (p. 331).

The author painstakingly deals with all the trends of the Communist ideology and even takes into account the development of recent years since the death of Stalin.

V. Tshernivtshanyr

Communist Propaganda Novel Against UPA

An official military publishing firm has recently published a Czech translation of a novel by the Polish Communist writer Jan Gerhard entitled "Conflagrations in the Carpathians". In a vile manner this novel defames and belittles the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), whose units have fought in Ukraine, Poland, Slovakia and the Bohemian countries against Soviet Russia and its red puppet governments and have waged a courageous struggle for the independence of the Ukrainian state and of all the nations subjugated by Moscow.

The Shame Of The Twentieth Century

A Documentary Report

✱

Murdered By Moscow

A Documentary Report

✱

Khrushchov's Crimes In Ukraine

A Documentary Report

✱

Concentration Camps In The USSR

by

Volodymyr Kosyk

Published by the Ukrainian Publishers, Limited

237, Liverpool Road, London, N. 1, Great Britain

The Kremlin On A Volcano

by

Jaroslav Stetzko

✱

Hon. Michael A. Feighan

U. S. Congressman

A New Battleground Of The Cold War

✱

The Truth About A.B.N.

by

Niko Nakashidze

Published by the A.B.N. Press Bureau, Munich (Germany)

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

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Picture On The Cover

From right to left: Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, president of the ABN; The Hon. Michael A. Feighan of Ohio; Mr. Ignatius M. Billinsky, chairman of the AF-ABN; The Hon. Dr. Tingfu F. Tsiang, Chinese Ambassador to the U. S.; The Hon. Soo Young Lee, Permanent Representative of Korea to the U. N.

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To all Members of the Subjugated Peoples in the Free World!

On the 20th anniversary of the founding of ABN

Fellow-countrymen, Comrades and Fellow-fighters!

Twenty years ago, when Europe was experiencing troubled times, when Russian-Bolshevist hordes were advancing in order to overrun the West, the freedom-fighters of the peoples subjugated by Russia – including the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), Taras Chuprynka, who died in active service as a hero, – met in the forests of Ukraine and founded the ABN as a combatant community. It was to continue the resistance fight in the subjugated countries and, with the aid of the West, was also to support this fight from the free world.

Out of this combatant community there developed a powerful union of the national revolutionary organizations of all the countries incarcerated in the Soviet Union and situated in the Russian sphere of influence. The organizations united in the ABN, which are constantly active in their home-countries and are represented abroad by men and women who have played an active part in the fight for freedom of their peoples, thus made themselves the legitimate representatives and spokesmen of their peoples in the free world too.

Dear Friends and Comrades, you all know what a hard and grim fight we had to put up in those days, but we defied all attacks and opposition. It was prophesied that the ABN would soon be dissolved, but in spite of all this it continues to exist to this day and has meanwhile become an internationally recognized organization.

The ABN has meanwhile become a political concept, and its programme, its principles, its aims and its uncompromising attitude in its fight have won the confidence of many political circles in the free world and it enjoys their esteem as the fighting organization and legitimate representation of the subjugated peoples in the free world.

Among our allies we can count such international organizations as the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League and the anti-Communist organization of the peoples of Central and South America – the Interamerican Confederation for the Defence of the Continent.

We have succeeded in winning over as our friends prominent politicians, parliamentary members and personalities of public life in the USA, who advocate and support the national rights of our peoples. It is thanks to these men that the U. S. Congress unanimously adopted the resolution on "Captive Nations Week" and proclaimed the right of our peoples to the restoration of their state independence.

It is thanks to the initiative of these our friends that the bulletin of the U. S. Congress, "Congressional Records", of March 6, 1963, reprinted the article published by the ABN, in which the rights of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union were dealt with and expounded from the political and historical point of view and from the aspect of international and constitutional law. Considerable significance must be attached to this fact since it is an answer to the negative attitude of the U. S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk towards these problems.

We have also many loyal and sincere friends in Great Britain, France, Italy, Turkey, Germany, Japan and other countries of the world. In addition, the ABN has held numerous mass anti-Communist demonstrations in various countries.

The widely ramified international connections of the ABN and the fact that the principles of the ABN have been adopted at numerous international anti-Communist conferences are outstanding proof of the prestige which it enjoys and of its ideological and political strength.

As you know, dear Friends and Comrades, the ABN is dependent on itself in material respects, it receives no financial support from any foreign organization or

authority and the main burden is borne by our Ukrainian friends; for this reason it is desirable and essential that funds must be collected for its work, for the ABN press and its publications. Each of us must therefore contribute our share to ensure material security for the work of the ABN. The ABN is the only international organization in which all the peoples subjugated by Russia are represented. We are the only organization which represents the national cause of our unfortunate peoples in the free world. Hence it is the duty of each of us to actively and wholeheartedly further the work and activity of the ABN.

The free world too must support the ABN wholeheartedly. Those who help the subjugated peoples, are also helping themselves, for the Russian menace threatens the whole world.

But it needs money to be active everywhere and to publish books, periodicals and pamphlets so that our voice is heard all over the world. It would be a disgrace for all of us if our work were to suffer for financial reasons. If everyone gives a little, these small contributions will swell our funds considerably, for there are countless members of our peoples in exile. Loyalty to our people and love of our native country put each one of us under an obligation.

This memorable year must be fittingly celebrated. And we therefore ask the national exile press to publish detailed reports in this connection.

It would be appropriate to arrange lectures, press conferences and rallies in various towns, and in this connection to report on Russian colonialism, on the right of our peoples to independence and on their fight against Russian rule, and in this way enlighten the public, and also to carry out collections amongst our friends in the free world too.

We trust that every effort will be made to carry out this campaign effectively and successfully, and that all our friends and comrades will assist us in our work, and furthermore that our appeal will meet with a generous response.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS
(ABN)

The Church And Communism

On Thursday, July 14, 1949, the Vatican City broadcasting station announced a decision reached by the Supreme Congregation of the Holy See regarding the attitude of the Church to Communism. After hearing the consultants the plenary assembly of the Cardinals' curia on June 28, 1949, adopted the following resolution: that

1) it is prohibited to join the Communist Party or to help it, since Communism represents a materialistic attitude and is hostile towards the Church. Though the leaders of the Communist parties sometimes affirm in words that they in no way combat religion, they are in reality, by the dissemination of their teachings and by their deeds, obdurate enemies of God, of the true religion and of the Christian Church;

2) it is further prohibited to circulate, read or write books, periodicals, papers or leaflets which defend the Communist doctrine or the practices and actions of the Communists. This is also prohibited by the canonical law (compare the 1399th canon of the Ecclesiastical Code);

3) all those Christians who have intentionally or voluntarily sinned against the above two clauses shall not be allowed to receive the Holy Sacrament;

4) those Christians who recognize the materialistic and anti-Christian doctrine of Communism, and, above all, those who defend or disseminate this doctrine shall be excommunicated as apostates of the Catholic faith, which excommunication shall be pronounced by the Apostolic See.

This resolution was approved by His Holiness Pope Pius XII and was published in the official organ of the records of the Apostolic See.

Khrushchov Poses As Humanitarian

Moscow, since the time of the 20th Party Congress, has tried to foist upon the West the so-called policy of peaceful co-existence; its attempts have been met with a cautious, but each year more marked support from the Kennedy administration, especially from his Secretary of State Dean Rusk, and also with restrained favour on the part of England. To strengthen the world's faith in him Khrushchov, through different apparent reforms, tries to convince the West that Bolshevism under his leadership has changed its criminal nature and is now consistently following the path of liberalization. The older forms of open terror, enslavement of nations and economic exploitation of the workers have been replaced by more refined tactics of secret terror, national assimilation and apparent changes in the form of social exploitation. This change in forms but not in essence of Bolshevik tyranny is advertised as a change in approach to the rights of the citizen and in the national and economic fields; this causes much confusion among the Western progressive circles and much anger among the Chinese Communists. In one area, in the relation to religion and the Church, Khrushchov's collective leadership could not think of anything that could replace outright persecution and it was forced to continue to employ the old Stalinist forms, openly and loudly fighting against religion. Such a practice created in the world doubts as to the sincerity of the liberal changes of the Khrushchov regime, and has now made it imperative for the Bolsheviks to think up more subtle and less obvious forms for destroying religion.

Such a move, which costs Moscow nothing, does not better by an iota the situation of the persecuted Church but rather weakens it, and can even bring momentary disorientation in the West, is the release from imprisonment of several older Church prelates whose fate is always discussed in the West; their expulsion beyond the borders of the Soviet Union or of the satellites, means in fact that not only do they cease to become a threat and a nuisance to the regime, but also that the Church and its faithful members lose this symbol of guidance and resistance, the absence of the prelates being explained away by the Communist authorities as flight for self-protection. This gesture of humanitarianism may suffice the Communists for a certain time, especially if world opinion will approach these types of machinations with uncritical approval. In addition, Khrushchov also needs these demonstrative gestures of humanitarianism in order to create a favourable atmosphere before his trip to Italy, on which the Italian government seems to be dragging its feet.

The Vatican does not have any diplomatic relations with the atheistic government in Moscow, and although official exchanges between the two governments are non-existent, the problems connected with the position of the Church in the USSR are a constant headache for the Vatican. On the occasion of the Ecumenical Council, representatives of all non-Catholic Christian Churches were invited as observers, among them the delegates from the so-called Patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church. These Russian delegates, on orders from the Soviet government, acted not only as observers at the Council, but were also informers who, surveying the course of the events and the atmosphere, reported to their superiors; quite obviously it was seen from these reports that the mere presence of these observers was not enough to bring about an apparent thaw with the religious circles. The improbability of any real success from merely having observers present, no doubt accelerated the Kremlin's decision to make this humanitarian gesture (the release of some prelates), not only to hide for some time its crimes against the Church but also to create an atmosphere favourable for Khrushchov's impending visit to Italy.

Although the virtues of obedience and subordination to authority are obligatory

in the Catholic Church, there is no tyranny of thought and for this reason there exist different points of view on matters not concerned with dogma. There are no two distinct parties or formations similar to the wings of a single political party, but rather different ways of thought, thus the term schools of thought and their labels are used only conditionally. One school of thought – the “conservative” – has basically a negative stand towards atheistic Moscow and Communism, and does not have any illusions in assessing the attempted liberalizations of Khrushchov. The other “progressive” school believes that the changes and the tactical maneuvers of Khrushchov should be exploited in order to gain alleviation or a change in the position of the Church.

Since there are no diplomatic relations between the Vatican and Moscow, and thus no opportunity to send official demands and notes to Khrushchov, particular individuals from the “progressive” school, at their own initiative and at their own risk, tried (most probably through other diplomatic channels) to persuade the Communists of the need to show some relaxations in their relations with the Church. These démarches may have had some influence in bringing about the release of Metropolitan Slipy or were simply exploited by the Communists to get out of a difficult situation and make before the world this apparent gesture of appeasement. Most probably the Vatican’s progressive circles interpreted this gesture not as a political weakness or one of Moscow’s stratagems, but as their own success.

The courageous protest of the Ukrainian bishops was a political act which clearly underscored the hypocrisy, the falseness and the failure of Moscow’s posture before the world. This protest of the Ukrainian prelates, which finally unmasked Communist hypocrisy came at a most unfavorable time for the Communists and made them realize the fruitlessness, the failure and the impossibility of such further démarches purely for the sake of propaganda. To a great degree it helped to hasten the coming of the pacifying gesture; the release of Metropolitan Slipy, which does not in any way repair nor make up for the harm done by the Communists to the Church, the priests and the faithful.

This release of Metropolitan Slipy (and of other prisoners) is the first in a number of démarches devised by Moscow, which are supposed to create in the free world illusions about Khrushchov’s humanitarian attitude even towards religion; this release is also supposed to bring about a relaxation between the governments of the Soviet Union and Italy, create a better atmosphere for Khrushchov’s planned visit to Rome, strengthen the position of the Russian observers at the fall session of the Council and maybe even obtain for Khrushchov an audience with the Pope, a fact which would no doubt morally weaken the masses of the faithful, persecuted by the Communist regime.

It is predicted that in order to strengthen the aura of humanitarianism around himself, Khrushchov will release several other Church dignitaries held by the Communists. No doubt these repeated gestures of Communist good-will will be praised by the “progressive” and the pro-Communist press and will only cause confusion in the West, for in fact they do not in any way change or improve the condition of the Church.

Besides the release of the prelates, it is predicted that the Communists will try in one of the satellite countries an experiment whereby they will give respite to the persecuted Church, thus proving:

the failure of Soviet propaganda. Since they will not succeed in hoodwinking the world by releasing some of the dignitaries, they will be forced to promise some relaxations as regards the Church, in order to hold up the deceptive front of tolerance;

the impotence of their ideology and the capitulation of Communism before the growth of religious consciousness among the masses. Such an admission of impotence

of ideology before the demands for religious relaxations will not be brought about solely for propaganda purposes, but will have to be implemented by pressure from the masses;

fraud in two aspects: officially proclaimed and well advertised relaxations will prove to be only a bluff, and no relaxations of any kind will be forthcoming. These religious relaxations are only considered as a temporary stage like the NEP; from it two distinct advantages will be gained: it will open the valves and release the dissatisfaction of the masses over the persecution of the Church, thus weakening their resistance to the regime; and it will bring from the underground to the light of day many active or potentially active members of the Church who will be ruthlessly destroyed at the opportune moment.

Dr. D. Donzov

Moscow's Secret Weapon And The West

Moscow possesses a secret weapon which is unknown to and invisible to many Western "experts on Russia" who possess a lot of factual data on the USSR. True, many of these "experts" know a good deal but they comprehend very little.

This weapon is carried secretly by the average Russian and is applied skilfully by every Russian of the leading class in every sphere of life, — in politics, ecclesiastical life, literature and art alike. This weapon is in the first place the inextinguishable dogmatical and unswerving belief, peculiar to every generation of Russian, in the superiority of its Slav-Finnic-Mongolian-Eurasian race as compared to Europe, namely that no one apart from Moscow is fitted for the mission of ruling and leading all other peoples, including in particular the Christian "indolent West". This conviction goes hand in hand with the wish of every Russian to assert the "leadership" of his race in the world at all costs.

An authority on Russia who was far more outstanding than the present "experts", the Frenchman Melchior de Wogue, a contemporary of Dostoevsky, in his work "Russian Novel" wrote as follows about the predecessors of the Bolsheviks, in those days known as "nihilists":

Dostoevsky gives us in his novels "a clear idea of the factors that constitute the strength of the nihilists. Their strength lies not in doctrine . . . nor in a rigid organization, but in the character of a few individuals . . . In startling colours Dostoevsky depicts their will, which is compared to the indecision and lack of courage of the representatives of the government . . . Between these two poles he describes the masses of the weak, who are attracted by those who have a greater magnetic power . . . It is precisely

the character of these determined individuals and not their ideas which exercise an influence on the Russian people . . . This characteristic of the forerunners of the Bolsheviks is precisely the weapon which influences the others, including non-Russians too. For man is increasingly becoming less demanding as regards ideas and more and more sceptical as far as programmes are concerned . . . People are attracted mainly by character, even if this character concentrates all its energy on evil. For character holds out the promise of a leader to the people and ensures the severity of commands, a factor which is absolutely imperative for the human community."

Looking ahead to the future, de Wogue wrote: "Once Dostoevsky's nihilists or the 'children of Bazarov' (a similar group of nihilists in a novel by Turgeniev) go over to the 'propaganda through deeds', they will appear to us to resemble our western revolutionaries. But on observing them more closely we shall discover the same difference between them as between wild beasts and tame domestic animals. The worst of our revolutionaries are only vicious dogs, but the Russian nihilist is a wolf, a raving wolf, and that is far more dangerous."

And it is precisely these "raving wolves" of Russian and other origin, such as Lenin, Trotsky-Bronstein, Khrushchov, Beria, or Kaganovich, with their aggressive rabies and their belief in their mission of destroying other peoples, that have made their appearance in our age. Their aggressiveness and their belief are the weapons with which they seek to subjugate the West which is still free and which at present is either unable or does not want to oppose them with adequate weapons. The messianistic idea, which they have inherited from the old Mos-

cow, was created by Dostoievsky, as already mentioned, in the 19th century, that is to say almost a hundred years before the Bolsheviks seized power.

The aim of the Russian people, according to Dostoievsky, is a "union of all people", that is a union of all people under the leadership of Moscow, or at least of all "Aryan people", which means "to incorporate all our brothers in the Russian soul with human love". For Moscow alone has been chosen "to give the world a new doctrine". This "new doctrine" was also blazoned forth to the world by other Eurasian prophets such as Tolstoy, Pushkin and Blok; the latter enthused about "love" towards all peoples and about the Russian embrace which clasped various peoples and tribes, and in this connection asked for understanding "if their backbone should be crushed in our heavy but tender paws" . . .

The motto under which this "union of love" was to be effected changed according to circumstances: on one occasion it was the "true" Russian Church, on another - Pan-Slavism, that is to say "the union of all Slavs"; then it was Marxism-socialism - "the liberation of the proletariat of all countries", or the "liberation of the yellow and black races" from "European colonialism" and their "brotherly union with their liberator" - Moscow . . . But this motto was always the motto of Moscow. The "liberation" and the "brotherly union" were always to be effected under the leadership of and at the command of Moscow, which is the source of all wisdom and of the salvation of the world.

It was under these various mottoes that the Russian messianistic idea, the idea of a third Rome, also appeared in the West. This was a summons to the lower classes of the white race to join forces with the black and yellow races, with Africa and Asia, in rising up in revolt against the leading elite of the Christian Occident. And this was particularly in evidence in our age when the inexorable enemies of Christianity appeared as prophets of the messianistic idea: Lenin, Trotsky, Khrushchov, Chatajev and Kaganovich. It is significant that the ideas of Bolshevism and of Russian messianism have been adopted by the secret mafia in the West, which sets its idol above God and the fatherland, namely some sort of "humanity", a mechanical agglomerate of various types and colours, which is formless and consists of a medley of cultures and masses, with which this mafia should concern itself. For the latter learnt from Marx to differentiate the nations as "counter-revolutionary" (or "not historical") and "revolutionary", and the latter are allegedly qualified to rule the former.

The propaganda of these ideas was the weapon which after the French Revolution

caused the moral resistance of the Christian Occident to waver against these dark forces of evil. This propaganda undermined and subverted the dogmas of the Christian Occident, its fundamental ideas, its moral principles and its powers of resistance. This was achieved in two ways: the destructive ideas proclaimed by the messianists were disguised in the beautiful and attractive form of a great truth, whilst the dogmas and truths of the Christian West were disparaged by labelling them as outmoded, old-fashioned, reactionary and harmful for the people and for civilization. This propaganda is conducted by every means available: by television, broadcasting, lectures at the universities, school-books, the stage, literature (best-sellers), art, and the press, which so often designates itself as "democratic", etc. Thus the world has been transformed into a huge masquerade!

Those who (according to Lenin's methods) provoke cold and hot civil war all over the world, appear disguised as "pacifists". Those who have done their utmost to bring practically the whole of Europe under Moscow's colonial yoke, pose as champions who are fighting against Western "colonialism". Those who support Moscow's Communist satellites or its allies who are still independent, pose as defenders of "neutrality". Those who combat "the totalitarian tyranny" of the regimes which adhere to the Christian faith (General Franco, Salazar), sing the praises of the "democratic" regimes of Tito, Castro, or even of the USSR. Those who are cold-bloodedly planning the surrender of Christian Europe to the power of states in Asia and Africa with no tradition, affirm that they are the prophets of the "peaceful coexistence" of free peoples. Those who by words and deeds are cunningly and secretly preparing the rule of godless socialism in Europe, which would inevitably lead to Communism, disguise themselves as sincere democrats. Those who are trying to undermine the strength of the Western nations and to bring about the downfall of the French and British major powers, allow a superpower, the USSR, which extends practically from the Atlantic to Alaska, to continue to exist and in silence justify and tolerate its tyranny towards the peoples whom it has enslaved. Those who are designing the plans and setting up the scaffolding for the citadel of the world rule of a new despotism, pose as fighters for the progress, happiness and prosperity of all mankind.

This is the course followed by the common front of the grave-diggers of the Christian Occident. To lull the vigilance of the masses, to disguise the biggest lie ever in the tempting mask of freedom, to mislead the masses and then hurl them into the abyss,

- this is the purpose of the second front of the grave-diggers, which runs parallel to the first front. The other aspect of this campaign is as follows: in the first case the aim is to give the nations poison that is labelled as a panacea against all misfortune and evil; in the second case the dark forces of evil endeavour to arouse in the masses in the West an aversion to all their noblest traditions - religious, political, moral and cultural, and to disparage these traditions as something that is incompatible with the spirit of our "progressive" era, as something outmoded, old-fashioned and worthless which should be scrapped. On the one hand a lie is attractively disguised as truth; on the other hand, truth is disguised in the obnoxious mask of a lie. The opprobrious label of a lie is attached to all the axioms and all the dogmas which have so far held good as the fundamental principles of the traditional power and strength of the Occident.

The dark forces of evil have not yet decided to engage in an open fight against the Christian religion, but they endeavour to achieve their aim by other means: they try to make out that religion is a superstition and a prejudice that is unworthy of a civilized being; they try to abolish religious

by the conjurors of the "all human union"). Those who regard the freedom and union of their countries, which have been dismembered by these conjurors, as categorical imperatives are stamped as "bandits" and "disturbers of world peace" by the said conjurors. On the other hand, the grave-diggers of the Occident make a lot of fuss when it is a case of defending a servant of the Devil who has either murdered a leader of the liberation movement of a nation, or has betrayed military secrets of the country which he has adopted to Moscow "in the interests of peace", and affirm that it is "better to be red than dead", that is to say better to buy one's life by kissing the cloven hoof of the Devil than to try to combat the latter.

But that is not all! All those who sound the alarm, who exhort their fellow-countrymen to engage in an active fight, or who oppose the disparagement of all fundamental values in the morals, religion and politics of Western civilization, are persecuted and hunted down as "witches", "fascists" or "racial fanatics". Those who venture to expose traitors and spies of their own country, or object to the persecution of the noble traditions of their own nation, are excluded

German Federal Government Protest To Moscow

On April 23, 1963, the German Federal Government sent a note to the government in Moscow through the Soviet embassy in Bonn protesting against the fact that the leader of the Ukrainian nationalists, Stephan Bandera, and the Ukrainian exile politician Lev Rebet were murdered on German territory at the instructions of official Soviet authorities. The note states that these facts were ascertained by the Supreme Court of the Federal Republic of Germany in the trial against the direct perpetrator of the murders, Bogdan Stashynsky, and demands that the Soviet government should take steps to ensure that crimes of this kind, which are a flagrant violation of the generally recognized, fundamental principles of international law, do not occur in future.

instruction for youth in the schools (for such instruction is a violation of the constitution), to persuade the competent authorities to revise the New Testament and to remove all the "discriminating" passages which refer to the enemies of Christ. They demand that the Christians should not emphasize their Christian faith so much - so as not to offend the religion of the non-Christians, or the atheists.

The dark forces of evil endeavour to disparage patriotic feelings, love of and loyalty to one's own country and nation, religious belief and tradition, by degrees in order to prohibit them later on as crimes. All these feelings and sentiments are branded with such cynical designations as "chauvinism" and "narrow-minded nationalism", as something worthless, or contradictory to the "nobler feelings" and the loyalty of "all mankind" and its interests (as interpreted

from the human community as "lepers", "fanatics", or "madmen" who deserve to be isolated. And it is even affirmed with pride that politics do not consist in believing in ideals, in fighting for the ideas of truth and of common welfare, or in combatting the Devil, but solely and simply in "business". And business can also be transacted with cannibals.

For years the poison dispensed by the grave-diggers of Western civilization has been flowing into the souls of one generation after another and has been undermining the ideas and ideals which have made Christian Europe the centre of the world; this poison stifles all urge to do great, noble and heroic deeds; it boosts the theories and practices of the persecutors of Christ in the Kremlin; it undermines man's resistance against evil, and instead of furthering the idea of God and of the nation, it arouses in man a desire for

sensual pleasures, the veneration of sex, money and comforts, an attitude of indifference, and the tendency to compromises and coexistence with the forces of evil, with the modern Nero and even with his "church". How can the Christian West fight these "raving wolves" of Russian nihilism, against whom de Wogue, Donozo Cortez, Renan, and the Marquis de Custine already warned? And how does the West think it can put an end to the progress of the diabolical doctrines of Marx and Lenin in the free world if indecision and lack of courage continue to grow within the Western community itself? And if those forces which undermine its intellectual and moral strength are allowed to carry on their activity there unhindered and unpunished?

The Bolsheviks overthrew the Tsar and subjugated many other peoples solely because — as de Wogue writes — "their will was tensed to the utmost" and "their souls were cold as steel", and because they possessed a greater "magnetic power" than the others and the aggressiveness of "raving wolves". And they conquered those who were weaker... Surely it is time the free world occupied itself with the question of where to find men who will combat the pestilence from the East, who, with a will tensed to the utmost and with souls cold as steel, will rise up against the temptation of evil and will take up the fight against the "raving wolves" in human form.

One of the "apostles" of these "wolves", the poet Blok, extolled the Bolshevik revolution as a triumphal procession of the "twelve" vanguards of Communism, which was headed by "Jesus Christ with a wreath of white roses on his brow", that is to say by the enemy of Christ, the Antichrist. Surely it is time the West appointed as its leaders men who, in the name of Christ, are prepared

to take up the fight against the Devil in disguise. New leaders must be found, who are prepared to oppose, on the intellectual and moral level, the deeds of the "raving wolves" of the Kremlin and their hidden allies. Just as those peoples are doing who, since 1917, have in some way or other become thoroughly acquainted with the characteristics of the "raving wolves" and have taken up the fight in the name of Christ and for freedom against the persecutors of Christ. This, too, is the course that is followed by ABN.

Once more we should like to remind our readers on this side of the Iron Curtain of the thoughts expressed by that great philosopher and contemporary of the French Revolution, Edmund Burke:

"... They will lead the West to its downfall if the leading role is assumed by the 'sophists, economists and calculators' and they take the place of the age of chivalry." The "sophists", who extol one idea today and another idea tomorrow because they have no ideas of their own, are not predestined to save the West from the "raving wolves" of the Antichrist. Nor are the "economists", who regard ease and comfort, prosperity, money and peace as idols, before which they bow down like the Jews did to the idols in the desert, fitted for this task. Still less so the "calculators", who instead of openly opposing the dark forces of evil transact "business" with the latter, a deal which, like every pact with the Devil, ends in the betrayal and sale of one's own soul. If such a pact is concluded by the leaders of a nation, it inevitably results in the degeneration and death of the nation in question. The coming era must be the era for which Burke yearned: the era of resurrected chivalry, the era of courage, of the cross and the sword.

Japanese Activity On Behalf Of The Subjugated Peoples

Professor J. Kitaoka of the University of Tokyo and director of the Free Asia Association has published a book in Japanese on the anti-Communist movements in the world, in which, among other things, he gives an account of the activity and position of the Anti-Bolshevik bloc of Nations (A. B. N.).

Professor Kitaoka has also recently published an essay on the question of the "anti-Communist organizations amongst the peoples subjugated by Russia" in the Japanese periodical "Problems of the Continent" (No. 122). In this article he explains the difference between the Russian anti-Communist exiles and the movements of the non-Russian nations of the USSR, such as the A. B. N., the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and others, — and the Russian N. T. S.

It has also come to our notice that the speech held by Mr. J. Stetzko on October 4, 1962, before an audience consisting of several thousand students of Tokyo University, has just been published in Japanese and is to be distributed amongst the students.

Professor Kitaoka has likewise published several articles in Japanese periodicals on A. B. N. and also on the trial of the former Soviet agent Stashynsky, the murderer of Bandera and Rebet.

Georgia Before The World Forum

(To mark the 45th anniversary of the restoration of the Georgian independent state)

On November 19, 1917, the National Assembly convened, and on November 22, 1917, the National Council, which was to administer the affairs of Georgia provisionally, was elected.

At the initiative of the Georgian National Council the Trans-Caucasian Federated Republic (consisting of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia) was founded in March 1918. Foreign political complications subsequently led to the dissolution of this federation.

On May 26, 1918, the National Assembly proclaimed the independence of Georgia and set up the Republic of Georgia.

On March 12, 1919, the Constituent Assembly, which had been voted by a general election, unanimously ratified the resolution of the National Assembly regarding the restoration of the independent sovereign state of Georgia as a republic and began to draft the State Constitution, which in January 1920 was adopted by the Constituent Assembly.

The Republic of Georgia was recognized de facto: in 1918 by Turkey, Germany and Austria; in 1920 by Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, and Czechoslovakia.

The Republic of Georgia was recognized de jure in 1918 by Turkey, in 1919 by Argentina, and in 1920 by Germany and Switzerland; on May 7, 1920, by Russia (the RSFSR = Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic) by a treaty. Russia had already agreed to the establishment of the Georgian independent state in Brest-Litovsk in 1918, and this was also stipulated in the addendum to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk between Germany and Russia.

On January 20, 1921, the Georgian state was recognized de jure by Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and Belgium. The accompanying note of the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers stated that the Allied Powers were happy to give proof once more of their sympathy with the efforts of the Georgian people to establish their independence and to express their admiration for the work that had already been achieved.

Austria, Rumania, Poland, Luxembourg, Mexico, Siam, Panama, Haiti, and Liberia, among others, then also recognized the Georgian state de jure.

On September 1, 1920, Georgia applied for admission to the League of Nations as a member.

At the 27th plenary session of the League of Nations on December 26, 1920, the question of the admission as members of Georgia, Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania was dealt with. On account of Article 10 of the statutes of the League of Nations, according to which each member was to be protected against external aggression, the admission of the said states as members was rejected, but they were however accepted as "technical members".

On February 11, 1921, Russian troops, without a previous declaration of war, attacked Georgia from three sides (Azerbaijan had already been occupied by the Russians in April 1920 and Armenia in November 1920). The Georgians put up a desperate fight against the superior numbers of the Russian Bolshevik troops.

Russia thus treacherously violated the treaty that had been signed. Once more Georgia came under Russian rule, but this time it was the ruthless terrorist rule of

the Communists, and the martyrdom of the Georgian people, which still continues today, now began.

On January 22, 1921, whilst the fighting was raging in Georgia, the Town Council of Paris unanimously adopted the following resolution: "The Russian Bolshevik government, which without declaring war has brought bloodshed to the Georgian Republic, deserves the contempt of mankind."

The socialist International protested most vigorously against this act of violence on the part of the Russians and constantly demanded in its resolutions that the Soviet troops should withdraw from Georgia and that the sovereign state of the Georgian people should be restored once more.

At the Conference in Genoa in April 1922 the head of the Russian delegation, People's Commissar Tshitsherin, demanded that he should also be allowed to represent Georgia, but at the instigation of the delegates of Great Britain, France and Italy this request was definitely refused.

At the Conference in Lausanne in 1922-23 Tshitsherin repeated this request, but it was categorically refused. And in the minutes of the Conference Georgia as a country adjoining the Black Sea was referred to as an independent sovereign state.

At the 3rd plenary assembly of the League of Nations in 1922 the following resolution was adopted unanimously: "The Assembly requests the Council to follow events in this part of the world - Georgia - attentively and to avail itself of the opportunities which might present themselves to help to restore a normal state of affairs in this country by means of peaceful measures in conformity with the principles of international law."

On April 2, 1922, Edouard Herriot in his speech in parliament suggested to the French government that it should maintain its relations with the Georgian government and with regard to the question of the independence of Georgia should adopt the same attitude which it had adopted previously in the case of the independence of Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, in order to "give an unfortunate subjugated people hope". - Replying to this suggestion, Prime Minister Poincaré said: "Our esteemed friend Monsieur Herriot has expressed the thoughts of the government itself, thoughts which it has already conveyed to the Georgian government on frequent occasions. The Georgian government incidentally has a representative in Paris and he is allowed access to the Foreign Ministry."

On July 18, 1923, Philip Snowden, M. P., asked the House of Commons what measures the British government intended taking, in view of the fact that the Allied Powers had recognized the independence of Georgia, in order to influence Moscow's government by diplomatic steps so that it desisted from its ruthless subjugation of Georgia.

The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs replied that unfortunately the Soviet government had actually set up control over the country of Georgia, which it had forcibly incorporated in the USSR, and added that His Majesty's Government was well aware of the fact that diplomatic methods with regard to the Soviet government would be of no avail unless they were accompanied by a pressure which Great Britain in this case was not in a position to exercise.

When in 1924 the national revolt broke in Georgia, which was brutally crushed and in which thousands of people were murdered in a most bestial manner, the French delegate, Paul Boncour, said in a speech before the 5th plenary assembly of the League of Nations: "It is absurd to think that we are calmly discussing the interests of peace here, whilst at the same moment in another corner of the earth - in Georgia - war is raging, blood is being shed, and a heart-rending cry of pain is being sent up to the heavens."

But this cry of pain of an ancient Christian people went unheeded by the civilized world.

In 1924 Great Britain and France recognized the Soviet government. But both treaties contained certain reservations. It was stated in the first treaty that Great Britain recognized the government of the USSR de jure for those territories of the former Russian empire which recognized its authority; and in the second treaty that France recognized the government of the USSR as the government of those territories in which its authority had been accepted by the inhabitants.

Since the non-Russian countries of the Soviet Union were occupied by the Russians by military force, however, and their states were forcibly incorporated in the Soviet Union, the government of the USSR was neither recognized nor accepted by the non-Russian peoples. Its authority was therefore forcibly imposed on these peoples and was therefore illegal. Hence, according to the reservations in the treaties concluded by Great Britain and France with the government of the USSR, the latter's governmental power in the non-Russian countries of the Soviet Union was not recognized by Great Britain and France, and the said countries must therefore be regarded as countries occupied by Russia. These clauses in the said treaties are still in force today, for they have not been altered in the meantime. And we should like to stress this point!

On March 11, 1926, a resolution was moved in the U. S. Senate, in which Russian imperialism was sharply censured and the request was raised that a law should be passed enabling the U. S. President to appoint a diplomatic representative to the National Republic of Georgia at a suitable opportunity. The reason given for this decision was that the Republic of Georgia had been recognized as a sovereign state by all the Major Powers and that it possessed a "written Constitution". (Cf. National Republic of Georgia. Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs. House of Representatives 69th Congress, First Session, on H. J. 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.)

Later one became reconciled to the idea of the existence of the Russian Communist imperium and recognized the rule of the Russians over the non-Russian countries as a vested right. And one was also prepared to regard this Russian colonial empire, as far as the political, social and economic aspects were concerned, as a newly developing world. The Western public, which still thought in terms of empires and greater living space, was impressed by this allegedly new world and regarded it as epoch-making.

And then World War II, which brought disaster to the world, broke out. This new world asserted itself as a mighty Russian major power, which seized half the world and incorporated it by force in its sphere of influence. Meanwhile the Western powers have realized what a terrible danger it is to the civilized world and are only too well aware of the fact that the huge Russian colonial imperium is in the act of subjugating the free countries to Russian Communist rule. The coexistence policy and all the talk about this policy as a means of escaping from this danger are of no avail whatever, for it is futile to try and persuade the Russians to abandon their plans. Palliatives are useless in this case. The fate of the civilized world will be decided in this conflict between two worlds. And whether those in power admit this fact or not, the solution of the problem of the subjugated peoples will go hand in hand with the solution of world problems.

Even though not enough attention is paid by the West to our peoples and even though some circles in the West are prepared to sacrifice them, these circles will one day be forced to think about the subjugated peoples. Should the whole world become free, then the subjugated peoples too will be free!

The One Obstacle to World Peace and Freedom

Address by *Dr. Tingfu F. Tsiang, Chinese Ambassador to the United States, at a Conference on Russian Colonialism, Sponsored by the American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, in the Panel Room of the New Yorker Hotel, New York,*

5:00 p. m., Saturday, February 9, 1963.

I was for 14 years China's representative in the United Nations. I had plenty of time to ponder over the Charter of the United Nations both in regard to its practical application and in regard to its philosophy. What I propose to do this afternoon is, in fact, to talk briefly on my *reflections on the United Nations Charter.*

Let me say at once that the Charter of the United Nations harmonizes with the traditions of the Chinese people. It appeals to the Chinese spirit of reasonableness, in the sense that it embodies practical idealism. If it should be idealistic without the possibility of practical application, it would be Utopian and Utopianism has very little appeal to the Chinese people. On the other hand, if the Charter of the United Nations should be strictly limited to the short-term objective of getting along with the world as it is, it would smack too much of commercialism to appeal to the Chinese people. The Charter strikes a balance between practicality and ideal, and this balance has fascinated the Chinese people. For this reason, the present Constitution of the Republic of China requires that the Minister of Foreign Affairs should be guided by the Charter in his conduct of the foreign affairs of China.

The primary, but not the only, objective of the United Nations is the preservation of peace amongst the nations. Therefore, it puts in the forefront of the Charter the prohibition of the use of force as an instrument of national policy. All international disputes, according to the Charter, must be settled by peaceful means, of which the Charter provides many.

As China's representative in the Assembly and in the Security Council, I had, of course, no difficulty in working against armed conflict anywhere. Nevertheless, I was at times bothered by the fact that while the United Nations forbid the use of force, it could not guarantee redress of wrong. In civil society peace is maintained, because through law and the courts all individuals can have their wrongs redressed. The United Nations is not in a position to do this. The strong may wrong the weak. The weak may also wrong the strong. But whatever wrongs may be inflicted by the weak on the strong or by the strong on the weak, the United Nations must seek redress on behalf of the wronged party, if it is to be effective in the maintenance of peace.

During my 14 years of service in the United Nations, the most glaring example of the United Nations' failure to redress wrong was the Soviet armed intervention in Hungary in 1956. The United Nations was and has remained helpless in face of the gross wrong done to the freedom fighters of Hungary by the Soviet Union, and that episode has weakened the United Nations. *Soviet military intervention in Hungary is, in my opinion, the single most nefarious blow against the Charter of the United Nations.*

In working for peace in the world, the delegates to the San Francisco Conference of 1945 provided in the Charter of the United Nations what we may call a package deal for peace. This package is tightly knit. It has several important components. There are provisions in the Charter which directly ensure peace, and others which indirectly promote peace.

Of the indirect means to promote peace, none is so important as the repeated emphasis of the Charter on the respect for, and observance of, fundamental human rights. On the surface, this concept of fundamental human rights may be considered to be pure idealism; some people, cynically inclined, might even call it empty rhetoric. Ladies and gentlemen, if we should adopt this cynical view, we would be misreading the Charter of the United Nations. Let us recall the historical background of drafting of the United Nations Charter.

This Charter was drafted at a time when the crimes of Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo, as well as the enormous sufferings caused by these crimes were fresh in the minds of men. Now, before the dictators plunged the world into war, every one of them found it necessary to deprive their peoples of some, if not all, of their fundamental human rights. Historians agree that in Germany, Italy and Japan, the establishment of totalitarian control was a necessary part of the preparation for war. Let us not forget that the peoples of these countries loved peace as much as people elsewhere. One of the tragic things which happened before war came was that the dictators succeeded in converting the pro-peace sentiment into a pro-war sentiment. They did this by depriving their peoples of their freedom of information and freedom of speech. This background was fresh in the minds of the delegates who drafted the Charter of the United Nations. To be sure, human rights are important in themselves and should be observed and respected for their own sakes. But the people who drafted the Charter realized that in the respect for and observance of human rights the world had an additional means against war and aggression.

The totalitarian regimes of Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo were swept away in 1945 by the armies of the United Nations. The peoples of Germany, Italy and Japan are today ashamed of the totalitarian regimes which led them to war and which inflicted on them such enormous sufferings. But, unfortunately, totalitarian regimes continue to flourish in the Communist world. There the state's control of individuals exceeds the regimes of Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo. I regard this fact as a great danger to world peace.

Look at the recent armed intrusion of the Chinese Communists into India. Let us look that episode squarely in the face. Do the Chinese people on the mainland of China wish to fight India? No. Do the Chinese people have any economic surplus with which to wage war anywhere? No. The expenditure wasted by the Chinese Communists on the Himalayan mountains made so many more Chinese go without the rice and the clothing that they needed and craved for. It is only by tyranny at home that the Chinese Communists were able to wage war across the Himalayas.

In the fall of 1956 the United Nations ignominiously failed in Hungary, but it succeeded in securing the withdrawal of Great Britain and France from the Suez. Did the United Nations have to apply sanctions against those Powers? No. The United Nations mobilized the moral opinion of the world. Please note that while the United Nations was deliberating on the Suez crisis, powerful voices in England and France were raised against the action of their Governments. If the British and French peoples had lost their freedom of information and freedom of speech, they could not have exerted any pressure on their Governments. The domestic opposition against the policies of the British and French Governments was as important in effecting the withdrawal of the British and French armies as the decisions of the United Nations. In both the Hungarian and Suez cases, we have a clear demonstration of the intimate link between peace and the observance of human rights.

The Charter as a package deal for peace enshrines another basic principle, namely, the self-determination of peoples. This principle was first formulated by President Woodrow Wilson in the latter part of the First World War. It was applied to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and thereby enabled the Hungarians, Czechs and Slovaks

to obtain their national freedom. It was also applied, in the form of mandates, to certain colonial territories. The system of mandates in the League of Nations was transformed into the system of trusteeship in the Charter of the United Nations.

The application of the principle of self-determination has gone very far in the postwar period. Many independent nations which now take their seats in the Assembly of the United Nations have won their national freedom by virtue of self-determination. The colonial empires of Great Britain, France and the Netherlands have been almost completely liquidated. The colonialism of Western Europe is, in fact, dead. The attainment of national independence has been achieved in the majority of cases through peaceful consultation between the metropolitan Powers and the peoples of the colonies. We have only praise for both parties.

As the representative of China in the United Nations, I favored in every case the application of the principle of self-determination. But in China's stand for this principle, there is an important corollary which I must mention. One of the first problems I had to handle when I entered the Security Council was the struggle of the Indonesian people for independence. In support of the Indonesian case, I was in the foremost rank, if not the foremost individual delegate. But I expressed the hope that after the attainment of independence, Indonesia might find it possible and profitable to join the Netherlands Union. My country realizes that in the modern world, freedom of peoples must go hand in hand with a higher degree of international integration. It would be wrong for the United Nations to apply the principle of self-determination mechanically and indiscriminately, with the consequence that big political units would all be split into an infinite number of small units, many of which might not be viable.

You may have noticed that Great Britain, in conceding freedom to her colonies, has been able in many cases to establish a commonwealth relationship. To us Chinese, this is a splendid achievement on the part of both Great Britain and her former colonies. Chinese public opinion has never criticized any Asian nation which has chosen to maintain this commonwealth relationship. Events have proved that the maintenance of this relationship has been fruitful to all parties concerned. Naturally, such relationship would not be possible if it were not based on freedom and equality. Those statesmen who wish to see nations cooperate and integrate must find the secret of cooperation and integration in freedom. Domination by one Power over others cannot be lasting.

In this respect, the Communist world has no idea of the possibilities of cooperation among free peoples. The Communist world is reactionary. It knows only domination through the denial of the right of self-determination to its subject peoples. Whilst all the other empires are disappearing, the Soviet Russian empire has grown larger than the czars and czarinas ever dreamed of. Whilst colonies of the West emerge as independent nations in Asia and Africa, old cultured nations such as Ukraine and the Baltic states remain under the yoke of Soviet imperialism. I think my voice was the first one in the United Nations raised against this perpetuation and intensification of Soviet imperialism in the present age. In recent years, I am glad to observe that other delegates have joined me in denouncing the hypocrisy of the Soviet Union.

I think the United Nations should not allow the world to forget the injustice done to such peoples as those of Ukraine and the Baltic states. We should let the delegations from the Communist countries know clearly and simply what we think of their practice of enslaving peoples who wish to be free from Soviet control and who are fully capable of governing themselves.

Communist imperialism is the one obstacle to world peace and freedom. We should refuse to allow this one obstacle to stop the march of history. Let us therefore use all means within our power to remove this one obstacle.

Soo Young Lee,

Permanent Representative of Korea to the U. N.

The Cause We Represent

Those of us who are gathered here are representatives of peoples whose ancient freedom and inalienable rights have been ruthlessly trampled under the heel of the aggressive forces of Communist imperialism. Our aim is to restore to our peoples the fundamental rights of self-government, of freedom, of human dignity.

Not long ago, until our nation became independent, a number of Korean patriots and our national leaders were pleading for help and understanding for their cause in fighting for freedom and independence. It was not an easy one nor was it a rewarding one, at least not immediately, for not many responded to our cause; on the contrary, many were cool to our appeal of the then Korean Government in exile in the United States and China.

It is for this reason that I have come here with a special feeling of sympathy and I am therefore happy to give this message of courage to this organization.

You and I from our positions here in New York are removed from the immediate scenes of their deprivation. Yet we will never forget the friends and relatives and countrymen whose muted sufferings grow greater with every passing year. *Simply because we are here in freedom, and not with them behind the barriers, our responsibility is all the greater.*

We must speak out for them the words they are not allowed to utter. In their behalf we must be the spokesmen in a world that finds it all too easy to forget. We must see to it that the crimes of Communism do not become respectable because they have become habitual.

There are those who argue in the name of realism that the free nations must recognize and accept the criminal aggression that has lasted long enough to have become an established fact. I do not mean to suggest that we refuse to acknowledge the reality of the present predicaments but *we know that the denial of human rights does not become less evil simply because it continues.* What I do suggest is not to forget the ideals and principles for the achievement of which all free men are united.

Another fact is that the Communist tyranny is not remaining static nor dwindling, but is constantly and persistently expanding. The imperialism that engulfed a part or all parts of our nations in the recent past is today threatening to encompass the entire globe. In the past 50 years Communism has expanded enormously.

The cause then which we represent is the welfare of all mankind, – the simple freedom to which every human being is entitled as an inalienable right. *We must never abandon it until free peoples everywhere unite to ensure its success.* This is our faith and in the spirit of this faith we shall continue our quest until freedom has been restored to our countries and to the world.

So long as our courageous men and women are dedicated to preserving freedom and peace, civilized humanity can never be destroyed. With this determination may justice be triumphant over injustice in the end.

(Political Forum of AFABN, New York, February 9, 1963)

Purges In Bulgaria And The New Political Course

The recent purge amongst the leading men of the Bulgarian Communist Party, like all the previous purges, clearly shows that the question at issue in this respect is the elimination of the opposition which is constantly flaming up against the excessive demands on the national economy in accordance with Moscow's wishes, a fact which repeatedly presents a serious problem to the Communist regime in Bulgaria.

Since the possibility of a common course of ideological deviations under *Cervenkov*, *Cankov* and *Jugov* as well as all the other victims of the various purges has thus been eliminated, the conclusion can be drawn that at various times in the crisis-fraught economic and political development of the country these three Party leaders were definitely crystallization-points of a recurrent opposition against the official Party course. They obviously had to be eliminated as exponents of the resistance to the excessively accelerated development of the heavy industry at the price of an untenable exploitation of the labour of the people and a deteriorating standard of living, resulting from the absolute subordination of the national economy of the country to Moscow's powers of authority. Seen from this aspect, a common front between the various "deviations", which reflect opposite ideological trends, amongst the leaders of the Bulgarian Communist Party would certainly be quite possible. Indeed, we have already upheld this opinion in previous articles and have pointed out that there is sufficient proof of the fact that the various divergences in the Bulgarian Communist Party, which are branded in official terms as "Stalinism", "revisionism", "National Communism", and "sectarianism", etc., are, after all, represented by one common opposition within the Party against the blind servility to Moscow which, precisely after the 20th and 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, led to disastrous results for Bulgaria in the economic and political sectors.

In fact, the estrangement between *Jugov* and *Zivkov* only seems to have occurred when the administrative and economic reform of 1959 for a speedier socialist development aggravated the economic crisis, brought untenable burdens with it and led to considerable discontent even in the ranks of the Party.

On the subject of the drastic purges which ensued the leading article of the Party organ writes as follows:

"At the Congress the truth proclaimed by our unforgettable *Georgi Dimitrov* manifested itself, namely that the chief criterion for the genuinely proletarian internationalism of every Marxist-Leninist party and of every individual Communist is their relation to the Soviet Union and to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union... The resolutions of the Congress define the line of the Party as regards foreign policy in conformity with the Marxist-Leninist principles of genuine co-operation amongst the socialist countries, headed by the USSR."

The true reason and actual purpose of the purges in the Bulgarian Communist Party was: to eliminate from the Party and state leadership all actual or potential opponents of a forced socialist development of Bulgaria as an integrating part of the so-called socialist camp, that is to say of the ruthless general planning in Moscow; to brand the reprovved Party and state leaders as scapegoats for the economic plight and for so-called "violations of the socialist legality", by means of which the ruthlessness of the totalitarian Communist dictatorship is to be disguised; to mollify the seething discontent of the masses by creating the illusion of a new era of liberalization and democratization, coupled with the promise of material prosperity in the framework of the proposed 20-year plan for the transition to a prosperous Communist future.

The new era in the development of the People's Republic of Bulgaria under *Zivkov* is characterized by radical structural changes in the central government, which are to serve the purpose of realizing the high aims of the new 20-year plan. An important basic feature of this re-organization is the fact that the Party and the state leadership are treated as almost completely identical.

In his official statement regarding the programme of the government the new Prime Minister *Zivkov*, addressing the National Assembly, stressed in the first place that the last Party Congress had brought about a turning-point in Party and state life.

He added that in order to meet the present development phase in the People's Republic of Bulgaria a new state constitution must be drawn up and the entire legislation re-organized. The activity of the state security organs must be intensified so that the fight against internal and external enemies could be conducted more effectively than had hitherto been the case.

He then pointed out that the corner-stone of Bulgaria's foreign policy would be brotherhood and affinity with the Soviet Union, and emphasized that the new government would do its utmost to intensify and consolidate the vital Bulgarian - Soviet friendship and the co-operation with the other socialist countries. He said that the People's Republic of Bulgaria represented an inseparable part of the socialist world system and was prepared to fulfil its obligations arising out of the Warsaw Pact faithfully. Equally unswervingly the new government would fulfil all the obligations arising out of the KOMEKON and would endeavour to effect an even closer co-ordination of the production plans.

In conclusion *Zivkov* affirmed that Bulgaria must be eternally grateful to the Soviet Union, to its government and to Khrushchev personally for the unselfish help which Bulgaria had received in building up socialism and Communism.

This exaggerated emphasis on the necessity of an even deeper affinity with the Soviet Union and an even closer co-operation within the framework of the KOMEKON is most significant and can be regarded as indirect proof of the fact that under *Jugov's* government, that is to say prior to the recent purge amongst the leading men of the Party and the government, willingness to submit unconditionally to Moscow's dictates, especially as regards the economic planning and the foreign trade relations of Bulgaria, was by no means wholehearted.

Zivkov's official statement regarding the programme of the new government and his explanations of the purpose and significance of the re-organization of the central government departments are authentic proof that there can be no talk of an actual de-Stalinization in Bulgaria in the sense of a liberalization and democratization of the regime. On the contrary, all the main factors in connection with the purge which has been carried out amongst the Party leaders and with the structural and personnel changes in the government system indicate a tightening up of the regime in order to cope with the economic crisis, which can be regarded as the real reason for the various re-organization measures that were introduced after the 8th Party Congress. In addition, the crisis has also made itself felt in the past few years as a result of failure to speed up the fulfilment of economic plans, that is in the forced industrialization and the regression of the formerly prosperous agriculture of Bulgaria as a result of over-hasty collectivization and haphazard formation of collectives within the framework of the economic reform. The latter measure even necessitated the import of agricultural products and the rationing of the staple foodstuffs and led to a chronic shortage in supplies.

Furthermore, the exaggerated emphasis on the willingness of the new government to co-operate more closely with the KOMEKON and to fulfil obligations regarding deliveries unconditionally, seems to be a justification of this adjustment of the economic policy to counter the criticism voiced about the burdening of the national

economy with compulsory exports without taking into consideration the needs of the home market. A further burden on the balance of trade has been the Soviet deliveries in the form of loans for the purpose of accelerating the industrialization, a state of affairs which has led to a chronic indebtedness to the Soviet Union on the part of Bulgaria and to the latter country being placed at a disadvantage as a result of the export and import prices dictated by Moscow. In addition, there have also been the deliveries imposed by Moscow in connection with development aid for the newly founded states in Africa and Asia. The declaration of the new government, to the effect that it is determined to continue a close economic co-operation within the framework of the East bloc and to bring about an improvement in the standard of living in Bulgaria solely in conjunction with its unalterable affinity to the socialist camp, likewise is obviously meant to serve as a means of warding off the widespread criticism expressed in this respect.

The necessity to totalize the Party dictatorship and to tighten up the regime incidentally arises out of the far-reaching aims of the 20-year plan which must now be fulfilled: namely, the seven-fold increase of industrial production, the increase of agricultural production by 2½ times its present quota, the five-fold increase of the national income by 1980, the five-fold increase of the transport of goods, the increase of the consumption funds to 4½ or 5 times their present standard, and similar measures. The following pleasant prospects for 1980 are promised to the workers: release from every type of housework, free housing and food, as well as generous furtherance of cultural interests and recreation.

The new Party statutes, according to which the alleged guarantee of a collective Party leadership is connected with a considerable strengthening of the role of the Party as the sole decisive factor of leadership, which at the same time will increase its scope of activity, are further proof that those responsible for the regime have no intention of introducing a liberalization in the sectors of home policy and economy, but, on the other hand, are more determined than ever to pull the reins of the centralist Party leadership still tighter.

Wolfgang Strauss

For Freedom And Fatherland!

Ten years ago 22 million prisoners revolted against Moscow

Ten years ago, on March 5, 1953, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin died. To millions of non-Russians in the USSR Stalin had been the personification of the Devil and his regime had been a hell on earth. Now this satan was dead. At first a silent, spontaneous wave of relief surged through the subjugated peoples in the USSR.

Within a little while the 22 million prisoners sentenced to slave-labour were likewise seized by this same wave of relief. They rejoiced that Stalin was dead and were convinced that now that Hitler was finished and Stalin finished, Moscow too would soon be finished. To them March 5, 1953, was the

happiest day in their lives, a day of rejoicing, of triumph and of thanksgiving.

True, March 5, 1953, was not the longed-for day of outward liberation by force. But the spell of terrorism and of distrust, under which people had been forced to live for so many years, was at least now broken. Stalin, Lenin's successor and the most hated political tyrant in the world, was no longer alive.

But matters did not end merely with a feeling of relief on the part of the subjugated peoples. To millions of men and women in the slave colonies of Russia Stalin's death was the first signal to revolt. "Now or never!" The pre-revolutionary situation entered upon

a new stage. Stalin's death and the ensuing internal weakening and splitting of the leading clique in the Kremlin (into Stalinists, Malenkovists, Beria supporters, and Khrushchovists) very soon – in fact, almost overnight – led to a chain reaction, which spread in waves throughout the entire Soviet Union and as far as East Berlin. The number and the extent of all the riots that broke out exceeded those of any previous revolts in the history of the USSR. The fact must be stressed that all these insurrections were definitely of a political and revolutionary nature, and it was therefore not a question of food riots, hunger strikes, or similar incidents.

This became clearly apparent for the first time in the general strike in Norylsk, where on May 7, 1953, more than 30,000 prisoners, the majority of them Ukrainians, prisoners from the Baltic states, Caucasians and other non-Russian groups, started to revolt. By extremely risky means the prisoners in Vorkuta received a number of leaflets from the insurgents in Norylsk. The contents of these leaflets definitely refute the opinion that has been maintained so far in the West, namely that the riots in the Russian slave-labour camps were of an economic nature. Nothing could be more erroneous than this opinion! The demands for an eight-hour day, more pay, a general amnesty, for the repatriation of all foreigners and of all non-Russian prisoners to their native countries, and for the unconditional cessation of discrimination against the non-Russian nations, and other demands were obviously based on the political demand for a radical liquidation of the prevailing regime. The insurgents were no longer merely concerned about such material needs as food, for instance. The question at issue was now the liquidation of the Russian Communist regime, which had brought with it starvation, terrorism, colonialism and exploitation. In view of this situation 22 million prisoners resorted to the only revolutionary fighting method which was likely to lead to success, namely to insurrection, to a political general strike.

One of the above-mentioned Norylsk leaflets of June 1953 was worded as follows: "Fellow-prisoners and exiles! Brothers of all nations and races! From Kamchatka to Karelia, from the Arctic Ocean to Baku, the bones of our murdered brothers lie rotting in the tundras and deserts. Tomorrow your bones too may lie rotting somewhere . . . Brothers, heed the signals from Norylsk and Karaganda! No UNO resolution, no parliamentary delegation from Paris or London will help us. Only the International of all the slaves in the Russian imperium can save us! On May 7th the prisoners working in the

coal and copper mines of Norylsk went on an unlimited general strike . . . The camp police promise us bacon, liquor, women, and 'improvements'. But they also threaten to shoot. But that is not much of a threat. If the general strike spreads to all the prison-colonies, then victory will be ours . . . Remember that every ton of coal and every ton of copper means one machine-gun more in the hands of the oppressors. The 22 million prisoners provide for the regime. Whether this execrable regime stands or falls depends on them . . . Brothers and comrades in Vorkuta! We are confident that you will not leave us in the lurch in the hour of our common cause, and it is this belief which will give us the strength to hold out, come what may, to the victorious end. Our motto is: a general strike in all the pits and on the building sites! . . . Brothers, always remember what we are fighting for! Not for soup or tobacco, not for a paltry bit of wage! We have nothing to lose apart from our chains, which we have forged ourselves. We have everything to gain that makes life worth living – freedom and our fatherland!"

The revolt in Norylsk lasted 100 days. During the night of August 11, 1953, it was crushed by a dreadful massacre, in which over 500 prisoners were killed and many more wounded, – unforgettable revolutionary heroes from Latvia, Esthonia, Ukraine, Byelorussia, East Germany, Poland and Georgia. But these heroes who died as martyrs for a noble cause were not the only ones who laid down their lives in 1953. Norylsk was merely the first wave in the prisoners' revolts. The storm now broke out in all its violence and raged over the entire USSR.

The news of the Norylsk revolt fell like a bomb-shell in Vorkuta. On June 17th the second bomb-shell fell – the news that the workers in East Germany were rioting. Anxiously everyone waited for the next incident, which was bound to happen in Vorkuta.

The camp administration made certain concessions as regards wages and cultural propaganda. Instead of 100 roubles, the prisoners now received 300. Large quantities of butter and of white bread now suddenly appeared in the camp stores. Indian, French, Italian and even American films were shown in the camp cinemas. But it was all to no avail. The amount of coal raised in the mines showed a steady decrease. And the number of trains bearing coal to Leningrad became fewer and fewer. The "free persons" openly sympathized with the prisoners. During these sultry weeks the inhabitants of the town of Vorkuta constantly sat in front of their radios and anxiously listened to the news from Moscow. Those who possessed large sets tuned in to foreign stations.

The inhabitants of Vorkuta felt that they were all sitting on a huge powder-keg which might explode at any moment.

Fierce discussions were held amongst the members of the underground front. Some of them were in favour of taking drastic action at once and announcing a general strike. Others thought it would be better to wait until Beria carried out a coup d'état. The Ukrainians were against the idea of a general strike, since they were of the opinion that this was far too weak a weapon. They maintained that in the event of a Beria putsch a revolutionary armed attack should be undertaken against the entire regime. "To start a revolution during the confusion of the putsch, not for Beria but against him!" The author of this article can well remember these words uttered by one of the Ukrainian underground leaders. He himself was a member of the provisional insurrection committee and was in close contact with the Ukrainian members of the underground movement in Vorkuta.

The Ukrainians were of the opinion that if Beria carried out a putsch in Moscow, the prisoners in the slave-labour camps would meanwhile turn Vorkuta into a huge Warsaw of the rising there in 1944, but it would be an invincible Warsaw! From Vorkuta the revolt would spread to all the surrounding concentration camp areas, to Inta, Uchta, Chalmerju and as far as Petchora. The entire Komi ASSR would resemble a huge pile of ammunition, which only needed a single spark in the centre to make it explode. A secret combat plan, which was drawn up by the Ukrainian underground front and contained explicit tactical and strategical directives, was logically worded as follows: "Our aim must be to create a powerful weapon out of the Ukrainian and other non-Russian prisoners in the slave-labour camps, — a weapon which will be capable of purging Vorkuta of the secret police and of defending this bastion until the general revolution of the peoples breaks out. An army behind barbed wire is no use to us; only an army outside the camp enclosure can guarantee the success of our action. For this reason we are opposed to the idea of a general strike, of a revolt without weapons. Such action would mean that we are isolated in the camp and have no contact whatever with the population outside. And isolation in this case means a defeat in advance. We must concentrate all our efforts on breaking out of all the camps simultaneously and suddenly, taking the garrisons by storm, seizing the town and securing the most important bases and communication routes. We cannot rely on military support from the West. We must rely on our own strength and must fight for our own cause by our own means!"

But the execution of these bold plans on the part of the underground front in Vorkuta could not be realized. They were frustrated by unexpected action on the part of the anti-Beria Party clique, headed by Molotov and Khrushchov. On June 25, 1953, in the course of a dramatic session of the Politbureau, Lavrenti Beria was attacked by his colleagues, dismissed from all his posts, and branded as an enemy of the state, as a "spy" and "traitor to the fatherland".

What was the reaction of the prisoners? "If the Party has exposed Beria as a public enemy, then it is only right and fitting that it should rehabilitate us, Beria's victims, and set us free!" This was the argument put forward by the agitators in the camps. But their demand in this respect naturally went unheeded. And the prisoners finally lost patience. They started a general strike; the camps in Vorkuta took the lead in this respect. And very soon riots broke out in all the other camp areas in North Russia, Kazakhstan, West Siberia, Yakut, East Siberia and on Sakhalin.

Six months after Stalin's death and five weeks after Beria's downfall, the big revolt broke out in Vorkuta, the "second Donbas" on the Arctic Ocean. The author of this article will never forget the words of an old Ukrainian priest, who had been sentenced to 20 years' katorga by the Russians on account of "collaboration with the Banderivci". During those memorable days in September 1953 he said: "We shall set fire to Russia. One-sixth of the earth has been transformed into a huge powder-keg. If the powder is dry, we shall be lucky. But it is bound to be dry sometime. We are certainly taking a terrible risk. But we can no longer retrace our steps. Once Moscow is on fire, Warsaw and Budapest, Berlin and Sofia will also burn. We must destroy the centre; the periphery will then collapse of its own accord. We shall set fire to the Third Rome, to the Rome of the Antichrist. This is the deeper meaning of this slaves' revolt. If God helps us, we shall turn Vorkuta into a second Stalingrad — a Stalingrad for the Russian Marxists . . .!"

The riots and strikes continued not only throughout the entire summer and autumn of 1953 but also went on in the following year with increasing fanaticism. In fact, the big wave of riots released by the death of Stalin lasted until the spring of 1956. And the decisive factor was that in no case could the revolutionary disputes be settled by peaceful means. The successors of Stalin and Beria, who never ceased talking about the "return to the socialist lawfulness of the Lenin era", used the same methods of oppression against the insurgent prisoners in the slave-labour camps that had been applied

In Stalin's day. "Order" was restored by means of carbines and machine-guns, bayonets and tanks, hand-grenades and bloodhounds. The hirelings of the secret police waded in a sea of blood and trampled on the corpses of thousands of prisoners at the command of the "collective leadership".

The beginning of the Khrushchov era was characterized not by a just restitution to the victims of Stalinism but by ruthless terrorism and bestial reprisals. The new Kremlin rulers introduced themselves to the subjugated peoples in the Russian colonial empire with fire and sword. Khrushchov's "de-Stalinization" did not open with the removal of monuments; the beginning of this allegedly "liberal" and "lenient" epoch was characterized by massacres, by the undisguised mass-murder of defenceless human beings. The order to carry out a tank attack, on the morning of June 27, 1954, when the 6th special camp at Kingir was stormed, against 500 Ukrainian women-prisoners, whose only weapon was their fearless love of freedom, was given by the Russian Sergei Kruglov, who had been appointed Beria's successor by the "collective leadership". And this Russian "Minister" - a sadist, whose tanks mowed down and crushed 500 women (including old women and women with children) within five minutes as they sang their hymns and revolutionary songs of freedom, is still allowed the honour of being a "Knight of the British Commonwealth" and a member of the "American Legion". In addition, this organizer of the most bestial massacre of 1954 can also boast of having drunk a toast to the "peaceful, happy future of mankind" together with Roosevelt, Truman and Churchill!

"SOS! SOS! We are being murdered!" - these were the words of the last radio message transmitted from Camp No. 392/3 in Kingir on June 26, 1954. Two and a half years later, the world heard the last cry of help from revolutionary Budapest. "SOS! Help us, peoples of the world! . . . Our tortured hearts are being crushed by the Soviet army. Hungary is being overrun by its tanks and cannon . . .", was the message transmitted by Radio Budapest. What a tragic repetition of history! And yet, an heroic optimism shines forth from this tragedy: man, God's creation, is born to be free, and no power on earth, however sinister it may be, can prevent those who are enslaved from striving to attain freedom. Caesar, Attila, Genghis Khan, Solymán, Napoleon, Mussolini, and Hitler - what has remained of them and of their once mighty empires? Tyrants come and go, but the peoples still remain. To be defeated in a war of liberation is a fate which very rarely means the end of a freedom-loving people. True, the Russian Marxists

succeeded in crushing the revolutionary self-liberation campaigns of the prisoners by means of brutal violence (just as they managed to murder the East German and Hungarian freedom fighters), but they suffered a terrible defeat when they tried to crush the spirit and the will to freedom of the insurgents.

In 1953 the prisoners in the concentration camps held the banner of revolt aloft; today the workers in Siberia and Ukraine are rebelling against the Russian colonizers. Last year the Soviet Union was the scene of numerous strikes, which in their violence and bloodshed were reminiscent of the terrorist regime of Stolypin and Kerensky. In 1962 riots broke out amongst the dockers in Odessa, the miners in the Donbas, the factory workers in Novocherkassk, and the proletariat of Kemerovo. The Ukrainian and other non-Russian workers are obliged to endure a double yoke - Communist exploitation and Russian domination. And this is the explosive which in the not too distant future will tear the Russian Communist colonial empire to bits.

"Revolutionary elements find an auditorium once more . . . The masses go over to deeds after criticism . . . Indignation first of all finds an outlet in food riots, which in some places assume the form of local, open revolts . . . Spreading throughout the whole country, these food riots eliminate the war hypnosis and pave the way for strikes. Steadily rising prices automatically cause a fall in wages. More and more meetings are held in the factories, and the subjects discussed are food, the high level of prices, war and the government . . . The strikes are accompanied by meetings, the proclamation of political resolutions, clashes with the police, and frequently also by shooting incidents . . . And this process inevitably leads to a revolution." The author of these lines is Leo Trotsky, and the events which he describes so aptly occurred almost fifty years ago. Trotsky is describing the fight of the oppressed workers on the eve of the February revolution in 1917. And yet, there is a strange actuality in his words, a surprising and almost sinister parallelism between events then and now! This process certainly "inevitably leads to a revolution"!

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

II. Corinthians, VI, 9

The Brazilian Situation Shown On Television

Appearing on television December last, in the city Bello-Horizonte, capital of the State of Minas Gerais, Admiral Carlos Penna Botto, ret. Brazilian Navy, answered a number of questions put to him, as follows:

Is President Goulart a Communist?

*Answer: No, and at the same time Yes! If we take for granted that a Communist must necessarily be a person conversant with Communism, meaning a person who knows what Communism is like, who has at least a perfunctory knowledge of the Marxist philosophy, of the economic laws underlying it, of historical and dialectical materialism, of the way it has been put in practice and operation in certain countries, and how it has worked out, then President Goulart is not a Communist. I say that because he never had the slightest idea about all that. His mentality does not soar above very obvious, primary and down to the ground considerations. But if we accept the *Brazilian Anti-Communist Crusade's* way of characterizing a Communist, viz: "a person who whether a member or not of a Communist Party, helps and fosters Marxist propaganda, and does everything in his power to bring the enslaving regime to his own country", then President Goulart is most decidedly a Communist! I beg to remind the tele-viewers that the *Crusade* referred to above is under my Chairmanship.*

Concerning the on-coming referendum of January 6th, 1963, dealing with the choice of either Parliamentarianism or Presidentialism as the political regime suitable for Brazil, how do you advise us to vote?

Answer: Both regimes are good when there are statesmen and politicians capable of properly setting them in operation. This is, unfortunately, not the case in Brazil. We have in our country the worst possible kind of politicians, barring a few exceptions, and the nation is under the Presidency of a crypto-Communist, Mr. Goulart, who surrounds himself with many unworthy and unspeakable individuals! Therefore, in view of the existing circumstances, it all boils down to the dire necessity of denying Goulart any increase in his powers as the President of the Republic, which increase would certainly accrue from the adoption of Presidentialism. The all-important thing to do, in this particular emergency, is to avoid giving Goulart any further facilities and means to push Brazil into a "popular-republic" of the Soviet brand. That is why I earnestly advise my followers to vote Yes (for Parliamentarianism), which is what I myself shall do. But, bear in mind, all of you tele-viewers, let us vote for Parliamentarianism with a single purpose, with the sole aim, of curtailing Goulart's presidential powers, as we feel sure that he would use these powers against the Brazilian Democracy and in favour of Communism!

What do you think, Admiral, of Goulart's administration, as shown by his sixteen months' tenure of office?

Answer: Either the government circles, led by Goulart, have purposely adhered to the Communist watchword "the worse the better", or else they have been totally inept, thoroughly incompetent, basically incapable!

What about inflation, or rather hyper-inflation?

Answer: That very obnoxious process of dealing with currency has been spurred and stimulated in exact compliance with Lenin's well-known opinion, viz: "The best way to destroy the capitalist system lies in the corruption of the money-currency. Through a steady process of inflation governments may confiscate, by subtle means, a very substantial part of the people's wealth."

How do you envisage "commercial relations" with Russia?

Answer: I will again quote Lenin, viz: "On the very day that the capitalist world starts trading with us, it will begin financing its own destruction."

Automatic weapons (rifles and machine-guns) have been seized by the police while in the process of being smuggled to serve the purpose of guerilla-warfare in the State of Goyez. Also it has been proved that the Soviet Embassy is instrumental in that unlawful and criminal transaction. What have you got to say?

Answer: I was not a bit surprised. Automatic weapons have been smuggled into Brazil for quite a few years, consigned to the Communist Party, across both inland and sea frontiers. I must tell the tele-viewers, though, that "guerilla warfare" has not nowadays a paramount priority in the Communist plans aiming at overthrowing the political and social order in Brazil. Communists in our country rely mostly on riots and upheavals brought about in large cities and densely populated areas, - of a *military-Marxist* contexture and supplemented by all kinds of *strikes* to cripple vital national activities; and this is due to the fact that Goulart's government is in favour of and helps in every way the Communist subversion scheduled shortly to take place in Brazil (which was likewise the case with madman Quadros' former government). Any Communist revolution, or even Marxist "coup d'état", is much easier to carry out to utter success when sponsored by the *summit*, by those holding the reigns of government, and that to the extent of making it possible to discard any "guerilla-warfare" . . . Guatemala, where the pro-Communist governments of Arévalo and Arbenz turned the country Marxist for a couple of years until liberated by Castillo Armas in 1954, is a glaring proof of this. As regards the Soviet Embassy, anybody who is slightly conversant with the facts knows what all the embassies installed abroad by the Kremlin rascals are in reality: nests of subversive agents under the cover of diplomatic privileges and immunities. Brazil's diplomatic relations with Russia were resumed, some time ago, for that very purpose, by crypto-Communist Goulart, Afonso Arnes and Santiago Dantas, the two latter acting as Chancellors (State Department)!

What can be done, in your judgement, to preserve Democracy in Brazil?

Answer: The situation being as it is and deteriorating rapidly, I am very reluctant to admit that our Democracy may be saved through the normal use of the available governmental, administrative and political strata! The country's political climate is filthy and unhealthy. Therefore, some other means, necessarily drastic, must be resorted to. I think that the Armed Forces have got to act. But before that happens it will be imperative to purge the Army of the many Communists infesting it and trying to undermine its morale; especially as regards the First Army, whose headquarters are in Rio, as the commanding general keeps on boldly uttering unwarranted statements on the political situation of the country and giving vent to his very suspicious feelings and leanings . . . His strange and undisciplined behaviour is approved and shielded by our crypto-Communist President Goulart!!

The "Patrice-Lumumba-University for Friendship among Peoples" in Moscow

II

During his trip to Indonesia Mr. Sofronow, the Secretary of the "Solidarity Committee for the Countries of Asia and Africa", used the Indonesia national university of "Hadscha Mada" on 21 February, 1960, as a forum to inform the public of the world and in particular the development countries of the decision of the Soviet Government to found a "University for Friendship among Peoples" as an instrument for the training of national intelligentsia cadres for the Afro-Asian and Latin-American countries. On 24 February, 1961, this decision of the Ministerial Council of the USSR was published by the Soviet press.

The decision to set up the University was followed by a meeting of its sponsor organizations in March 1960 (Pravda 24-3-1960) which dealt with problems of organization. Professor S. W. Rumjancev, who had been a university teacher and institute director for many years, and who was Deputy Minister for University Education of the USSR from 1955 to 1959, was appointed President of the University. Furthermore, a University Council was formed which laid down the rules of admission for the first academic year of 1960. The Soviet Government made available the building of a former military academy not far from the Lomossov University, whose facilities even today show many signs of being a makeshift affair. Allegedly, however, the construction of a huge modern university centre, a kind of Cité Universitaire, for foreign students is planned.

After this rapid process of constituting the University there arose, however, considerable difficulties in selecting the students for the scholarships.

According to Soviet information, 43,500 applications were received until 31 July, 1960, the final date set for their submission, of which as many as 30,000 came from India, 3,255 from Indonesia, 1,827 from Latin America, and 413 from Africa (Bakinskij Rabotschij, 18 December 1960). 501 applicants from 63 countries were admitted including 193 from Africa, 142 from South-East Asia, 120 from Latin America, and 46 from the Middle East. In addition, 50 Soviet students (chiefly from the Caucasian and Central-Asian Republics) are said to have attended this University during their first study year, according to Soviet sources. Among the foreign groups, countries were represented to a varying degree:

Mali (16) led the African countries, followed by the UAR (13), Algeria (12), Guinea (8), Nigeria and Uganda. Amongst the Latin-American countries Cuba (24) was first, followed by Brazil and Argentina.

The number of Asian students was relatively small. This is partly due to the fact that the Chinese intend to establish a similar university in Shanghai, which is to concentrate its efforts on Asian students. Another reason was the opposition displayed by the governments of several countries, who deliberately obstructed the direct admittance procedure arranged by Moscow, or themselves seized the initiative in selecting and sending students. The Government of Burma, for instance, decided in July 1960 that the enrolment of Burmese students (of whom 35 had applied) forwarded to Moscow either directly or via the Soviet Embassy in Burma, constituted a violation of the Burmese regulations and that the students concerned would be refused exit permits. In a similarly energetic manner, the Indian Government took a hand in the selection procedure and claimed the right of sending itself Indian students to the University (as did the governments of Nepal, Indonesia etc.).

As a result of these interventions, the departure of students, in particular from South and East Asia, was so much delayed that the University had to start teaching on 1 October, 1960 with no more than 300 students being present. The official opening of the University by Khrushchov had eventually to be postponed to 17 November, 1960. Along the lines of a propagandistic utilization of the University, it was re-named "Patrice-Lumumba University for Friendship among Peoples" on 25 February, 1961, and the Scholarship Funds of the World Trade Union Federation, the International Union of Students and the International Organization of Journalists were re-named "International Patrice-Lumumba Scholarship Fund". An interesting fact is, however, that it was African students who protested against these new names and against the propagandistic abuse of the University and the African scholarships in general.

At the end of the first semester, which according to Soviet sources had been successfully terminated by 80 per cent of the students, the Soviet press announced the admission of 700 students for the academic years 1961/62 (Pravda, 23-5-61). These figures

were essentially confirmed by Prof. Rumjan-
cev, the President of the University, when at
a press conference on December, 1961, he
stated the present number of students from
75 different countries to exceed 1,300. Ac-
cording to a breakdown as of January 1962 the
geographical origin of the students was as
follows: Africa (301), South and East Asia
(362), Latin America (381), Middle East
(180), Soviet Union (162). It is planned to
enlarge the University at a later date so
as to accommodate between 4,000 and 5,000
students.

The Political Significance of the University for Friendship amongst peoples

The establishment of a special university
for Afro-Asian and Latin-American students
in Moscow has been mainly governed by the
following motives:

By-passing of the Cultural Conventions and Diplomatic Relations

In his speech in Indonesia on 21 February,
1960, Khrushchov had already indicated that
the Soviet Union would try to find a way to
circumvent the procedure of selection and
sending by the country of origin normally
followed in international student exchanges.
The conditions of admission for the first
academic year put this intention clearly into
practice. Apart from this the conditions of
admission make the enrolment of students
independent from the existence of a cultural
convention with the country of origin of the
student. In this way the internationally
customary exchange of students on the basis
of bilateral cultural conventions can in many
cases be by-passed, and the Soviet scholarship
offensive can be extended to countries with
which no cultural conventions have up to
now been concluded.

Screening-off the Soviet Students

Moreover, it is likely that the isolation of
the Afro-Asian and Latin-American students
at a special university serves the purpose of
screening-off the Soviet Union's own stu-
dents (apart from faithful Communist stu-
dents suitable to work as "tutors") against
undesirable influences. This necessity became
all the more obvious since, on the other
hand, for reasons of foreign policy as many
Afro-Asian and Latin-American students as
possible were to be trained in the Soviet
Union in order to weaken the educational
monopoly of Western Europe and the United
States.

Influencing the Students

Moreover, the isolated education of the
students appeared to offer particular chances
for their political indoctrination. The latest

policy documents issued by the Communist
world movement and the Communist Party
of the Soviet Union, such as the Moscow
Declaration of the 81 Communist Parties of
December 1960, and the new programme of
the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
of October 1961, are based on a world con-
cept in which the countries and peoples of
Asia, Africa and Latin America are repre-
sented as one of the great power groupings
which are to be mobilized against the "im-
perialist" West under the slogan of "national
liberation movement", and to be associated
with the Soviet bloc in an "Alliance of two
thirds of mankind". Under this aspect the
University for Friendship among Peoples
for African, Asian and Latin-American stu-
dents appears as an early step in the imple-
mentation of the international political aims
of Communism. The isolation of the students,
their association with only one university
during the entire duration of their long
studies as well as the admission of candidates
who generally have not reached university
maturity bring the students into a dan-
gerous dependence on intellectual "glebae ad-
scripti", thereby facilitating and consolidating
their ideological indoctrination. Since Rus-
sian is the only language used at the Uni-
versity one of the by-products is that a large
reservoir of teachers of the Russian language
and translators of Soviet-Communist propa-
ganda is created. The organization of the
students within the University into regional
groups also offers a possibility to prepare
the build-up of national Communist cadres
with the help of the Communist youth func-
tionaries who operate as "spokesmen" for
the regional groups.

Model and Centre of similar Institutions in other East bloc Countries

Although the University for Friendship
among Peoples has only existed for one year
and no assessment of its actual results and
effects is possible, it can be regarded already
today as a large-scale attempt at the creation
of a centre for the cultural-propagandistical
and subsequent political penetration of the
developing continents. It is already serving
as a model for similar institutions in other
Soviet bloc countries. China is planning a
similar special university in Shanghai; in
the Soviet Zone of Germany the State Se-
cretariat for University Affairs intends to
extend the FDJ Academy "Wilhelm Pieck"
in Bernau into a "University for Friendship
among Peoples" according to the plans of
its State Secretariat for Academies. Czecho-
Slovakia was the most recent Soviet-bloc
country which decided in September 1961
to establish a special university for students
from the development countries and for
Czech "development helpers". It is called
"University of 17 November" in memory of

the closing of all technical universities by the German occupation authorities on 17 November, 1939. Mr. Martinec, university professor and party ideologist, has been proposed as President, and Mr. Stepanec, Secretary of the Communist "International Students Federation", as Deputy President. The University which for the time being only con-

ducts preparatory courses in Czech and Slovakian will work to its full capacity of 3,000 students as from 1963. In contrast to the Lumumba-University in Moscow where Russian is the only language used in teaching, courses at Prague University are conducted not only in Czech but also in English and French.

Free China's Counter-attack Against the Communist Government of Mainland China

"The year 1963 will indeed be a very important year" - so Mr. Ku Cheng-kang wrote in his New Year's letter to me. "We earnestly hope to deliver all captive peoples from Communist enslavement".

The fight between the lawful government of China and the Mao Tse-tung clique continued, even after the latter, thanks to Soviet Russian aid, seized governmental power in mainland China. When the lawful government was forced to leave the mainland a number of small and also large military units remained behind there. They either set up bases in the mountains and from there harassed the Communist authorities, or else mingled with the population and encouraged the latter's resistance and also carried out acts of sabotage. The Communists meanwhile have been constantly attacking the off-shore islands Kinmen and Matsu opposite the Fukien coast.

During the past two years, as a result of the enforced collectivization of agriculture - and like everywhere else where Communist governments have introduced such measures, the population of the mainland has been obliged to endure a terrible shortage of foodstuffs. The Nationalist government seized this opportunity to send large quantities of rice, sugar, flour and other foodstuffs to the mainland population by means of balloons, aircraft and ships - in order to prove the advantages of a free economic life over a Communist economic system. Naturally, these consignments also included propaganda pamphlets and leaflets and appeals to engage in sabotage activity and in revolts. These appeals were not without a certain success. Here and there, the starving and extremely embittered population rose up in revolt against the Communist government.

When the internal political situation on mainland China had thus been prepared for an intervention, Red China as if at a given sign attacked India. This attack resulted in the so-called neutral states siding with India against Red China. As a result of the vigorous attitude of the United States of America,

Soviet Russia was to withdraw in disgrace from Cuba, and in order to postpone the outbreak of a third world war, since the time and the general political situation were unfavourable for such an undertaking, Soviet Russia did not offer help to Mao Tse-tung. Red China was thus left to rely on its own strength alone.

A more favourable opportunity could not have presented itself to the government of Free China. Last year the Committee of the Civic Organizations of the Republic of China in Support of the Struggle for Freedom behind the Iron Curtain already drafted the plans for the reconquest of the mainland. The government provided the financial pre-conditions for such action by raising the taxes and transport prices. The army trained special units and commandos for guerilla warfare.

Already on December 25, 1962, at the annual convention of the National Assembly, President Chiang Kai-shek said: "Combat means the augmentation and concentration of a united combat spirit, the organization of all our strength for the fight against the enemy's (Communist) evil forces and the launching of an all-out combat against the enemy in political, social, economic, cultural and military fields."

In his New Year's Day message President Chiang Kai-shek officially and publicly announced the counter-attack: "The Communist Bloc of Nations already beset by food shortages, confusion and frustration, now finds itself split by family quarrels, jealousies and ideological conflicts with such charges and counter-charges as 'defeatism', 'adventurism', 'revisionism', 'dogmatism', etc., flying back and forth. Marxism-Leninism is almost negated, the Communist bloc stands in danger of a serious schism, and Mao Tse-tung has been so degraded that his international position needs to be re-examined. On the mainland today there has been an upsurge of feelings against hunger, rigid control, and suppression. The prevailing demand there is for food, land, family life and freedom . . .

Mao Tse-tung himself has fallen deeper into Khrushchov's disfavour".

"We must muster strength in the benevolent and brave spirit of our revolutionary traditions, to prepare for our last struggle with Communism and to pave the way for national recovery and reconstruction . . . All our people must be actively prepared for the counter-offensive and national recovery and must stand ready to respond to anti-Communist uprisings whenever and wherever they may occur. We cannot afford to let such a fateful opportunity slip from our grip".

After describing the situation on the mainland President Chiang Kai-shek gave the command for a counter-attack: "Today I want to call on all our compatriots and youth in the free territories of Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu to accept the responsibility of saving our mainland brethren and of recovering our lost land. Everyone should be ready for actual combat duty at any moment. Everyone should be determined to build a new China based upon the Three Principles of the People".

The Communist government expects an offensive by sea, air and land to take place at any moment.

Actually, within a few days after President Chiang Kai-shek's speech numerous small but well-trained units and commandos invaded mainland China by sea, air and land routes. Official departments admitted that more than 1000 soldiers had started their operations on the mainland, and that they had established contact with local anti-Communist elements. "A number of guerilla warfare-orientated officers of the Chinese Armed Forces have been very successful in the establishment of secret bases on the mainland since they started stepping up their activities".

"The Chinese Communists have mobilized a total of 100,000 troops in their unsuccessful efforts to wipe out some nine batches of these guerilla fighters from Taiwan and have suffered over 700 casualties in the 'undertaking'."

According to official reports, the forces of the Nationalist government who are operating on mainland China had carried out the following large-scale sabotage actions by January 7th:

"Destruction of the Communist Government 81st Goldmine's power plant and of its goldwashing stations. More than 100 Communist soldiers guarding the mine and six Russian advisers were killed in the explosion, which could be heard within a radius of 10 miles. All the agents sent from Taiwan on this mission returned safely."

"Destruction of the Communist dockyard in Chung Shan Bay".

"Destruction of an ammunition depot at the Huang-pu Wharf. Local freedom fighters

destroyed a warehouse fully loaded with ammunition and three other warehouses. Sixty Communist guards were killed."

"Destruction of a bridge on the Ta Yung Highway and, on the following day, of another highway bridge near Changtiwei".

Have these guerilla operations been carried out with the friendly co-operation of the government of the USA? Have the guerillas been trained by the Americans, as the Communist press stresses? These questions are constantly discussed in the newspapers. Official American circles naturally deny these statements, but it is a known fact that the Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Pacific Fleet, Admiral Harry D. Felt, recently said that "the anti-Communist guerilla operations on the mainland would be a source of great worry for Mao Tse-tung". And one thing certainly is obvious, — namely that the government of Free China regards the time as "opportune for positive action against the Reds"; and as one prominent member of leading government circles told me, the government of Free China is even prepared to recover the mainland by forcing the outbreak of a third world war if necessary. It is anticipated that a revolution of the kind which occurred in Hungary might well break out in Red China. All one knows about the Hungarian revolution in October 1956 is that the entire people rose up in a body against the Communist government, but one is not aware in Red China of the exact preconditions and the direct cause of that revolution. In my book on the Hungarian revolution I have tried to explain how many coincidences combined to determine the outbreak of the revolution. The bitter feelings of the population of Red China are undoubtedly as great as were those of the Hungarian people in 1956. Will Mao Tse-tung's government make the same mistakes that were made by the Gerö government? One must always take coincidences into account in political situations.

The Nationalist government is determined to make use of every possibility which might lead to the recovery of the mainland. Will Russia abandon Red China? This is hardly likely. Just as she refused to surrender Hungary in 1956, so, too, she will refuse to allow China to be excluded from the Russian colonial empire. The Nationalist Chinese government is well aware of this fact, and it is also aware that once mainland China has been recovered, the entire Russian imperium will sooner or later collapse. It is not in China's interests to share a joint frontier extending for thousands of miles with Russia, who only lusts for expansion. For this reason China is also fighting for the liberation of all the other peoples who have been subjugated by Russian colonialism.

Taipei, April 1963

L. Katona

Why Refugees?

Not a month, not even a day passes without the arrival of a refugee from one of the Communist occupied countries. In West Germany and in South Korea this has already become so normal an incident that people hardly pay any attention to it. Living close to the source of terror they know only too well why their friends and relations in the East one fine morning decide to leave everything they possess to make a desperate bid for freedom. All over the world the newspapers tell the fantastic stories of these refugees. Only a month ago a Soviet citizen escaped from his ship to Australia, shortly afterwards another Soviet seaman arrived in Calcutta, asking for political asylum. Amongst these refugees are seamen, simple farmers, labourers, but there are also professors, artists, scientists, diplomats, engineers and even high-ranking politicians. Why do these people leave their countries? Why do they prefer the frugal life of a refugee to staying in their own motherland? The reasons for this interesting phenomenon are many. There is first of all

Terrorism.

In all these countries the Communist regime has seized power against the will of the people. Communism has been introduced, either by a revolution, as in Russia and Cuba, or, by an army of occupation, as in Ukraine, Poland, Georgia, Hungary, Czechia, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania and Korea. In all these countries the government knows quite well that it does not possess the trust and the approval of its people. Consequently only one way to stay in power remains open: that of sheer terrorism. In most countries the number of Communists is below 3 per cent and this tiny minority can protect itself by nothing but sheer brutal force. Without it they would soon be thrown out by the enraged population as the cases of East Germany and Hungary show. In these countries terrorism has become a Dogma of the State.

"The altar lamp of terror must never be extinguished; the people must have fear; it is the duty of the police and the army to see that the people have fear . . ."
(Pijade, member of the Tito Polit-Bureau, in: Bouscaren, "Imperial Communism" p. 135.)

"In Communist revolutions, terror is an inescapable condition for further development and it provides for progress . . ." (Milovan Djilas in: "The New Class".)

Under these conditions any form of freedom is impossible. No freedom of press, no freedom of speech, no freedom of religion -

the state owns each individual citizen's body and soul. In these "People's Democracies" every person is under continuous observation, be it at work or be it at home. In every single house throughout the country there is one person who notes down whatever happens, who visits whom, what time the visitor arrives, what time he departs. A similar watchman rules over every street and there is, furthermore, the local police, the C.I.D. and the Party. At work it is even worse. There every citizen is under the constant observation of the representatives of the Workers' Union, the peoples in charge of political education, the representatives of the local and the district party, the economic police force, and in addition there are the people from the Central Secretariate of the Party which has its representatives everywhere. Each citizen is bound by law to report his observations about fellow-citizens immediately to the next police station. At school the children are brought up to believe that it is virtuous to report even their own parents should they fail to toe the Party line. In addition, there is that mysterious three-fold file-system in which every person is neatly recorded, and, since every citizen has an identity card in a certain colour, he can not travel freely within his own country. Each journey must first of all be reported to the police and permission must be obtained. Surrounded on all sides by spies, doubtful friends and open enemies the citizens of these "People's Democracies" do indeed feel the "lamp of terror"! Even the factories are surrounded by barbed wire, and trained police dogs and heavily armed guards take care that no worker leaves his place before the official end of working hours.

The second reason for the influx of refugees into the West is the

Confusion between Theory and Practice

It is undoubtedly true that a certain number of people have become Communists from idealistic reasons. The persons have been wholeheartedly prepared to serve the cause of Communism. But it is not long before their eyes are opened to the true nature of the aims of Communism, which they had previously considered to be so admirable. For as soon as the Communist Party succeeds in taking over, even the most cherished party dogmas suddenly lose their meaning. The young idealist, seduced by noble sentiments, has no other choice but to violate his own conscience. Nothing is left of that greater freedom to

which he aspired; day by day he can see the power of the police and of the state increasing, and his initial idealism is soon strangled.

To begin with, he is told by the Party bosses that all the atrocities he witnesses are just a temporary necessity in order to exterminate the enemies of the people. But mysteriously the number of enemies seems to increase with every new execution, and to justify its terrorism the Party has to begin its great campaign of re-valuation. The first great forger in the history of Communism was no one else but Lenin. Lenin, who had started the revolution in order "to open the doors of the large prison in which the Russian people were enslaved" and who, far from opening it, had only closed it more tightly, had to make considerable changes in the original teachings of Karl Marx, who was a known enemy of Russian imperialism. The second forger was Stalin who needed some sort of justification for his innumerable murders, and he was replaced by the latest and probably most accomplished forger of all: Khrushchov. Khrushchov not only banned and re-edited Stalin's books; he went a step further and denounced the once almost deified leader of murder, treason and madness, which is an interesting phenomenon if one remembers the fact that he himself was one of Stalin's most faithful assistants in the great purges. His latest addition to an already boring well-known story was his recent advice to his fellow comrades to adopt the good points of Capitalism in order to further the advance of the Communist ideology.

Under these circumstances it is hardly surprising if nobody is any longer interested in the initial ideals of Communism. The individual has sunk to the level of a mere tool in the hands of the new Imperialists. He obeys without conviction and since he has nothing to believe in, nothing to look forward to, it is hardly surprising that even the efforts of his labours are not very fruitful. And here we come to the third reason for the flood of refugees:

The Economic Failure of the Communist Revolution.

Without exception Communism has not been able to raise the living-standard of the people. In all Communist-ruled countries food has become the main problem. China spends milliards on imports of food every year, Bulgaria is in a similar position, and in Rumania, once the granary of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, bread is still rationed. Only the regular grain imports from the U.S.A. have so far prevented a famine in Yugoslavia and Poland.

In the Soviet Union the situation is not much better. The Communists have, during the last 45 years, not even been able to raise

the same number of cattle which were bred during the Czarist regime, and one must not forget that the pre-revolutionary Russian empire had to feed only 130 million people, whereas nowadays the population has gone up to 215 million.

To keep their people amused the old Romans invented a shrewd and useful policy: they believed in "bread and games" - and in this order! Since the last 45 years the Soviet citizens have seen lots of "games" but very little "bread". They have seen sputniks, demonstrations, uniforms, tanks, parades, tractors and music-bands. But the signals the sputniks send into outer space will hardly fill their empty bellies.

The "consumer goods" which Mr. Khrushchov boasts about consist exclusively of television sets and radios: everything else is still scarce. The "Iron Curtain" is therefore a dire necessity. The Soviet citizen, once in a foreign country, begins to doubt the sincerity of his "government", because abroad he realises that in those Capitalist societies the worker already possesses what he has so far only had promised to him for the future. He also sees, with disbelief at first, that in those countries there are no

Spies.

Since the Soviet Union came into existence a merciless war has been going on behind the scenes. All the general public ever learns are some obscure reports about mysterious cases of kidnapping, poisoning or murder. This "invisible war" is mainly waged between the Soviet Union and the refugees, and the Soviet Union spends almost 2 milliard dollars per annum to support an army of more than 500,000 trained spies.

The war against the refugees is based, if one may say so, on personal experience. It was after all the "refugee" Lenin who started the Russian revolution. The downfall of the Czar was first of all decided abroad and only later on executed in the motherland, a downfall which in reality did nothing but replace one police state by another police state. For this reason the refugees have to be persecuted and the means employed are manifold.

The most popular and also the most dangerous one is that of the "false" refugees: specially trained Russian agents "smuggled", over the border, packed in boxes, hidden under railway carriages, often suffering from genuine wounds they claim to have got in an "encounter" with the border police. These disguised refugees have done immense harm. It was for example a Hungarian policeman who, disguised as a refugee, obtained the photos of almost every person who fled from Hungary after the last uprising, by simply getting the job of a photographer at the main reception camp for refugees. Another case is that of a Rumanian policeman

who succeeded in obtaining the job of a secretary to the Catholic Mission for Refugees and was thus in a position to collect valuable information for his own government. Some of the politicians who escaped from Communist-ruled countries have been murdered with the help of disguised refugees who are also responsible for a large number of abductions in towns like Rome, Paris, Munich, Berlin and Vienna.

Though the refugees have by now gained much experience in the method of the "invisible war", from time to time the Soviet Union succeeds in introducing a false refugee into their centres, who, since he has unlimited financial resources at his command, can indeed prove dangerous.

A special sub-group of Communist spies are the

Adventurers.

These people have turned to spying purely for the sake of excitement. Their desire for adventure is skilfully exploited by the Communist regime, which, however, does not fail to take proper precautions. Nobody can leave the country who is not an acknowledged Communist, and even then such a departure

is only possible on certain conditions. He must have no member of his family abroad, he must never have written or received a letter from a country beyond the Iron Curtain and, if he is married, his wife and his children will be kept behind as hostages. If for example a member of the diplomatic corps fails to return to the Soviet Union, his whole family is automatically executed, and similarly any unsuccessful attempt to cross the border is punishable by law.

In ancient times a slave who escaped could hope for freedom; the modern slave in the Iron Curtain countries rarely has such a hope. This is probably what the Communists mean when they speak of "progress"!

Taking all this into consideration, it is hardly surprising that not a day passes without a refugee from one of the Communist occupied countries. The desire for freedom, for a life without terror is stronger than electrified barbed wire, police dogs and mines. To escape from one of these modern hells thousands of people are prepared to risk their lives, driven by nothing but the desire which is immanent in every human being – to live in freedom with dignity and self-respect.

Russian Bolsheviks Blow Up Ukrainian Uspenski Church In Ternopil, West Ukraine

According to a report in the Ukrainian daily "Svoboda", which is published in New York, news has been received there from Ukraine through a private source of information that the Uspenski Church in Ternopil, which was famous throughout the entire province of Podolia as a place of pilgrimage, was recently blown up by the Russian Bolsheviks. At the same time, the belfry of the church, which in appearance closely resembled the belfry of the famous Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kyiv, was also blown up. According to the same report, the cemetery adjoining the church was razed to the ground. This cemetery contained the graves of soldiers who had taken part in the Napoleonic wars and of prominent citizens of Ternopil. The Russian Bolsheviks also destroyed the chapel in the cemetery, where services were held every year on the feast-days of St. Mary and where a miraculous image of the Sorrowing Holy Virgin was displayed on such occasions. The original Uspenski Church, which was built of wood, was erected at the beginning of the 17th century (about 1630). In 1836 this church was removed and a stone church was erected in its stead. This edifice was extended in 1935–36 by the Ukrainian Redemptorist Order. Every year thousands of pilgrims from all over Podolia and even from the remote Ukrainian territories which prior to the first world war were under Russian rule used to visit the church during the Uspenski celebrations.

It is clearly evident from this news, which has reached us from behind the Iron Curtain, that the ruthless persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Galicia continues, and that recent events in the ecclesiastical sector in Ukraine (the release of the Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan, Archbishop J. Slipy, from imprisonment in a concentration camp in Siberia, etc.) are by no means indicative of a "thaw". And this holds good for both the Ukrainian Churches, – the Catholic as well as the Orthodox Church.

New Resolution on Captive Nations Committee

Following is the text of a new resolution calling for the establishment of a Special Committee on the Captive Nations in the House of Representatives, introduced on January 9, 1963 by the Hon. Daniel J. Flood of Pennsylvania. A similar resolution (H. Res. 15) was introduced by the Hon. Edward J. Derwinski, Republican Congressman from Illinois.

Whereas on the issue of colonialism the blatant hypocrisy of imperialist Moscow has not been adequately exposed by us in the United Nations and elsewhere; and

Whereas two Presidential proclamations designating Captive Nations Week summon the American people "to study the plight of the Soviet-dominated nations and to recommit themselves to the support of the just aspirations of the people of those captive nations"; and

Whereas the nationwide observances in the first anniversary of Captive Nations Week clearly demonstrated the enthusiastic response of major sections of our society to this Presidential call; and

Whereas following the passage of the Captive Nations Week resolution in 1959 by the Congress of the United States and again during the annual observances of Captive Nations Week, Moscow has consistently displayed to the world its profound fear of growing free world knowledge of and interest in all of the captive nations, and particularly the occupied non-Russian colonies within the Soviet Union; and

Whereas the indispensable advancement of such basic knowledge and interest alone can serve to explode current myths on Soviet unity, Soviet national economy and monolithic military prowess and openly to expose the depths of imperialist totalitarianism and economic colonialism throughout the Red Russian Empire, especially inside the so-called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; and

Whereas, for example, it was not generally recognized, and thus not advantageously made use of, that in point of geography, history, and demography, the now famous U-2 plane flew mostly over captive non-Russian territories in the Soviet Union; and

Whereas in the fundamental conviction that the central issue of our times is imperialist totalitarian slavery versus democratic national freedom, we commence to win the psychopolitical cold war by assembling and forthrightly utilizing all the truths and facts pertaining to the enslaved condition of the peoples of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czecho-Slovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Vietnam, Cuba, and other subjugated nations; and

Whereas the enlightening forces generated by such knowledge and understanding of the fate of these occupied and captive non-Russian nations would also give encouragement to latent liberal elements in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic - which contains Russia itself - and would help bring to the oppressed Russian people their overdue independence from centuries-long authoritarian rule and tyranny; and

Whereas these weapons of truth, fact, and ideas would counter effectively and overwhelm and defeat Moscow's worldwide propaganda campaign in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, and specifically among the newly independent and underdeveloped nations and states; and

Whereas it is incumbent upon us as free citizens to appreciatively recognize that the captive nations in the aggregate constitute not only a primary deterrent against a hot global war and further overt aggression by Moscow's totalitarian imperialism,

but also a prime positive means for the advance of world freedom in a struggle which in totalistic form is psychopolitical; and

Whereas in pursuit of a diplomacy of truth we cannot for long avoid bringing into question Moscow's legalistic pretensions of "non-interference in the internal affairs of states" and other contrivances which are acutely subject to extermination under the light of morally founded legal principles and political, economic, and historical evidence; and

Whereas in the implementing spirit of our own congressional Captive Nations Week resolution and the four Presidential proclamations it is in our own strategic interest and that of the non-totalitarian free world to undertake a continuous and unremitting study of all the captive nations for the purpose of developing new approaches and fresh ideas for victory in the psychopolitical cold war: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That there is hereby established a committee which shall be known as the Special Committee on the Captive Nations. The committee shall be composed of ten Members of the House, of whom not more than six shall be members of the same political party, to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Vacancies in the membership of the committee shall not affect the power of the remaining members to execute the functions of the committee, and shall be filled in the same manner as in the case of the original selection.

The committee shall select a chairman and a vice-chairman from amongst its members. In the absence of the chairman, the vice-chairman shall act as chairman.

A majority of the committee shall constitute a quorum except that a lesser number, to be fixed by the committee, shall constitute a quorum for the purpose of administering oaths and taking sworn testimony.

The committee shall conduct an inquiry into and a study of all the captive non-Russian nations, which includes those in the Soviet Union and Asia, and also of the Russian people, with particular reference to the moral and legal status of Red totalitarian control over them, facts concerning conditions existing in these nations, and means by which the United States can assist them by peaceful processes in their present plight and in their aspiration to regain their national and individual freedoms.

The committee shall make such interim reports to the House of Representatives as it deems proper, and shall make its first comprehensive report of the results of its inquiry and study, together with its recommendations, not later than January 31, 1964.

The committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such places and times within or outside the United States, to hold such hearings, to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, to administer such oaths, and to take such testimony as it deems advisable.

The committee may employ and fix the compensation of such experts, consultants, and other employees as it deems necessary in the performance of its duties.

Excerpts from the article by Prince Niko Nakashidze entitled "Hon. Dean Rusk versus U. S. Congress" have been reprinted in the Congressional Records of March 6, 1963 - A 1207 / A 1208.

This article was an answer to the attitude adopted by U. S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk with regard to the problem of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union. It discussed and justified the rights of these peoples to the restoration of their state independence from the point of view of history, international and constitutional law. The fact that excerpts from this article have now been published in the Congressional Records clearly proves how seriously the problems of our peoples are taken in the USA.

Congressman Delaney Agrees to Support the Flood Bill on Special Committee on Captive Nations

New York, N. Y. (Special). The Hon. James J. Delaney, Democratic Congressman from Astoria, N. Y., stated that he will vote for the establishment of a special committee on the captive nations, when the Flood bill, H. R. 14 providing for such a committee, is reported by Congressman Smith, Chairman of the House Rules Committee. Congressman Delaney is a member of the House Rules Committee, which has to approve the bill before it is submitted to the House of Representatives for final approval.

In a two-hour conversation with a delegation which met recently, a fruitful exchange of views on the captive nations was held between Congressman Delaney and members of the delegation, which resulted in Mr. Delaney's firm statement to the effect that he will support the Flood bill; members of the delegation which met with Congressman Delaney were: Rev. B. Andreyschuk, pastor of the Holy Cross Ukrainian Catholic Church in Astoria, Joseph Lesawyer, president of the Ukrainian National Association, Stephan J. Jarema, executive director of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, John Shamen, commander of Astoria county Catholic War Veterans, and Nicholas Rywak, of the Astoria Committee for Captive Nations.

The Astoria Committee for Captive Nations under the chairmanship of Mr. J. Shamen has procured 5,000 signatures on a petition to Congressman Delaney to which the latter responded favorably. The text of this petition appears below.

Committee on Captive Nations in the House

We, the signatories of this petition, are your constituents and many of us have supported you in the past elections. Your opposition to the establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives which would study the religious and national persecution as well as colonial exploitation, genocide and other atrocities committed by the Russian Communists in countries under their domination is of grave concern to us all.

It is assumed that your negative stand on H. R. 211 which calls for the creation of the said committee was made on the basis of an unfavorable recommendation submitted by the Secretary of State in this connection on August 22 and December 27, 1961, to the Chairman of the House Rules Committee of which you are also a member. Hence you were then convinced of acting in the best interests of the United States because of an allegedly authoritative advice of the State Department.

Yet, to err is only human; and our distinguished Secretary of State and his advisors are no exception to this rule. Consequently, all of their arguments in respect to H. R. 211 were proven to be in error. You will find a point-by-point treatment of them in the *Cong-*

ressional Record of May 31, 1962, and in the records of the Rules Committee. For our purpose it suffices to say that the State Department admitted its errors by having no objection, in principle, to a decision of the House Subcommittee on Europe to hold hearings on nations held in captivity by the Russian Communists. Furthermore, the State Department cooperated to the extent of sending its Assistant Secretary for European Affairs to testify at these hearings.

We welcome the Subcommittee's hearings as a sign of realizing that in order to protect our way of life and country from the Soviet Russian threat effectively it is not enough to have strong military defenses which alone constitute our largest national expenditure item. We have begun to see in the Captive Nations our real friends and potential allies about whom our knowledge is so limited and confused that it merits our outmost serious attention. However, we are deeply convinced that these hearings are no substitute for a systematic and documented study, especially, of those Captive Nations within the USSR itself. Therefore, as citizens of this great nation and as participants in her Government of the people and by the people, we are duty-bound to do everything in our power to make possible such serious study within the framework of the proposed committee which alone could give this matter the prominence and urgency which it deserves.

It is evident that the Subcommittee on Europe cannot coordinate a serious study of all Captive Nations because its jurisdiction does not extend to those situated in Asia. Furthermore, it would be physically impossible for this or any other committee or subcommittee, all of which are already overburdened with heavy work schedules, to undertake a thorough study of each of the 22 Captive Nations within a reasonable period of time.

The Congressional Record is full of authoritative statements of members of our academic and political world to the effect that igno-

rance in respect to the Captive Nations is rampant in this country and extends to such usually well-informed agencies as our State Department where correct information is indispensable in formulating an effective American foreign policy. Hence, we respectfully urge you to help us fight this ignorance by voting in favor of an early establishment of a special Committee on Captive Nations. We know that after a careful consideration you will do this for the sake of preserving our own freedom and as a sign for hope for those to whom freedom is presently denied.

Very sincerely yours, etc.

A.B.N. President Stetzko in U.S.A.

During his stay in New York A.B.N. President Jaroslaw Stetzko conferred with the ambassadors of various nations who are accredited to the United Nations. They included the ambassadors of Free China, Canada, Australia and Japan, Adlai Stevenson, U.S. Ambassador and former candidate for the office of President of the USA, as well as the ambassador-observers of Germany, Korea, and other countries.

Political Meeting in New Haven adopts Resolution on Russian Colonialism and Genocide

On March 23, 1963, A.B.N. President Jaroslaw Stetzko gave a lecture entitled "The Place of Ukraine in the World" at a political meeting in New Haven, USA. Subsequently the participators in this meeting unanimously adopted a resolution regarding Russian colonialism and, in particular, Russian genocide.

This resolution states that the citizens of the town of New Haven condemn Russian colonialism in Ukraine and in other countries enslaved by Moscow and that they request the 24-member commission on the investigation of colonialism in the United Nations to take up the question of Russian colonialism. In addition, the citizens of New Haven demand that the USSR and its satellites should be excluded from the United Nations and that its place should be taken by the national liberation centres of the enslaved peoples in the USSR and beyond.

The resolution then cites the facts of the genocide and other murders committed at the direct instructions of the government of the USSR, headed by Khrushchov. Further, the resolution demands that the facts of the assassination of Stephan Bandera and Dr. Lev Rebet should be submitted to a special commission of the United Nations for discussion and that these crimes committed by the Kremlin should be investigated by the International Court of Justice at The Hague. An appeal is addressed to the German Federal Republic to afford protection to the Ukrainian freedom fighters living in the territory

of the Federal Republic. The resolution stresses that the government of the German Federal Republic should send a note of protest to the government of the USSR demanding that such criminal acts of murder should cease.

With regard to the activity of the A.B.N. the participators of the meeting in New Haven appeal to the entire Ukrainian public in exile to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the founding of the A.B.N. this year in an appropriate manner. It is pointed out in the resolution that the activity of the A.B.N. has acquired a special historical significance for the subjugated peoples and that for this reason all the persons and communities concerned should celebrate this anniversary by various functions, press conferences, and lectures, etc., and should, above all, organize collections in order to support and assist the work and the fight for freedom of the A.B.N. In addition, the said resolution deals with a number of vital problems which are connected with the fight for freedom of the enslaved peoples.

* * *

A.B.N. President Jaroslaw Stetzko in Chicago

During his visit to Chicago, A.B.N. President Jaroslaw Stetzko had talks with the well-known American lawyer, Prof. Dr. L. Kutner, the author of the sensational book "The World's Habeas Corpus" and chairman of the International Jurists' Commission,

who has been proposed for a Nobel prize award. Mr. Stetzko also visited Congressman Charles Kersten in Milwaukee. On his return to New York Mr. Stetzko conferred with the President of the American Organization for the Protection of Human Rights, Mr. R. Baldwin. He subsequently paid a visit to the Italian Ambassador to the United Nations and also had individual talks with various journalists accredited to the United Nations. For the purpose of furthering intensified co-

operation Mr. Stetzko had talks with the representatives of the Bulgarian National Front, with Hungarian representatives of the A.B.N. in America as well as with Cossack representatives, and also with Turkestanian and Azerbaijani friends in Washington.

During the talk which Mr. Stetzko had with the Canadian Ambassador to the United Nations, the chairman of the League for the Liberation of Ukraine, Dr. Roman Malashchuk, of Toronto, was also present.

A.B.N. President in Pittsburgh

On Friday, April 19, 1963, the President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A. B. N.) and former Prime Minister of Ukraine, Jaroslaw Stetzko, visited the Ukrainian colony in Pittsburgh. To mark this occasion the executive committee of the Organization for the Defence of Four Freedoms of Ukraine arranged a number of political conferences. They included a press conference at which Mr. Stetzko answered questions put to him by representatives of two American newspapers and of a number of television stations.

Mr. Stetzko was also interviewed in a television programme, which the Pittsburgh station then relayed.

Joseph Barr, Mayor of Pittsburgh, received Mr. Stetzko in a special audience and presented him with a symbolical key of the town of Pittsburgh.

On Sunday, April 21, 1963, Mr. Stetzko took part in the Ukrainian broadcast programme "The Songs of Ukraine" and conveyed the greetings of A. B. N. to the Ukrainian community in West Pennsylvania. On the same day he also held a lecture at a public meeting in Pittsburgh.

Ukraine — the First Victim of Russian Aggression

During the celebrations held to mark the 45th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence and union of all the territories of Ukraine 76 legislators of the USA (on January 25, 1963) adopted resolutions in which they advocated the state independence of Ukraine. They stressed that the Ukrainian people by their own will and power established their independent united Ukrainian state, but that this state was the first victim of Russian Communist imperialism and of the Russian aggression which had such disastrous consequences for the rest of the world. The resolutions adopted by the U. S. legislators, Congressmen and Senators, likewise emphasize that the Ukrainian people have by no means abandoned their fight for the restoration of their country's rightful independence, and add that Ukraine's independence would be a decisive factor in securing lasting peace in the world.

The logical conclusion to be drawn by the

U. S. government from these resolutions on the part of American legislators and representatives of political life in the USA has, however, so far not been put into practice.

* * *

This January, at the opening of the 88th Congress, two outstanding members of the U. S. Congress inspired by Shevchenko's immortal belief and dedication to freedom, introduced two resolutions calling for the issuance of a "Champion of Liberty" postage stamp in 1964 in honor of Taras Shevchenko. These resolutions were introduced by the Hon. Edward J. Derwinski of Illinois (H. J. Res. 165) and Hon. Thaddeus J. Dulski of New York (H. J. Res. 174).

One way to honor Shevchenko and the heritage which he left for the Ukrainian people and all other freedom-loving peoples of the world is to stand behind these projects in honor of Shevchenko: support the fund raising campaign for his statue and the Derwinski-Dulski resolution on the issuance of a Shevchenko "Champion of Liberty" postage stamp in 1964.

From Behind the Iron Curtain



As was reported in the Hungarian paper "Kisalföld", which appears in Győr (Raab), a Hungarian Communist court sentenced the accused Istvan Aradi, formerly a leading functionary in the Ministry of Mining and Engineering, to death on account of "espionage for West Germany" and another former official of the same Ministry, Rezso Menyhart, to life-imprisonment on account of complicity.



Within a short time Vilna has once more been the scene of a second terrorist trial, which ended in the death sentence for nine of the accused - Kjamsura, Usjatis, Knirimas, Gajzauskas, Davalga, Plantschunas, Tintjaris, Kolka, and Antanas Impulavitschius, now living in the USA. They were accused of having murdered Soviet citizens "during the Nazi Occupation". The Lithuanian Elta news agency writes: "It can be assumed that some of the persons sentenced fought as partisans against the Soviet regime after the war, were arrested, sentenced and then amnestied, and that they have now only been called to account because the Soviet regime wishes to divert the attention of the discontented population from the general economic difficulties". - As was reported by the Moscow news agency TASS from Vilna on November 22, 1962, eight of the accused were executed the day the sentence was pronounced.



After a trial lasting ten days, the district court in Banska Bystricia sentenced the accused Ladislaus Niznansky, now in Munich and not present at the trial, to death and 13 other accused to prison terms ranging from 5 to 16 years. They are alleged to have belonged to a Slovak detachment which was under the command of the "Edelweiss" S.S. division and to have carried out "operations against partisans" during the so-called Slovak "people's revolt" (Communist partisan action organized by Khrushchov) in

1944 and at the beginning of 1945. It is interesting to note that the accused included workers and miners and an officer of the "Czecho-Slovakian People's Army".

*

Slovak Author Tido Gaspar 70 Years Old

The Slovak author, diplomat and politician Tido Gaspar, who has been in a Communist prison in Slovakia for some time, was 70 years old on March 7, 1963. Tido Gaspar is one of the greatest living Slovak writers. His works include short stories and novels dealing with town-life. He did not occupy himself actively with politics until he was already well-known and esteemed as a writer in his native country. As a politician he represented a definite Slovak patriotic and uncompromising anti-Communist line. During the period of independence of Slovakia he was first of all Ambassador of the Slovak Republic in Berne from 1939 to 1941. He was subsequently appointed head of the Information Department of the Slovak government in Bratislava. He held this office until the Red Russian army invaded the capital of Slovakia. After the war Austria extradited him to the Communists in Slovakia. On account of his anti-Communist political and publicistic activity he was sentenced in a mock trial by a Communist "People's Court of Justice" in Bratislava to 20 years' imprisonment.

The capital of Slovakia plans the erection of a Lenin monument. It will most likely be placed either in the former Hlinka Square in Bratislava, where formerly Stalin's monument stood, or else in front of the building of the former Foreign Office of the Slovakian Republic.



Moscow's Governor In Trans-Caucasia

The Georgian Communist Party organ "Kommunisti" and various other papers recently reported that a Trans-Caucasian Bureau had been founded for the political and economic co-operation of the Trans-Caucasian countries - Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. Moscow has appointed the Secretary of the Party organization of the city of Moscow, G. Botchkarev, Chairman of this Bureau. All

the state powers of these countries are thus subordinated to this Bureau, which has the supreme control and leadership of these Soviet Republics, and Moscow's envoy G. Botchkarev is therefore Moscow's governor in Trans-Caucasia, as in tsarist times. The state authority of these Soviet Republics, which in any case was already restricted, has thus now been curtailed completely; these countries have now officially become administrative provinces of Moscow, and their governments are now merely administrative authorities and their members, so-called Ministers, merely paid civil servants. Once again this is an example of Khrushchov's "liberalization policy". The russification of the non-Russian countries of the Soviet Union continues as before!



TURKISTAN

Economic Fiasco and Chaos in Kazakhstan

The new cultivated region in Kazakhstan, which Khrushchov intended as a wheat base for the USSR, has suffered another economic fiasco. The virgin lands of Kazakhstan have indeed become a grave and alarming problem for the USSR.

On March 21, 1963, the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, Jussupov, held a speech in Alma Ata in which he gave his audience a grim picture of the economic crisis and chaos in Kazakhstan.

In 1962, for instance, the trade organizations in the Republic of Kazakhstan were obliged to dismiss 19,000 employees on account of theft and various other offences. At the same time, the state also suffered a loss of more than 13 million roubles owing to the incapability of the persons employed in the co-operatives.

Jussupov stressed the various inadequacies in agriculture and industry and stated that in the course of the past ten years 29 million sheep and goats, that is to say a number which now equals the present stock of animals in Kazakhstan, had perished there as a result of negligence and wastefulness. In the economic sector more and more money is being wasted. During the past three years alone, 544 million roubles have been wasted.

It is interesting to note that the Kazakhstan paper "Pravda" in its edition of March 22, 1963, openly admits that chaotic conditions prevail in Kazakhstan and writes as follows: "The Party functionaries have wrought great chaos in the economic life of the Republic. These rogues, thieves and corrupt individuals wasted more than 7 million roubles of the state funds in the year 1962 . . . 18,479 such persons have already been dismissed."

The "Pravda" then quotes the following striking examples: "A local secretary of the Party devoted most of his time to playing cards and was in the habit of frequently playing cards with the director of a concern who, in order to pay his gambling debts, simply removed large sums of money from his concern". This is not the only case of its kind, for "playing cards for large sums of money has begun to spread throughout the country like an epidemic".

Another Party functionary by the name of Polimbetov, who had been appointed chairman of an election commission during the elections, failed to attend the meetings of this commission since he had no interest whatever in the elections.

In view of such conditions it is therefore hardly surprising if Party functionaries who so far had been regarded as trustworthy fall a victim to the chaotic system in Kazakhstan. The first victim of this system has been Tichon I. Sokolov, who three years ago, at the age of 49, received a key-position in Kazakhstan. At a meeting held on February 21, 1963, under the chairmanship of the member of the Party Bureau of the USSR, Frolov Koslov, it was ascertained that Sokolov had committed serious faults in supervising and controlling the cultivation of the new regions in Kazakhstan, which should normally have yielded four times as many crops for delivery to the state.

Incidentally, these regions would never have yielded the planned harvest quotas even if cultivation had been effectively supervised and controlled, since they have constantly been threatened by drought and there is a serious shortage of the necessary agricultural machines and tractor-drivers.

Koslov accused Sokolov of having adopted various measures at his own discretion without asking the advice of his colleagues, and said that he had convinced himself personally of conditions in his region on very rare occasions.

Thus Sokolov's career ended in the same way as that of his predecessor, Nikolai I. Belajev, the former member of the Presidium of the Communist Party of the USSR, who was removed from office after he had endeavoured to fulfil Khrushchov's plan in the newly cultivated regions of Kazakhstan. The most recent attempt of the Party to cope with unfavourable climatic conditions and unsatisfactory supervision of work in these regions is the appointment of Fedor S. Kolomyjetz to the post of chairman of the agricultural section of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan.

As a member of the NKVD in the 1930's, Kolomyjetz has previously held a leading position in the foodstuffs delivery sector for twenty years.

In the opinion of leading experts of the Bolshevik administration the harvest depends above all on the machines supplied to the 1700 sovkhozes in these regions. Each of them consists on an average of about 30,000 hectares of wheat, but there are only 170 tractors and 120 combiners available.

All efforts on the part of the Bolsheviks to enforce a system of mediaeval slave-labour will prove of no avail, as long as the agricultural workers are not interested in devoting their energies to tasks that are obviously hopeless.



Bishop Hopko reported Alive in Communist Prison

According to the Italian newspaper *Il Tempo* of February 26, 1963, the Most Rev. Vasyl Hopko, Auxiliary Bishop of Bishop Pavlo Goydych, reportedly tortured to death by the Communists, is alive in a prison in Leopoldovo, a town about 60 kilometers northeast of Bratislava, capital of Slovakia.

Bishop Hopko was arrested by the Communists in 1950 when he opposed and resisted the liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Czecho-Slovakia, specifically the Priashiv diocese, which had 311 priests and about 321,000 faithful. At that time Moscow sent a Russian Orthodox Bishop, Alexey Dekhtiarov, who tried to persuade the two Ukrainian Catholic bishops to submit to Russian Orthodoxy, but when they refused, they were arrested. In January, 1951, Bishop Goydych was condemned to life imprisonment; he died in the Leopoldovo prison on July 19, 1960. Bishop Hopko was kept in a concentration camp, and in 1952 he was tried on some unrevealed charges, and nothing was heard of him since that time, until now when he was reliably reported to be in the Leopoldovo prison.

According to the Kyiv daily "Pravda Ukrainy", a lengthy trial was conducted in Chernovitz, which has belonged to Ukraine since the end of the war, against 15 inhabitants of the town who had allegedly been engaging in smuggling and speculations and had also been hoarding money, precious stones and foreign currency. Six of the accused, including the alleged "leader of the gang", 81-year old A. Bronnstein, were sentenced to death by shooting. The remaining accused were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. All the accused are Jews. Whether the sentences were executed is not known.

Executions in Kyiv and Lviv

On Tuesday, April 16, 1963, West European press agencies and the Moscow news agency

TASS reported that 8 textile workers in Lviv had been executed for having allegedly stolen goods to the value of 2 million roubles.

A day earlier the Moscow Bolshevik press reported that a "court" in Kyiv had sentenced 10 Soviet citizens to death for having allegedly been guards at the concentration camp in Sobibur during the German occupation of Ukraine. The accused "had lain in hiding for twenty years until they were now discovered by a Bolshevik officer who had been a prisoner in the said concentration camp".

The Moscow "Pravda" of April 6, 1963, reported that the chairman of the Shevchenko rayon in Kyiv, M. Kuz, had been sentenced to death by shooting on account of corruption in allotting "dwelling-space" to people. In its edition of April 5th the same paper stated that B. Borisov and A. Borysenko had also been shot for having carried out a raid on the food supply depot No. 16 in the town of Blahovichtshenske and having seriously wounded the guard of the depot Jazlovetz.

The Bolshevik press has recently been reporting more and more cases in which persons have been executed on account of "bribery", "abuses", "currency speculations", and "activity for the enemy", etc. The Russian liars seem to forget their own assertions, according to which the "Soviet people" in the USSR have been re-educated and re-trained and in moral respects are far superior to the people of the West. The true reason for these drastic measures, which are not customary in the West for offences of this kind, is to be sought in an intensified terrorism in the Russian imperium which is necessitated by the increasing mass resistance against the Moscow tyrants. Since Khrushchov is powerless to break this resistance, he is once more resorting to the ruthless methods of his teacher and protector, Stalin.

Since Stalin's death Nikita Khrushchov, whom Western "peacemakers" are fond of describing as a great "humanist", has extended the application of the death penalty to numerous spheres of Soviet Russian life. Thus in June 1961, for instance, the death penalty was introduced in the case of persons who commit an offence against the currency regulations. In 1962 the death penalty was introduced for the following offences: attacks on the life, the health and the honour of the police and the militia, as well as for the application of violence and for corruption.

* * *

Resistance in Ukraine Continues

We have learnt from a reliable source that indescribable conditions at present prevail in Ukraine. The Ukrainian population is in danger of being inundated by the Russian



Josef Gobetschia

The well-known Georgian national politician Josef Gobetschia passed away in Paris at the age of 85. The deceased and his brother Volodymir were famous revolutionaries in the tsarist era. — Josef Gobetschia studied in Paris and lived abroad prior to the revolution. During the period of Georgia's independence he was a member of the Constituent Assembly and also a member of the Georgian delegation to the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919, where the Georgian Republic was recognized de jure by the Major Powers. He was also an outstanding publicist and took part in countless international conferences. He was a member of the Georgian National Centre in Paris. Josef Gobetschia enjoyed considerable popularity and esteem, and was active and alert right up to the time of his death.

invaders, who are spreading themselves out in Ukraine and are determined to russify the country at all costs. True, one sees numerous signs and inscriptions written in Ukrainian in the Ukrainian towns, but this is merely an outer façade to cover up Russian supremacy in Ukraine. For in all official departments and even in the smallest local administrations Russian is the language that predominates.

To outward appearance terrorism is not as widespread as it was in Stalin's day, but the Ukrainian people nevertheless live in constant fear of the Russian hangmen; the latter terrorize the Ukrainian population just as much as they did in Stalin's day, but they now resort to other camouflaged methods. Even impartial observers notice the Ukrainians' great hatred of all that is Russian. An eyewitness from Ukraine recently reported that the Ukrainian population was repeatedly organizing resistance against the authorities and also that Ukrainian partisans were frequently carrying out raids on the administrative and Party departments, etc.

The Russian Bolsheviks have likewise intensified their anti-religious policy in Ukraine. — The said visitor to Ukraine added that the Ukrainians have become more self-confident and show considerable interest in the life, the activity and the achievements of the Ukrainian community abroad.

Younger Generation of Ukrainian Writers Reprimanded

The Kyiv "Literaturna Hazeta" ("Literary Gazette"), No. 25 of March 26, 1963, reports

that meetings were recently held in Lviv, Kyiv, Charkiv, Dnipropetrovsk, and other Ukrainian towns at which the new trends in evidence amongst the talented younger generation of Ukrainian writers were severely criticized.

At the meeting of Ukrainian writers in Charkiv the editor of the periodical "Prapor" ("The Flag") was attacked for having published certain poems in the January edition which expressed ideas that were "false". Above all, the poem by Dratsch, "Ode to an Honest Coward", was sharply censured since it personifies the harmful idea of a comparison between the younger and the older generation. At the same time, Evhen Letiuk was reprimanded on account of his poem, "in which Soviet reality in the era of the personal cult is depicted in a distorted form and from a onesided aspect".

It can thus be assumed that some of these young Ukrainian poets and writers will be deported by Khrushchov to Kazakhstan, or else sent to special camps. Stalin is dead, but his methods continue.

* * *

Celebration of Anniversary of Slovak Proclamation of Independence

To mark the 24th anniversary of the proclamation of Slovakia's independence (on March 14, 1939) the German-Slovakian Society in Bavaria held a special celebration in Nuremberg on March 9th and in Munich on March 13th this year. Addresses were held at the celebration in Munich by the former Foreign Minister of the Slovak Republic, Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky, President of the Peoples' Council of the A. B. N., representing the Slovaks, and by the German speakers, Mr. Sepp Schwarz, Secretary of State of the government of Baden-Württemberg in Stuttgart, and Attorney Dr. Hans Neuwirt, former member of the Prague parliament, who in the trial against Stas-hynsky represented the widow of Stepan Bandera as co-plaintiff. At the celebration in Nuremberg an address was held by the Chairman of the Organizing Committee of the A. B. N., Dr. Ctibor Pokorny, in Slovakian, and in German by the President of the German-Slovakian Society in Bavaria, Mr. Herbert Prochazka.

The "Jednota", a Slovak-American newspaper, March 20, 1963 issue, reports that the session of the House of Representatives was opened on March 14, 1963, with a special prayer commemorating the 1100th anniversary of the advent of the Saints Cyril and Methodius to the territory of the ancient Slovaks, as well as the 24th anniversary of Slovak Independence Day which was proclaimed on March 14, 1939.

BOOK - REVIEWS

Les Violations des Accords de Genève par les Communistes Viet-Minh (The Violations of the Terms of the Geneva Conference by the Viet-Minh Communists). Published by the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam, Saigon, 1961.

This book, published in the form of a White Book, gives the public of the world informative details on the many violations of the terms of the Geneva Conference by the Viet-Minh Communists and their shameless falsification of facts. The countless cases in which Vietnamese subjects have been murdered because they were not completely in favour of the Communists are proof of the violence, bloodthirstiness and lust of expansion of the red Viet-Minh aggressors.

The rulers of Hanoi, who signed the terms of the Geneva Conference, did not hesitate to prepare an armed aggression against the Republic of Viet-Nam and to organize a subversive underground movement in the interior of this country which was still free. Thus they violated these terms in theory and in practice.

The Viet-Minh Communists did their utmost to sabotage the recent presidential elections in South Viet-Nam and to stir up the people against the lawful government.

This book can be regarded as a reminder to the free peoples of the validity of the international obligations undertaken in Geneva by the Hanoi government. W. L.

Albert Henrik Mohn: Naerbilder Av Sovjet (The Soviets as seen from Personal Experience). Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, Oslo, 1960. 216 pp.

The author of this book visited the Soviet Union as a reporter at his own expense. Since he was not under strict surveillance by the Soviet Russians he was able to establish direct contact with the population – especially in Ukraine – and to learn the truth about the attitude and views of the peoples enslaved by the Russians. This book gives the reader a profound insight into the daily life of the population of the USSR. Naturally this journey involved considerable danger for the young Norwegian author, but his efforts to investigate and examine the true position of the non-Russians ruled by the despots of the Kremlin have certainly proved worth-while.

He emphasizes the fact that a drastic and unparalleled colonialism is practised in Ukraine and other non-Russian Soviet Republics and that Red Russia continues to lust for new conquests. For this reason he

concludes his book with the words: "Norway beware!" (p. 204)

At this point we should like to quote some of Mohn's observations in brief. He states for instance that the Ukrainian people are far less reserved and more open-minded than the Russians, and adds that the Ukrainian capital Kyiv is far more friendly in appearance than grim Moscow. Far less Ukrainians than Russians wear Communist badges. He also mentions the fact that practically the whole of Ukraine was destroyed during World War II; 700 towns and 28,000 villages were badly damaged but have however meanwhile been rebuilt, and 70 per cent of Ukraine's industry was razed to the ground (pp. 84-87).

The Ukrainians, so Mohn stresses, complain bitterly about the Kremlin's Russification measures in Ukraine, the purpose of which is to assimilate the Ukrainian language with Russian. There are relatively few Ukrainian schools in Ukraine compared to the number of Russian schools which have been forced on the Ukrainian population. And this applies above all to higher education in Ukraine (pp. 103-104).

The most ruthless oppressor and subjugator of Ukraine in former times was the present Kremlin ruler, Nikita Khrushchov (p. 103). He liquidated the national-minded intelligentsia of Ukraine in order to be able to consolidate the Red Russian dictatorship in Ukraine more easily at Stalin's command.

The author of this book points out that the Ukrainians are irritated most by the fact that foreigners designate and class them as Russians. From a conversation between Mohn and Soviet citizens of Ukrainian nationality it is obvious that Ukrainian national consciousness is extremely strong in Soviet Ukraine (p. 85). It is therefore only natural that the Ukrainians should demand that an impartial commission of the United Nations visit Soviet Ukraine in order to ascertain to what extent the Ukrainian nation is subjugated by the Soviet Russians (p. 104).

The book contains numerous illustrations which undoubtedly make it all the more valuable from the historical and cultural aspect. W. Kapotivsky

"*The Development of the Communist Parties in East and Central Europe*" is the subject of a book by Alexander Korab (Bogdan Osadcuk) which has recently been published by "Terrapress" in Hamburg. The first volume of this book deals with Poland, Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia. A second volume, which is to follow later, will have as its subject the Balkan countries. Emphasis is on the post-war period, but the author also devotes considerable attention to the history of the previous periods, from the earliest beginnings of the Communist parties in the

countries in question and the political conflicts of the 1920's and 1930's to the upheaval resulting from the Stalin-Hitler pact and the invasion of the German armies. Korab bases his account on all the material available, of which he gives a comprehensive list in his bibliography, but as regards various important points which are of particular interest to us he is often obliged to rely on data which cannot be definitely proved. The book does not claim to be a conclusive treatment of an extremely extensive subject, but it does at least give the reader who is interested in the present problems of Communism in East Europe a useful and detailed survey of this subject. And the author, who comes from Ukraine, is certainly an authority in this field.

Jorge Tys-Krokhmaluk: La Batalla de Poltava (7 de Julio de 1709) (The Battle of Poltava - July 7, 1709). Buenos Aires, 1960. Published by the Ukrainian Information Bureau in Argentina.

This little book was published to mark the occasion of the anniversary of the historic battle of Poltava on July 7, 1709. The author gives an account of this battle and of the victory of the Russian Tsar Peter I over the united Swedish and Ukrainian armies under the command of Charles XII, King of Sweden, and the Ukrainian Hetman, Ivan Mazepa. Although the Swedish-Russian war lasted about another 11 years, this victory on the part of the Russians sealed the fate of Ukraine.

The author is of the opinion that the issue of the battle of Poltava must be attributed not so much to the military genius of Tsar Peter I (as is generally assumed) but rather to the superior military strength of the Russian forces, whereas the Swedish army in Ukraine was completely weakened as a result of the severe climatic conditions and the lack of reinforcements. Hence, as the author points out, Peter I did not deserve the title "great".

Illustrations and sketches add to the interesting and informative character of this book. W. O.

Jorge Prieto Laurens: Historia del Colonialismo y del Imperialismo Ruso ("The History of Russian Colonialism and Imperialism"). Publicaciones del Frente Popular Anticomunista de Mexico, Mexico, 1962.

For his excellent brochure on the history of Russian colonialism and imperialism we are greatly indebted to Dr. Prieto Laurens, the indefatigable fighter for the freedom of the peoples of Eastern and Central Europe subjugated by the Russian Communists. This brochure is a unique informative booklet and gives the reader a vivid account of the

Russian colonial empire, which, by means of predatory attacks on its neighbours, has been constantly expanding. The author begins with a discussion of the earliest beginnings of the Muscovite principality, ending with the apocalyptic development of power of the Red-Russian empire.

It is clearly evident from the brochure that the Russian conquerors first of all attacked those peoples who to them appeared to be the weakest. Hence Russian power expanded mainly towards the East. As far as the Russians were concerned, there were hardly any boundaries in the East, and if there were any, they were the so-called movable boundaries which were constantly expanded within a short time.

The European North (with the exception of the Scandinavian countries and Finland) was likewise an easy booty for the Russian invaders. This was chiefly due to the fact that in the north Moscow did not meet with any strong resistance from the population, the majority of whom were nomadic.

The Russian urge to expansion towards the southwest, however, encountered far more difficulties, since the countries there defended their freedom to the bitter end. The Caucasian peoples and the brave Georgians fought the grimmest battles, ever recorded in the history of mankind, against the Russian conquerors.

The Russian predatory wars against their southern neighbours were conducted with the aid of Russian craftiness and mendacity, which had already become proverbial, and brutal violence by armed Russian units. This applies above all in the case of the freedom-loving people of Ukraine, whose cultural level is considerably higher than that of the Russians themselves. The Russian-Ukrainian fight lasted for centuries before the Ukrainians - only for the time being and to outward appearance - were defeated by the Russians.

It was only after the Russian Communists had seized power that Russian expansionism toward the West was more successful. All the events which lead to an artificial growth of the Russian colossus on feet of clay are depicted by Dr. Laurens in an unsurpassable manner.

A large map of the present-day Russian empire gives the reader a better insight into the history of Russian conquest.

This little book can undoubtedly be regarded as a guide, especially in Latin America, to all those who are interested in studying Russian questions or in travelling to Russia.

The free world is most grateful to the author of this excellent little volume on the Russia of the Tsars and of the Bolsheviks.

V. Tchernivtchanyn

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by Jaroslaw Stetzko

*

Hon. Michael A. Feighan

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

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Resolutions

Adopted by the First Conference of the Enslaved Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia

Which took place in Ukraine on Nov. 21st and 22nd, 1943

The Political Situation

1. The present war between German National Socialism and Russian Bolshevism is a typical imperialistic and aggressive war, waged for the mastery of the world, for a new distribution of the earth's wealth, for new sources of raw materials and new markets, and finally for manpower which entails the enslavement and exploitation of man.

2. Both warring imperialisms deny the right of a nation to political and cultural development within a national state, bringing political, social and cultural slavery to the conquered peoples in the form of the Nazi "New Europe" or the Bolshevik "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics".

3. These anti-social and criminal aims are cloaked by false slogans of social equality, deliverance of workers from the capitalist yoke, etc.

4. Bolshevism, with complete bankruptcy of ideas, seeks support by reviving reactionary catchwords of Slavophilism and traditional Russian jingoism.

5. This imperialistic war inevitably leads the two warring powers to economic and military ruin by increasing and bringing to the fore internal contradictions inherent in the systems. This, naturally, favours the growth of revolutionary liberation movements amongst the enslaved nations. In recent times there has been a marked growth of this sort of activity. This is the guarantee of victory for the revolutions and of a new and brighter future. The enslaved nations will have to put a stop to the absurd mutual slaughter, by their national revolutions, and thus achieve peace and order in the world. The latter, based on the recognition of political rights of each nation, will ensure cultural and economic development to all countries. The system of free national states will guarantee complete freedom to the individual, who until now, has been oppressed and exploited by foreign imperialists.

To achieve victory for national revolutions, a single common front of the nations aspiring to freedom is necessary. The conference, therefore, resolves that a Central Committee, composed of representatives of nations in Eastern Europe and Soviet-dominated Asia, be organized immediately to co-ordinate the revolutionary activities of separate nations. Its task should be the adoption of a general plan and common tactics to be employed in the struggle for liberty against the common enemy. At a signal from this committee simultaneous uprisings should take place in all subjugated countries in accordance with the pre-arranged plan.

Special Decisions

1. The First Conference of Enslaved Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia greets the heroic struggle of the nations of Western and Central Europe against the Nazi imperialists and proclaims its complete solidarity with them.

2. The conference deems it necessary to acquaint the nations of Western and Central Europe with the struggle, and aims for which it is waged, of the nations of Eastern Europe and Soviet-controlled Asia.

The conference appeals that everything possible be done to prevent the transportation of non-German formations in the German Army to Germany or to the fronts . . . (omitted for security reasons). Soldiers serving in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) of non-Ukrainian origin should be gathered into specially organized national

formations... (omitted for security reasons). It calls for the strengthening of people's self-defence against the terror unleashed by the retreating German armies and civil administration.

Signed on behalf of the Resolutions Committee:

Gurielli, Professor (Georgian), *Gogia*, Major (Georgian), *Fisul*, Lieutenant (Azerbaijani), *Shimrat*, Teacher (Turkestanian), *Stecencko*, Professor (Ukrainian), *Khodz-hayev*, Agriculturist (Ukrainian), *Osterska*, Engineer (Ukrainian).

Signed on behalf of National Delegations:

Armenia - *Antrant*, Azerbaijan - *Fisul*, Bashkiria - *Kagarman*, Byelorussia - *Druzhny*, Cherkesia - *Dzhigit*, Chuvasia - *Skvorazow*, Georgia - *Gogia*, Kabardinia - *Baksan*, Ossetia - *Aram*, Tartaria - *Tukay*, Turkestan - *Dezhkman* (Kazakh), Turkestan - *Shimrat* (Uzbek), Ukraine - *Stecencko*.

Principles of ABN

A moral revolution is an indispensable prerequisite of a successful struggle against the world evil of Communism whose center today is Moscow.

A spiritual rebirth of humanity, its renewed faith in the unchangeable and eternal truths, faith in God and Country, and finally, the de-barbarization of humanity - these are the values which humanity needs today.

The time has now come for a great *spiritual* and *idealistic* revolution, harking back to the 500-year-old great European revolution, a time when the discovery of new countries and continents by Europeans brought together their various cultures, religions, races and peoples and resulted in mutual recognition and mutual influence.

It is high time that *the process of elimination of the idealistic ideology of the free world be halted*, for society cannot exist without faith and the eternal truths. Without an ideology based on faith in God, humanism and nationalism, there can be no victory over the ideology of evil propagated by Moscow today.

In our century, a century full of fear, it seems paradoxical to die for a cause, for an idea, for the eternal values, for a definite and determined way of life, for freedom, for God and Country - it seems paradoxical because cynicism and nihilism engulf the entire free world.

* * *

Our world is very old. The important thing is not to invent a new ideology: every worthwhile idea has already been expressed. What is needed is to defend the *very old ideas*. What is needed is character, courage, loyalty and determination in the realization and application of the old ideas. History has always reacted to courage, moral qualities, character, faith in God and Country. Ephemeral ideas, on the other hand, have disappeared without making any significant inroads in mankind's history. If the West continues to underrate moral values and ideology and shies away from an *ideological* contest, it will cease to be what it has been, since the West collectively has represented a synthesis of the old Greek, Roman and Christian values. It is because it has been based on these eternal values that the West has become the freest and the richest society. But this society is doomed to perish within a short time if Western man ceases to aspire towards an ideal, ceases to struggle for true values and ceases to believe in and aspire to a higher moral and spiritual order. It is up to the free man of the West. Moscow is certain to emerge victorious if the free man does not return to moral values as the dominant factors in life, to faith in the eternal truths and to an appreciation of a life of moral

ideologies. *Whoever deprecates these idealistic qualities will also lose his material possessions.*

To value the heroic over the preservation of one's own egotistical life – which is not so precious that it cannot be risked, to rate effort and struggle in behalf of one's friends above one's own utilitarian profit, to struggle for the great and the supreme in life as opposed to the cult of the little man, to place *sacrifice* and *self-devotion* above *amour-propre*, and to find the meaning of life in service to an ideal – these are the elements of a *new anti-hedonistic revolution of spirit* which are sorely needed in today's world.

* * *

Faith in God, patriotism, love of one's country, morality based on religion, the ideal of the nation as a cornerstone of the world order, the national principle of the organization of the world, respect of man created in the image of God, the freedom of man's creativeness and the ideas of social justice as opposed to dialectical and historic materialism, to internationalism, and to the ideology of the herd, which is a creation of the Russian Communist spirit – these are the ingredients of the *anti-materialistic and anti-internationalistic revolution of spirit, an idealistic and moral revolution of freedom-loving mankind.*

Principles of the political concept of liberation from fear and slavery

The captive and enslaved nations in the Russian prison of nations are a component and integral part of freedom-loving mankind, and so are those captive peoples that are under the domination of other Communist regimes. The ideological revolution, the moral, anti-hedonistic, anti-materialistic and anti-internationalistic revolution takes place in spirituality and in the struggle of the captive nations and peoples in the Russian prison of nations. The ultimate objective of this revolution is a total negation of Communism as a system imposed upon the captive nations by the Russians, as a system proper to their own innate Russian spirituality, a system of which they, the Russians, are the exclusive carriers and protagonists. Communism is a modern form of Russian imperialism, a national imperialistic Russian idea, under the guise of which Russia endeavors to conquer the whole world. The national liberation idea, the nationalism of the captive nations in the Russian Empire, i. e. in the USSR and the so-called satellite countries, constitute the Achilles' heel of this despotic and tyrannical edifice.

The atomic age is accompanied by a process of disintegration of empires, by the victory of the national principle underlying the world's organization, and of national statehood ideology as the most just and the most ideal. The captive nations enslaved in the Russian Communist sphere of domination are a third sovereign force dependent on no one on the world's chessboard. They constitute the key force around which all international problems and policies of necessity must revolve.

Humanity's road to liberation from fear lies in the *anti-Russian, that is, anti-imperialistic and anti-Communist, national revolution of all the captive nations.*

* * *

National revolutions, that is the national liberation wars of the captive nations enslaved by Russian imperialism and Communism, are a possible alternative to an atomic war, which can be averted through the active support, including military assistance, by the free world to the national revolutions in the captive countries.

In any future armed clash the decisive role will be played by the people who are adequately prepared militarily. With the development of military technology, the significance of the armed forces of people, especially those of revolutionary guerrillas, assumes a great and important meaning. Parallel with the development

of its thermo-nuclear and conventional arms in order to counterbalance the Russian Communist and satellite bloc armaments, the free world must endeavor to diminish the human and war potential of the Russian Communist bloc by winning over to its side the souls and minds of the soldiers of the captive nations. By strengthening the insurgent armies of the captive nations and by forming combat units from defectors of the enslaved nations which will join the Western forces, the national armies, under the leadership and direction of the national governments of all the captive nations, including the non-Russian captive nations in the USSR, would become welcome allies of the West.

The assurance of success lies in *synchronized and coordinated national revolutions and in a chain of revolutionary uprisings*, which must be supported by the military might of the West.

In order to disrupt and dislodge from within the Russian prison of nations – the USSR – an entirely *new idealistic, moral and political atmosphere with respect to the captive nations must be created in the West; moreover, a new attitude toward the captors and oppressors of the former must be adopted by the West.*

Above all, the present policy of the West must undergo certain important changes which would attune it to the service of new ideas and a new way of life. To bring about a total national and political revolution which would embrace all phases of life – culture, religion, the social and economic complex and the whole gamut of a nation's life – the policy of "coexistence" must be rejected in principle, because it enables Moscow to gain recognition of the *status quo* of the captive nations as a starting-point for other conquests. A new hope and confidence must be aroused in the captive nations. They must become convinced that the West will not betray them, but will support their struggle for freedom and national independence. The free world should live a life analogous to that of the captive nations, that is it must believe in the ideals of sacrifice and heroism, and the ideological growth of the West must be sympathetic to and consonant with the moral values and political objectives of the captive nations and peoples.

Thus the alternative to a thermo-nuclear war is not a policy of "coexistence", which leads necessarily to the outbreak of an atomic war, but a policy of liberation. Liberation of the captive nations and not disarmament of the free world, bold and decisive resistance to Russian Communist aggression and not appeasing it – this is the urgent requirement for the West today. Any local liberation, isolated and limited to a certain area or country, is a pernicious illusion. The problem of liberation is at present an integral and inseparable problem encompassing all the captive nations.

Such is the spirit of the "Captive Nations Resolution" enacted by the US-Congress in 1959. In essence, this resolution supports the break-up of the Russian empire, the restoration of state sovereignty to all the captive nations in the USSR and in its extended territorial empire. It is precisely this concept that should mold the basic offensive of the free world against the forces of Russian Communist imperialism and colonialism.

The "Captive Nations Resolution" reads, in part:

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, Czechia, Slovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, North-Vietnam, and others, 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...

Within the framework of its political offensive, the free world should break off all diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with the USSR and its satellites and should exclude them from all international institutions. These international institutions should be *reorganized and reconstructed* for the purpose of conducting an effective struggle against Russian imperialism and colonialism, with the participation therein of the revolutionary spokesmen of the captive nations.

Russian imperialism, the most brutal form of colonialism ever known in mankind's history, constitutes the greatest threat ever to the peace and security of the world, as well as to the independence of nations and individuals. It must be combatted by the combined forces of all mankind.

Russia retreats only under the pressure of force, and therefore against its policy of force the free world must react with an offensive of force as well, abandoning once and for all a defensive policy which is tantamount to defeat.

"Captive Nations' Week" Proposed in Turkey

In the 37th session of the Senate, the Turkish Senator Dr. Fethi Tevetogla asked the government to draft a law for a "Captive Nations' Week" in Turkey. He said:

"Captive Nations' Week': After World War II, the Free World rejoiced to see Western colonialism become a thing of the past and witnessed Moscow and Peiping colonialism as a great tragedy. In recognition of this fact, the United States Congress resolved on July 17, 1959 to observe the third week of July as 'Captive Nations' Week'. We urge the Turkish Foreign Office to secure Turkey's participation in the Free World's endeavours in this matter and to observe Captive Nations' Week in Turkey, too. This will enhance the moral strength of the captive nations who desire to derive their inspiration from Mustafa Kemal's (Ataturk's) struggle for Turkish National Liberation."

A Tribute Paid To Major-General J. F. C. Fuller

A tribute is paid to Major-General J. F. C. Fuller, the famous British military theoretician, by the press of various countries.

Writing in the "New Statesman and Nation" Richard Howard describes General Fuller as the most original and the most influential military thinker ever produced by Great Britain.

The London "Spectator" acclaims him as the most outstanding living military writer, whilst R. W. Daily in "America" designates his works as a triumph and stresses that every college and every university that appreciates sincere objectivity should possess copies of them.

The Role of A.B.N. in the Present World Crisis

by Major-General Richard Hilton, D.S.O., M.C., D.F.C.



The A.B.N. Press Bureau has done me the honour of asking for my opinion concerning the influence which the A.B.N. might exert in solving the present world crisis. To answer the specific questions, put to me by the Press Bureau in this connection, it will, I think, be advisable to commence by outlining the nature and causes of the crisis itself.

When the war of 1939–45 ended, ordinary men and women of all nations desired above all things a just settlement of the turmoil, created by the war, and then a lasting peace. It is possible that in many nations there may have been a few ruthless and ambitious men, who were prepared to continue the dangerous game of conspiracy, aggression, and force.

It is *possible* that such men still existed among *all* nations, but it is *extremely unlikely* that they were to be found in significant numbers amongst those smaller nations of Europe and of Asia, whose participation in the recent struggle had been due to causes quite outside the smaller nation's control. The fact that cessation of fighting in 1945 led not to an easing of tensions but to an intensification of them, was certainly not due to any survival of belligerent spirit among the masses who had suffered in the late war. The rapid degeneration of the wartime alliance into a "cold war" was not due to any massive national war-fever. It was due to the implacable determination of a few ruthless men who saw, in the chaos of post-war Europe, a grand opportunity to extend their own power and to enforce their grim ideology over Eastern Europe.

In short the transformation of the liberating and victorious alliance into "cold war" was brought about by a few fanatical and unprincipled men – the Kremlin oligarchy. Though Communists all over the world angrily deny this conclusion, a time must inevitably come when history will lay the blame for the present state of tension exclusively and absolutely upon that small group of men – the rulers of Russia.

By their unprincipled opportunism during the aftermath of the war these men have placed themselves in a position where they constitute a permanent threat to the freedom of humanity. Permanent, that is to say, as long as they are left undisturbed to exploit the immense war-potential of the Soviet Union and of the neighbouring countries which they have succeeded in enslaving. There can be no peace for mankind while this vast and resourceful territory, which stretches from the Elbe to the Behring Straits, remains in the hands of this oligarchy.

Public opinion in the free democracies of the West is woefully ignorant regarding the true nature of this huge "empire", and this ignorance plays into the hands of the Kremlin rulers. Even better educated Westerners fall easily into the fallacy

of regarding the Soviet Union and its satellites as one harmonious portion of the human race with undivided loyalty toward the Kremlin and all its schemes. When Westerners speak about "Russia" most of them carry in their minds the picture of four hundred millions of ardent and patriotic Communists, whose one desire is to promote the might and the glory of Russia. Ridiculous though this idea may be to those who know the truth, the fact that this false notion prevails among Westerners is a matter of very grave danger.

For, faced, as they imagine, by this gigantic and compact community, those responsible for Western defence are liable to approach their problem in an unnecessarily pessimistic frame of mind. In every assessment of Soviet power the Western planners tend to calculate the forces against them on a basis of united manpower. Four hundred millions of humanity represent (so they think) so many divisions, or so much industrial manpower. The latter represents an industrial output of so many nuclear rockets, so many submarines, tanks, or aircraft. On this gloomy basis of counting heads on either side of the Iron Curtain the prospect for freedom can look very grim indeed. It is quite understandable that materially minded Western strategists fall into the habit of assuming that we cannot resist the onslaught of Communism by trusting to "conventional" armaments alone. Hence arises the theory that the West must depend upon nuclear armament to make up for its relative inferiority in manpower.

There are, it is true, some Western statesmen and strategists who do understand that the satellites of Russia are not wholeheartedly enthusiastic allies. Most Western strategists in fact go so far as to assess the military reliability of the Soviet Union's allies with due regard to the nationalist feelings of non-Russians *outside* the Soviet Union. But hardly any of the Western world's policy makers or strategists realise that *within the Soviet Union itself* a corresponding surge of non-Russian nationalism constitutes a disruptive weapon of great potential value.

It is remarkable indeed that the great minds of the West fail to appreciate this tremendous fact. Every day from Africa, from Asia, and from Latin America they are receiving abundant evidence that the anti-imperialist aspirations of smaller nations can be a thorn in the flesh of great empires.

The so-called "Soviet Union" is in reality a Russian Empire, stifling the liberties of non-Russian peoples. It is, in fact, by far the most tyrannical imperialism that modern history has known – an imperialism compared to which the colonial systems of Western European powers are blameless and philanthropic. If it was morally right for Indians and Africans to writhe under the mild administration of the British, then it is morally justifiable for Ukrainians, Latvians, and all other non-Russian peoples of the "Soviet Union" to demonstrate their yearning for national liberty in like manner. If there has been a moral obligation upon the British to give national independence to more than six hundred millions of former British subjects (as they have voluntarily done during the last fifteen years) then the same moral obligation lies upon the Kremlin oligarchy to release all non-Russians who wish to regain their national independence.

Furthermore, if it has been justifiable for the Kremlin rulers to supply arms to Egypt just before the Suez crisis, or to supply arms and military technicians to Cuba to enable Castro to defy the United States, then it is equally justifiable for the Western powers to encourage the subject nations of the Russian tyranny, even to the extent of sending them arms and other military aid.

Such a suggestion may horrify those timid minds who dread any action at all that might rouse the anger of Russia, but the logic of this argument is incontestable. Imperialism is either right or wrong. If it was wrong in the case of the civilising

influences of the Western colonial powers, then it is at least equally wrong in the case of Russian imperialism.

The timid ones may concede this point, but they may say that, no matter how morally justifiable, it would be crazy folly to apply to the Russian empire the same treatment that the Russians have applied to the "satellites" of the Western powers. To do so, according to these timid ones, would be to start a global nuclear war. With due respect to all such thinkers I am sure that they are mistaken.

The Kremlin rulers are cold-blooded planners with a clear idea of what they want – a Communist world dominated by Russia. They do *not* want a world incinerated by nuclear war and they have no intention of making it so. The "nuclear neurosis" or unreasoning terror of nuclear war, which inflicts the minds of most Westerners, is being used by the Kremlin as a mighty psychological weapon. Just as Germany, in 1939/40, forced many minor countries of Central Europe to surrender without firing a shot – simply through their dread of aerial bombardment – so the Kremlin hopes (and with good reason) that "nuclear neurosis" will keep Western populations so petrified with nuclear dread that their governments will be petrified also. Under the shadow of this great bogey, the hydrogen bomb, the plotters of Russia have already made one advance after another toward world domination, and they are continuing to do so. Russia's immense nuclear armament has more than repaid its cost. Its mere existence is winning for Russia point after point in the game of world conquest. There will be no need ever to use a bomb while all goes, as now, in accordance with the Kremlin's plans.

But what of the West? One thing is certain. No democratic Western government will ever be the first to start a nuclear war. So, unless the Kremlin starts it (unlikely for reasons stated above) the only power who might be first to start the nuclear conflagration is China. But let not any of us derive false comfort from this reading of the future. The situation, if allowed to drift onward as at present, is a situation of dire peril. There are other ways toward the destruction of human freedom quite apart from nuclear war.

Let us assess the matter from the Kremlin's point of view. The Russian planners want eventual world conquest, but they must have it without world destruction. China, with her immense population and disregard for human life, may be prepared one day to use the nuclear war in reality and not as a bluff. It might pay China to lose (say) five hundred millions of lives if her survivors could take over the whole of a depopulated world. Thus China stands as something which may ruin the Russian plan for world conquest unless Russia can speed up the process of her advance. China has not got nuclear armaments yet, but a few years may give it to her.

Turning now to the problem which this presents to the free world, we see that the danger of Russian aggression is likely to increase (though not the danger of nuclear *aggression*). Instead of waiting for Western powers of resistance to be gradually rotted away by "nuclear neurosis", pacifism, indolence, and all the other degenerating influences that are working among us, the Kremlin may feel constrained to force on the pace by military aggression of the older kind.

This means reliance upon the Red Army and its many subsidiary land forces such as police in their various forms and the forces of Russia's satellite nations. In short the Kremlin will be driven to a course of action whose success will depend upon the trustworthiness of millions of armed men.

This is where the A.B.N. could play a decisive part in saving the free world. Leaving aside those soldiers and police of true Russian stock, the aggressors will have to employ also enormous numbers of non-Russian fighting men. They must either employ them, arm them, and at any rate to a certain extent trust them to fight for Russia and not against her. Or, if it is considered that non-Russians

are untrustworthy as instruments for an aggressive war, then these millions will have to be disarmed and kept under effective surveillance and restraint. To the Kremlin the choice will lie between the use of huge armies of uncertain loyalty or else the use of vast numbers of Russians to police the unreliable (if not openly hostile) non-Russian masses. The more evidence that the non-Russian peoples can give of their hatred of Russian domination the greater will be the retarding influence which they will bring to bear upon Russian tendencies toward external military adventures. It is the A.B.N., and the A.B.N. alone, that can inspire this spirit of resistance throughout the subjugated nations both within and outside the frontiers of the Soviet Union.

Many of us know only too well the practical difficulties of adopting this bolder course. It is all very well to talk boldly of resistance movements while we sit in the safety of London or Munich. It is a very different aspect for those in the policed territories, where they and all their families and friends face terrible reprisals for the slightest suspicion of resistance. And yet a start will have to be made if freedom is to be saved.

At present the forces of liberation are held in a vicious circle of mutual misunderstanding. It is useless at present for people, who believe in this non-Russian urge for liberty, to preach such ideas to the statesmen and strategists of the West. The doubting reply is always the same. "We see no evidence of any such zeal for independence amongst the non-Russian subject races. We are told by non-Russian exiles that such undercurrents of unrest exist among their compatriots behind the Iron Curtain. But we receive no confirmation of this from our intelligence resources. We hear of no risings, no sabotage, no demonstrations of nationalist fervour."

Irritating as this attitude of scepticism must be to those who know the true situation, it must, I am afraid, be accepted as an obstacle to be overcome. Somehow or other these doubting statesmen and strategists must be cured of their scepticism. They must be given solid grounds for belief in the existence of a widespread and powerful spirit of resistance. They must be given proof that the hundred and fifty millions of East Europe and the hundred millions or more of non-Russians within the Soviet Union are ripe and ready to throw off the Russian yoke.

How to give this evidence should be a matter for deep and earnest thought among those who direct the policies of A.B.N. It is a problem requiring not only great courage but a very delicate finesse. No statesman of A.B.N. could or would wish to expose his people behind the Iron Curtain to savage reprisals by starting provocative and hopeless risings. But somewhere between that extreme and the other extreme of inaction there stands perhaps the happy mean of just sufficient action to convince the Western allies and to keep the Kremlin so worried by the rumblings of unrest that they will hesitate to launch themselves on big external aggressions.

So much is certain. Western authorities will never be convinced of the wisdom of encouraging non-Russian nationalism unless they see something definite. On the other hand, in spite of their shameful inaction during the Hungarian rising of 1956, it is extremely improbable that they would stand inactive a second time, though that risk would have to be taken. The ways of Western democracy are rather unpredictable.

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

II. Corinthians, VI, 9

The Present Position of the Intellectuals in Turkestan

In connection with the ideological fight a congress of young poets and writers of the Soviet Union was again convened in Moscow from May 7th to 11th, 1963. 170 delegates of the 15 Soviet Republics were present on this occasion. A survey was given of the countless congresses for intellectuals which have been held so far by the Communist Party and the Soviet government, and a resolution was again passed to the effect that the young intellectuals should not only play an active part in ideological matters but should also help to increase production in agriculture and industry by their writings. It was stressed in particular that no coexistence would be tolerated in the ideological sector.

Four days later, on May 15, 1963, a Russian "literature week", with the motto "The epoch-making role of Russian literature and language as a link in the friendship of the peoples", was organized in Duchambe, the capital of Tadzhikistan, by the Communist Party and government. It was attended by various Russian poets and writers from Moscow. In the speech which he made on this occasion the First Secretary of the "Tadzhik Writers' Union", Mirza Tursun Zada, referred to Russian literature as an indispensable factor for Turkestan which represented an important influence on Tadzhik culture and literature. The Tadzhik writers and poets were exhorted to occupy themselves more intensively and wholeheartedly with Russian literature and language.

Moscow has intensified and centralized its efforts to keep a check on the intellectuals very considerably. This fact is particularly noticeable in the five Soviet Republics of Turkestan. On the strength of a resolution of March 20, 1963, for instance, the entire ideological and propagandistic activity of the republics of Turkestan was placed under the authority and supervision of the head of the "Central Asiatic Bureau" of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Lomonosov; this means that the works and articles written by the intellectuals of these republics are also under his control.

Fundamentally there has thus been little change in conditions in the ideological sector since Stalin's day. Proof of this can be seen in particular from the various measures which have recently been introduced in Turkestan, as for instance the founding of the "Central Asiatic Bureau", a new legislation directed against the farmers and workers, and new directives in the ideological sector. The reasons for Khrushchov's more rigid neo-Stalinist course are the nationalist attitude of the non-Russian peoples, the non-fulfilment of the production plans, the Soviet Russian withdrawal in Cuba, and the Communists' failure in the Orient.

In addition, the fact that Khrushchov in his recent speech in the Kremlin before an audience of intellectuals to a large extent rehabilitated Stalin shows that the neo-Stalinists have gained more influence in the Party Presidium. On this occasion Khrushchov exhorted the Soviet writers to show more reserve when describing the Stalinist era.

One of the leading representatives of this more rigid course is Iljitshov, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and head of the Department of Ideology and Propaganda of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Other advocates of this course are Party secretary Shelepin, formerly chief of the Soviet security service, and Semitshastny, the present chief of the security service and formerly chairman of the Komsomol.

It is obvious that the Communist Party now regards it as imperative that the intellectuals should be subjected to even more rigid control and that the so-called liberalization should be halted. The liberalization of the intelligentsia was particularly in evidence amongst the intelligentsia in Russia proper. For this reason meetings of the leading functionaries of the Communist Party and the Soviet government with young writers and artists were held in the Kremlin on December 17th and 26th, 1962, and on March 7th, 8th and 13th, 1963. On these occasions Khrushchov and Iljitshev held speeches in which they dealt with the fundamental principles of ideology and the Soviet intelligentsia. Khrushchov sharply criticized formalism in art and literature and stressed that the Western influence which was making itself felt amongst the intellectuals must be eliminated. He affirmed that there could be no coexistence in the ideological sector and added that anyone who advocated such an idea was adopting an anti-Communist attitude.

After directives had been issued in Moscow, the pressure of the Communist Party there on the young writers, poets and artists of all trends in Turkestan was increased still more.

Thus on March 20, 1963, a congress of the young writers and artists of the four Soviet Republics of Turkestan (Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tadzhikistan, Kirgizstan) was convened in Tashkent by the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and head of the Department of Ideology and Propaganda of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Iljitshev. This congress was attended by 1,200 scientists, poets, writers, actors, painters, sculptors, composers, Party secretaries, and heads of governments, etc. The following functionaries were also present: the first Party secretaries of the Soviet Republics of Turkestan, as well as the secretaries of the regional and municipal committees of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kirgizstan and Tadzhikistan. The presidium of the congress included the chairman of the "Central Asiatic Bureau" of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Lomonosov; his deputy Veselov; the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, Rashid(ov); the secretaries of the Bureaux of Ideology of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the four Soviet Republics of Turkestan, as well as the directors of these bureaux; members of the presidiums of the Central Committee of the four Soviet Republics of Turkestan, as for instance Karlov, Martinov, and General Fedjuninsky, Commander-in-Chief of the Turkestanian Military District; in addition, the candidates of the presidiums of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, as for instance Najmushin, chairman of the Committee for State Security in Uzbekistan; Musahan(ov), Kurban(ov), and others. This list of names shows how much importance the Russians attached to this congress.

The congress was opened by the chairman of the "Central Asiatic Bureau", Lomonosov. Iljitshev then held a speech on the ideological activity of the Party organizations and the tasks of the intellectuals. There was a marked difference between this speech and the previous speeches which Khrushchov and Iljitshev had held in the Kremlin at the meetings of the leaders of the Party and the Soviet government with authors and artists. In Moscow Khrushchov and Iljitshev criticized the authors in the European part of the Soviet Union on account of deviation from the guiding principles of "socialist realism", self-praise, formalism and Western influence. But at the ideological congress in Tashkent on March 20, 1963, Iljitshev criticized nationalism, religiousness, old customs and traditions, as well as the interruption of the construction of Communism in the Soviet Republics of Turkestan, and blamed the Party functionaries and intellectuals for this state of affairs. He issued directives for their work in future.

At the various congresses held in the Kremlin no mention was made of nationalism and no accusations were brought against the Russian intelligentsia in this respect. Whereas a Western influence is said to be in evidence amongst the young Russian writers, this is not noticeable amongst the Turkestanians. They are obviously orientating themselves more to their Oriental neighbours, as can be seen from their writings. This fact, too, is a source of annoyance to the Russians, and in his speeches in the Kremlin Khrushchov once again stressed the importance of Russian culture and of the Russian language, of which, he said, all "Soviet peoples" should have a thorough knowledge since it unites them all. We should at this point like to emphasize that the Turkestanian intellectuals in question belong to the generation which was only born during the period of Soviet Russian rule. During the 45 years in which they have ruled in Turkestan the Russians have thus obviously not succeeded in influencing the population and the intelligentsia and winning them over to their way of thinking.

In his speech in Tashkent Iljitzhov demanded that the fight against nationalist trends should be intensified and that religiousness amongst the population should be wiped out. He affirmed that such trends had also been ascertained in the ranks of the intellectuals. In the course of his speech he made the following statements:

"It has been ascertained in Central Asia that the fight against religion, old customs and traditions has been greatly neglected. In fact, this attitude has even been furthered. This has seriously impeded the training of the people in the Communist sense."

Iljitzhov criticized propagandistic and ideological activity so far and affirmed:

"In Central Asia Communist ideological propaganda is not being instilled into the broad masses of the population. Those in charge of ideological training and propaganda are active amongst the atheists. But this is not a normal state of affairs; for the entire apparatus need not be adjusted to the atheists, who in any case are convinced Communists. The propagandists should establish contact with the individual and should treat him very courteously. By such friendly methods one can win over the masses to the ideology of Communism."

As regards nationalism Iljitzhov said:

"In the construction of Communism the remnants of nationalism, local patriotism and all isolationist trends must be eliminated and eradicated. The conditions which prevail in the Central Asian Republics, as has been ascertained again and again, such as an anti-state attitude, old customs and traditions, national trends, and adherence to religion, must be eradicated for all time since they hamper the construction of Communism and harm Soviet rule. For this reason the intellectuals must, in the spirit of friendship amongst the peoples, be active in speech and writing, above all amongst youth. They must combat the attitude of the farmers who harm the state and the Communist Party and rob the kolkhozes of land, and must help to bring about an increase in agricultural production. In Central Asia there is a strong inclination to try to possess private property and land. This state of affairs clearly shows the failure of ideological activity so far."

The difference between the congress in Tashkent and the same type of congresses in Moscow was clearly evident. But all the congresses of the leading Communist Party and government functionaries with young writers and artists have one common aim, namely to influence the intelligentsia even more than hitherto in favour of the Communist ideology, so that they in turn will then influence the people in this direction by their writings. Centralism, too, is being furthered to an ever-increasing degree. A decision was for instance reached at the Tashkent congress to place the ideological work of the Party under the authority and control of the "Central Asiatic Bureau". Since this Bureau was founded all the Communist

Party secretaries and all the governments of the four Soviet Republics of Turkestan – with the exception of Kazakhstan – have been under its authority and control. Thus the entire economy, ideology, culture, administration, Party and government apparatus of Turkestan are being centralized by Moscow to an increasing extent, and the head of the “Central Asiatic Bureau”, Lomonossov, who needless to say is a Russian, is now more or less the Kremlin’s leading man in Turkestan.

M. S.

One of the Biggest Failures of the Soviet Russian Regime

It is now ten years since Khrushchov began to “dethrone” his late teacher and master Stalin. It was assumed at that time – and even well-known experts on Soviet Russian affairs in the West were fairly convinced in this respect – that a process of liberalization (as some optimists affirmed) and, in fact, of democratization had now begun in the USSR. Naturally no one at that time took into consideration the fact that a totalitarian regime can never be democratized, for that would be equal to self-liquidation. Only now has it been ascertained that the sceptics, who knew history slightly better and therefore did not believe in a liberalization of the Soviet regime, were right. For Khrushchov’s philippics for the purpose of vindicating Stalin and the Stalinist era, as well as the campaign recently launched by the Party against the creative intelligentsia are proof that the Soviet Russian “liberalization” only goes as far as the relaxation to a certain extent of physical terrorism, and no farther.

But regardless of how events in the Soviet Union will develop in the future, that is to say what course these events will take within the Party and its administrative state apparatus, and of whether new cliques (which, as a result of failures so far, would oppose each other) will be formed there, one can today already affirm that a process has begun during the last decade which deepened the internal complications in the Russian empire. For in the course of the past ten years various forces have appeared in the USSR who to an increasing extent are definitely opposing the formalism of Khrushchov’s “liberal” reforms and, instead, are demanding radical changes in the entire system.

The recently intensified fight of the Communist Party against formalistic and abstract trends in literature, art and music has become notorious throughout the world. Actually there are deeper reasons behind this fight. Formalism and abstractionism are merely used as a pretext by the Party for its campaign against those forces in the USSR who are criticizing the Soviet system more and more openly and are beginning to demand real and not so-called Soviet freedom. There can be no doubt about the fact that many Party leaders – and probably Khrushchov himself (in spite of his fairly primitive artistic taste), are well acquainted with the history of the so-called vanguard art of the Leninist era. And these persons no doubt also know that Lenin did not seriously try to combat this art; hence it was able to develop freely and frequently even claimed to be representative of proletarian art. In spite of this, however, the Party and Khrushchov himself with considerable vehemence staged a large-scale campaign against formalism and abstractionism, which are merely a continuation (in new forms) of the old traditions of the Soviet Russian vanguard art.

An explanation for this fierce and extensive campaign is to be found in the fact

that the present modern trends in Soviet Russian art and literature are closely connected with an ideological and political ferment in the ranks of the creative intelligentsia and, above all, in the ranks of the younger generation. Whereas in the 1920's the Soviet Russian representatives of advanced art still believed in the idea of a "primitive commune" and regarded the Party and the Party leadership as their advocate and champion, the present representatives of advanced art are definitely a generation of sceptics, who, though they may perhaps still believe in Communism, most certainly do not believe that the Party and its present leaders are their advocates and champions. These young people *oppose the entire Soviet system* – if not, perhaps, consciously, then at least subconsciously.

Even the most faithful Communists amongst them now put Communism and humanism on a par with each other, as can be seen from the opinion voiced by Jevtushenko during his visit to the West, about which so much fuss was made. Of course, one might designate the opinion expressed by Jevtushenko merely as fine phrases. On the other hand, however, there is a certain amount of truth in this opinion, whatever Jevtushenko may have had in mind when he uttered it. The present younger generation in the USSR – regardless of whether it believes in Communism or not – yearns for humanism and humane living conditions, that is to say in the first place for freedom, creative freedom, unrestricted freedom of thought and discussion, and even for freedom to dance when they like. Even those who still believe in Communism are gradually realizing that the Communism which they have idealized has nothing in common with Soviet reality. They also realize that the so-called fight against the Stalin cult which the Party and Khrushchov have been waging for the past ten years has so far not led to any positive results since it is merely of a formal nature, and that, save for a slight relaxation in uncurbed terrorism, Stalinism continues to exist and to assert itself in all its forms, whereas the younger generation would like to get to the root of the evil and exterminate it for good.

Poems in which the Stalinists are criticized and attacked have recently become fairly popular in the USSR. Exactly how many such satires have been written, is not known. Of those which have so far been published, the one by Jevtushenko is known most widely. A number of poems criticizing the Stalinists have also been published in Ukraine, in Byelorussia and elsewhere. The Ukrainian poet Evhen Letiuk from the Donets region, for instance, in his poem which appeared in the third number of the journal "Prapor" ("The Flag") mentions a category of people who even today still pray before the plaster bust of Stalin as if it were an idol. He closes his poem with the words: "I know only too well that the former leading Party functionaries keep pictures of Stalin concealed in naphthalene dust... How then can I venture to forget the past and to change my attitude to it?"

All these poems against the Stalinists are eloquent proof that there is undoubtedly a wide gulf between the younger generation and the Stalinist generation, and the latter incidentally includes all the middle-aged generation of leading Party functionaries as Stalin adherents. Actually, the purge amongst the Stalinists was never carried out completely by the Party, for the latter never took the fight against Stalinism as seriously as the younger generation of today do. In fact, the Stalinists retained their power in the USSR, and hence it is not surprising that the poems attacking the Stalinists are in reality directed against the present Soviet Party functionaries and criticize the present political situation in the USSR. Indeed, opposition on the part of the young artists and writers against Stalinism very frequently goes hand in hand with a fierce opposition against the present Soviet Russian regime, which in the opinion of the younger generation is to be regarded as the representative of Stalinism.

Though it may sound slightly absurd, one might even explain the recourse of the younger generation to abstractionism in art as the result not only of the influence of the indolent West (as the Party maintains) but also of a fierce political resistance against Stalinism. In this way many young artists express their hatred of the past and their contempt for the socialist realism, this monster of Stalinism, protected and propagated by the Party.

In his poem "Ode to a Coward" the Ukrainian poet Ivan Dratsh, who is probably one of the most outstanding poets in the USSR at present, expresses his contempt of Stalinism in its present form and of the Stalinists. Since this poem is so very typical of the present attitude of the young writers and poets we quote its contents below, in a prose version:

"You have befogged your point of view and have poisoned heaven,
You have rebelled against the sun and have spat at the clouds,
You live like a sneak and you have let your thoughts grow in a sewer, where your
vile nature has joined them.

A white-headed creature with a black tongue.

You are as sinuous as a snake -

You always sing the same song,

Just as our rickety generation

Is always accustomed to do.

Yes, we do not shout "hurrah" so often!

For here "hurrah" smells of bread and toil...

You ought to have died long ago,

We ought to weigh down your tongue with a stone.

I like you and pay you my respects -

I will make solid stretchers of oak for you...

Just go on writing!

My dog Tuzyk will some day be able to read your 'Memoirs'."

("Prapor", No. 1, 1961)

Meanwhile the Party leaders avoid talking about a "counter-revolution" when referring to their controversy with the younger generation. They prefer to minimize this conflict and to designate it as merely a dispute with an insignificant group of uneducated, immature young people. These young people (according to the Party) have either not studied Marxism, or have not comprehended it, and have fallen under the harmful influence of the "indolent West"; hence, in the opinion of the Party, it is allegedly imperative that they should be enlightened and re-educated.

We hardly need ask: whom does the Party suggest as teachers and guides for these discontented young people? The answer to this question is to be found in the opinions expressed by the Soviet Russian press and in the discussions held by the Party centre for writers, artists and composers. At these discussions the main speakers have been the old Stalinist henchmen, that is to say precisely those persons of whom the poet Dratsh has said: that they "have befogged their point of view, live like sneaks and let their thoughts grow in a sewer". In other words, the very persons whom the younger generation hates and despises are to be the latter's teachers. As regards these "teachers" a young Ukrainian writer expressed the opinion during a meeting in Kyiv that the entire middle-aged generation of Ukrainian writers were nothing but Stalinists and good-for-nothings and that for this reason one should put a stop to their literary activity. This unfavourable criticism reflects the opinion of practically all the young writers, artists and composers, as well as other creative intellectuals in Ukraine. Naturally, the younger generation is hardly likely to content itself with such teachers, and hence the present conflict is hardly likely to abate, but, on the contrary, will in all probability be intensified still more.

The fact must, of course, be stressed that it is not a question of an insignificant group of dilettanti from amongst the ranks of the younger generation, whom one tries to stamp as "literary rowdies". If this were the case, the Party would not make so much fuss about a small group of renegades. The wave of opposition against the present regime has already seized the majority of Ukrainian youth. And in every non-Russian republic there is a comparatively large group of brilliant young writers who are extremely popular amongst the public and, above all, amongst the young people. Proof of this fact can, incidentally, be seen from the articles in the Soviet press, although the latter are only a feeble reflection of what is actually happening behind the scenes. Trends and movements are in evidence amongst the younger generation which strongly remind one of the events in Poland during the years 1956-1958. The discussions held at that time amongst the young Polish intellectuals regarding the journal "Prosto z mostu" ("Simply and Spontaneously") eventually led to an abnegation of Communism in its Russian form. Gomulka had no other alternative but to liquidate this dangerous movement by administrative measures. He was however farsighted enough not to try and force Stalinist teachers on the young Polish intelligentsia. And he allowed the Polish younger generation a fairly wide scope for their creative activity.

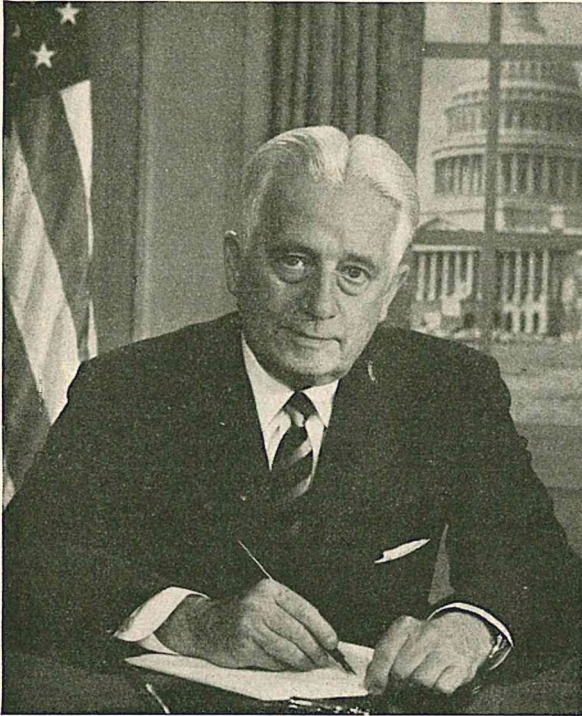
The Communist Party is endeavouring to liquidate the ferment amongst the young intellectuals of the individual peoples enslaved by Moscow by the introduction of Stalinist measures and by its approval of Stalinist henchmen. Such methods have however never been able to end conflicts of this kind. True, opposition and general discontent can be suppressed in this way, but the consequences of moral terrorism and of so-called "brain-washing" as a rule soon make themselves felt.

It is quite possible that this time, too, the Party may succeed in nipping new progressive trends in the bud and in forcibly confining them in the poor and primitive framework of the "construction of Communism". But this would only be a Pyrrhic victory. For the Soviet Russian regime will only compromise itself still more by its neo-Stalinist practices in the eyes of the younger generation of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union. Today there are already countless young people who do not believe in Communism at all and therefore want to live their life in their own way - without the traditional knout over their head. For there are amongst the young intellectuals numerous persons who wish to put Communism and humanism on a par, that is to say they affirm that the Soviet Russian regime has no right to call itself Communist. In other words, the Party has in one way or another had serious losses amongst the young people. It had hoped to train loyal janissaries for its own purposes, but in this respect it has suffered a complete failure. For the noble ideas of humanism and of the urge to freedom have won a victory. And in this connection the prospects of the Party for the near future are fairly dismal. The regime may be able to continue to exist for a time by relying on the old Stalinist "achievements". But what will happen when the ranks of the old Stalinist "bosses" get thinner, whilst the ferment amongst the population of the subjugated peoples and, above all, amongst the young intellectuals becomes fiercer and more extensive? The decisive factor is: the national fight for freedom will be intensified more and more until the disintegration of the Russian prison of peoples is eventually effected by the national revolutions.

Interviews Granted To The A.B.N. On Its 20th Anniversary

Hon. Kenneth B. Keating:

Services of A.B.N. Invaluable



Question: What possibilities do you think there are of solving the present world crisis, which has been caused by Bolshevist aggression, and how do you assess the role which the peoples subjugated by Bolshevism might play in this connection?

I do not anticipate any end in the near future to the present world crisis, which, I agree, is largely caused by communist expansionism. But the best prospects, in my judgment, will result from continued pressure and determined resistance to Soviet moves until such time as the communists recognize that they are unable to break the barriers of the free world.

The captive peoples can play an important role by displaying—through all the means at their disposal— their continued dissatisfaction with So-

viet rule. They alone can make it clear to the world that only the Red Army and the threat of force maintains communism in power.

Question: What is your opinion of the so-called "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" as a state political structure, of the part which the Russian Soviet Republic in particular plays in this "Union", and of the claim of the non-Russian peoples incarcerated in this "Union" to liberation from Russian rule and to restoration of their national and state independence?

It is obvious that the Russians are the ruling nationality within the Soviet Union and that other nationalities and groups are subjected in various ways to control from Moscow. Even where local leaders appear to be in charge, the source of their power is not from their own people, but from Moscow.

Question: What connection is there, in your opinion, between the traditional Russian urge to expansion of tsarist times and Moscow's world-aggression of today, and what measures should be adopted to counteract the latter?

There is no doubt that the Russians are a vigorous, determined, and often ruthless people. Under the tsars, as under the communist regime, Russian neighbors have felt themselves in danger of losing their independence. Traditionally, and today, the best defense against this expansionism has been a strong network of alliances backed by the determination of the stronger nations to act when necessary.

Question: What is your opinion of the policy of so-called "peaceful coexistence" with Bolshevism? Do you believe in a possible evolution of Bolshevism towards liberalization and democratization, so that an organic synthesis with the free world could be effected and a global conflict would be to no purpose?

Peaceful coexistence, in the sense of an avoidance of a major armed conflict or nuclear war, is possible in my judgment. Peaceful coexistence in the sense of relaxing our guard, reducing our defense, and relying on communist goodwill is not possible. As long as communism is totalitarian in outlook, it will always be an enemy of the free and open society we cherish and we will have to oppose it with vigor.

Question: How do you assess the present position of the free world: Do you think its freedom is secure if Moscow is allowed to retain its present sphere of influence as the starting-point for carrying out its world-aggression plans unchallenged?

The free world, like the communist bloc, is presently torn by internal strife, but as long as communists continue to operate at will in free nations, while free world influences are blocked in Eastern Europe, we are obviously at a disadvantage. Even in the last 15 years no communist nations have become free, but more than one free nation has been taken over by the communists. Until we can significantly reverse the score sheet, we will not be ahead nor will our freedom be secure.

Question: What view do you take of the significance of the political exiles from the Bolshevik-ruled countries and their potential as a means of activating the national ideas against alien Russian Bolshevik rule?

Exiles from communist nations can play an important role in alerting others of the dangers and offering their ability and know-how to the less developed countries. Unfortunately, the free world has not utilized these services as fully as it might have.

Question: What is your opinion of the part which the A.B.N. can play in this connection, and have you any suggestions to make in this respect to official Western circles?

The A.B.N. does a fine job in its continued opposition and well-informed position with regard to activities within the Soviet bloc. Should a crisis occur, its services would be invaluable. For the present, however, I would like to see increased efforts to inform the leaders of the underdeveloped nations as to what communism actually means and to alert the people of those nations to a better understanding of the menace of communist takeover.

Policy Of Containment Cannot Stop Aggression



(Mr. Ku Cheng-kang is President of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, China Chapter.)

Question 1. What possibilities do you think there are of solving the present world crisis, which has been caused by Bolshevist aggression, and how do you assess the role which the peoples subjugated by Bolshevism might play in this connection?

Answer: The present policy of containment as adopted by the Free World cannot stop the aggressive expansionism of the Communist bloc. The democracies of the Free World, particularly the United States as its leader, should give up such a passive and negative policy. Instead, they should give their full support to the enslaved peoples shut behind the Iron Curtain in their struggle for freedom. Only thus would it be possible to develop their steadfast fight against Communist tyranny from scattered into well-organized and well-planned overall anti-Communist movement. And the next step would be to unite the anti-Communist forces of the Free World and the Iron Curtain countries in their common effort to destroy the Iron Curtain. Such being the case, I am of the opinion that the role played by the enslaved peoples shut behind the Iron Curtain is as decisive and important as that of the peoples of the Free World in this crucial struggle for freedom and against slavery.

Question 2: What is your opinion of the so-called "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" as a state political structure, of the part which the Russian Soviet Republic in particular plays in this "Union", and of the claim of the non-Russian peoples incarcerated in this "Union" to liberation from Russian rule and to restoration of their national and state independence?

Answer: It should be done in accordance with the principle of "national self-determination" as enunciated by the Charter of the United Nations by letting the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain choose such political system and mode of living as conform to their own wishes.

Question 3: What connection is there, in your opinion, between the traditional Russian urge to expansion of Tsarist times and Moscow's world aggression of today, and what measures should be adopted to counteract the latter?

Answer: The urge to aggression of Moscow's dictator today is much stronger than that of Tsarist times. The reason for this is that Moscow does not depend on force of arms alone for territorial expansion. Simultaneously, it also resorts to such measures as infiltration and subversion to nibble at the Free World for the attainment of the end of world conquest and enslavement of the world humanity. In the face of this threat unprecedented in human history, the only effective measure for the protection of the Free World to take is to unite all peoples, regardless of race, religion and nationality, to destroy the Iron Curtain at an early date and to regain the independence and freedom of the captive nations and peoples.

Question 4: What is your opinion of the policy of the so-called "peaceful co-existence" with Bolshevism? Do you believe in a possible evolution of Bolshevism toward liberalization and democratization, so that an organic synthesis with the free world could be effected and a global conflict would be to no purpose?

Answer: "To coexist peacefully" with the Communist bloc is dangerous thinking. It will not only relax the anti-Communist solidarity of the Free World but also give the Communists a chance to deal blows to the free nations one by one. Peoples of the Free World should know that this is the snare set by Khrushchov to bury the Free World. Peoples of the Free World should know that freedom and slavery can never exist side by side – either freedom makes way for slavery or slavery devours up freedom. This is to say, if the Free World would be ultimately conquered by the Communists. However, we are confident that freedom will finally triumph over slavery. It is hoped that all freedom-loving peoples will strive hard for the early triumph in the struggle for freedom.

Question 5: How do you assess the present position of the free world? Do you think its freedom is secure if Moscow is allowed to retain its present sphere of influence as the starting-point for carrying out its world-aggression plans unchallenged?

Answer: There are some countries of the Free World which are fighting the Communists single-handed under most difficult circumstances. There are also countries which, in their fear of the Communists, advocate neutrality in the vain hope of gaining a temporary respite. Some treaty organizations cannot give full play to what is expected of them for the protection of collective security. If conditions like this continue, there is no doubt that the position of the Free World would become weaker and weaker with each passing day. The net result would only encourage the Communists for further aggression, and pose a greater threat to the security of the Free World.

Question 6: What view do you take of the significance of the political exiles from the Bolshevik-ruled countries and their potential as a means of activating the national idea against alien Russian Bolshevik rule?

Answer: Peoples of captive nations in exile in various parts of the Free World have been over the years striving unremittingly for the independence and freedom of their respective countries. These efforts made by them have enhanced the understanding of the Free World as to the aspirations of the enslaved peoples. They have given great encouragement to the peoples behind the Iron Curtain in their movement striving for freedom and independence. It is my hope that they will continue their struggle and take up the responsibility to restore the freedom of their countries and peoples.

Question 7: What is your opinion of the part which the A.B.N. can play in this connection, and have you any suggestions to make in this respect to official Western circles?

Answer: The efforts and achievements made by the A.B.N. in this connection have our high respect and admiration. The Free World, particularly the leading Western nations and peoples, should give them full sympathy and support.

Our cause is the cause of all mankind, and we are fighting for their liberty in defending our own!

*Benjamin Franklin
1777*

Admiral Botto:

Soviet Union — A Prison-house of Nations



(Admiral Botto is the Chairman of the Interamerican Confederation for the Defense of the Continent and the Brazilian Anti-Communist Crusade)

How do you assess the present position of the Free World? Do you think its freedom is secure if Moscow is allowed to retain its present sphere of influence or even increase it?

Let me start by answering the last sentence. *No!* The Free World's situation as regards Communist infiltration will deteriorate by and by, steadily and possibly at a quicker pace, if Moscow is allowed to go on unchallenged; if the Kremlin is left unrestrained in carrying out its global offensive which aims at conquering and enslaving the whole World under the Marxist yoke.

In spite of the proven fact (even though not generally acknowledged) that Communism is a cruel and tyrannical regime of servitude and slavery, that it represents an unacceptable *philosophy of life*, the truth is, none-the-less, that its formidable inroad and encroachment all over the world is based on the false assumption that it may cure all the ills of mankind... That ills exist, there is no denying, such as widespread suffering, hard living conditions in many free nations, economic stresses and hardships, social injustices, and so forth. It is not easy to correct or wipe out these adverse predicaments, because to do so would require not only good and wise governments but also a considerable length of time. The question is that we have no good governments in most of the threatened nations and, on the other hand, we cannot afford to wait a long time! Therefore, if we leave things as they are now, the Communist propaganda will continue to gather momentum, and in order to fool the naive and gullible masses, will always use the same old bait that Marxism is a cure-all and that life is pleasant and happy in Communist countries. As regards the lack of good governments, this is sadly true. Those who are most to blame are the leaders, the statesmen, the rulers, those who hold the reins in the free nations. Their failure to understand, to grasp the world situation, is simply appalling. It seems to me that history never before recorded such a bunch of poor statesmen as now!

We should keep in mind that Communism is a fierce and treacherous foe who drives straight towards its objectives, mocking at us and keeping its ears deaf to any sensible advice. Let us put an end to the policy of appeasement, weakness and surrender. Let us abandon the defensive attitude towards the Soviets; let us quit the shameful lenient mood which has served the reds so well and which has brought to us such dire disasters. Let us cease "co-existing" with these rogues. Let us not treat Communist governments, whichever they are, as *normal* national governments; because they are, instead, instruments of international conspiracy. They are nothing less than gangs of criminals of the worst kind!

"We will bury you" was the warning that Khrushchov, the abominable butcher of Hungary and Ukraine, issued while visiting the United States some time ago, in his peculiar rough way of acting and talking. Russia (contrary to red China's desperate attempts, for internal reasons, to call a world war) has every inducement, every advantage, not to hasten on any *hot war*, much less a *nuclear war*; not only because she rightly fears a declared war, but also because the so-called *cold war* or psychological war is bringing her high dividends. She is succeeding in fooling

the whole world; why then should she change her course of action? She will keep on going the same way, striving harder and harder to subjugate other peoples. She will do so by using lies, deceit, trickery, falsehood, through her agents or through fifth columns and local sectors of the USSR Communist Party; and, in the meantime, she will try to sell to the world at large the cynical theories of "peace" and "coexistence", in order to proceed unhindered.

The process will advance methodically until the world situation becomes really serious. This, of course, will not be the case if the Occidental Powers decide to change, as they must, their wrong over-all strategy for a better one of aggression and force. The real problem is not to avoid the much dreaded "atomic war", but to avoid the spread of Communism all over the world. It is the stupid policy of *coexistence* which, if adhered to, will surely lead to an atomic war after worldwide subversion and since a big stock of nuclear explosives and missiles are at the Kremlin's disposal. The free nations are foolishly watching, on a side-line, the big inrush of Communism, uttering once in a while tame and desultory protests...

Even the measures taken recently by the United States, the blockade of Cuba and the removal of Soviet armament installed on the island, were to a certain extent tame and feeble, because they should have included the military invasion of that bridgehead of Communism in America.

What is your opinion on the policy of so-called "peaceful coexistence"? Do you believe in a possible evolution of Bolshevism toward liberalization and democratization?

The theory of "peaceful coexistence" merely represents a trick used by the Communists to dull the free nations' sense of legitimate self-defense. They wish to play for time in order that the insidious fifth columns kept by the Kremlin inside those nations may be able to proceed with their work as sappers. They strive to lead the Democracies to an imprudent disarmament which will at once make them vulnerable to the blows of the barbarians of the Russian steppes. The theories of *coexistence* (implying the acceptance of a false "pax sovietica") and *nationalism* are the two Trojan horses that the criminals quartered in Moscow are trying to introduce into the citadels of the free peoples.

Yes, all well-intentioned hearts desire peace, but not a copy of the peace of Warsaw; not a fake peace dictated by enslavers; not a peace maintained by merciless terrorism, by fire and sword; not the peace of the concentration and slave-labor camps; not the peace of heretics who adhere solely to their materialistic instincts with complete disregard for the spiritual values of human life.

I do not believe Communism will, in the long run, show a real evolution towards liberalization or democratization, even though Communism may be forced at times, in order to subsist or to ward off serious troubles, to mitigate its ruthless character and assume an apparently milder form. Lenin's "New Economic Policy" (NEP) was a glaring proof of that. Khrushchov in order to placate the Soviet people's dissatisfaction with the regime, was forced to make it less inhuman, and this is another instance. But all that is mere expediency to fool people!

Either Communism keeps its tenets and insists on denying private property, private initiative, free enterprise, and totally disregards human dignity, or it ceases to be Communism. The "democratization" of Communism is sheer nonsense. A similar reasoning would lead us to the belief that we could not truly "socialize" a Democracy.

No Democracy could co-exist with a state representing everybody's sole employer and boss. Communism will never change on main issues, so long as it remains Communism. The Kremlin will keep on going the same way unless stopped by force, by sheer force, as I shall explain when answering the next question.

What possibilities are there of solving the present world crisis caused by Bolshevik aggression, and what role might the subjugated peoples play?

To my mind, there are two possibilities: – (a) stirring up und arousing insurgent liberation movements inside the Soviet Union (especially within the non-Russian nations), inside the Satellite Countries (East Germany included), and inside Continental China, and giving these movements all-out moral, material and military assistance and support; (b) waging all-out war against Russia and China. Let us cast a glance at alternative (a), meaning: – Overthrowing the Communist governments by using for that purpose the subjugated peoples themselves.

This measure would amount to a fierce attack on Russia's broad General Strategy, and would very likely cause it to collapse.

The Russian General Strategy abides by a not-very-well-known concept of a relatively new science: – *Geopolitics*, which contends that the influence of *land*, of *geographic land factors*, is as marked in history as is the influence of the *sea*, of the *oceans*.

It partially contradicts the so far well admitted imprint of *sea-power* upon history, of which Admiral Mahan, U.S. Navy, was the foremost scholar and sponsor. Here in a nutshell is what *Geopolitics* presents as one of its basic statements:

He who rules Eastern Europe commands the Heartland;

He who rules the Heartland commands the World Island;

He who rules the World Island commands the whole World.

The *Heartland* means European and Asiatic Russias combined.

The *World Island* is made up of Western Europe, Asia and Africa.

The rest of the World is a lesser Island comprising the Americas, England, Japan, Australia, Indonesia, New Zealand and New Guinea.

Russia commands the *Heartland*, because she rules *Eastern Europe*. Therefore she is on her way to rule the *World Island* (Western Europe, Asia and Africa).

It must be stressed that in doing so she is not neglecting Latin America, because she wants to conquer the whole World in a very short time, namely by 1975, according to her strategists! That is why, though not forgetting the geopolitics urge to rule the *World Island*, she is also contemplating dominating Latin America. What should the Free Nations do, then, to forestall Russia's plans?

Russia rules *Eastern Europe* and thus commands the *Heartland*. Therefore, if we contrive to make her cease ruling *Eastern Europe*, she will be unable to command the *Heartland*, and, consequently, she will not succeed in commanding the *World Island*; and if she cannot rule the *World Island*, she will not be able to conquer the whole world. This reasoning seems logical, from the geopolitics point of view. Now, how to make Russia *cease ruling Eastern Europe*?

The best way seems to be by throwing against the puppet Communist governments installed by the Kremlin in all Satellite Countries, the Baltic Nations and East Germany, the whole might and weight of the subjugated peoples, even within U.S.S.R. herself, where fourteen so-called republics are non-Russian and suffer under the Communist yoke.

The problem envisages two *gravitation centers*, if we adopt Clausewitz' words, and they are: – the *geographic* and the *political*.

Where is the geographic center? It seems to be in Germany, between the Rhine and the Vistula rivers. One part of Germany is free and prosperous, the Western part; the other part, Eastern Germany, is subjugated, decadent and ruined. Should Russia dominate Western Germany, the whole of Western Europe might be conquered; should, on the other hand, Eastern Germany be liberated, then Russia would be in a sad plight! She would face both *military* and *political* defeat.

And here we come to the *political gravitation center*. It is represented by the unsatisfactory conditions and the sufferings of the huge populations oppressed by Communism . . . The expulsion of the Soviets out of Eastern Germany would likewise entail results in the Satellite Countries, and finally, insurrection inside U.S.S.R. Eastern Germany is therefore of paramount importance in the scheme. From the anti-Communist point of view, we can thus change the first postulate of *Geopolitics* to the following one, as far as Russia is concerned: —

He who rules Eastern Germany rules also the Satellite Countries, and thus controls the Heartland.

Recalling the Hungarian “fiasco”, I fully realize that it will not be easy to compel Eastern Germany and the other subjugated nations to rebel against their oppressors, but it can be done if we convince the great Democracies, especially the United States, that it should be done. To undermine Russia’s morale the *United Nations* (up to now a farcical organization) could start harrassing the Kremlin on many issues, in particular the *colonial* one, also the *non-intervention* and the *self-determination* ones.

Under a more forceful leadership the *United Nations* might even exclude Russia as being an unreliable nation to deal with and unworthy of being a member of the organization. That, coupled with serious pledges of help, might encourage the subjugated countries to rise against their oppressors.

Let us now consider China; Mao Tse-tung rules Mainland China. What can be done to put Mao’s government down? — As with the European problem, the best procedure in Asia is, so I think, to pit the subjugated Chinese people against the Peiping clique. How? — How to compel the Chinese population to rebel against their ruthless masters? That is Taiwan’s big job; of course, the help of the United States will be necessary to enable Free China to assail the Mainland, the Seventh Fleet being of paramount importance in such an undertaking. But Taiwan should fight in conjunction with the nations belonging to the “Asian Peoples’ Anti-Communist League”; — and, besides, the warlike operations in Asia against Communist China should be concomitant with the warlike operations developed in Europe against Russia.

Where are, in Asia, the *gravitation centers*: — *geographic* and *political*? The first seems to be in China herself, meaning Mainland China; and the second is represented by the tragic situation and the hardships of the enormous masses dominated and forced to servitude by Mao Tse-tung. So, in Asia, the two gravitation centers are both in Mainland China.

Now let us suppose that the scheme outlined above *does not work*, meaning that the fostering of rebellion inside the subjugated countries does not lead to the overthrow of the Communist governments? — What to do, then?

To my mind one thing, one thing only, the situation being as it is and before it is too late: — *all-out war against Russia and Communist China!*

All boils down, as you see, to this: — put down the Communist governments inside all the subjugated countries and ultimately inside Russia herself and China.

In my opinion this can only be done in *two ways*: — either acting from *Within*, with *Outside* help, or else acting entirely from *Outside*, in an all-out declared war. The second alternative would entail a *Third World War*, carried out by the Democratic Nations led, of course, by the United States.

What is your opinion of the so-called “Union of Soviet Socialist Republics” as a state political structure, and of the part which the Russian Soviet Republic in particular plays in this “Union”?

There never was a truer misnomer than the world *Union* applied to the “Soviet Socialist Republics”! Far from being a “Union”, meaning a voluntary “Union”, the

holding together of the 15 wrongly called "Soviet Republics" can only be accomplished through sheer force. The Kremlin exerts compulsion in subduing many non-Russian nations and putting them under its drastic and ruthless domination.

A huge population of 215 million people, living in a vast territorial expanse of eight and one half million square miles, where the majority are non-Russians, speaking different languages and dialects and practising (so far as they are allowed to) different religions, forms a highly heterogeneous conglomeration suffering under the enslaving Communist yoke!

It was precisely this lack of homogeneity, which was one of the factors that made it possible for the Soviet tyrants to impose a cruel bondage on the former *Tsarist Empire*; it was the age-long concept of "divide et impera" that served them in overcoming the patriotic and anti-Russian sentiments of at least ten countries which they chained to a spurious Union, meaningless as such (as a consented union) but terribly significant as A PRISON-HOUSE OF NATIONS AND RACES, which is what the *Soviet Empire* is. The Constitutions of 1924 and 1936 granted complete supremacy of the ethnical Russian people (about 90 million) over all other ethnical nationalities of the USSR. Purges, terrorism, genocide, massacres, mass deportations, forced annexations, ethnic russification, economic stresses, discrimination (cultural and social), forced settlement of nomadic tribes, and so forth, have been resorted to by the Kremlin in order to maintain the authority of the Soviet state over all national groups.

The Ukraine has probably suffered most. All kinds of purges and terrorism, beginning in 1929-30 and rising to appalling climaxes in 1933-34 and 1937-38, were most cruelly carried out against her. Vinnitsa stands as a symbol of the martyrdom of the Ukrainian population. But Estonia, Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia followed suit, only to mention the nations which were hit hardest by the barbarians. The Soviet State practises a true "colonial policy" within the so-called Soviet Union . . .

What connection is there, in your opinion, between the traditional Russian urge to expansion of tsarist times and Moscow's world aggression of to-day, and what measures should be adopted to counteract the latter?

There is a very intimate connection, indeed. Moscow's world aggression of *to-day* is an aftermath of the tsarist expansion of *yesterday*. Both mean Imperialism of the worst type. Territorial expansion stands as the real purpose, in both cases, motivated by greed of power, of prestige and of riches, enshrouding utmost contempt for the will of the conquered peoples, for their well-being, for their fundamental rights to freedom and independence.

Brutal international predatory action in both cases!

The Bolshevik offensive of *to-day* is, essentially, far more the offspring of a mad and megalomaniac desire to increase on the widest possible scale the political and material supremacy of the Muscovites, than of the wish and purpose to spread Communism all over the world . . .

Marxism is a mere deceiving watchword, a fake banner waved at the gullible masses, a trap set to all those who suffer from adverse conditions and who are led to believe, through ignorance and misinformation, that the said ideology might serve as a cure-all for the ills of mankind; - whereas Marxism, as applied by the Kremlin, truly enslaves everybody under the devastating roller of Russian expansion!

What view do you take of the significance of the political exiles from the Bolshevik-ruled countries and their potential as a means of activating the national idea against alien Russian Bolshevik rule?

The attitude of the political exiles, referred to above, applies to the scheme outlined in my answer to question number three. I said that in order to solve the

present world crisis, caused by Bolshevist aggression, the best way was – “to stir up and arouse insurgent liberation movements inside the Soviet Union (especially within the non-Russian nations) and inside the Satellite Countries, which movements, if properly assisted and supported by the great Western Democracies, would succeed in overthrowing the Communist governments therein”.

Now, to compel the subjugated peoples to rebel against their oppressors, it is of paramount importance to build up their morale, to activate their national ideas, to instil in them the belief that it is their sacred duty to do everything to regain and secure their independence; – and in addition, of course, to assure them that the Free World will certainly assist and participate in their noble endeavours. This is where the political exiles come in, because their efforts will be very helpful in maintaining and encouraging the hope of the enslaved peoples for their ultimate liberation.

Moreover, the political exiles should do their best to convince the Democracies that the *big shame* of the Century, meaning the “bondage of millions and millions of persons by the Bolshevists”, should be wiped out, lest *Justice* be altogether discarded and the *Dignity of Man* is thrown to the winds . . .

A.B.N. is doing exactly that, I am happy to acknowledge. I do urge A.B.N. to persevere relentlessly in its patriotic and anti-Communist efforts; and, on the other hand, I call on the Western Democracies to become fully cognizant of the world situation (which they do not seem to be), so that they may decide, while there is time, to take prompt, courageous, drastic and effective action against the Communist onslaught!

Peaceful Coexistence Is The Biggest Error



I. I do not see any possibility to solve this crisis created by the Bolshevist aggression, unless the West or what is called the Free World (including some nations of the East) – decide to put an end to the “bluff” of Russia and its satellites and start giving efficient and immediate aid to the peoples subjugated by Muscovite imperialism, so that they may break the chains which keep them enslaved.

II. My opinion concerning the so-called “Union of Soviet Socialist Republics” and the papers which present Russia as playing a role inside this said “Union”, as well as concerning the claim to freedom which these nations oppressed within the borders of said “Union” have, is: Russia will lose its empire the moment the Free World decides to liberate these nations which are oppressed by the Russian Communists.

III. In my booklet – “History of Russian Colonialism and Imperialism” (“Historia del Colonialismo y del Imperialismo Ruso”), which was published last year (1962) and re-edited by the press of the United States of North America, Central America, South America and the Antilles, I expounded my opinion which was based on the data furnished by C. I. A. S. of Bonn, Germany, and on the map (in colors) which was kindly forwarded to me by A. B. N. of Munich, Germany; all this data revealed the Bolshevist expansion of today which is but a continuation of the imperialist and Pan-Slavist policies of Russian tsarism. The methods to counteract said expansion must be multiple and complex, actually amounting to: changing from the defensive to the offensive, thus leaving behind the Communist “bluff”.

IV. The peaceful coexistence of the West or the Free World with the Soviet bloc of Russia, Red China and the satellites is the biggest error which has ever been made and which is still being made, seeing that Russia and its associates wish to eliminate by all means our economical, social and political system. The Reds prefer the "Cold War", since in this way they win more without risking lives and firing one single shot and rely on their allies, the Fifth Columnists or traitors which each free country has. The Communist system will never undergo an evolution in the sense of "liberalism" or "democracy" in order to be in concord with the Free World and to avoid a fatal conflict with it.

V. The Free World will never be able to live in peace as long as it is threatened by Russia and Red China, who continue to enforce the ideology of Marx and Lenin by terrorism, and by the imperialism of these two great powers. It is imperative that the artificially created empires of Russia and Red China should be dismembered.

VI. The numerous groups of patriots in exile, descendants of the peoples dominated by Russia and Red China, should be the vanguard of those who fight to put an end to the ruthless and terrible Red empire. The Free World – if it wishes to free itself – must aid these patriots in exile wholeheartedly by effecting their unification or coordination.

VII. The A. B. N. is one of the strongest anti-Communist organizations which numbers in its ranks patriots of Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan, Armenia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Hungary, Bohemia, Slovakia, Byelorussia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia. The A. B. N. deserves the aid and support of the Western powers and the Free World in general.

Jorge Prieto Laurens,

Vice-President, in the capacity of Secretary-General
of the Interamerican Confederation for Defense of
the Continent.

"Exil et Liberté" in Paris Guilty on Two Charges

In its verdict made public on June 19, 1963, the Court of Appeal (11th Chamber) pronounced Mr. de Goulevitch, known by the pseudonym François de Romainville, editor of "Exil et Liberté", the periodical of the white Russians, guilty of having libelled Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, the former Prime Minister of the Ukrainian Provisional Government and present President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.).

As will be remembered, Mr. de Goulevitch – François de Romainville published an article entitled "Les membres de l'ABN complices du génocide d'Hitler" ("ABN Members Accomplices To Hitler's Genocide") in his journal "Exil et Liberté" in December 1961.

In another verdict which was likewise made public on June 19, 1963, the 11th Chamber of the Court of Appeal also pronounced Mr. de Goulevitch – François de Romainville guilty of having libelled Miss M. Kerhuel, the authoress of the book "Le colosse aux pieds d'argile" ("The Colossus with Feet of Clay"). This book, published by the firm of Subervie, gives an account of the internal situation in the Soviet Russian empire and expounds the independence aims of the nations subjugated by Russia in the USSR.

Soviet Colonialism — Old Tradition Of Russia



(Professor Magnino is the Secretary-General of the Institute for the Study of Ethnical and National Problems, Rome, Italy)

Question: What possibilities do you think there are of solving the present world crisis, which has been caused by Bolshevik aggression, and how do you assess the role which the peoples subjugated by Bolshevism might play in this connection?

Answer: In order to solve the present crisis it is necessary first of all to examine the causes which have determined it.

After several centuries of aggressiveness and imperialism in East Europe and in Asia during the tsarist era, Soviet Russia 40 years ago began its policy of aggression against the entire West.

It is therefore necessary to eradicate the evil and to combat this imperialism, whether it be of the tsarist or of the Soviet kind, in order to bring peace to the world.

The only way to defeat this imperialism is to reunite all the Western peoples who still believe in their civilization and in the values of their historical, religious and cultural traditions, etc., and, *with the same arms*, to fight Soviet aggressiveness by openly denouncing the genocide which has been practised for centuries and, in particular, for the past 40 years in the Russian empire against the subjugated peoples, without the whole world perceiving the terrible danger of this Russian colonialism up to the present time.

Question: What is your opinion of the so-called "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" as a state political structure, of the part which the Russian Soviet Republic in particular plays in this "Union", and of the claim of the non-Russian peoples incarcerated in this "Union" to liberation from Russian rule and to restoration of their national and state independence?

Answer: The Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics is a union founded on the subjection of the peoples who form part of it. Having forcibly assimilated these entirely different peoples — the Ukrainians, Armenians, Georgians, Byelorussians, Turkestanians, etc., the USSR makes the West believe that it is a federal state, whereas in reality it is a colonial empire.

It is therefore imperative that we should support with all our strength the claims of these peoples to freedom and independence; in a century which is fond of calling itself "the century of anti-colonialism" it is imperative that we should combat the only real colonialism which still exists in the world today, namely Russian colonialism, by helping the independence movements of the peoples subjugated by Russia.

This is a task and duty of civilization to which all those peoples who truly desire to be democratic and all the religions which are based on the freedom of the human being and equality of all men, must devote themselves.

Question: What connection is there, in your opinion, between the traditional Russian urge to expansion of tsarist times and Moscow's world-aggression of today, and what measures should be adopted to counteract the latter?

Answer: Soviet colonialism is an old tradition of Russia: for several centuries tsarist Russia developed a colonial policy of subjection of the peoples of Eastern Europe and of Asia. We must be convinced of this reality if we wish to combat the Russian colonialism of the 20th century successfully.

Question: What is your opinion of the policy of so-called "peaceful coexistence" with Bolshevism? Do you believe in a possible evolution of Bolshevism towards liberalization and democratization, so that an organic synthesis with the free world could be effected and a global conflict would be to no purpose?

Answer: The policy of coexistence in this case has no meaning whatever, either from the political, moral, or religious point of view. One can establish coexistence when there is a real basis of understanding between the peoples who desire coexistence.

In the case of Russia coexistence will never be possible as long as the USSR does not know the true meaning of the words "liberty", "democracy", etc. From the point of view of natural rights, coexistence would only be possible if the USSR were to become a national country by giving the subjugated peoples their freedom and independence. In the reverse case, coexistence would mean the subjection of the free world to the USSR (from the political point of view) and the subjection of God to the Soviet state (from the religious point of view).

And one must take this reality into consideration if one wishes to survive the Russian danger.

Question: How do you assess the present position of the free world: Do you think its freedom is secure if Moscow is allowed to retain its present sphere of influence as the starting-point for carrying out its world-aggression plans unchallenged?

Answer: The free world ought to convince itself – after the past 40 years of experience – that Russian expansionism aims at the domination – not only politically but also ideologically – of the whole world. If we free peoples wish to survive, then we must combat this Russian imperialist aggression with all the means at our disposal. And it must be stressed at this point that to combat Russian imperialism does not mean an "armed war", but an extremely rigid policy, *without any compromise whatever*, on the part of the Western countries as regards the USSR.

Question: What view do you take of the significance of the political exiles from the Bolshevik-ruled countries and their potential as a means of activating the national ideas against alien Russian Bolshevik rule?

Answer: The Western world has the possibility of combatting Russian colonial expansionism by various ways and means. But above all it is necessary, from the psychological point of view, too, to recognize the true character of the USSR. And to do so, we should rely on the experience of the political exiles from the Bolshevik-ruled countries, who represent the sole means of successfully conducting a campaign against the Russian Communist aggression in the world.

By supporting the claims to freedom and independence of the subjugated peoples of the USSR we shall fulfil our task as true democrats and free men and complete the "rebirth" begun a century ago in Western Europe.

Only when we have restored freedom and independence to the peoples of Eastern Europe shall we be able to say that we have accomplished our task and that the "rebirth" is indeed completed.

Question: What is your opinion of the part which the A.B.N. can play in this connection, and have you any suggestions to make in this respect to official Western circles?

Answer: A.B.N. today represents a solid bloc of representatives of the various national groups of the countries subjugated by Russia who can help us in the struggle against Soviet imperialism. Official circles in the West must, above all, give support in a concrete form to the activity of A.B.N. in its efforts to combat Russian colonialism, by supporting the claims of the peoples who play a part in the activity of A.B.N.

Official circles in the West must support their struggle against Russian colonialism, in the first place by studying the ethnical problems of Eastern Europe in order to be better able to recognize the differences which exist between the peoples of the USSR as regards history, language, culture, and religion, etc.

Secondly, it is necessary to study the enormous danger of the genocide perpetrated in the USSR, which threatens to revolutionize the geo-ethnical map of Europe.

Thirdly, one must consider the technical aspect of the question in order to meet the danger, be it political or ideological, of a Soviet invasion, which would most certainly lead to another world war.

If we wish to avoid another world war, then the official circles of the West must realize that the only course is to pursue a united policy of intransigence towards the USSR (the only policy which will be comprehended by the USSR!), by relying on the experience of the personalities who play a leading part in A.B.N. and on that of the other organizations in the Western countries who are convinced that to combat Soviet Russia is to combat the tsarist Russia which, several centuries ago, commenced its policy of colonization of the peoples of Eastern Europe and of Asia.

A "union of free and democratic peoples" against a "union of slaves subjugated by Moscow" – this is what we demand of all men of goodwill all over the world.

Niko Nakashidze

Comments on "A Modern History of Georgia"

(David Marshall Lang: "A Modern History of Georgia". Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1963)

Mr. D. M. Lang is a well-known English authority on Georgian history. He has published a number of articles and monographs dealing with this subject. Some years ago his book "The Last Years of the Georgian Monarchy, 1658–1832" appeared. Whatever opinion one might hold as regards his account of history and his views in this book – and this is a question to be decided by authorities on the subject, one could not help but admit that he had dealt with the problems discussed in the said book in a scientific manner and be convinced that he would continue the tradition of the great English Orientalists.

When his book "A Modern History of Georgia" was announced last year we Georgians were all very pleased, for it is seldom that the Western countries publish a scientific work on our people, and when they do, the true facts about our country are usually distorted and disparaged.

But in the case of "A Modern History of Georgia" our expectations were not fulfilled. In this work the author has departed from the scientific principles which he has applied in his previous works; he concentrates on a political assessment of events, and makes a political forecast from the perspective of the present political situation and, in doing so, definitely manifests a co-existentialist ten-

dency. But what is even worse is that he frequently uses Communist sources. Hence the account he gives of certain events and the conclusions which he draws are neither objective nor correct. He has visited Georgia, but his personal impressions gained there, which he has also used when writing this book, were apparently only superficial.

Chapters 1 to 9 give an account of the geography and ethnography of the Caucasus, of the ancient history of Georgia, of the annexation of Georgia by Russia in the 19th century, of Georgia under the rule of Tsarist Russia, of the first world war and the restoration of Georgia's independence. We do not intend to enumerate the misrepresentations of facts and errors contained in these chapters, since the main subject of our criticism are chapters 10 to 13, which deal with the period from 1918 up to the present time. We should merely like to draw attention to one of his statements in the earlier chapters as proof of the fact that he negates the high social and political level of Georgia even in early times. He refutes the opinion of the historians that the feudal system in Georgia was similar to that of Europe, i. e. serfdom and fealty, and maintains that Georgian feudalism originated from the Byzantine Empire and from the Persia of the Sassanid dynasty. Either Mr. Lang has not read the ancient Greek and Roman historians, or else he has intentionally distorted historical facts. Nor

does he appear to have read that excellent book by Chr. Ratshwelishwili – “The History of Feudalism in Georgia”. Surely an unpardonable omission on the part of one who is regarded as an authority on Georgia!

But let us now turn to the main subject of our criticism, namely chapters 10 to 13, which deal with the historical period between the proclamation of Georgia's independence and the present time. In the first place we should like to refer to an incident in connection with which Mr. Lang accuses the Georgians of a vile crime. He mentions the revolt of the Osetians in the district of Gori in 1918 and alleges that the Georgian troops killed 5,000 persons and forced 20,000 to flee; further that they set fire to numerous villages and depopulated the entire region. The author of this article took part in this expedition as an officer. The Georgian troops only consisted of 3 infantry companies and 1 cavalry squadron. The sight that met our eyes when we arrived on the scene was dreadful. The Bolshevik hordes had murdered whole families (including women and children), as for instance the families of Tsitsishwili and Warasishwili, etc. The corpses had been thrown into the stables and the dogs had been locked in with them. The howling of the dogs was terrible. Although they had been locked in the stables for days and were starving, not one of them had touched the corpses. It goes without saying that we showed no mercy towards these Bolshevik bandits. But Mr. Lang's assertion, to the effect that we killed 5,000 persons, set fire to the villages in our own country, and forced 20,000 persons to flee, is a lie which is based on Communist sources. And the fact that this English historian repeats such an abominable lie is, to put it mildly, most unjust and certainly not fair. Incidentally, if Mr. Lang's assertion that 500 Georgians defeated 25,000 Osetians were true, it would not say much for the Osetians. In any case Mr. Lang confuses this incident with the incursion carried out by Bolshevik hordes from the north via the Georgian military highway in 1920. He should at least have known that it was not insurgent Osetians but international Bolshevik troops, and they included bandits of every nationality, who took part in the incident in question. It was an incursion on the part of foreign military units, and it is the incontestable right of every state to repulse an enemy attack. In such a combat it is not a question of sparing the enemy.

Mr. Lang affirms that under Soviet rule Georgia has experienced an enormous boom in the sectors of culture, industry and agriculture, and that Party control of the press and publishing sector is far less strict than it was some years ago. He adds that Soviet society as a whole and also Georgia are undergoing an evolution and emphasizes that

the coming years will bring the Georgians and the Russians “material advantages and personal freedom”. Such are the views and forecasts of the historian Mr. Lang! – He describes Georgia's “economic rise” under Soviet Russian rule and compares it with the economic situation in Georgia in 1913. He then comes to the conclusion that Georgia is so united economically and politically with the Soviet Union that it would be a serious disadvantage for the Georgian people to secede from the Soviet Union. It is certainly strange that the author of “A Modern History of Georgia” should draw a comparison between conditions in Georgia now and in 1913. 49 years have passed since 1913, and during this period there has been progress in all countries without thousands of persons having been murdered. A striking example in this respect is Israel. Does Mr. Lang doubt the Georgians' capability to achieve progress on their own!

But let us examine Mr. Lang's positive assessment of Georgia's position today and the evidence of the way in which Georgia is “thriving and prospering” under Soviet Russian rule! – According to Soviet statistics of 1959 the population of Georgia numbers 4,044,000 inhabitants, of whom 2,629,000 are Georgians, a figure which represents 65.1 per cent of the total population. Thus approximately 35 per cent of the population consists of foreigners (including 438,000 Russians) (see “Kommunisti” of February 4, 1960, No. 30). But according to Mr. Lang's opinion the Georgians are increasing in number and are thriving. Indeed, a happy country! He mentions the fact that the area of the tea and lemon plantations has been increased enormously. Apparently he does not realize why this has been done, nor why the Russians are setting up and expanding industries to such an extent in so small a country. Surely Mr. Lang is not so naive as to assume that they are doing all this because they love the Georgians and have the latter's interests at heart. The Russians regard Georgia as a colonial country, and this attitude on their part determines the policy and the methods they pursue with regard to Georgia. Georgia is obliged to contribute its share in the service of the Russian colonial imperium. – Does Mr. Lang really believe that the expansion of the tea-growing areas was impossible in former times? Has he never heard of mono-culture and of its disastrous effects? Has he never heard of soil erosion? Is he unaware of the fact that millions of dollars are spent in the USA and in Asia in order to remedy this evil? All these facts which may not be known to Mr. Lang the historian, were however known to the farmers of Georgia hundreds of years ago. But the Russians force the Georgians to carry on this

mono-culture and it is all the same to them whether the soil erodes or not!

All agricultural and industrial products are exported to Russia and other countries. The Georgian farmer has been degraded to the level of a kolkhoz animal and the Georgian worker to the level of a factory slave by the Russians.

There are 20,000 persons studying in Georgia. Why does this small country need so many intellectuals? Many of them are used for export, as it were, and are sent to Russia, Siberia and the Communist countries. Hundreds of them have for instance been sent to work in North Korea and Viet-Nam. And a large number of Georgian engineers and experts, 50 of whom have their families with them, are working on the construction of the Assuan dam in Egypt. Mr. Lang has apparently not read the letters sent by some of them to the paper "Kommunisti".

Mr. Lang is concerned about Georgia's future if it should secede from the Soviet Union. Since when have economic factors been decisive for the independence of a people? Why can countries which are economically poorer than Georgia and do not possess its wealth of mineral and natural resources, such as Finland and Norway for instance, be independent states, whereas Georgia cannot? Is Israel economically self-supporting without financial support from other countries? — Mr. Lang need not be concerned about Georgia's future. The Georgians will lease motor factories, for example, to Ford or General Motors. And Mr. Lang knows the geographical position of Georgia; there are direct routes from there to Ukraine, the Balkan countries, Turkey, Persia, Turkestan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, and even to the Far East. Hence Georgia's export trade is secure. As regards tea, lemons, fruit, etc., the Georgians will sell them to the Russians even when the latter no longer rule in Georgia. What is more, Georgia with its seaside resorts, spas and health resorts, its beautiful scenery and its ideal climate, is definitely a tourists' paradise. Why should Georgia not be able to live from tourism, like Italy and Spain do? Thus all these economic problems can easily be solved.

Mr. Lang even goes so far as to affirm that one of the negative results in the event of Georgia's secession from the Soviet Union would be that the Georgians would then no longer have any possibility of flying to Moscow twice daily. Absurd though it may seem, he uses this as an argument!

He overlooks the fact that peoples who formerly did not exist as nations and had no state of their own have meanwhile attained national independence and have set up their independent states. Ruanda-Urundi, Togo and Nigeria, etc., are independent states, but the Georgian peoples are forced to

endure Russian rule. The British Empire and other empires have been dissolved; England has granted the colonial peoples freedom. But the Russian imperium is to be preserved and the ancient peoples ruled by it are to continue to remain its subjects! We thought Mr. Lang was a modern authority on modern history! But in his opinion Georgian nationalism and the aversion of the Georgians to the Russians are reprehensible. What about the hatred of the English, Norwegians, Danes, Dutch, Belgians, French, Serbs and Poles against the Germans during the war, that is to say during the German occupation of their respective countries? And that is how the Georgians will continue to hate the Russians as long as they rule in Georgia.

Mr. Lang's account of the alleged Georgian "fascists" and the Georgian units in the German army is pure fiction, which is more worthy of a second-rate newspaper than of a scientific book. And his incorrect reference to the 85-year-old famous Georgian scientist, Prof. Dr. M. Tseretheli, whom he knows so well, is certainly unworthy of a scholar and even more so of an Englishman.

As in his essay on the spread of Christianity in Georgia, which is included in the well-known book by Peter Bamm, "Welten des Glaubens" ("Worlds of Faith"), so, too, in his "Modern History of Georgia" Mr. Lang persists in affirming that the Georgian royal dynasty of the Bagratians is of Armenian origin. In the said essay he even goes so far as to affirm that the General Prince Peter Bagration, mentioned in Leo Tolstoy's novel "War and Peace", was an Armenian, even though he most certainly knows, as an authority on Georgian history, that Prince Peter Bagration was a grandson of the brother of the King of Georgia, Wachtang VI, who emigrated to Russia.

Even if the Bagratians were once Armenians, surely in the course of the 1300 years during which they reigned in Georgia they became Georgians. Surely Mr. Lang would not think of affirming that the royal dynasties in England, Belgium, Holland, or Sweden are still German or French, etc. But the main point is that the Bagratians were never Armenians but have always been Georgians as regards their origin and nationality. We can assume that Mr. Lang is well acquainted with the works of Georgian scholars and historians, including the standard work by P. Ingorokva — "Georg Mertschule", which contains authentic and irrefutable proof based on historical sources, to the effect that the Bagration dynasty is of Georgian origin and reigned in Georgia in earliest times and that only one of the branches of this dynasty seized power in Armenia and ruled there. But whereas the Armenians were already deprived of their state in the 10th century, the Georgian state continued

to exist until the 19th century, and from the 11th to the 13th century Armenia was a vassal state of Georgia. — But Mr. Lang probably does not regard P. Ingorokva, who is a representative of the old school, as an authority on Georgian history because of his “nationalist tendency” (with which the Communists have also reproached him). Let us see, however, what the younger historians have to say on the subject. Mr. Lang is no doubt acquainted with the work “The History of Georgia” by N. Berdsenishwili, W. Dondua, M. Dumbadse, G. Melikhishwili, Sch. Meskhia, O. Ratiani, published in Tbilisi in 1958. He cannot affirm that these historians belong to the old school. On the contrary, they have all grown up under the Communist regime; they are all Party members, and G Melikhishwili has even been awarded the Lenin Prize. What have they to say about the Bagration dynasty? On pages 124/125 of the above-mentioned book it is stated: “The famous dynasty of the Bagrations came from the ancient Georgian region of Speri (today called Iser) . . .” That is to say, the territory from which they came was ancient Georgian territory.

When we refuted Mr. Lang’s statement in this connection in Peter Bamm’s book, we received a reply to the effect that the Armenian sources were more reliable than the Georgian ones. Let us now see what these Armenian sources have to say about the Bagrations. According to the Armenian historians Moses of Khoren (7th century) and Stephanos of Sivinia (7th century), the Armenian language did not count at all in this native country of the Bagrations — Speri, that is to say Armenian was not the language of this territory even though it was for a time part of the territory of Armenia. The Armenian historian Sebeos (6th century) in his genealogy of the Bagrations designates them as “Pharnavasians”, that is to say direct descendants of the dynasty of Pharnava which ruled in Georgia from ancient times until the early Middle Ages. (“Pharnavasians” is used in the same sense as “Bourbons” or “Habsburgs”, etc., The famous Armenian historian Moses of Khoren, who was the biographer of the branch of the Bagrations who ruled in Armenia, writes: “Certain persons who are untrustworthy and refuse to be guided by the truth obstinately affirm that the royal dynasty of the Bagrations is allegedly descended from Haik (= Armen, the mythological progenitor of the Armenians). To which I can but say: do not believe such foolish words, for they contain no trace or indication of the truth”.

So much for Mr. Lang’s “reliable” Armenian sources! It should be obvious from the above statements how tendentiously Mr. Lang distorts historical facts and how false his assertions are.

But let us now turn to Mr. Lang’s statements regarding the situation in Georgia in recent years. He describes the revolt of Georgia’s youth in March 1956 (during which more than 100 students were killed by Russian soldiers and hundreds were deported to Siberia; incidentally, the former French President Auriol was at that time in Tbilisi) and affirms that the conclusions drawn by foreign observers from this individual incident regarding the strength of nationalist feeling in Georgia today were exaggerated. He then stresses that the Georgians do not constantly oppose the Soviet state, as some Western writers would have us believe.

It is obvious that the Georgians, after their dreadful experiences in 1922, 1924, 1933/34 and 1956, will not rise up in open revolt, for, after all, they do not wish to destroy their own people physically. The Russians would be only too pleased to have a reason for exterminating the Georgians, but the Georgians are prudent enough not to allow themselves to be provoked. They continue to put up a spiritual resistance undauntedly and assert their national dignity, culture and national characteristics tenaciously and courageously. They ward off Russian arrogance and refuse to recognize the Russians as their “elder brothers”. The younger generation of the farming and working classes defend the national cause. These young Georgians are most certainly national-minded; they are conscious of the worth of their nation and proud of its achievements.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Lang reads the Georgian scientific and literary periodicals. The scientists of the younger generation are national in thought and deed. One of them, D. Mcedlishwili, wrote in the organ of the Georgian writers’ union that they all oppose exaggerations, glossing over, pseudo-patriotism, etc., in our history and added: “the history of our people has been troubled but illustrious and it does not need any exaggeration.” He then stressed: “We shall not allow certain research scholars to contest the historical truth of the entirety and unity of our nation — allegedly in the name of science — and cast a shadow on the history of our people. We shall not tolerate such things” (“Mnathobi”, No. 2, 1957).

It is an established fact that the young scientists of Georgia have sharply attacked certain Armenian historians who have tried to deny that Armenia was a vassal-state of Georgia. For this reason they were all criticized in an article in the Party organ, but even this article admitted: “The fight against nationalism does not mean, as some overzealous nihilists assume, that all that is national is to be thrown overboard” (“Kommunisti”, November 15, 1956, No. 266).

And in a resolution adopted by the Georg-

ian Komsomol it was stated that the idea had been instilled into the youth of Georgia that the Georgians are a special people ("Kommunisti", October 2, 1956, No. 230).

In an article on the social and political views held in Georgia in the 19th century P. Ratiani attacked the old Georgian Bolsheviks on account of their negative attitude towards the national culture, history and language of Georgia and their hostility towards the writers of those times, and designated the national nihilism of Ph. Makharadze as "vulgarily conceived Marxism" ("Mnathobi", Nos. 10 and 12, 1961). In their review of this article by P. Ratiani, the professors of the younger generation, Sh. Tshkhetia, A. Bendiaswili, G. Margiani, praise it and stress that Ratiani's analysis and views are completely justified ("Mnathobi", No. 2, 1963). Since the 22nd Party Congress the theory of the murgence of the peoples has been openly set up and propogated in the Soviet Union and special emphasis has been placed on the importance of the Russian language for the cultural development of the peoples of the Soviet Union. The advocates of this theory are all Russian scientists. It is indeed ad-

mirable how the scientists and even the Party theoreticians of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union oppose this idea. It is also significant that this idea has caused considerable unrest in Georgia. One only needs read the article by G. Lomidze entitled "A discussion on the further course of the development of Soviet national culture" to realize how desperately the Georgians are defending their national life, culture, and characteristics ("Mnathobi", Nos. 10 and 11, 1962). But Mr. Lang does not seem to regard all this as proof of the strength of national feeling in Georgia.

We cannot help feeling that Mr. Lang has a prejudice against the Georgians and that his attitude towards them, is that of a tendentious scientist. He regards the Georgians as a colonial people who are to be assimilated in the great nation of the Russians and must render compulsory service to the construction of Communism. Mr. Lang has chosen a Georgian saying - reprove a friend to his face and an enemy behind his back - as a motto for his book, thus affirming that he is a friend of the Georgians. Heaven forbid that we should have such friends!

Excerpts from Convocation of the First World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation

"Through a careful and detailed estimate of the situation created by the International Communist Movement as an instrument of Russian imperialism - the "Interamerican Confederation for the Defense of the Continent" and the "Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League" as well as the delegates of the Preparatory Conference for the First World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation were led to the definite conclusion that the final objective of the Bolshevik imperialists of the Kremlin remains the same as it was since the ominous 1917 upheaval which brought the Communist regime to Russia, namely the establishing as a result of a world Communist revolution, of a "World Federation of Soviet Republics". . . .

"Lend strong moral, ideological, psychological, material and military support to the governments throughout the world whose responsibility is to expose and eradicate, within their frontiers, the danger of the Soviet-Russian offensive, and likewise help and support the national liberation movements already existing within the sphere of Soviet Russian domination, also those national liberation movements which may be organized in the future." . . .

"Since international Communism is an instrument of Russian imperialism, the struggle against international Communism includes the struggle against Russian imperialism with the clear understanding that the ultimate goal of the struggle for freedom and justice throughout the world is the destruction of international Communism and Russian imperialism, the disintegration of the Russian empire, now existing in the form of the so-called USSR and satellites, and the re-establishing of national independent states on the ethnographic territories of the peoples enslaved by Russia at any period in the past in Eastern and/or Central Europe and Asia."

The Meaning of Captive Nations Week

Patriotic American organizations and individuals who fight on the front line of the anti-Communist struggle must deal with a seemingly insurmountable obstacle – indifference.

During the last twenty years we have witnessed the descent of the Communist blight upon country after country in Europe and Asia. It has come within ninety miles of our own shores. Yet the most urgent warnings of an imminent danger are in the category of an air-raid alert!

America is second to none in mustering all forces whenever disaster strikes. Patriotic fervor reaches fever pitch, but as soon as the visible crisis lifts, the dense fog of apathy descends. This, as Cleveland said, “is no theory, but a situation”.

For that reason, it should be a great source of encouragement that we have among us a ready-made shock troop for the cold war, the so-called Ethnic Americans, recent immigrants with roots behind the Iron Curtain: Americans of East German, Ukrainian, Baltic, Byelorussian, Polish, Czech, Hungarian, Slovakian, Croatian, and Bulgarian origin. Among them we find no indifference where Communist danger is involved. They do not have to be convinced of the evils of Communism. Thousands experienced them first-hand in torture chambers and concentration camps. They have an unquenchable hatred for everything for which the Kremlin stands. Many of them have a price on their heads: their choice is not between democracy and Communism, but between Western freedom or the gallows.

Other thousands of our new fellow-citizens are qualified in guerilla espionage. Moscow’s propaganda double-talk is an open book to them.

Concerning our own conspicuously unsuccessful propaganda war, they are bewildered by the naked power politics of so-called “Titoism” which sacrifices principle for expediency, and neutralizes in the eyes of millions our ethnical foundation for opposing Communism. They bristle at the sight of a self-perpetuating leftist bureaucracy, which is still the hard core of our information services, with hundreds of well-fed employees spreading the Communist doctrine of “coexistence” in the far corners of the world.

A great many of these recent Americans have fathers and brothers who were delivered to the Red gallows by Communist agents masquerading in American uniforms during the “denazification”. Yes, there are among us eye-witnesses to the fact that the Communist take-over of seven independent, proud nations, was only possible because freedom’s leadership was extradited and slaughtered for alleged war crimes.

Concerning our own internal affairs, those who endured Khrushchov’s so-called “social democracy” detect the infiltration of the same poison into our body politic, with the precision of a Geiger counter. The “new” people are the first to run up against union dictatorship and labor monopoly. They clearly perceive the canyon between the freedom for which America stands and the objectives of our leftist reformers.

Year after year we commemorate “CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK”, in the second half of July. It should be a poignant reminder of the mighty reservoir of fervent dedication within our gates.

Dr. Gabor de Besseney,

President, AFABN (American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations).

Moscow Fears Ukraine

(Comments by a former diplomat)

When I was in Moscow during the years 1946 to 1948 I already had some idea of the fierce fight waged by the Ukrainian patriots against the Bolshevist regime, or, rather, against the Russian imperialist regime.

I listened with interest to the stories which were spread in confidence in diplomatic circles and which had as their main theme the "banderovtsy": the latter, 200,000 to 250,000 in number, had taken to the woody and hilly regions of Ukraine and were keeping the Soviet troops at bay; they were doing their utmost to rally men and to obtain arms and trucks for entire convoys, and were also rallying the Ukrainian farmers who had not had enough courage to resist the collectivization enforced by Moscow.

In order to conceal these facts from foreign diplomats the Soviet government prevented us from driving by car farther than Smolensk and in particular farther than the region of Minsk (in Byelorussia, on the route to northern and eastern Ukraine), on the pretext, which may have been either true or false, that the roads there had not been repaired since the war and that there were no hotels, garages or filling stations in these districts, a state of affairs which was and still is common enough in all parts of the Soviet empire.

Unlike myself, some of my colleagues did not give credit to the stories about the guerillas under the command of the great patriot Bandera; in fact, they even doubted the existence of the latter.

But they finally were convinced and received proof of this fact when Bandera was assassinated in Munich in 1959.

After this tragic event I began to take more and more interest in a movement whose size and strength I had previously never suspected and which fills me with the greatest admiration. Men like Mr. Stetzko, the former Prime Minister of Ukraine, and other freedom fighters of this movement deserve the highest degree of respect and support from all civilized nations.

Personally I regret not having known of this movement when I wrote my book on Russia, for I should in that case have devoted more space in it to Ukraine, which this courageous country certainly merits from the political, social, cultural and economic point of view. There can be no doubt about the fact that the Soviet empire would be considerably reduced in size and strength if Ukraine were severed from it. In an age in which nationalism is spreading throughout the world it is indeed very difficult for Moscow to continue to lay claim to the annexation of Ukraine.

Baron R. Pinoteau,

Former Councillor of the French Embassy in Moscow

Some Problems Of Modern Turkestanian History

An analysis of Soviet attacks on the alleged falsifiers of the history of Turkestan

by

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

East European Research Institute, Düsseldorf, 1963

Obituary

Dr. Alexander Lübenoff



We regret to announce the death of Dr. Alexander Lübenoff, the Secretary-General of the Bulgarian National Front and a member of the Bulgarian delegation of the Central Committee of A.B.N., who passed away on Good Friday in Bad Salzschlirf, Hessen, Germany.

The deceased was an active member of the group of Bulgarian political exiles and made a name for himself amongst Bulgarian emigrants all over the world by his numerous press articles, which were an expression of fervent patriotism and of an uncompromising fighting spirit against Bolshevist tyranny.

Dr. Lübenoff came from a village not far from the Bulgarian capital Sofia. He never denied but, on the contrary, proudly stressed the fact again and again that he came of the farming class of the so-called "Schopen", who during the wars in Bulgaria's modern history in which that country fought for its liberation and national reunification, formed part of the famous "Iron Division" of Sofia.

In his youth Dr. Lübenoff joined the Social Democratic Party of Bulgaria since he was at that time convinced that this was the best way to serve the social ideal. After the subjugation of Bulgaria under the Communist regime he no longer had any faith in any Marxist ideology and became an ardent advocate of the national idea as a powerful force against alien rule and materialism. It was this creed which prompted him, when in exile, to join the Bulgarian National Front, whose co-founder he became in 1949.

It would indeed be superfluous to give Dr. Lübenoff the Latin epitaph "nihil nisi bene", for in spite of his militant spirit and nature, he always retained his profound kindness and warm-heartedness. Thus, though he may have had political opponents, he most certainly had no personal enemies, and there was probably no one who would ever have dreamt of speaking evil of him.

The way in which he reacted in the following incidents was characteristic of his ever vigilant, militant spirit, which was always active even during that period of his life when he was an exile.

Some time ago, when delegates of the Church of Moscow were visiting the Federal Republic of Germany he put their alleged Christian charity to the test by writing a letter to them, in which, in the name of humanity and Christianity and regardless of politics, he begged for intercession in Sofia so that his aged parents would be allowed to leave Bulgaria in order to see him, their only son, for a last time. Dr. Lübenoff knew that his request would go unheeded, but he could not refrain from using this opportunity in order to expose the Communists' hypocrisy as regards the Church to the public.

To quote another example: when certain German Bundestag members of the Social Democratic Party during a visit to Bulgaria considered it appropriate to place

a wreath on the tomb of Georgi Dimitrov, and, in addition, also praised the regime in Bulgaria and its achievements during a press interview, Dr. Lübenoff wrote an open letter to the said gentlemen in which he censured their conduct. Referring to his own membership of the Socialist Party of Bulgaria in former times, he drew their attention to the true conditions in Bulgaria today, which, so he emphasized, were a mockery of socialism and democracy. He also expressed his astonishment at the fact that members of the German Federal parliament should have seen fit to pay homage to Georgi Dimitrov, the man who paved the way for Russian Bolshevik tyranny in Bulgaria. The result of this open letter was that an enquiry was held in the German Bundestag.

When Khrushchov on that memorable occasion in the forum of the United Nations took off his shoe and beat on the table with it, Dr. Lübenoff sent him a hobnailed boot, accompanied by a polite letter, in which he said that he was sending the Soviet Prime Minister and highest dignitary of the Kremlin a boot, so that he would in future not be obliged to take off his shoe and thus show himself in an unseemly manner to the public. This incident was reported at the time by the press in various countries of the free world.

Such was the character and spirit of our late comrade Dr. Lübenoff. By his death the Bulgarians in exile and our Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations have suffered an irreparable loss.

D. W.

In Memory of the Members of the Military Staff of the National Resistance in Georgia (1923-1963)

On May 25, 1923, the organ of the Georgian Communist Party, "Kommunisti", Nr. 115, published the following report:

"The judgement pronounced by the Extraordinary Commission (Cheka) of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic:

As a result of the arrests made by the Extraordinary Commission the activity of the agents of the capitalists of the Entente has been stopped. On the strength of investigations carried out by the Transcaucasian Extraordinary Commission the Extraordinary Commission of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic has seen fit to pass the highest sentence on the following persons on account of conspiracy against the Soviet power, organizing of the partisan movement in Georgia, and treason against the workers' and farmers' state:

Andronikashwili, Alexander, general, 51 years of age,

Tsulukidze, Warden, general, 57 years of age,

Abkhasi, Konstantin, general, 55 years of age,

Khimshidshwili, Georg, colonel, 31 years of age,

Muskhelishwili, Rostom, colonel, 35 years of age,

Sandukeli, Michael, military official, 39 years of age,

Bagratiou-Mukhrani, Simeon, captain, 27 years of age,

Karalashwili, Phardos, major, 27 years of age,

Kereselidze, Jason, liaison officer to the Party organizations, 32 years of age,

Kutateladze, Jwane, army surgeon, 40 years of age,

Tshiabrishwili, Simeon, merchant, financial administrator, 42 years of age,

Matshavariani, Alexander, colonel, 51 years of age,

Gulisashwili, Elisbar, lieutenant-colonel, 32 years of age,

Klimiashwili, Lewan, 1st lieutenant, 26 years of age,

Tshrdileli, Dimitri, major, 29 years of age.

Sentence has been executed on all the said persons."

Stop Worrying About Offending Russia

Congressman Edward J. Derwinski (R., 4th Dist., Ill.) recently cited the announced stand of the House Republican Policy Committee urging the adoption of his H. Res. 15 to create a bipartisan Congressional Committee on the Captive Nations as "clear cut evidence that the Republican Party is the only one showing awareness of and interest in this vital problem."

"This action", the Illinois Republican continued, "is in refreshing contrast to that of the Administration and the House leadership. Witnesses appearing before the House Rules Committee have agreed that we must place Moscow under constant and skilful pressures in the area where it is most vulnerable - that of captive nations. Yet in 1961 the Administration delayed the issuance of the traditional Captive Nations Week proclamation. The Democrat-controlled Rules Committee has consistently refused to let the House 'work its will'. Finally, a letter from Secretary of State Rusk to Rules Committee Chairman Smith expressed opposition to the resolution on the grounds that it would be a 'source of contention' to the Soviet Union and thus would interfere with negotiations over the Berlin crisis."

Derwinski urged that the Administration stop worrying about offending Russia and instead "realize that the primary issue of our times is the struggle between totalitarian Communist slavery and the libertarian governments of the free world. Soviet propaganda is based on the demonstrably false premise that Communism seeks to liberate the people of developing nations from colonialism and imperialism.

"This can be disproven", Derwinski concluded, "by utilizing all the facts pertaining to the enslaved condition of subjugated nations. Nowhere can the failure of our Cold War strategy be better seen than in our failures to transport the Cold War to the terrain of the captive world. Republicans, as seen by the statement of policy issued by the Policy Committee yesterday, feel there is an obligation to protect and promote the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms wherever they may be denied, rather than merely in those areas where it seems expedient to do so."

Hon. M. A. Feighan, Chairman of the Immigration Committee

As successor to Democratic Congressman Francis E. Walter, Hon. Michael A. Feighan (Ohio) was elected Chairman of the Committee for Immigration and Nationality policies. The Committee is of special importance for all those who want to emigrate to the United States. The U.S. government plans to suggest a revision of the existing laws in Congress. New quotas are to prevent any kind of discrimination. Congressman Feighan emphasized in a statement that he wants to do everything in his power to unite families, to promote the immigration of specialists and of political refugees, who are looking for a new home in the United States.

The Origin and Development of A.B.N.

After the arrest of the Ukrainian government in 1941 the Ukrainian nationalists were persecuted by the Gestapo. A fight was now waged against these acts of violence on the part of the Gestapo and to this end a Ukrainian underground movement and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) were now set up. These two organizations were also obliged to fight against the Russian partisans who were active in the rear areas of the fighting front.

When the Russian hordes were advancing a meeting of the freedom fighters of the peoples subjugated by Russia was held at the initiative of the Ukrainian national leaders in November 1943. Representatives of the Ukrainians, including the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA, General Taras Chuprynka, who was killed in action in March 1950 whilst fighting against the Russians, of the Georgians, Byelorussians, Turkestanians and Azerbaidjanians were present on this occasion. They founded A.B.N. as a militant community. It was to conduct the resistance fight in the home countries and was also to encourage and support this fight from the free world with the aid of the West.

The first conference of A.B.N. was held in Cracow in 1944. All the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union were already represented at this conference. It goes without saying that the first meeting and founding of A.B.N. in 1943 and also the first conference of A.B.N. in 1944 took place illegally and in secret, for such things were not tolerated by the Germans.

The war was over. The Russians had advanced as far as the very heart of Europe and had also occupied the Balkan countries. Jaroslaw Stetzko, who had been released from a Nazi concentration camp shortly before the end of the war and was now living in Munich, furthered the activity of the A.B.N. organization there. In 1946 an A.B.N. conference was held in Munich-Pasing. On this occasion representatives of all the so-called satellite countries were also present. This conference too had to be held illegally and in secret, for every unlicensed political organization and particularly an organization whose activity was directed against an allied state (and at that time the Soviet Union was still an ally of the Western major powers) was prohibited by the occupation authorities.

Thus this militant community developed into a powerful union of the national revolutionary organizations of all the peoples incarcerated in the Soviet Union and included in the Russian sphere of influence. These organizations, which were founded in the

home countries of the said peoples and are represented by men and women who have played an active part in the fight for freedom of their fellow-countrymen, thus became the authorized representatives and spokesmen of their peoples both at home and in the free world.

From now onwards A.B.N. began to develop and expand in all the Western countries. Today the Central Committee of A.B.N. and the Peoples' Council of A.B.N. have their seat in Munich, Germany. Representations and delegations have also been set up in various other towns in Germany.

A.B.N. branches or organizations of the Friends of A.B.N. exist in the following countries: Great Britain (delegations in various towns), Holland, Belgium, Austria, Italy, Spain, Canada, U.S.A., Brazil, Argentina, Australia, New Zealand, Free China.

In branches in other countries certain national organizations, as for instance those of the peoples of Albania and Idel-Ural, which are not represented in the Central Committee, are also members of A.B.N.

In October 1954 the A.B.N. organization in France was dissolved by the Mendès-France government. The reason given for this step was a decree of June 1939, which states that any organization whose activity is directed against an ally of France is to be prohibited. Since the activity of A.B.N. is directed against the Soviet Union this prohibition clearly proved that the Mendès-France government still regarded the Soviet Union as an ally of France.

From the outset the A.B.N. and its activity have constantly encountered considerable opposition and have been attacked again and again. Secret organizations and Russophil circles, which have established themselves everywhere by cunning means, have succeeded in confusing and misleading the public in the Western world. They allege that Germany represents a serious military threat to the world, and in this way they divert attention from the huge military strength of the Soviet Union.

From the very beginning of our activity we sought to enlighten the free world as to the Russian Communist danger and to convince it that there can be no true peace in the world until the problem of the subjugated peoples is solved; and furthermore that a one-sided solution of this problem will not save the world and avert the present danger from it.

It would appear that the leading statesmen and politicians of the West have not fully recognized the true danger. Attempts are

still made to curry favour with the Russians and in this way to reach some settlement or other. Some of these statesmen and politicians still cherish coexistence illusions and are prepared to recognize the status quo and to concede possession of the countries of the subjugated peoples to the Russians as a vested right.

A.B.N. is endeavouring to win over the public of the world for a just cause and to obtain its help in its fight for the highest possession of mankind, for the freedom of the individual and of every nation.

A.B.N. is fighting against Russian rule over the peoples, for the disintegration of the Russian colonial imperium, the so-called Soviet Union, into independent states within their historically defined ethnographical areas, and for the destruction of Communist regimes of every kind. In its fight A.B.N. is unyielding and uncompromising.

A.B.N. Press

In order to acquaint the public in the West with the ideas and principles of A.B.N. and to win it over for our cause, it was essential that a press organ should be published.

The main difficulties to be overcome in order to realize this plan and to develop the activity of A.B.N. still further have been of a financial nature. A.B.N. is entirely dependent on the support of its own fellow-countrymen and receives no financial support whatever from other quarters. The main financial burden is borne by the Ukrainian delegation. Nevertheless A.B.N. has succeeded in carrying on its activity on a large, international scale.

At first, A.B.N. issued hectographed information bulletins for financial reasons. But in 1950 publication of the periodical "ABN Correspondence" in English, German and French began.

For financial reasons A.B.N. was however obliged to cease publication of the French and German editions in 1952 and 1955 respectively. But in the meantime two special editions have been published in German, namely on the occasion of the Hungarian revolution in November 1956 and at the close of the year 1957/58. The English edition of "ABN Correspondence" continues to appear regularly.

In addition, A.B.N. has also published various other works, including books, which are listed at the end of this article.

Memoranda and Petitions to the Governments of Western Countries and to Conferences of the Major Powers

As the subjugated peoples' authorized representative in the free world, A.B.N. regards it as its duty to inform official circles there

about the situation in our countries and the political problems of our peoples.

To this end it has on numerous occasions addressed itself to the governments of the Western world and also to various international conferences held by the major powers. Below we give a list of some of the more important memoranda and petitions:

To the U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson and to the prominent member of the American "Free Europe" Committee, General D. Eisenhower, in August 1949;

To the President of the Committee of "Free Europe", Ambassador J. Grew, in October 1949;

To the Council of Ambassadors of the U.S.A. in the countries behind the Iron Curtain and also to the British Foreign Secretary E. Bevin and the U.S. Ambassador to London, Mr. Douglas, in October 1949;

The Memoranda of A.B.N. and of the Scottish League for European Freedom to the plenary session of the UNO on the problem of the subjugated peoples, in January 1952;

A Memorandum on the occasion of the Bermuda Conference to President Eisenhower, Prime Minister Churchill and the Premier of France and also to the statesmen and politicians of the Western countries for the purpose of information, in 1954;

A Petition to the Western Foreign Ministers at the Berlin Conference, in March 1954;

A Memorandum on the occasion of the Geneva Conference to President Eisenhower, Foreign Minister A. Eden and others, in July 1955;

A Memorandum to the Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung, in May 1955,

A Memorandum to U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, in October 1955;

A Memorandum to Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden, in April 1956;

A Declaration on the Summit Conference, in May 1960;

A Declaration of Solidarity with the Cuban People, in April 1961;

A Memorandum to the Governments of the Asian and African Countries, in April 1961, on the Russian imperialist colonial policy and on the methods resorted to by Moscow in order to win over the peoples by a policy of deception. This Memorandum was sent to all UNO delegations of the non-Communist countries and also to the governments of the free world;

A Message to the Members of the United Nations Organization in New York, in December 1961, on the captive nations and a request to act in accordance with the terms of the UNO statutes, namely to exclude the Communist delegations from the UNO and to apply the UNO principles regarding human and national rights to the subjugated peoples;

A Memorandum on the Problem of Colonialism, in September 1962, to all UNO dele-

gations and all governments of the free countries;

A Protest Resolution against the murders perpetrated by the Moscow government, addressed to the governments of the free world and to the organization of the European Union (on the occasion of the trial of Moscow's agent Stashynsky, the murderer of the leader of the Ukrainian nationalists, Stephan Bandera, and of the prominent Ukrainian nationalist Dr. Lev Rebet), in December 1962.

International Contacts of A.B.N.

A.B.N. already established contact with the Scottish League for European Freedom in 1949 and it was agreed that joint congresses should be held and that various publications should be issued jointly. This organization numbered many prominent British personalities amongst its members.

A.B.N. has numerous contacts with well-known personalities and Members of Parliament in Great Britain.

One of the most loyal friends of A.B.N. is the famous British General J.F.C. Fuller.

After the visit of President Jaroslaw Stetzko to Formosa and the negotiations conducted there, A.B.N. in 1957 signed an agreement with the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) for the joint fight against Communism, Russian colonialism and imperialism in every form and for the disintegration of the Russian imperium.

In September 1957 the President of the Interamerican Confederation for the Defense of the Continent, Admiral C.P. Botto, Brazil, and the Secretary-General of this organization, Dr. J. P. Laurens, Mexico, paid a visit to A.B.N. An agreement on the joint fight against world Communism and for the disintegration of the Russian imperium was concluded with them on this occasion.

We are also in close touch with the German "National Union for Peace and Freedom", which is a leading member of the "Comité International d'Information et d'Action Sociale" (CIAS).

In the course of time A.B.N. has become the largest international organization of the subjugated peoples in exile. It has likewise become a vital symbol in the fight against Russian imperialism and world Communism. For this reason it is constantly attacked by all the Russophil circles, Moscow's Fifth Columns and the "co-existentialists" in the free world.

A.B.N. before the International Forum

In the course of its activity A.B.N. has gained considerable prestige in the Western world and has been invited to all international congresses and conferences which occupied themselves with European and world problems. A.B.N. has taken an active part in

these congresses and conferences and on such occasions has expounded its ideas and principles in detail.

At international anti-Communist conferences the resolutions moved by A.B.N. with regard to the fight against world Communism and the disintegration of the Russian colonial imperium, the so-called Soviet Union, have always been accepted.

The international and European conferences in which A.B.N. has taken an active part include the following:

Joint Conference of A.B.N. with the Scottish League for European Freedom in Edinburgh, Scotland, in June 1950;

APACL Conference in Saigon, Viet-Nam, March 1957;

APACL Conference in Bangkok, Thailand, March 1958;

Anti-Communist World Congress for Freedom and Liberation in Mexico City, May 1958;

Anti-Communist Continental Congress of Latin-America in the ancient city of Antigua, Guatemala, in October 1958;

Congress of the International Academy for Research of the Problems of the Mediterranean Territory in Palermo, Sicily, Italy, in September 1959;

APACL Conference in Taipei, Formosa, in June 1960;

Conférence Internationale sur la Guerre Politique des Soviets in Paris, in December 1960. (Prominent persons who attended this conference included the following: the French politician R. Schuman, Thomas Dodd (USA), A. Kershaw, M. P. (England), M. Lombardo (Italy), Dr. R. Jaeger, Vice-President of the Federal Diet (Germany), Minister P. H. Spaak (Belgium);

APACL Conference in Manila, Philippines, in May 1961;

Conférence Internationale sur la Guerre Politique des Soviets in Rome, November 1961.

In November 1961 Prof. Dr. Juitsu Kitaoka, Director of the Free Asia Association, Tokyo, Japan, paid a visit to A.B.N. in Munich, and since this occasion A.B.N. has been in close contact with this organization.

In December 1961 Mr. Arthur Maloney, a Member of the Canadian Parliament, visited A.B.N. in Munich in order to inform himself on the problems of our peoples.

APACL Conference in Tokyo, Japan, in October 1962.

International Anti-Communist Conference on Malta in October/November 1962 (the Hon. Charles Kersten from the U.S.A. also took part in this conference).

A.B.N. always takes an active part in the congresses arranged by the Italian international institute "Antonio Rosmini", at which the problems of European civilization are discussed.

A.B.N. is also in close contact with the Institute for Ethnical Problems in Rome (its President is Prof. Dr. Leo Magnino).

A.B.N. Campaigns and Rallies

In order to draw the attention of the public in the Western countries to the problems of the subjugated peoples and to enlighten them in this respect, A.B.N. has organized large-scale campaigns, such as mass rallies, press conferences and lectures, in various towns in the Western countries.

A big demonstration was held in the streets of Munich, Germany, on April 10, 1949. Political rallies were in those days prohibited by the occupation authorities, especially if they were directed against an allied state. Thus a military unit of the occupation forces was used on this occasion in order to stop the demonstration.

In September 1949 a congress of A.B.N.'s youth movement was held in Hannover. 12 nations were represented at this congress and the Youth Front was founded on this occasion.

On October 31, 1950, a press conference was held in Frankfurt on Main at which representatives of international news agencies and newspapers were present.

After the joint conference of A.B.N. with the Scottish League for European Freedom in Edinburgh in June 1950 mass rallies were held in various towns in Germany and Great Britain and also in Toronto, Canada.

A.B.N. rallies were held in 12 towns in Germany in order to enlighten the public politically. Reports on these rallies were published by the Americans in the paper "Die Neue Zeitung" (in German) on November 21, 1950. Numerous German papers also reported on these rallies.

In November and December 1950 A.B.N. rallies were held in various towns in Canada and Great Britain (see "ABN Correspondence", Jan./Febr., 1951, No. 1/2).

An anti-Communist demonstration was held in Winnipeg, Canada, on June 24, 1951.

A.B.N. appeals and leaflets in various languages were distributed on this side of and behind the Iron Curtain ("ABN Correspondence", Jan./Febr., 1951, No. 1/2).

A press conference was held in Munich on August 24, 1951, against the action of the "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia". Representatives of international news agencies and newspapers were present on this occasion.

Mass demonstrations at which 5,000 persons were present were held by A.B.N. in Munich on June 3, 1951. Resolutions and appeals to the free peoples of the world were drawn up and dispatched.

An A.B.N. press conference was held in Munich on November 6, 1951, the anniversary of the Russian Bolshevik revolution; the subject under discussion was Russian enslavement of the subjugated peoples.

An A.B.N. congress was held in Paris on February 2, 1952. It was followed by a mass meeting on February 3rd. Representatives of the free peoples in the UNO, of the Europe Movement and of the Organization for Peace and Freedom, Germany, were present on this occasion.

A mass rally took place in Toronto, Canada, on April 13, 1952, at which President J. Stetzko held a lecture (see "MacLeans Magazine" of May 1, 1952, which published a big report on A.B.N. and the fight of the subjugated peoples). Rallies were subsequently held in Ottawa, Winnipeg, Montreal and elsewhere.

On May 4, 1952, a mass rally of the American Friends of A.B.N. was held in New York. It was attended by a number of prominent American politicians and representatives of various peoples. It was followed by a press conference for the American press.

From July 17th to 19th, 1952, an A.B.N. conference was held in London. The theme of this conference, at which President Jaroslaw Stetzko gave a lecture, was "To protect religious faith and the rights of individuals and peoples".

A.B.N. took part in the Whitsuntide rallies of the Union of German Youth in Frankfurt on Main and Essen, Germany, in 1952.

A press conference was held in Munich on November 6, 1952, the 35th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution.

An A.B.N. Congress was held in Toronto, Canada, on March 21/22, 1953, and at the same time other A.B.N. congresses convened in various other towns in Canada.

On March 6, 1953, an A.B.N. conference was held in Melbourne, Australia, and A.B.N. branches were founded in other towns in Australia.

On January 25, 1953, a plenary session (to mark the 10th anniversary of the founding of A.B.N.) of the Peoples' Council and of the Central Committee of A.B.N. was held. The subject under discussion was the character and prospects of the fight for freedom. The main speaker on this occasion was President Jaroslaw Stetzko.

An A.B.N. Congress convened in Munich from March 27th-29th, 1954. The Central Committee, the Peoples' Council and the various executive committees were voted on this occasion. New statutes were adopted and appeals to the peoples of the free world and of our native countries were drafted.

A series of public lectures on current problems of world politics were organized by A.B.N. in Munich from July to December 1955.

A press conference was held in Munich on October 26, 1956, on the occasion of the revolution in Hungary and the riots in Poland. A.B.N. sent telegrams to the UNO and to the governments of the free world.

An A.B.N. delegation attended the Congress "Freedom and Peace through Liberation" in Washington on July 2, 1956.

On July 30, 1958, President J. Stetzko held a lecture before the House Foreign Affairs Committee's Executive Session and before the House Un-American Activities Committee in Washington, USA.

A Congress of the American Friends of A.B.N. (AF ABN) was held in New York on September 20/21, 1957, to mark the 15th anniversary of the founding of A.B.N.

To mark the same occasion an A.B.N. conference was also held in Winnipeg, Canada, in September 1958.

On October 26, 1958, an A.B.N. meeting was held in Sydney, Australia.

In October 1958 A.B.N. took part in the congress organized by the Catholic organization, Eichendorff Guild, in Hannover, Germany, on the problems of East Europe.

On November 8, 1958, an A.B.N. Political Congress was held in Toronto, Canada.

From September 28th to October 4th, 1959, A.B.N. took part in the Congress of the European Centre for Documentation and Information in Madrid, Spain.

A meeting and discussion, which was attended by the public, was arranged by A.B.N. in Munich on May 19, 1960, in connection with the "Summit" conference in Paris.

We have only mentioned the most important occasions in the above list, since it is impossible to enumerate all the campaigns and meetings, etc., organized by A.B.N. during the past years in this article.

Big demonstrations against Khrushchov, Mikoyan and Menshikov were organized by A.B.N. in the streets of New York. This campaign was carried out on such a large scale that the police was obliged to intervene.

A.B.N. President Jaroslaw Stetzko visits the USA and Canada every year and has important discussions with prominent personalities of American political life. Other members of the Central Committee of A.B.N., such as the former Minister of Slovakia, Prof. Dr. F. Durcansky, and the former Bulgarian Minister Christo Stateff, have also visited the USA and Canada on several occasions.

For the purpose of establishing contact with prominent persons in political life and with political organizations President J. Stetzko and other members of the Central Committee of A.B.N. also frequently visit other European countries, such as Great Britain, Spain, Italy, Holland, and Belgium, etc.

President Stetzko and the Central Committee members, Mr. Veli Kajum Khan (Turkistan) and Dr. B. Hayit, have also visited

Turkey. On numerous occasions Mr. Veli Kajum Khan and Dr. B. Hayit have also visited the Arabian countries.

A.B.N. Activity behind the Iron Curtain

For obvious reasons we cannot discuss the contact which A.B.N. has with the home countries of the subjugated peoples. But this contact nevertheless exists, and the clearest proof of this is the fact that we are constantly attacked most violently in the Soviet press and in broadcast programmes by other Communist countries, too.

If a political organization in exile and the leading members of this organization are openly attacked in the Communist countries, then there is a good reason for such attacks, since as a rule the national representatives of the subjugated peoples abroad and their activity are passed over in silence. But the Soviet and Communist press and radio are obliged to mention A.B.N. for the simple reason that this organization is widely known and also popular amongst the people. Hence the Soviet and Communist press and radio try to defame A.B.N. in the eyes of the people and brand it with the usual Communist designations, such as "fascist", "agents of foreign intelligence services", etc.

In its edition of May 1962, No. 5, p. 31, the ideological journal of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party in Erivan - "Leninjan Ugnov" ("On Lenin's Path") reported on the "counter-revolutionary" organizations in exile, which, so it is alleged, are "in the service of the capitalists, militarists and imperialists". It is pointed out that the strongest of these organizations is A.B.N., which allegedly works for "the American intelligence service" and has its headquarters in Munich. J. Stetzko and Prince N. Nakashidze are mentioned as spokesmen of A.B.N.

The journal adds: "The principles of the activity of this organization consist in the 'division of the Soviet Union into independent states and in propaganda about the inevitability of a third world war'."

It then goes on to affirm that these organizations in exile are financed by Rockefeller, Ford, and Morgan, etc., and adds: "it suffices to mention the fact that the funds donated by Ford alone amount to 750 million dollars and that 259 million dollars of this sum were expended on anti-Communist and other 'humanitarian' activity during the years from 1951 to 1960."

Shortly before the said journal published this report a similar article appeared in the ideological journal of the Czech Communist Party - "The Problems of Peace and Socialism", No. 2, 1962, which is published in Prague. Prague Radio also broadcast the same report.

But our peoples are fully acquainted with our ideas and principles and know that we are fighting for the disintegration of the Soviet Union into independent, national states. And the fact that we are continuing this fight undeterred is corroborated by the reports of the Communist press and radio. Our aims are identical with those of our peoples; hence they regard us as their lawful and authorized spokesmen in the free world.

The grim fight against the Russian oppressors continues unabated in our countries. And cases of insurrection against the Moscow government frequently occur in these countries.

On November 23, 1950, the Soviet official news agency "TASS" stated that the Supreme Soviet had endowed a decoration for bravery in fighting against "political bandits". What the Soviet Russians mean by the expression "political bandits" is perfectly obvious.

In 1949 a UPA detachment succeeded in traversing Polish territory, Slovakia and Czech territory and getting through to the West. In March 1950 the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA, General Taras Chuprynka, was killed in action during a combat with Russian troops.

In its edition of November 1950 (No. 11) "ABN Correspondence" reprinted the leaflets and appeals issued by the Ukrainian underground movement in Ukraine.

The revolt of the youth of Georgia in March 1956, during which 300 young persons were killed and several hundred deported to Siberia, was mentioned in the world press.

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), which is a member of A.B.N. and whose leading representative is the former Prime Minister of Ukraine, Jaroslaw Stetzko, President of A.B.N., is in particular the target of attacks by the Soviet Russians.

The leaders of this organization are even attacked in Soviet poems. The journal of the Soviet Ukrainian Writers' Union, "Vitezisna", which appears in Kyiv, in its edition of February 1955, No. 2, published a poem by the poet Mikola Sheremet, which contains the following lines:

"You knew Petlura,
You served Konovaletz,
And now you serve Bandera
Like a devoted dog."

This poem is directed against the so-called "political bandits", that is to say the freedom fighters.

Petlura, the former head of state of Ukraine, was murdered in Paris in 1926 by Soviet agents; Konovaletz, the leader of the OUN, was murdered in Rotterdam in 1938 by Soviet agents, and Bandera, likewise the leader of the OUN, was murdered by a Soviet agent in Munich in October 1959. (Detailed reports on the trial of his murderer in Germany were published by the world press.)

In a speech which he held in Kyiv in February 1955 the Prime Minister of the Soviet Republic of Ukraine, Kaltshenko, said: "In order to achieve their aggressive aims the American reactionaries employ the scum of mankind and the vanquished Nazi generals, the feeble remnants of Chiang Kai-shek's supporters and all the Banderovzi, who have long since lost their native country, their conscience and their honour." (Banderovzi = supporters of Bandera.)

These persons must certainly be extremely popular amongst the people if a Soviet Prime Minister considers it necessary to discuss them and poets are commissioned to write poems attacking them.

In its edition of February 19, 1954, the Czech Communist Party organ "Rude Pravo" (published in Prague) reported in detail on A.B.N. and described it as an organization which is employed in the service of the American imperialists and is allegedly doomed to decay.

When the Hungarian national revolution broke out in October 1956, the German Soviet Zone broadcasting station in East Berlin affirmed on November 23, 1956, that this revolution had been organized by A.B.N. This was also affirmed by the Moscow paper "Krasnaja Svesda" in its edition No. 278 of November 30, 1956, in an article entitled "The Hungarian Counter-revolutionaries and their Protectors". Similar statements and defamations directed against A.B.N. were also made by the Ukrainian Communist Party organ "Radjanska Ukraina" on February 26th and 27th, 1957, in an article entitled "The Mercenary Souls".

In its programme at 19⁰⁰ hours on January 9th and 11th, 1957, Radio Kyiv violently attacked A.B.N. and in particular the Ukrainian members of its Central Committee. In December 1960 Radio Kyiv also attacked President Stetzko and alleged that he was an agent employed in the service of the American imperialists and capitalists.

The A.B.N. Central Committee member Dr. B. Hayit (Turkestan) was violently attacked by the Soviet press and designated as a traitor because he published a number of articles on Russian colonialism in "ABN Correspondence" (one of his articles was also published in a Swiss paper). ("Literaturna Gazeta" of September 27, 1958, "Pravda Vostoka" of September 30, "Qizil Uzbekistan" of September 30, 1958, and "Uzbekistan Madaniyati" of October 1, 1958.)

The Soviet Russians are not content with attacking A.B.N. in the press and radio, but also resort to acts of terrorism against it. On various occasions acts of this kind have been directed against the offices of A.B.N. and against the Ukrainian editorial department, which has its offices in the same premises. On one occasion a parcel containing

an explosive was sent to A.B.N. through the post; on another occasion explosives were thrown into the cellar in which the Ukrainian printing press is housed and several machines were damaged. And on a third occasion explosives were thrown into the yard at the back of the A.B.N. premises. But the vilest and most ruthless act of terrorism was the murder of Stephan Bandera, the leader of the OUN, by a Moscow agent in Munich.

During his trial the murderer Stashynsky told the court that the next victim was to have been President Jaroslaw Stetzko and that he, Stashynsky, had already received orders to this effect from the KGB and had already ascertained where Stetzko was living.

All these attacks clearly prove the strength of A.B.N., the support which it enjoys in the native countries of its members, and its great popularity and influence amongst the subjugated peoples. We have only quoted a few examples, but these attacks continue undiminished.

The Prague government, for instance, is constantly demanding the extradition of the President of the Peoples' Council of A.B.N. and former Minister of Slovakia, Prof. Dr. F. Durcansky, and Prague Radio constantly attacks him. Our Hungarian, Roumanian and Bulgarian friends, too, are frequently attacked in the Communist press and broadcast programmes and are defamed as traitors.

We also carry on an active propaganda amongst Soviet citizens from our home countries who come to the West as tourists or to attend scientific congresses, etc. We send our members to them, distribute our publications amongst them and engage in political conversations with them.

During the Hungarian revolution in 1956 we printed leaflets and appeals in various languages, which were addressed to the non-Russian members of the Soviet army and which were then taken to Hungary and distributed there by our men.

We also sent some of our members to the international youth festivals in Vienna, Austria, in July/August 1959, and in Helsinki, Finland, in July/August 1962. They immediately established contact with the young persons of our peoples, enlightened them politically from our point of view, and distributed our publications and leaflets amongst them. This type of campaign was also carried out during the Olympic Games in Rome.

Mention must also be made of the fact that the Russian exiles, too, acknowledge the importance of A.B.N. inasmuch as they attack it. In its edition of March/April 1963, No. 3, the organ of the Russian nationalists "Golos Rossji" ("The Voice of Russia"), which is published in Munich, writes as follows:

"There exists in Germany an organization of separatists and persons who hate Russia, namely A.B.N. (Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Na-

tions). This organization is financed by influential and wealthy persons in political and public life in the USA and West Europe. This organization also receives financial aid from Washington, and it is therefore quite natural that the leadership of A.B.N. is completely under the authority of the anti-Russian centre in the USA. It is a rule that A.B.N. publishes its entire material in English and German. The fact must be stressed that A.B.N. has a very large reading public, and for this reason it is imperative that we Russian nationalists should use all the means at our disposal in order to fight this dangerous enemy..."

And, in conclusion, a threat directed against A.B.N.:

"The enemies of Russia should bear in mind that the Russian soldier, invincible in defence, is ever on guard to protect our fatherland."

Some A.B.N. Publications

In English

- 1) J. Stetzko: "How to Localize and Win the War against Russia."
 - 2) J. Stetzko: "An Imperialist Russia or Free National States?"
 - 3) J. Stetzko: "The Kremlin on a Volcano."
 - 4) O. Martovych: "Ukrainian Liberation Movement in Modern Times."
 - 5) O. Martovych: "National Problems in the USSR."
 - 6) M. A. Feighan: "A New Battleground of the Cold War."
 - 7) N. Nakashidze: "The Truth About A.B.N."
 - 8) J. Stetzko: "The Road to Freedom and the End of Fear."
- Major-General J. F. C. Fuller: "For What Type of War should the West Prepare?"
 Prince N. Nakashidze: "The Legal Position of the Non-Russian Nations in the USSR."

Edited by the Scottish League for European Freedom, Edinburgh, Foreign Affairs Information Service.

- 9) "Ukrainian Foreign Policy, Comments on the 4th Conference of the Units Abroad of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists."

In German

- 1) J. Stetzko: "Der Westen vor der Entscheidung."
- 2) J. Stetzko: "Der höhere Sinn unseres Kampfes." (With a foreword by Major-General J. F. C. Fuller.)
- 3) J. Stetzko: "Taiwan - die Insel der Freiheit und der Hoffnung" (illustrated).
- 4) "Wir klagen an" (against mass-murder and slavery, with illustrations).
(Various articles and reports on A.B.N. mass demonstrations.)
- 5) D. Donzov: "Der Geist Rußlands."

20 Years Of Struggle For Freedom

Resolution

Adopted by the 14th Rally of Canadians and Americans
of Ukrainian Descent, held at Acton, Ontario, June 23, 1963

The political programme adopted by the First Conference of the Subjugated Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia, held in Ukraine twenty years ago, has a special meaning today for the entire world, a world which is faced with the danger of Soviet Russian aggression and with the possibility of a nuclear war. Of particular importance is the statement that "in order to secure rapid and total victory of the liberation movements it is necessary to form a common front of all subjugated nations" and that "in order to overcome the present difficult situation . . . it is necessary to destroy the entire political system now in the subjugated nations, to liquidate Russian imperialism and to build a new political system in Eastern Europe and Asia . . . This new system will mean political independence for all nations within their ethnographic borders".

The Rally promised to give its full support to the policies and actions of the Central Committee of the ABN, especially to the attempt to create a common front of all freedom-loving peoples throughout the world to overcome the menace of Russian imperialism and communism.

We appeal to the nations of the free world, and especially to the Governments of Canada and the USA, to support the political undertakings of the ABN. The most proper step will be the adoption of a Universal Charter of Freedom for all Peoples, as well as the official condemnation by the United Nations, of Russian imperialism and colonialism.

The Rally sends its greetings to the Central Committee of ABN and to its President Jaroslaw Stetzko as well as to the leaders and members of all national movements for the liberation of the peoples subjugated by Russia.

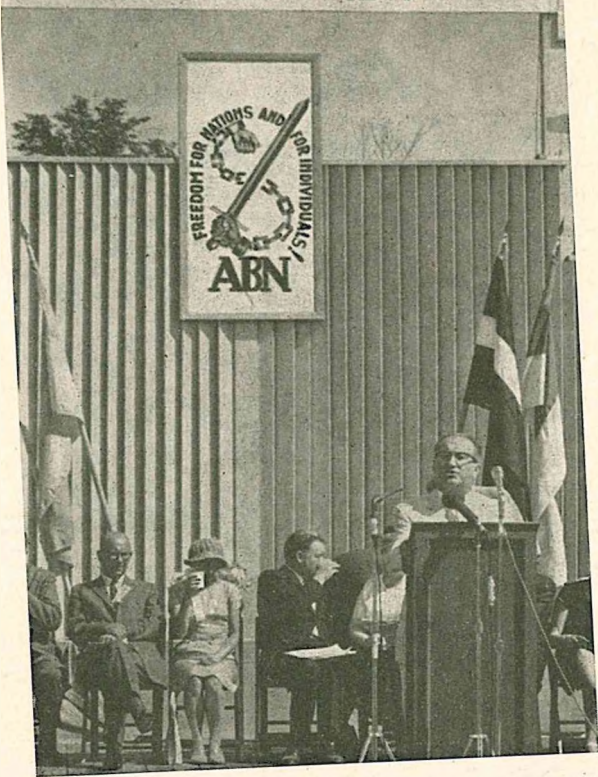


Hon. Charles J. Kersten (USA) addressing the Rally, Toronto, Canada, on June 23rd, 1963

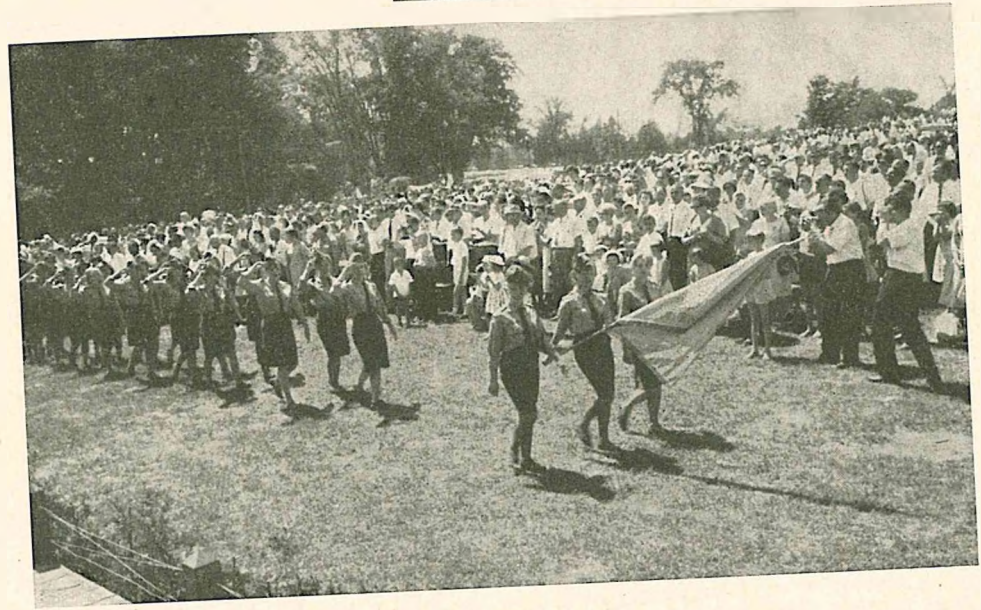
20 YEARS of STRUGGLE for FREEDOM

20 РІЧЧЯ АБН

*Mr. A. Grossman, Canadian Minister,
addressing the Rally.*



*Groups of the Ukrainian Youth
Association (SUM) at the Rally.*



Obituary

General Lev Prchala

We regret to announce the death of General Lev Prchala at the age of 71.

Born in Schleswig-Ostrau, Lev Prchala attended a grammar school in Friedeck and later studied 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 taken a prisoner-of-war during the Brusilov offensive. He subsequently joined a Czecho-Slovakian 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 Czecho-Slovakian army in Czecho-Slovakia. In 1938 he became a member of the Beran government. In 1939 he left Czecho-Slovakia and went to Poland. Here he was put in command of the Czech legion in the Polish army. After Poland's defeat he went to France and later to England, where he established 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 Czecho-Slovakia, since he foresaw the results of Beneš' disastrous policy, but decided to remain in London.

He defended the interests of both the Sudeten-Germans and the Czechs and advocated the right of self-determination for both peoples. For his efforts for the restoration of freedom in Central Europe General Prchala was awarded the Sudeten-German Karl Prize.

From 1954 onwards General Prchala was Vice-President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and the most active of all Czech politicians in fighting Bolshevism.

The funeral of General Lev Prchala took place in Munich, at the Waldfriedhof cemetery, on June 22, 1963.

His death is a great loss to us and we shall always honour his memory as a courageous fighter for freedom.

Ali Khan Kantemir

On April 16, 1963, Ali Khan Kantemir, the leader of the North Caucasian fight for freedom, passed away in Munich. The deceased was 80 years old, and to the very end of his life was as mentally active as in his youth.

Born in Ossetia in eastern North Caucasia, Ali Khan Kantemir attended a secondary school in Vladikavkaz. After completing his studies there, he subsequently attended St. Petersburg University, where he took a degree in law. He then returned to the Caucasus and settled in Baku, where he worked in the attorney's office of Fatali-Khan Khosky, who later became Prime Minister of independent Azerbaijan. When the first world war broke out countless refugees flocked into the Caucasus; many of them were Moslems. Mr. Kantemir, who himself was a Moslem, became one of the founders of the Organization for Aid to Moslem Refugees and Prisoners-of-War and subsequently played a leading role in the administration of this organization.

During the troubled years of 1917 and 1918 Mr. Kantemir worked hand in hand with the national groups which sought to restore the independence of North Caucasia. Upon the proclamation of independence he was appointed diplomatic representative of the new government in Azerbaijan. He resigned from this post during the war that was waged between the North Caucasian patriots and General Denikin's White Army. In addition to being in command of troops on the fighting front, he was also a member of the North Caucasian Defense Council, which controlled the over-all strategy. When the Red Army seized North Caucasia Ali Khan Kantemir was arrested and spent several months in prison. Thanks to the help of fellow-patriots he eventually managed to escape.

As an emigrant he fought for the liberation of his people and continued to devote himself wholeheartedly to this noble cause to the end of his life. He was an outstanding authority on the Moslem countries.

The deceased was highly esteemed and greatly loved by all his fellow-countrymen.

The Future Potentialities of Siberia

VII

The Far Eastern Republic of Siberia

After the defeat of Kolchak's forces the Russian Bolsheviks halted on the western shores of Lake Baikal, because they did not feel that they had the strength to launch an attack on a strong Japanese army beyond Baikal. Another reason why the Russian Bolsheviks had to rest at that point was that they knew that the conditions in the Eastern Provinces of Siberia were not suitable for Russian communism. The Siberian Movement for Independence, which had begun in 1865, made the Siberians realize then, as never before, that it was time to work out their own destiny.

The Siberian people suffered terribly under the Russian colonial rule which exploited the land and beggared them. They did not want to be subjugated any longer by Russian masters; they decided to create an independent Siberian democratic state out of all the remaining free regions of the Siberian Far East. Accordingly, the Convention of the representatives of the population which gathered in Verkhne-Udinsk, proclaimed on April 6, 1920, the creation of an Independent Far Eastern Republic of Siberia. The territories included were Transbaikalia, Amur, the Maritime Province, the north half of Sakhalin, Kamchatka, and the zone of the Chinese Eastern Railway.¹ The area of the Republic was estimated at 652, 740 square miles with a population of 1,811,725. Chita was elected as the Capital of the Republic.²

The Declaration of Independence stated that "A democratic Government shall be established in the territory of the Far Eastern Republic, representing the will of the whole people, as expressed through its duly elected representatives, and guaranteeing to all classes of society the democratic liberties which are the safeguards for the peaceful development of social forces".³

In order to accomplish its aim, the Convention elected a Provisional Government in which representatives of all political parties and nationalities of the Republic participated.

Addressing itself to the nations of the world through their governments, the Convention declared that, "the Far Eastern Republic aspires to establish friendly relations with all countries, especially with those that lie on its frontiers and whose citizens are residing in the territory of the Far Eastern Republic... In close co-operation with other nations, we want to reconstruct our life upon a democratic basis. Guaranteeing to all foreign citizens full inviolability of person and property, the Constituent Convention invites all Governments to enter into relations with the Government elected by us, and to send their fully empowered representatives in order to establish relations in the common interest of peace and desires to assure them that the people of the territory wholly support the Government in its ceaseless efforts to establish order and create conditions favourable to peaceful life and labour."⁴

Five weeks later, on May 14, 1920, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic recognized the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia. The letter of recognition was addressed to Mr. Krasnoschekov, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia, as follows:

"On behalf of the Government of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, I have the honor to inform you that, taking into consideration the declaration of the Provisional Government of the Far Eastern Republic with regard to the

formation of an independent democratic republic on the basis stated in the said declaration, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic hereby recognizes the establishment of the said democratic Republic with the Provisional Government at its head.

The Soviet Government is ready to enter immediately into official diplomatic relations with the Government of the new Republic in order to conclude commercial and political agreements.

In communicating the foregoing to you, I consider it my duty on behalf of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic to express my desire to see the Far Eastern Republic prosperous and at peace with the neighboring countries."

The letter of recognition was signed by Chicherin, the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.⁵

Two months later, on July 15, 1920, after the recognition the Russian delegation at the Conference of Gongotta declared that the armies of Soviet Russia would not trespass on the territory of the government of the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia, nor even be allowed to pass through it.⁶ Later, on December 15, an agreement regarding the frontiers between the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic and the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia was established as follows:

"Beginning at the point where the River Selenga crosses the Mongolian frontier, proceeds down the river to the administrative border between the Verkhne-Udinsk and Seleginsk Counties, follows that border and then the border between the Seleginsk and Barguzinsk Counties to Lake Baikal. It divides equally Lake Baikal, runs along the former border of the Province of Irkutsk and the Province of Transbaikalia to the northern part of Lake Baikal, and then to the border of the Province of Yakutsk and the borders of Transbaikalia, the Amur District and the Maritime Province to the watershed between the Rivers Kiran and Pesmun and the watershed of the said rivers to the Okhotsk Sea at Cape Medjelnd. All the islands of the Okhotsk Sea south of the said cape, including the northern part of Sakhalin."⁷

The Russian Bolsheviks' policy toward the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia was a subversive one. At the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, Lenin said, "Circumstances forced us to recognize the "buffer state" in the form of the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia because we could not wage a war with Japan and we had to do everything possible to postpone such a war and, if possible, to avoid it because under the conditions at that time a war was beyond our capabilities."⁸

The Russian Bolsheviks recognized the Republic as an independent democratic state and, at this time, they sent a specially trained political apparatus to the frontiers of the Republic. This political apparatus was ordered to foster inner revolts in the new independent Republic, to organize a Communist party there, to help this party to undermine the power of the legitimate government, to disseminate a deceptive anti-Japanese propaganda and, in this way, gradually to attach the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia with an iron band to the Russian Bolsheviks' empire.⁹

Japan's policy with regard to the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia was described by Baron Shidehara, the Japanese Ambassador at Washington, at the Conference on the Limitation of Armament.

"The Military expedition of Japan to Siberia was originally undertaken in common accord and in cooperation with the United States in 1918. It was primarily intended to render assistance to the Czech troops who in their homeward journey across Siberia from European Russia, found themselves in grave and pressing danger at the hands of hostile forces. The Japanese and American expeditionary forces together with other allied troops fought their way from Vladivostok far into the region of the Amur and the Trans-Baikal Provinces to protect the

railway lines which afforded the sole means of transportation of the Czech troops from the interior of Siberia to the port of Vladivostok."

"In January, 1920, the United States decided to terminate its military undertaking in Siberia, and ordered the withdrawal of its forces. For some time thereafter Japanese troops continued alone to carry out the duty of guarding several points along the Trans-Siberian Railway in fulfilment of Inter-Allied arrangements and of affording facilities to the returning Czechs."¹⁰

At this point the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia was formed. The new Republic invited the Japanese Government through the Japanese Commander at Vladivostok to start negotiations in order to arrange a military and trade agreement with Japan.

The chief demand in negotiation between Japan and the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia was the withdrawal of all Japanese troops from the territory of the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia.

Against that demand Japan stated that Japanese troops were only stationed in the Maritime and Sakhalin Provinces, "but they have not set up any civil or military administration to displace local authorities. Their activity is confined to measures of self-protection against the menace to their own safety and to the safety of their country¹¹ and nationals.¹² They are not in occupation of these districts any more than American or other Allied troops could be said to have been in occupation of the places in which they were formerly stationed."¹³

The declaration of independence of April 6, 1920, also empowered the Provisional Government to draft a law and prepare for the convocation of a General Constituent Assembly in order to frame a democratic Constitution for the Republic. The Constituent Assembly of the Republic of Siberia was called to order in its first session on February 12, 1921. It was declared a national holiday, and guns were fired in all cities of the Republic in celebration of the significant event. 351 of the 424 delegates were present at the opening session.¹⁴ Of the 351 delegates present, 75 per cent were peasants who belonged to no party. They organized themselves into a group or "fraction", which was thereafter known as the "Peasant Majority."¹⁵

The Peasant Majority itself constituted a sort of tribunal before which the advocates of this or that political theory laid their schemes and made their arguments for approval. This tribunal, represented the uniform interests of the Siberian peasants, over 80 per cent of the population of the country, considered each plan and each theory from but one point of view. Their judgement was final. Acceptance meant a place in the Constitution and rejection ended the discussion.

Before the final vote on any question the Peasant Majority met in caucus, debated and balloted, argued and decided, until the opinion of the majority of their own members was clearly defined. Then they went into the convention and all voted in accordance with this decision.¹⁶

The programme of the Peasant Majority was formulated in fourteen points: (1) Equality before the law. (2) Class distinction abolished. (3) Universal suffrage for all citizens over eighteen years of age. (4) Security of person, property, and freedom of speech, press, meetings, unions, and strikes for all citizens. (5) Freedom of conscience and separation of Church and State. (6) Free compulsory education for all children from six to seventeen years of age. (7) Amnesty to all political offenders except State criminals, whose fate will be decided by the Constituent Assembly. (8) All citizens from twenty to twenty-two years of age to be subject to call for state defence. (9) Abolishment of death penalty and corporal punishment. (10) Invalids, aged and children, to be cared for by state. (11) Safety of private property, but private property cannot extend to land, forest, waters or mines. (12) Progressive income tax. (13) All mills, banks, factories, mines, and trading and commercial establishments to be controlled by the State and subject to be nationalized in case of emergency.

(14) Development of industry, introduction of foreign capital, concessions, and commercial treaties with other nations.¹⁷

By February 22, all preliminaries were completed and a committee of eleven was appointed to draft the Constitution. The work of this committee was to be reviewed by a committee of thirty-five before it was submitted to the full Assembly. The Peasant Majority had an absolute majority of both these committees.¹⁸

By the end of April the Constitution had been agreed. It contained ten articles, divided into 184 clauses. There was no preamble. Article I, among other general provisions, set forth that "The Far Eastern Republic is established as a democratic Republic", and that "The Far Eastern Republic shall be governed in strict accordance with the laws enacted under this Constitution which are binding, without exception, upon all institutions, officials, and citizens of the Republic and also upon citizens of foreign countries residing in the territory of the Republic."

Article II named the component parts and the boundary lines of the Republics.

Article III, "Citizens and their Rights", guaranteed all citizens equality before the law; freedom of conscience and speech; habeas corpus; inviolability of person, house, and correspondence; and non-liability to arrest without warrant taken in the act; uncensored mail, telegraph, and telephone; freedom from corporal or capital punishment; autonomy for small nationalities and national minorities; and the privilege of any citizen to use his own language in communicating with the government.

Article IV, on "The Government", devoted a section to the Central Government, another to the Local Authorities, a third to the Court, a fourth to the State Board of Control, and a fifth to National Self-administration.

Article V, "The Bases of the National Economic Organization". It abolished private ownership of land, forests, waterways, and their resources. It declared all lands to be the property of the workers as a national fund and provided for apportionment of the land with due regard to climate and soil.

Article VI was concerned with "The Defence of the Republic". "The people in arms are the sole defenders of their own liberty, and therefore for the defence of the country universal military training on the militia system of all male citizens of the Republic between the age of eighteen and forty-five shall be established . . . the permanent bulwark of the defence of the country shall be the regular People's Revolutionary Army. The army shall be organized on the basis of universal military training for all male citizens of the Republic and shall consist of: (1) Male citizens of twenty years of age conscribed for a period of two years, and (2) Volunteers from the age of eighteen years whose number shall be determined by legislative process. Each citizen during military service shall enjoy his civil rights and shall be under the same civil obligations as all other citizens of the Republic."

Article VII, "Public Education". The Republic declared itself to be responsible for a broad education for all citizens. Religious teaching was forbidden in all schools, public or private, "following a general curriculum". Education was free and compulsory for all persons of school age. All nationalities of the Republic were authorized to establish their own national language schools.

Articles VIII, "The Arms and the Flag of the Republic." The State Arms described as follows: "On a red shield is a pine garland, in the middle of which on a background of daybreak is the rising sun and a five-pointed silver star (in the upper background), crossed over a sheaf of wheat are an anchor and a pick-axe with its point downwards; on the right side of the garland on a red band is the letter "D" on the left "V" and below amid the branches is the letter "R".¹⁹ The Flag also had "a red background whose length is one and a half times its width; occupying the upper quarter next to the staff shall be a dark blue quadrangle, with the following red letters arranged in a triangle: D.V.R."

Article IX, "The Revision of the Constitution". The revision, modification, supplementing or annulment of that Constitution wholly or in part, might be initiated by one-third of all the members of the National Assembly in session, by a provincial assembly, by the Provincial Assembly of Delegates, by the Government, or by 10,000 of the citizens possessing electoral rights for the National Assembly; in every case they must be ratified by a two-thirds majority of a two-third quorum in the National Assembly.

Finally, Article X prescribed that the order and time for the election of the first National Assembly and Government shall be determined by the Constituent Assembly, and lists the president, assistants, and secretaries of the latter body.

After completing the Constitution the Constituent Assembly in accordance with the Constitution, instituted a permanent government consisting of seven members which took over the full civil and military authority in the territory of the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia subject to the fundamental laws of the land.

Immediately, after issuing an appeal to the population of the Republic, the Constituent Assembly itself constituted the National Assembly of the Republic.²⁰

The Far Eastern Republic of Siberia had established a good constitution and the people looked hopefully to a better future. In January, 1920, the United States withdrew its troops from Siberia. The last column of Czech troops embarked from Vladivostok in September 1920. Under Allied pressure the Japanese were forced to leave Siberia. Without active Japanese support the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia was incapable of resisting the Russian Bolsheviks. Early in 1922, the Russian Bolsheviks invaded the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia which ceased to exist on November 17, 1922, when Michael Kalinin, President of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, issued a proclamation which merged the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia with the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic. Thus, the Russian Bolsheviks in no way renounced the imperialistic czarist expansion aims in regard to the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia. In this way the last square yard of the once free Siberian State again came under Russian domination.²¹

Immediately after the conquest of Siberia had been completed the Bolsheviks began to make arrests throughout Far Eastern Siberia. They seized leading persons, especially the Siberian patriots and the Ukrainians²² and from December 1923 - January 7, 1924 held a mock trial in Chita, accusing them of initiating an Independent Movement and of trying to separate Siberia from the Russian empire.²³

(To be continued)

¹ Declaration of Independence of the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia, proclaimed in Verkhne-Udinsk, April 6, 1920.

² *New International Year Book*. New York, Dodd, Mead and Co., 1933, p. 230.

³ Declaration of Independence of the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia, proclaimed in Verkhne-Udinsk, April 6, 1920.

⁴ *Ibid.*,

⁵ Far Eastern Republic. *The Short Outline of the History of the Far Eastern Republic*. Washington, D. C., 1922. p. 44; *The New York Times*, Wednesday, May 19, 1920. p. 17, col. 3.

⁶ George Stewart. *The White Armies of Russia*. New York, the McMillan Company, 1933, pp. 390-391.

⁷ Far Eastern Republic. *The Short Outline of the History of the Far Eastern Republic*. Washington, D. C., 1922. pp. 47-48.

⁸ Quoted in, *Diplomaticheskii slovar*, 1 : 421, Moscow 1960.

⁹ The same technique was previously used in Ukraine. The Russian Bolshevik government in Moscow recognized the Independent Ukrainian Republic and at the same time the Bolsheviks sent a specially trained political apparatus to Ukraine which organized a puppet Soviet government in Kharkiv composed chiefly of non-Ukrainian workers, and on December 29, 1917, they officially acknowledged its own creation, the UkSSR, and promised "the brother Republic complete and all possible support in its struggle" with the Ukrainian Central Rada. The Russian government severed its relations with the Ukrainian Central Rada, and ordered

its armed forces to advance against the Ukrainian Independent State in full force. Thus the first practical application of the Bolshevik self-determination theory was put to the test. Later the same technique were used in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Outer Mongolia, in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, 1944-1946 in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, Rumania, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Eastern Germany, Northern Korea, etc.

¹⁰ U.S. Senate Document, Nr. 125, 67th Cong., 2d Sess. pp. 75-76.

¹¹ Japan favored the creation of a "buffer state" in Eastern Siberia, because she saw the imperialistic intentions of Russian Bolshevism, an enemy strong enough to confine Japan to the stifling boundaries of its island territory. Japan saw that the young Far Eastern Republic of Siberia was not strong enough to defend itself against Russian Bolshevik encroachments, therefore, during negotiation with the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia Japan demanded the prohibition of Bolshevik propaganda against Japan, a guarantee that a non-Communist and democratic form of Government would be maintained by the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia, the maintenance of the principle of the "Open Door" and "equal opportunity" for commerce and industry of foreigners, the demolition of the fortifications of Vladivostok and opening of it as a free port, and the revision of the Russo-Japanese fishery trade.

¹² Baron Shidehara also commented on the difficulty of providing for the security of the considerable number of Japanese residents who had, long been settled in Siberia and who in 1917 already numbered no less than, 9,717. These Japanese residents could hardly be expected to look for the protection of their lives and property to any other authorities than Japanese troops. In 1920, at Nikolaievsk nearly 700 Japanese men, women, and children, including the Japanese Consul and his family, were mercilessly massacred by the Russian Bolshevik armed units.

¹³ U. S. Senate Document, Nr. 125, 67th Cong., 2d Sess. p. 76.

¹⁴ Henry K. Norton. *The Far Eastern Republic of Siberia*. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1923, p. 154.

¹⁵ Keith Orrin. "The Chita Government at Work", *Asia*, 22 : 129-130, February 1922.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*,

¹⁷ Henry K. Norton. *The Far Eastern Republic of Siberia*. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1923, p. 158.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 158-159.

¹⁹ D. V. R., means Dalne Vostochnaia Republica, name for the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia.

²⁰ Henry K. Norton. *The Far Eastern Republic of Siberia*. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1923. p. 159.

²¹ Emil Lengyl. *Siberia*. New York, Garden City Publishing Co., 1943. p. 266.

²² The Ukrainians refer to the entire Siberian Pacific Coastal area as the Green Ukraine (Zelena Ukraina) which is the Ukrainian settlers' area. According to Iwan Svit's "*Green Ukraine*" (Zelena Ukraina), New York, 1949, the Ukrainians constitute about 80 per cent of the total population of that area.

²³ John V. Sweet, "The Trial in Chita", "*The Ukrainian Quarterly*", 10 : 135-144. Spring 1954.

From Behind the Iron Curtain



BULGARIA

Bulgarian Youth Opposes Russian Colonialism

The secret revolutionary cells of young farmers and workers in Bulgaria recently issued an appeal to all the youth of Bulgaria to rise up against Russian colonialism and Communism. Below we publish an extract of this appeal.

"The tyrannical hand of Moscow controls our whole life! It is the terrible and ruthless rule of the conqueror, who, profiting by our

patience, has become a veritable tyrant. With the aid of his police, his tribunals and his army he keeps us in a state of complete submission!...

"But the voice of the nation counsels us openly not to despair! In the past the patriotic youth of Bulgaria, under the influence of its spirit and its instinct of self-preservation and either by the written or the spoken word, by its labour and toil, and lastly by its blood, has always followed the path of the free and independent life of the Bulgarian people, a path which remained almost inviolate through the ages and which today still serves as a guide to the whole nation

in its struggle for a final liberation from the present Soviet Russian yoke...

"The Bulgarian Communist Party and the Popular Front, which trails in its wake, are now endeavouring to reduce our minds to simple automatons for the purpose of recording and propagating their political and social creed, as if it were the expression of our will and of the decision of Bulgaria to remain for ever united to Russia. Communism has no moral principles whatever. It is the very negation of our national, political, social and economic life."



Soviet Statistics are Incomplete

According to official statistics, the area of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Byelorussia is about 207,000 sq. kilometres and the population of this republic numbers 8,055,000 (census of January 15, 1959). But these figures are incomplete, for they only pertain to the Soviet Socialist Republic of Byelorussia, which does not comprise all the Byelorussian ethnographical territories.

In a precise analysis of the problem, André Bahrovic*) proves that the ethnographical territory of Byelorussia is much larger. Part of it lies beyond the frontiers of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Byelorussia and, in fact, beyond the frontiers of the USSR. The larger part, in fact, of which the regions of Smolensk, Briansk and Pskov were annexed by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (R.S.F.S.R.). In 1927 the Big Soviet Encyclopedia already stated — and various scholars, including several Russians, also confirmed this fact — that the Moscow Dialectical Commission of 1915 as well as the first Assembly of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Byelorussia, which convened in Smolensk on December 30, 1918, had recognized these facts.

Without taking these facts into account Moscow, in keeping with its present political interests, altered the territory of Byelorussia in order to arrive at the final figures which we have quoted above. But these figures are not satisfactory, and André Bahrovic certainly deserves credit for having reminded the free world that one cannot rely on these figures in determining the role which Byelorussia should be called upon to play in a free Europe.

According to Bahrovic, who bases his statements on scientific data, the ethnical territory which possesses a purely Byelorussian language has an area of 320,000 square kilometres. But this estimate does not include the entire Byelorussian territory. A zone with an area of 160,000 sq. kilometres, situated between Russia proper and Byelorussia,

in the north and the east constitutes a transit zone in which the language spoken is hard to define. This zone has originated from the russification imposed on the former language of the Krivitchens after long years of Muscovite occupation. If one were to make a concession to Moscow by dividing this territory into two equal parts, ethnical Byelorussia would nevertheless have a total area of 400,000 sq. kilometres, that is to say twice as large as the official Soviet figure.

The same applies to the population figure. Even though the Soviet Socialist Republic of Byelorussia only has about 8 million inhabitants the population of the entire ethnical territory numbers 12 million. And if, in addition, we take into account the fact — as we have just done — that half of the transit zone belongs to Byelorussia, then the population numbers 15 million.

André Bahrovic also suggests that the demographic losses suffered by Byelorussia during the Bolshevik occupation should be taken into account. These losses in deportees and persons executed and as a result of the decrease in the birth-rate amount to 6 million for the Soviet Socialist Republic of Byelorussia and to 9 million for the entire ethnical territory of Byelorussia.

As regards the national composition of the population in Byelorussia, the figures are as follows: 81 per cent Byelorussians, 8.2 per cent Russians, 6.7 per cent Poles, 1.9 per cent Jews, 1.7 per cent Ukrainians, and 0.5 per cent other nationalities. The fact must be stressed that the percentage of Russians has increased considerably since the war as a result of the constantly increasing influx of Russian functionaries. On the other hand, the percentage of Jews has decreased as a result of the German occupation; so, too, has that of the Poles as a result of the deportations effected from 1939 onwards and the exchanges carried out from 1944 onwards. Deportations of the Byelorussian population to the East number 142,000 persons per year according to Bahrovic's calculations. This practically equals the figure of the natural demographic increase. In this way Moscow artificially curbs the demographic expansion of the country and thus prevents the normal development of its economy.

The proximity of the important consumption centre of food products which an overpopulated Western Europe constitutes would allow Byelorussia to develop its cattle-raising and its agriculture. But the fact that its millions of workers are separated from the West brings Byelorussia, a country in the heart of Europe, closer and closer to the steppes of Asia.

V. Sulitch

*) "The Population of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Byelorussia in the Light of the Census of 1959" (in French). Published by the Institut Biélorussien des Arts et des Sciences.

BOOK - REVIEWS

G. von Mende: *Nationalität und Ideologie* ("Nationality and Ideology"). Published by the Studiengesellschaft für Zeitprobleme, Duisdorf near Bonn, 1962. 75 pp.

The author, Professor Dr. G. von Mende, is a well-known authority on the history of the peoples of the East bloc states and of the Soviet Union. He has an intimate knowledge of the Russian Communist ideology and of Moscow's policy and its methods of ruling, and it is from this aspect that he examines the problems which are the subject of this book.

In the first part of this work he deals with the question of the political expression of will in the East bloc countries and on the basis of facts proves that the peoples of these countries, the Bulgarians, Rumanians, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians and Poles, are completely dependent on Moscow and are entirely subjected to the latter's will.

In the second part of the book he examines the national policy in the USSR. He prefaces this study with a short account of the origin and development of the Russian imperium and of the national composition of the Soviet Union, and then explains Moscow's national policy. He gives the reader an excellent insight into the aims of the Russians' theory of the fusion of the nations, the methods by which they systematically pursue these aims, and the manner in which the subjugated peoples fight these methods. Professor von Mende clearly proves in this work that the Soviet Union is a Russian colonial imperium.

The information contained in this book is certainly most enlightening, and the book itself can be classed as a valuable contribution to the solution of the problems of the peoples who are ruled by Russia and are incarcerated in the latter's sphere of power.

E.

Viet-Nam 1960. Etudes Nationales et Internationales (Studies on National and International Affairs). Special Issue, Saigon, 1960. 175 pp.

This book is a compilation in French and English on Viet-Nam, to which well-known scholars from Viet-Nam, America and France have contributed. Indeed, it can be described as a kind of encyclopedia on the Viet-Nam of today.

The state of Viet-Nam has only been in existence for 9 years; hence it is not surprising that the tasks which confront this new state in every sphere of life seem almost hopeless. And the Vietnamese people, and above all the intelligentsia and the youth,

are obliged to make the utmost efforts in order to be able to assert themselves in the world, since the Communists are constantly seeking to undermine the power of this young state. For this reason a large army has to be maintained at the cost of other sectors of public life in Viet-Nam in order to prevent the subversive activity of the Communists.

The reconstruction of Viet-Nam depends for the most part on the solution of the economic and social problems of the country. And since Viet-Nam is one of the so-called developing countries, the Vietnamese government cannot manage without aid from the USA and from other rich industrial countries of the West in order to build up its young state.

In spite of numerous difficulties, however, an enormous amount of constructive work has been achieved within a relatively short time. There has been considerable progress in particular as regards the solution of the agrarian problem. The industrialization of the country is being accelerated at a feverish pace in order to enable the country to obtain the reserves needed to develop Viet-Nam from its own means.

The unemployment problem is still to some extent a source of worry to the government of Viet-Nam, but with the industrialization of the country and the carrying out of the agrarian reform this problem too will be overcome.

Mention must above all be made of the fact that the co-operation between Viet-Nam and Free China is ideal. Many National Chinese have placed their valuable services at the disposal of the Vietnamese government for the purpose of building up this young state.

Viet-Nam is anxious to co-operate closely with the free world of Europe, with Asia and Africa, and is combatting Communist infiltration in Viet-Nam with all the forces available. To this end the free world should assist this young state in southeast Asia.

Viet-Nam is also anxious to remain in close contact with the non-Russian emigrants who have fled from the Soviet Union. Though the latter may not be in a position to offer Viet-Nam material aid, they should at least give the freedom-loving Vietnamese their moral support. For the co-operation and united front of all the forces of the free world is absolutely essential in order to combat Communism, which is aiming to enslave the whole world.

V. Luzhansky

The Kremlin On A Volcano

by Jaroslaw Stetzko

*

Hon. Michael A. Feighan

U. S. Congressman

A New Battleground Of The Cold War

*

The Truth About A.B.N.

by Niko Nakashidze

Published by the A.B.N. Press Bureau, Munich (Germany)

The Shame Of The Twentieth Century

A Documentary Report

*

Murdered By Moscow

A Documentary Report

*

Khrushchev's Crimes In Ukraine

A Documentary Report

*

**Bolshevist Persecution
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1917--1957

by Dr. Lew Mydlowsky

*

Concentration Camps In The USSR

by Volodymyr Kosyk

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

The 9th Conference of the APACL in Saigon October 1963



AUSTRALIAN INFORMATION REVIEW

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ABN *CORRESPONDENCE*

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Khrushchov's Unchanged Stalinist Policy

The present post-Stalinist decennium as compared to the Leninist or Stalinist decennium shows no change whatever as far as the fundamental *national* question is concerned. One must take as a criterion the entire period of Bolshevik rule and not certain interim periods of this despotism; that is to say, not only the period from 1937 to 1953, or the years 1932/33, but also the years from 1921 to 1930, the period during which the Bolshevik party was developing, the Communism of the New Economic Policy (N. E. P.), the early years of Stalin's dictatorship, the period of purges, and the years from World War II up to the death of Stalin are decisive in assessing the present decennium. If one considers this decennium from this perspective – and in doing so one must take the national question as a touchstone, then one is bound to reach the conclusion, if one applies the contemporary definition of the Khrushchovist era, that the first decennium of the Leninist-Stalinist regime was far more liberal than the present period. The de-Stalinization period of Khrushchov's rule is far more Stalinist than the era of Stalin, of the NEP, of the so-called Ukrainization, the era of the writer Chvylioviy, of the prominent Ukrainian Communist Skrypnyk and of the Prime Minister of Soviet Ukraine, Liubtchenko. But this is not the main point. During and after World War II Moscow made fictitious concessions to the Ukrainians in order to undermine their national resistance. These concessions included, for example, the setting up of a Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Soviet Ukraine, the appointment of the Ukrainian literary scholar Kornitchuk as Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, the introduction of the Order of the Ukrainian Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, and the admission of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic to membership of the United Nations, etc. The situation was a similar one after the Ukrainian war of liberation of 1918–1920 and after the first world war, that is to say in the years 1917 and 1918. It was only the extent of the fictitious concessions that changed; the main trend, according to which the national resistance was to be eradicated systematically and all the peoples subjugated by Moscow were to be assimilated by Russia, has remained unchanged up to the present day.

On the whole, Lenin's conception of the USSR was intended as a temporary solution. The ultimate aim of this conception was the consolidation of "an indivisible Russia", not only in content but also in form. And this has remained the aim of Russian policy up to the present time; the programme of the Communist Party of the USSR of 1962 clearly states that the ultimate aim of Communism is to liquidate the federated republics which formally exist on paper and to absorb them in one single state. As regards the national republics Khrushchov pursues exactly the opposite course to what might be expected in view of his allegedly "liberal" attitude. This course is in evidence in the new economic administrative units which have been created by Khrushchov and whose chiefs rank equal with the All-Union Ministers who hold the leading posts in the individual national republics. The illusory de-centralization aims at a centralization of all authority and competency in Moscow. The economic administrative units are a violation not only of the ethnographical principles of the peoples but also of the existing republican boundaries, which, as is no doubt known, are not identical with the ethnographical boundaries. The setting up of a Caucasian Bureau under the Russians or of a Turkestanian Bureau for four of the Turkestanian Republics under the administration of the Russian Lomonossov has the same purpose. Lomonossov's Bureau, for instance, is the controlling authority over the administrative authorities of the "sovereign republics". Kazakhstan does not belong to this complex, since the majority of the population there already consists of Russian settlers. It is to be expected that in the near

future – in keeping with the will of the population (and the same measures were applied in the case of the Karelo-Finns), Kazakhstan will be incorporated in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR). In the Communist Party programme of 1962 the role of the Russian language as the medium of transmitting the greatest cultural values of the world, that is as the only language which in future is to unite all the peoples of the USSR, was also defined. The notorious school law, according to which parents are forced to decide that their children shall learn Russian instead of their mother-tongue at school, completes the picture of Khrushchov's policy. Khrushchov is continuing Stalin's policy in the second decade of his despotic rule, inasmuch as he obviously relies on the whole on the Russian people and fans the flame of the latter's fanatical chauvinism, nationalism and imperialism. Allegedly there are only the "retrograde" nationalisms of the non-Russian peoples and there is no "Great Russian nationalism and chauvinism", nor any interference on the part of the Russians in national respect. There are allegedly only deviations of the Chvyliovy or Skrypnyk type, but by no means the Russian presumption and arrogance which asserted itself in the second decade of the Stalinist regime and which is actually now in evidence under Khrushchov. The epoch of Stalin and his "great Russian people" and the compulsion imposed on the non-Russian peoples to recognize the supremacy of the Russians, all the benefits of the coexistence of the non-Russians with the Russians in the USSR and in tsarist Russia, and the approval of all the tsar's annexations and conquests as progressive events in the life of the non-Russian peoples are by no means negated by Khrushchov's era. In 1939 the Russians forced the Mohammedans to adopt the Russian script, which is still used today. The rehabilitation of four national groups, which had been deported by Stalin, by Khrushchov was merely a piece of bluff, for these groups had already perished in Siberia. The principle of "socialist", i. e. Russian, in content, and "national" in form still holds good as much as ever for cultural activity. Nowadays the national cultures do not even have the opportunities which they had during the first decennium of Stalin's rule. For all Moscow's efforts are now directed towards the consistent limitation of even the slightest opportunity for cultural creativeness. And all these measures are enforced in keeping with the theory of a close fusion of all peoples, of the elimination of national differences and of the use of the Russian language by all the peoples of the USSR in the near future.

It must be definitely stressed that Khrushchov's policy as regards national questions and in its various political, cultural and economic aspects is nothing but a systematic continuation of the policy pursued by Lenin and Stalin. Not only has this policy not become any milder, but, on the contrary, it has become even more rigid, if one takes into consideration the various periods of Moscow's rule in Ukraine and in the other subjugated countries. The consistency of Khrushchov who does not depart in the least from the guiding principles of russification, as laid down and practised by Lenin and Stalin, in his efforts to consolidate the imperium, should be taken as a touchstone by the West if the latter is to realize the unchangeable character of the Russian regime and to refuse to allow itself to be misled by the pseudo-liberal reforms introduced by Khrushchov, for the latter – as far as the most important question is concerned, namely the *national* problem, has on the whole remained loyal to the traditions which Peter I, Ivan the Terrible, Nicholas II, Lenin, Stalin, and in recent years the NTS Russians in exile, have served. The Russian Church of the Patriarch Alexei and also the Russian Church in exile likewise serve the same aims.

The new programme of the Communist Party of the USSR has brought up the theory of the oppressing and the oppressed nations, and this must be regarded as a new idea in Communist theory, which so far has always branded imperialism as a creation of the classes. This new theory is fundamentally important inasmuch as it

instils in the Russians the self-complacent feeling of being a ruling nation, – a feeling which in this case is not dulled by any class ideology. As a doctrine which is by nature in keeping with the Russian mentality, the Communist doctrine has countless loyal and sincere advocates amongst the Russian people, a fact which incidentally explains the uninterrupted rule of Communism over a period of 40 years. But in order to realize its system, at least partly, in the subjugated countries Russia – apart from terrorism – resorts to *ideological* means: emphasis is on the so-called “forming of consciousness”. To this end a session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party was convened in June 1963.

This *ideological* session of the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR devoted its attention to an analysis of: a) the ideological fight, and b) the training of a new type of individual, as its chief tasks in the fight, and hence subordinated many other tasks to these two tasks and in this connection stressed the role of Soviet (Russian) patriotism, internationalism, man’s relation to work and science, religion, etc. One should certainly not ignore this phenomenon, for the very fact that the West underestimates the Communist ideology favours Russian diversion manoeuvres there, inasmuch as a vacuum is thus created in the mind of the individual which Moscow promptly aims to fill. In spite of this fact however, this “forming of consciousness” and cognition, if it is contrary to human nature and to psycho-moral, teleological and metaphysical factors, will not achieve any notable success. In other words, the propagation of unnatural collectivization as opposed to private enterprise, of the abolition of the nation, of the decadence of the state and of religion as opium for the people, has by no means taken root in the mentality of the subjugated peoples since it is anti-organic. The establishment of a Church controlled by the state has merely served to corroborate the vitality and strength of the idea of religion in man’s soul; the process of russification corroborates the phenomenon of the nation beyond all doubt and the efforts to create a nation, namely *the* nation; and the recognition of the strength of liberation-nationalism, even though this recognition may be manifested outside the USSR, is a noticeable blow to the multi-national, Russian Communist imperium. “Cognition” and the campaign conducted in this respect are only compatible if it is a question of processes and phenomena which are not natural or vital. For instance, the constant repetition of the lie about the imperialistic aims of the USA would only be likely to achieve any results as far as the “forming of consciousness” is concerned if the USA were to fail to adopt an appropriate liberation policy towards the subjugated peoples. The abandonment of Ukraine, Hungary, Poland, Tibet, Laos, etc., would seem to corroborate Moscow’s reproaches (Yalta and Postdam). In short, the propagation of an idea that is unnatural will prove futile, while the propagation of what might be possible may perhaps achieve results.

It was by no means a coincidence that the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR became an ideological session. – The following directives in the resolutions adopted at this session are particularly significant: a) designation of the term “anti-Communism” as the greatest menace; b) designation of the propagation of a “peaceful coexistence” of ideologies as a betrayal of Marxism-Leninism; and c) introduction of the one and only conception – imperialistic ideology. To a): this definition is most clearly in evidence in the case of ABN and APACL; thus the constant efforts of certain circles in the West to change this designation into a “positive” term in order to obliterate glaring differences, appear in a different light. To b): by rejecting the formula of a peaceful coexistence of ideologies Moscow is making a stand for a world revolution, a fact which it also stresses. To c): important conclusions can be drawn from the designation “imperialistic ideology”: its opposite is the national liberation ideology. Moscow has thus recognized the key-position of the national liberation problem. It is extremely important to realize this fact, since it

should determine the nature and course of the Western offensive as well as the continuation of the offensive of the subjugated peoples (as hitherto).

Another important point should also be borne in mind: when one talks of the vulnerable spot of the Russian imperium, one inevitably thinks of the watchword propagated at the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR in June this year: "the brotherly friendship of the peoples of the USSR is the greatest achievement of socialism". If this does not hold good (and everyone knows that it does not), then it is obvious that the greatest danger to the imperium lies in the non-existence of this alleged friendship and in the existence of an inextinguishable enmity between the subjugated peoples and the Russians.

A further demand on the part of the Russians is: "the ruthless combatting of all the phenomena of nationalism, of local patriotism, of national peculiarities, of the idealization of the past, of the propagation of national exclusiveness, of the apotheosis of reactionary traditions and customs, etc. . . ." But no mention is made of the necessity of combatting the "Great Russian chauvinism", which pertains, for example, to the glorification of Peter I, Catherine II, Ivan the Terrible, etc. The resolutions adopted at the above-mentioned session demand the apotheosis of heroism and of romanticism, love of the fighting forces, a spirit of self-sacrifice, love and respect of useful communal work, a collective spirit, self-training in the theory of Marxism-Leninism and Communist moral principles, and an intensification of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy of life, etc. Special emphasis is placed on the combatting of "religious remnants" and on the intensification of scientific-atheistic activity. The anti-religious training of children, the combatting of the so-called formalistic trend in art, and the complete subordination of literature and art to the construction of Communism, in connection with which the founders of Communism, that is of the imperium, are to be glorified, are stressed in particular. Press, radio, films and television must play a special part as essential factors in the ideological fight conducted for the purpose of training the people in the Communist spirit. The Communist Party of the USSR warns against the "ideological diversions of imperialism", against all attempts to disarm the "Soviet individual" in ideological and moral respect, and against all those who propagate the idea of ideological coexistence. In accordance with the said resolutions the intelligentsia is to be employed in ideological tasks more than has been the case so far, and the ideological and political training of young persons is to be intensified – and this also applies to the kolkhoz farmers. To this end the trade unions must be roped in to help with the training of the workers. Various central authorities, including the authorities of the individual republics, are instructed to work out a plan for cultural activity in the years 1964 to 1970. The ideological offensive should not be confined solely to the interior of the imperium, since it is essential that information activity regarding foreign politics should be furthered and that cultural relations with foreign countries should be co-ordinated and consolidated. All of which amounts to a general attack on us in these foreign countries and on the West itself!

Furthermore the Communist Party of the USSR exhorts the young people of the whole world to admire "the hero who has conquered the virgin lands and who rules the cosmos" . . .

"And this hero is a Communist, a revolutionary and a fighter . . ."

But what steps is the West now taking? – There are, of course, excellent chances to bring about a disintegration of the Russian imperium from within, and this eventuality is greatly feared by the Kremlin since it is well aware of the fact that the chances on the Western side are far greater.

The West however serves ideals which differ from those of heroism, idealism, liberation-nationalism, militant Christianity, and fighting for its neighbours, etc. It is therefore not surprising that one of the speakers in the plenary session of the

Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR ridiculed the fact that in the art and literature of the West anti-heroism, anti-humanism and also anti-Communism prevail and predominate, – which is not exactly true. “They themselves admit that they have no positive ideas with which to counter the Communist ideals” . . . “For this reason – so G. N. Tchudrai said – they counter socialist realism in art with aggressive formalism and humanism with anti-humanism . . .” If the West resorts to its ancient ideals once more, its victory will be ensured. And this is what Moscow fears most of all.

And under the present circumstances, too, when formalistic ideas predominate in the West, and when the West only propagates the idea of freedom and, in doing so, does not define its qualitative content in more detail but merely sets up a framework for a varying content, including sexualism, egoism, carefree materialism, negation of the nation and of the national idea, religious indifference, and lack of faith in great truths and noble ideals, Moscow is nevertheless terrified of an ideological conflict with the West.

“The imperialists are seeking to use every possible opportunity to bring the fight for ideas into our territory” – these words of warning were recently uttered by N. G. Yegoritchev, the first secretary of the Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR in Moscow, who incidentally also gave us a hint unintentionally, when he said: “Bourgeois propaganda makes use of various channels – tourism, broadcast programmes, the foreign press, the exchange of books and films, etc. . . . Such things penetrate as far as our scientific research institutes and colleges and are frequently accepted without criticism, a fact which is highly detrimental to the Marxist-Leninist training of the intelligentsia and young people who are thirsting for knowledge, for these works consider events from the idealistic point of view . . .”

This is certainly an eloquent statement and an excellent hint to us as to what measures to adopt.

The Russian hireling A. D. Skaba, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, hastened to affirm that the artists and literary scholars of Ukraine had subjected the works of many of their colleagues, as for instance, I. Dratsh, N. Vinhranovsky, L. Kostenko and others, who have got entangled in ideological errors, to an impartial criticism, and added that it had been ascertained in this connection that the Ukrainian nationalists had recently been publishing their works abroad.

Nor was it a coincidence that Khrushchov in his speech at the plenary session of the Central Committee in June 1963 sounded the alarm by affirming that ideology was really “the soul of the Party”. “Our enemies – he added – are trying to rob the Party of its revolutionary soul, to distort the Marxist-Leninist ideology, to undermine its influence on art and on the creative intelligentsia, and to destroy the uniform organism of the Party. . . . In the competition of economy we take into consideration not only cement and metal, but also politics, the strength of our ideas, and the strength of the Marxist-Leninist theory . . .”

And Khrushchov further interprets Moscow’s aim as the imperative need to bury “capitalism”, that is to say the West. He stresses that a peaceful coexistence between states with different social orders does not by any means indicate a weakening of the class struggle at an international level, and adds that a “peaceful coexistence in the ideological sector is impossible since the class struggle continues . . .” There is no mistaking the meaning of his words: “we shall bury you”.

To neglect the ideological fight would mean a military defeat, for in this atomic age the decisive role falls not merely to technical weapons, but above all to ideological weapons.

Within the imperium itself the ideological fight is not crowned with any notable success as regards influencing the subjugated peoples. It is a camouflage and disguise

for the Russian conquerors and a hypocritical excuse for the traitors and opportunists. To the Russian people, however, it is a profession of faith and evidence of its strength. The manifold forms of resistance are characterized by the various designations used by the regime for those who oppose it: "Tunejadzy" (idlers, owners), rowdies, anti-patriots, nihilists, living apostles, anonymous persons, "Nibotscho", political vagabonds, protesting citizens, strange personalities, public enemies, and, above all, bourgeois nationalists, etc. The ideological resistance and the rejection of an "ideological coexistence" by the young intellectual elite of Ukraine, that is to say an "ideological coexistence" between this elite and the Russian occupants, and the fact that this opposition is openly expressed in works that are published, are proof of Russia's defeat.

Atlantic Pact and A.B.N.

The second half of the solution centres in the unbearable Bolshevik rule, which has established a ready-made second front in every country behind the Iron Curtain. Wherever Bolshevism is sown, anti-Bolshevism can be reaped, for though by terror a people can be compelled to obey their masters, they cannot be compelled to cease hating them.

Hatred is the Uranium 235 of the second half, and without it its physical prototype remains purely a weapon of material destruction. And of all explosives, psychological fission is the one the Kremlin dreads most, because it blows the bottom out of its ideology. Therefore to turn the USSR into a gigantic psychological bomb is the second half of the solution.

Thus far, this half has been almost entirely neglected by the Western Powers, yet it is by far the easier to arrive at, because the USSR, being ethnographically divided into Russians and non-Russians is, in consequence, packed with psychological Uranium.

In 1943, the representatives of the Resistance Movements, then springing up among the conquered and subjugated peoples, banded themselves together into an Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations – the A.B.N. To-day it includes the following twenty-five countries:

In the USSR: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Cossackia, Estonia, Georgia, Idel-Ural (between Volga and the Urals), Latvia, Lithuania, North Caucasia, Siberia (east and west), Tartaria, Turkestan and Ukraine.

In Europe: Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czechia, Finland, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Serbia, Slovakia and Slovenia.

The aim of the A. B. N. is the complete dissolution of the Soviet Empire into its ethnographical parts and the establishment of each part as a sovereign nation. The A.B.N. is, therefore, opposed to any form of Russia Imperialism, whether Tsarist, Socialist, Democratic, Republican or Bolshevik. Nor will it tolerate any form of Russian federation, because it fears that whatever form it may take, it will inevitably lead to the re-establishment of a Russian hegemony.

Because in the Atlantic Pact – however defective it may be – is to be found the only potential first front against the Soviet Union, so in the A. B. N. – however lacking in organization it still is – is to be found the only potential second front. Together the two should constitute the grand strategical instrument of the Western Powers, the one being as essential as the other, for neither without the other can achieve what should be the Western aim, not the containment of Communism, but the complete elimination of Bolshevism, without which there can be no peace in the world.

(From "Russia is not invincible" by Major-General J. F. C. Fuller, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O.).

To mark the 20th anniversary of A.B.N.

Soldiers and Revolutionaries

There have been many ominous turning-points in the 20th century. The shots which were fired in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914, and killed the successor to the Austrian throne, Archduke Francis Ferdinand, were certainly not the real cause of the first world war, but they nevertheless precipitated its outbreak. November 7, 1917, the day on which Lenin ordered the Red warship "Aurora" to fire on the Tsar's winter residence, saw the birth of Bolshevik power, the most ruthless and most bloody Russian colonial power of all time. On January 30, 1933, Hitler came into power; German democracy was crushed by his Storm troops, and Nazism opened its rapacious gorgonian jaws.

In November 1943 representatives of the peoples of East Europe, Central Asia and the Caucasus who had been subjugated by the Bolsheviks and the Nazis held a secret conference in a Ukrainian forest behind the German fighting front. The most important matter on the agenda of this conference was the formation of a joint fighting front against the Russian and Nazi colonizers and occupants. And this front was set up. "From today onwards our fight for independence is no longer the isolated fight of one people alone, but a revolution in East Europe and Asia for the freedom of all subjugated peoples and for a new order in this part of the world", — these were the words of General Shukhevych (Taras Chuprynka), Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), under whose armed protection this truly epoch-making conference took place. A new course was now steered. East Europe, which had been enslaved and was fighting for its freedom, had now reached a turning-point in its struggle. A new militant organization, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A. B. N.), was born.

On May 8, 1945, 17 months after this historic date, Nazi Germany capitulated unconditionally. Thus World War II was officially ended in Europe. But the peace which followed was a sham peace. In reality the war had not ended at all, but had merely entered on a new phase. In West Europe the cannon were now silent, but in East Europe, on the other hand, the peoples were still being massacred. Attacks were launched by tanks, volleys of shells were fired, and bombs were dropped by aircraft. War ravaged villages and towns and destroyed the countryside. Murder, mass-abductions, the shooting of hostages, and famine continued to be the order of the day. The Russian colonial imperialists, whose armies were well equipped, began their campaign of annihilation against the freedom-loving, national, anti-colonialist forces in East Europe — in the Baltic countries, in the Caucasus, in Byelorussia, and in Ukraine.

The war that was waged by the anti-colonialist forces in the name of the highest values and ideals of mankind was a merciless war, a truly revolutionary war. It was waged for the cause of freedom, humanity, justice, faith and national independence. The bulwark of world barbarity, the stronghold of the counter-revolution and of colonialism, Moscow, was assailed again and again by the progressive forces of the non-Russian nations. The armed units of the Ukrainians, Latvians, Estonians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Turkestanians and Caucasians inflicted heavy losses on the enemy in spite of the fact that the latter was superior in number and also as regards equipment. The idealism of these fighters whose strength was inspired by their faith

in God, by their love of freedom and fatherland, was unparalleled in the history of mankind.

At the same time as the armed fight was being waged, a second front was formed in all parts of the Soviet Union. It was a front behind barbed wire, and it was determined by its own laws as regards both organization and fighting methods. During the early post-war years the Soviet Russian concentration camps were filled with millions of political prisoners, with members of the political underground movement and of the partisan armies. Death raged in these camps.

Starvation, cold, disease, depression (which in some cases led to suicide), tortures, massacres, accidents at work, and catastrophes caused by the forces of Nature decimated the ranks of the prisoners in a terrible way. Thousands, in fact millions, perished in the years 1944–1949; their corpses were thrown into holes dug in the tundra, in the Siberian taiga, or deserts of Kazakhstan, and no one knows where they lie buried.

Much has been written about this chapter of terrible suffering, but no writer, however talented he might be, can really describe all the sufferings and the spirit of self-sacrifice of these freedom fighters, who bore their cross for the whole of free mankind.

There have been many hells, set up by man for man, in the 20th century – Treblinka, the White Sea Canal, Lubjanka, Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Katyn, Vinnitsia and Lviv. But the most dreadful hell of all was set up by Stalin after World War II for those who fought against Bolshevist Russian colonialism, – the concentration camps and slave-labour camps of Norylsk, Vorkuta, Karaganda, Viatka, Inta, Magadan, Kolyma, Uchta and Kingir.

However severe the punishment imposed on the murderers and their accomplices, they will never be able to atone for their crimes, for the indescribable suffering and bloodshed in these camps. There cannot be any “restitution” for these mass-crimes in which millions of persons have been the victims, for these crimes are beyond human comprehension and the terrible memory of them will live on long after Moscow has fallen into decay.

And yet, even in this hell, there were still persons who, in spite of starvation and disease, nostalgia and tortures, thought of the liberation of their country and continued to work for this cause. Their sufferings were great, but their will to freedom – freedom of the individual and freedom of the nations – was a thousand times greater. In 1948 a small but nevertheless extremely active elite group of political prisoners set up a widely ramified network of combatant units in the camps. These units were formed on the basis of the individual national groups of prisoners in the camps; in other words, in a camp in which there were Ukrainian, German, Baltic, Caucasian and Turkestanian prisoners, there were an equal number of resistance groups, namely a Ukrainian, German, Lithuanian, Latvian, Georgian, Armenian and Turkestanian group. These national groups in one camp established contact with their counterparts in other camps, either through couriers or through “free” workers who were in sympathy with the prisoners. Hence any action on the part of these national groups in one camp could be correlated with similar action in another camp.

Strictly speaking it is not in keeping with the historic truth to designate these illegal national groups as “resistance” groups, for resistance is something defensive, whereas the illegal fighting front of the prisoners was definitely of an offensive, aggressive character. The prisoners defended themselves by resorting to attacks on every possible occasion. Hence it is also correct to designate their activity as *revolutionary*, for its aim was to transform the Bolshevist Russian colonial empire into independent national states. One of the first liberation actions of the prisoners, namely the armed insurrection and escape of 80,000 prisoners from the camp in

Vorkuta in September 1948, most strikingly proved the offensive fighting spirit of the captive anti-Russian revolutionaries. An armed escape on such a large scale, considered from the tactical and strategical aspect, cannot be designated as an act of resistance, for it is an attack, an offensive. The prisoners who escaped and who were joined by many soldiers of the Red Army and also by many deportees and exiles intended waging a partisan war in the forests of the Urals, for at that time, when the blockade of Berlin was at its height, it was generally assumed that war would break out between Russia and the Western powers.

The insurrections during the years 1952 to 1956 were also of an offensive character, both as regards their aims and the combatant methods which were adopted. The methods applied most frequently were:

- 1) a general strike, either
 - a) unarmed or
 - b) armed (weapons were either obtained from the enemy, or the prisoners made them themselves);
- 2) a sit-down strike, also called an "Italian" strike, in which all the prisoners refused to work, but did not actually attack the NKVD men;
- 3) purges carried out against informers, agents and officers of the NKVD;
- 4) assassination.

In order to combat the NKVD regime effectively it did not suffice to be only a good soldier, which few of the prisoners were, or only a good revolutionary and politician. One had to be both, – a soldier and a revolutionary. Hence a new type of fighter developed behind the barbed wire of the Stalinist camps: the revolutionary soldier in convict's garb.

The most significant insurrections organized by prisoners after 1945 were the following:

| | | |
|-----------|---------------------|-------------|
| Vorkuta | September 1948 | 80,000 dead |
| Norylsk | May-August 1953 | 1,500 dead |
| Vorkuta | July-September 1953 | 400 dead |
| Viatka | January 1954 | 300 dead |
| Kingir | May-June 1954 | 600 dead |
| Irkutsch | April 1956 | 200 dead |
| Temir-Tau | October 1959 | |

Between 1952 and 1954 insurrections were also organized in the following camps but the number of freedom fighters who were killed on these occasions has so far never been ascertained: Karaganda, Kolyma, Magadan, Muika, Dzegaskan, Inta, Suchobesvodnoje, Taishet.

* * *

One can thus say that A.B.N., this huge bloc of captive peoples who are fighting against Bolshevism and Russian colonialism, already existed behind barbed wire. Not, of course, under the name A. B. N., but names are, after all, immaterial! The most important and decisive thing is the idea and the spirit which is inspired by this idea. And this idea – the idea of freedom for nations, freedom for individuals – behind the barbed wire of the Soviet Russian concentration camps was not something abstract or illusory. This idea, which is the guiding principle of A.B.N., was personified in a living and dynamical way in the fighting front of all the prisoners of the peoples subjugated by Russia. This idea existed and was put into practice by organized action on the part of the prisoners. To millions of prisoners, whether they were Ukrainians, persons from the Baltic states, Caucasians, members of the Turkish peoples, Tatars, Byelorussians, Germans, Koreans, Chinese, Armenians,

Hungarians, Cossacks, or Mongols, the idea of A. B. N. was the only possible and right alternative to Bolshevism. Thus on the one side there was the idea of national liberation by united effort and strength, and on the other, the diabolical incarnation of a modern despotic regime. In other words, humanity, freedom and faith versus barbarity, subjugation and godlessness.

For the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain salvation lies neither in a so-called "third course" of the kind steered by Tito or Gomulka, nor in a third (atomic) world war. It is only by the realization of the noble ideals of A. B. N. that the slavery and oppression practised by Moscow can be annihilated; and it is only by the revolutionary application of the principles of A. B. N. that the peoples will regain true freedom once more and that freedom for nations and freedom for individuals will be attained. In this spirit the peoples on this side of and behind the barbed wire of the Soviet Russian concentration camps are fighting, suffering, sacrificing themselves, and triumphing over the enemy. A. B. N. has become the International of the anti-Russian, anti-Marxist freedom fighters in the East and under this banner they will be victorious.

Lithuania's Youth Opposes Communist Ideology

Considerable anxiety has been expressed recently in occupied Lithuania at the attitude of the young people there, which is by no means in conformity with the conceptions of the Communist functionaries and ideologists. The Party organ "Tiesa" publishes articles which show that Lithuania's youth is not all it ought to be. In its edition No. 244 an old Party member for instance expresses his disapproval of the way of life of young people nowadays. He affirms that he himself grew up in independent Lithuania and "suffered under the subjugation exercised by the bourgeois overlords and under the obscurantism of the clergy" (sic!), and adds that youth nowadays enjoys complete freedom. In spite of this, however, the young people of today - so he stresses - are unscrupulous and impolite; after the big celebrations held on the anniversary of the revolution one encounters drunken youths at every street-corner and the streets are littered with broken bottles...

The opinion expressed by the said old Party member was attacked by a high functionary of the Communist youth organization, who likewise expressed his views in "Tiesa" (No. 283) and reminded readers of the "heroic deeds" of the youth of today: he affirmed that they enlisted voluntarily for heavy work in the virgin regions of Kazakhstan (actually they are forced to do so!) and worked in the kolkhozes. - The views of this functionary were in turn criticized by

a teacher, who designated the functionary as an optimist. This teacher affirms that in reality there are a lot of "weeds and nettles" amongst the young people of Lithuania. He emphasizes the fact that they are not capable of rightly assessing the reality in which they live (this no doubt means that the youth of Lithuania rejects the Communist ideology and the Communist way of life). The reason for these unsatisfactory conditions, in the opinion of this teacher, is to be sought in the fact that in the past one has told the young people too much "about the heroes of the Donbas and about the immortal and heroic deeds of the Communist partisans", and has omitted to tell them about revolutionary events in their own country. By making them acquainted with local revolutionary history, so he adds, one can win them over more easily for the Communist ideals. - He also expresses the view that the schools should in future do more as regards the education of the young people. The difficulty in this respect, he says, is the fact that the teachers in the schools are overworked, and that the quota of work demanded from the schools, as if they were factories, is too high. But the main difficulty, so he affirms, is that the young people come to school "from strongly infested surroundings". - These complaints clearly prove that a sound Lithuanian patriotism is passed on to the younger generation through the influence of the family. Hence the young people are immune to a Communist training.

The Church In Georgia

By the manifesto of Tsar Alexander I Georgia was annexed in 1801 and incorporated in the Russian empire. Thus "Christian" Russia, under whose protection Georgia had placed itself by the treaty of 1783, flagrantly and perfidiously violated this treaty. The kingdom of Georgia ceased to exist and was transformed into a Russian administrative province.

For the first time in their more than 2000-year-old history the Georgian people were deprived of their state and their sovereign ruler. A few years later the autocephalous character of one of the oldest Christian Churches of Georgia was abolished and it was subordinated to the authority of the Russian Synod. From then onwards the Russian Exarch, whose seat was in Tbilisi, ruled the Georgian Church. We shall later give an account of the sufferings which this Church was obliged to endure under the Russian rulers. At this point we should merely like to emphasize the atrocity of the crime which the Russian Church committed in thus violating the Georgian Church and depriving it — a Christian Church — of its rights.

I. Christianity in Georgia

From its earliest beginnings Christianity penetrated to Georgia and Armenia, for these countries had entertained close political, cultural and economic relations with the countries of the Near East since ancient times. According to various ancient chronicles, the Apostle St. Andrew preached in Georgia and Simon the Canaanite, the last of the Apostles, died there and was buried in Nikopsia, and according to the same chronicles, the Mother of Our Lord was to come to Georgia, but God called her to His heavenly home; for this reason Georgia is referred to as the "domain of the Mother of Our Lord" in the annals of the Orthodox Church. Christianity did not however become the state religion of Georgia until the 4th century, when the king and his family were baptized as Christians by St. Nino. St. Nino is not a legendary figure but an historical person. The Roman historian Rufinus states that he personally knew the children of the Georgian king who were sent to Constantinople to be educated there and who were the children of the king of Georgia who was converted to Christianity by St. Nino. One of them, Prince Bakur, was later a general and Margrave of Palestine in Jerusalem. Another son of the king, named Labarnak, was later the famous Peter of the Iberians, Bishop of

Majuma (Gaza), in the 5th century. Some years ago Italian and American archaeologists discovered the ruins of a church built by him not far from Bethlehem, which contained Georgian inscriptions and beautiful mosaic floors. European and Georgian research scholars have meanwhile ascertained that Peter of the Iberians was the author of the outstanding theological mystical writings which in the early Middle Ages were erroneously attributed to Dionysius Areopagita, the pupil of the Apostle Paul.

From the 5th century onwards the Georgian Church was formally autocephalous and had its own patriarchs; formally, since the Patriarch of Antioch still asserted his claims and regarded this Church as belonging to his diocese. But from the 7th century onwards it was recognized de jure and universally as an autocephalous Church. (For the history of the Church of Georgia cf. Father Michel Tamarati: "L'Eglise Géorgienne des Origines jusqu'à nos jours" — "The Georgian Church from its Origin up to the Present Day", Rome, 1910.)

From its earliest beginnings the Georgian Church developed a considerable activity in national political and cultural life. Proof of its achievements and of the great spiritual and intellectual impetus which it gave to the national life of Georgia can be seen from numerous cultural and historical monuments, the venerable edifices of monasteries and churches, the imposing architectural style and the exquisite murals of these edifices. In addition, the Georgian Church also rendered national sacred music an invaluable service, for it created a beautiful chant of perfect composition (for 5 or 7 voices). In the early Middle Ages Georgian music already possessed a system of notation. Three years ago this notation was deciphered by the research scholar P. Ingorokva. The "UNESCO Courier" reported at length on this subject in its edition of May 1962.

The Georgians did not content themselves with merely being active in the service of the Christian Church in their own country, but also went abroad, above all to the Holy Land, where they did their share in establishing Christianity. The Georgian monasteries, churches and basilicas abroad attest to this fact — the monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem (5th century), the church on the Black Hill in Antioch (7th century), the church on Mount Sinai (9th century), the monastery on Athos (10th century), and Petrizonisi in Bulgaria (11th century), now known as the Batshkov Monastery. These edifices did not

solely serve the purpose of religious worship, but also included theological academies and seats of learning where young priests and scholars were trained. A lively intellectual activity was fostered there; theological and philosophical works were translated into Georgian, and works were written in Georgian. In the 10th century Euthimos, a prior of the monastery on Athos, translated "Barlaam and Josephat" ("The Wisdom of Balavar"), the oldest version of the European legend of Buddha which had only been preserved in the Georgian language, into Greek. In the Georgian monastery in Bulgaria the doctrine of Neo-Platonism was translated and commentaries were written on this system; in addition, the ideas of Aristotle were also re-edited.

Out of this intellectual activity and influence there resulted the immortal epic "The Brave Warrior in the Tiger-skin" by the gifted poet Schotha Rusthaweli. It was written in the 12th century and was translated into all the European languages. It was the first secular love-story in the entire Near East; nor was there any work of similar merit in Byzantine literature at that time.

When the Emperor Basil II (10th century) found himself in an extremely difficult situation as a result of the insurrection of the governor of Asia Minor, Barda Skliaros, he summoned a monk of the Georgian monastery on Athos to come to him. He then sent this monk to King David of Georgia in order to ask the latter's help. This monk was the former Georgian general Thornike Eristhawi. He went to Georgia as the Emperor's envoy. The King of Georgia agreed to help the Emperor on condition that the monk left his religious order and assumed command of the Georgian troops. He complied with the King's wish and successfully put down the insurrection.

In the 10th century a monk in one of the Georgian monasteries wrote a hymn in praise of the Georgian language, a poem in prose, entitled "In Praise of the Georgian Language". This fact in itself is evidence of the great national consciousness of the Georgians at that time, for in those days the state and literary language of the European peoples was not their mother-tongue but Latin!

At the end of the 17th century and beginning of the 18th century the Georgian Archbishop Anthimos of Iveria (old designation for East Georgia), a famous ecclesiastical dignitary, held office in Rumania. At the instigation of the Greek clergy he was murdered in a bestial way. He is venerated as a national martyr by the Rumanian people.

The oldest literary work in Georgian dates from the 5th century. It is Jacob Tsurtaveli's "The Life of St. Shurshanik", which, though it has as its subject the martyrdom of a saint, in style almost resembles a secular novel. One senses the Georgian patriotism of the author.

The tragic life of a woman who refuses to renounce her Christian faith is described in highly poetic language. Nature is depicted by the author with great artistry. "I do not reproach you" — so the heroine tells her husband, who is trying to force her to renounce Christianity, through her father confessor, the author of the poem. "But when we stand before Him who was crucified for man, then let us give an account of ourselves..."

In this work the author not only wanted to describe the life of his heroine but also sought to show his Georgian fellow-countrymen an example, namely that of a woman, in this case an Armenian princess, whose husband, who has gone over to Mazdaism, tries to force her to renounce Christianity; but she remains loyal to her Christian faith and lays down her life for this faith.

In troubled times, when Georgia was governed by foreign rulers, the Church exhorted the Georgian people to remember their national consciousness and their religious faith and to resist the enemy. The Church was indeed the guardian of national life. When the Arabs ruled in East Georgia in the 8th century the high ecclesiastical dignitary John Sabanisidze wrote his work "Abo of Tbilisi", which had as its subject the conversion to Christianity of an Arab, who died as a martyr. By this work the author wished to encourage the weak, who are like "reeds shaken by the wind", to admonish those who adopt foreign customs and habits, and to point out that youth is easily corrupted by foreign influence. With the example of the Arab who dies for his Christian faith the author exhorts his fellow-countrymen to adhere unwaveringly to this faith and to gather strength from it. He then stresses that the terrorism of foreign rule will come to an end some day and tells the Georgian people to wait until outward circumstances create a favourable opportunity to attain national freedom. Thus he pointed the way to the Georgian people to take up their national fight.

The achievements of the Church in the field of national historiography are immeasurable. These early Georgian ecclesiastical historians can be compared with the great Greek and Roman historians. Many of their works were destroyed by foreign conquerors or in the course of wars, but those that have been preserved are proof of the high standard of Georgian historiography. In them we find mention of many works which no longer exist, and this fact alone shows how numerous and manifold these early works of Georgian historiography must have been.

The Church gave the people their national state ideology and their national consciousness. In the 10th century George Mertshule, an authority on canonical law, wrote: "Georg-

ia, the entire territory where the Holy Sacrament and all prayers are offered up in the Georgian language". — And in the decree of the ecclesiastical council of Ruis-Urbnisi under King David, its founder, in 1103 it is stated: "all the regions and waters inhabited by Georgian tribes are Georgia." — These two sentences serve to show how firmly rooted the national state idea was. They also prove that the Georgian people had already realized the significance of race and of origin, and what is more, that works on this subject had already been written. The Georgian historians of the 11th and 12th centuries stressed that man possesses hereditary characteristics, which are determined by his origin. The Patriarch Nikolos discussed the questions of the "limits of the tribe", the "similarity of tribes that are related", hereditary characteristics and the natural traits of nationalities, and pointed out that as in the case of individuals, so, too, in nationalities there are various different hereditary characteristics. Such views on the part of the ecclesiastical dignitaries were certainly bold, for to a certain extent they were a contradiction of the fundamental principles of the Church. But these views were based on the national idea and were voiced in order to make the Georgians, who on various occasions were subjected to foreign rule, conscious of their own national value and of their own special national characteristics.

The history of Georgia is troubled and tragic, but nevertheless illustrious. On numerous occasions Georgia was the victim of hostile incursions and conquests, — by the Persians, Romans, Greeks, Chasars, Arabs, Mongols, and Turks. In addition, Georgia was constantly a theatre of war for the major powers at that time. On many occasions the country was devastated, the churches were looted or destroyed, but again and again the Georgian people undauntedly set about the task of reconstruction and preserved their national individuality. The Church contributed a great deal in this respect and did the people an invaluable service, inasmuch as it prevented the national characteristics and culture from falling into decay.

As early as the Middle Ages the Church already introduced a democratization. At the above-mentioned ecclesiastical council in 1103 it was decreed that not the origin and social status of a person should be decisive for his election to an ecclesiastical office, but his education, his moral attitude and his spiritual qualification and suitability as a servant of Christ. Incidentally, all the monasteries established old age homes and also children's homes for orphans, as well as schools and seminaries.

From the very outset there were no schisms or sects in the Georgian Church. It preserved the Christian doctrine in its purest, original

form, in the form in which it had been adopted by the Church. The Georgian Church was tolerant; there was never any religious persecution or intolerance in Georgia. And this fact is even mentioned by Arab historians. Although the Georgians themselves were cruelly persecuted as Christians by foreign conquerors and were called upon to make countless sacrifices, persecution and intolerance were things unknown in their Church.

As late as the 17th century thousands of Georgians were deported to Persia and resettled in the southern part of that country. Some of their descendants are still living in the province of Fereidan and even today they still speak Georgian. It was during this era that Queen Kethevan, who offered herself to the Persian ruler Shah Abbas as a hostage in order to save Georgia from further devastation, was publicly burnt alive in Persia. This terrible act was witnessed by Spanish Catholic monks who were in Persia at the time; they brought this news to Europe, and on the strength of their account of the incident the famous German poet of the baroque era, Andreas Gryphius, wrote his tragedy "Katherine of Georgia".

This queen was not the only member of the Bagration royal dynasty who sacrificed her life for the Georgian people. King Luarsab was also tortured to death by the Persians, and King Demetrius was beheaded by the Mongols.

This dynasty, the oldest dynasty in Europe, which ruled in Georgia for 1,500 years, heroically defended Christianity; in its genealogical tree it traced back its origin to King David, thus stressing its relation to Christ. The coat-of-arms of this dynasty shows the scales of Solomon, the harp and sling of David, and the tunic worn by Christ. This garment is said to have been brought to Georgia by Jews who had been converted to Christianity; at the time of the Arab invasion it was preserved in the cathedral of Mzketha, but it then vanished. The illustrious dynasty of the Bagrations was deposed by the Russian "Christian" tsar and robbed of its country. And not even the ancient Christian Church of Georgia was spared by the Russians; it was deprived of all its rights and subordinated to the authority of the "Holy" Synod. But we shall deal with this subject later.

II. Catholicism in Georgia

The Georgian Church is Orthodox but it has never officially severed its relations with Rome. The kings of Georgia were always on friendly terms with the Popes and the latter constantly sent their envoys to Georgia on some mission or other. The archives of the Vatican contain considerable information on this subject (cf. Father M. Tamarati: "The History of Catholicism in Georgia", published

in Georgian in 1902). The documents in question are all written in Latin. The high prestige which Georgia enjoyed in Europe can be seen from a letter by a French crusader in the Near East to the Archbishop of Besançon. (This letter is preserved in the National Library in Paris.)

In order to win Georgia as an ally in the fight against the Turks Pope Calixtus III in 1456 sent his friend Louis of Bologna to the King of Georgia. Upon his return the Pope once more sent him to Georgia. On this occasion he returned to Rome accompanied by two Georgian envoys, who were received there by the new Pope Pius II and later by Philip the Good, Charles VII and the latter's son Louis XI.

In 1714 Pope Clement XI twice received the envoy of King Wakhtang VI, Prince S.-S. Orbeliani, in audience (he had previously been received in audience by King Louis XIV of France). We have only quoted a few examples to show the prestige that Georgia enjoyed.

The Christians of the Roman Catholic faith (there were no Catholics of the Uniate Church in Georgia) are to be found in Georgia for the first time in the 10th and 11th centuries. They increased in number particularly after the Turkish invasion of the southwest provinces of Georgia in the 16th century, since in accordance with the treaty between the Turks and King Francis I of France they possessed certain privileges. The Georgians called them the "Frangs"; this word is derived from the Georgian designation for Franks or France (= "Frangi", "Safrangethi"). Whether they were called thus because the missionaries were Franciscans or Frenchmen, is not known. They were extremely numerous in all parts of Georgia and, in particular, in the southwest regions. Catholic churches also existed all over Georgia, but the most magnificent cathedrals were to be found in Tbilisi, Kuthaisi and Bathumi.

The clergy were trained in Rome or in Constantinople. During the tsarist era the Russians prohibited the founding of Catholic theological colleges in the Caucasus. The bishop resided in remote Saratov and only came to Georgia once a year. On such occasions the towns and the nobility arranged sumptuous receptions to welcome him. From the end of the 18th century onwards there was a Georgian Catholic monastery in Constantinople (Istanbul). The Georgian national flag was always hoisted on this building, and there was a Georgian school and printing press attached to the monastery, which frequently afforded a refuge to national revolutionaries who were being persecuted by the Russians.

In its martyrology the Catholic Church commemorates and lauds St. Nino, who converted Georgia to Christianity and enlight-

ened it. She is the patron saint of the French monastic order of Jesus and Mary.

Since the mentality of the people and their traditions determine their whole attitude to life, there were never any denominational prejudices in evidence in Georgia. On Catholic feast days the Orthodox priests attended the Catholic Church and vice versa. Nor were there any obstacles to mixed marriages. When confirmation was celebrated in the Catholic Church all the inhabitants of the town or village in question attended the service. In Georgia confirmation was always celebrated with many rites. The girls wore bridal veils and the service in church was followed by big receptions, music, songs and national dances. Catholic Georgia has produced many great statesmen and scholars and, in recent times, industrialists, philanthropists, scientists, publicists and national freedom fighters.

For many years Father Michael Tarkhnishwili, who died in Rome in 1958, was active in exile. His essays and monographs, which deal with the problems of the history, the literature and the Church of Georgia, have been published in German, English, French and Italian journals and have also appeared as books. He was an outstanding representative of the Georgian Church and of Georgian erudition in exile, as well as a courageous defender of his people.

III. The Georgian Church under Russian Administration

The Christian Russians did not content themselves with abolishing the Georgian state. In 1811 the autocephalous character of the Georgian Church was also abolished and it was subordinated to the authority of the Russian Synod.

The Georgian Patriarch was superseded by an Exarch who was always a Russian with the rank of archbishop. In spite of the fact that the Orthodox Church in the entire Caucasus was subordinated to the authority of this Exarch, his title, strange to say, was "Exarch of Georgia". In this way the Russians no doubt wanted to create the illusion of a "Georgian independent Church".

On the strength of the decree of the Russian Synod of November 9, 1817, Georgian services were permitted in the Zion Cathedral in Tbilisi on three days in the week, but only if these days were not state holidays or important religious feast days.

In 1907 the famous Georgian historian J. Dshavachishwili, who at that time was a lecturer at the University of St. Petersburg, published a treatise in Russian on "The Political and Social Movement in Georgia in the 19th Century". He writes as follows: "The government even used the Church for its political and russification aims. The Russian officials of the administration of the Georg-

ian Church openly worked hand in hand with the police". And he adds: "The Georgians were deprived of the right of holding services in the Georgian language in the cathedral of the capital of Georgia, namely in the church in which prayers in Georgian had been offered up for 1400 years. Neither the Persians, the Arabs nor the Mongols resorted to such drastic measures as were adopted by the Russian government and its Exarch against the Georgian Church".

In 1819/20 a national revolt broke out in West Georgia on account of the confiscation and expropriation of the churches. This revolt was brutally crushed. The Metropolitans of Kuthaisi and Gelathi were arrested; they were put into sacks and were to be transported to Russia in this manner. But they were both aged men and they died of suffocation almost immediately. The leader of this revolt was the aristocrat J. Abashidze; his father and three brothers had previously been killed fighting against the Russians. J. Abashidze (who was the great-grandfather of the author of this article) fled to Turkey after the revolt had been crushed, and died there. His mother, Princess Daredshan, was a daughter of King Solomon I. She was deported to Russia and died there.

The Georgian churches and monasteries, which possessed an immense wealth of art treasures, were now robbed and looted. The Russian bishops and officials appropriated gold and silver sacred vessels and old, precious icons; other icons were damaged and costly gems removed from them. Not even the libraries of the monasteries were spared by these rogues and thieves. The old historical and church chronicles, the missals, which had ornate and valuable bindings, and the ancient manuscripts were all seized and carried off.

The governor-general of Georgia, Levashov, was particularly notorious in this respect. The well-known Russian art historian Kondakov even protested most sharply and indignantly against his conduct. Kondakov, incidentally, said that there was only one icon of the Holy Virgin in the whole world which could compare in beauty with the one in the Monastery of Gelathi, — namely in St. Mark's Cathedral in Venice. (Some of the books and manuscripts, etc., which were stolen in those days are still in the state library in Leningrad.)

Instruction at the theological colleges in Georgia was given in the Russian language; only three hours a week were devoted to lessons on Georgian church ritual.

In 1886 the Russian rector of the theological seminary, Tshudetzky, who had treated the Georgian students in a most inhuman way, was murdered. During a divine service the Exarch Pavel damned the Georgian people. D. Kipiani, the marshal of the nobility, called on him and asked him to

leave the country immediately. Exarch Pavel complied with this request, but Kipiani was arrested and imprisoned in a monastery in Stavropol. Some months later, in 1887, he was found dead in his cell. A Russian monk had smashed his skull with a heavy weight. His body was brought to Georgia and his funeral became a national demonstration. People broke through the cordon of police, and the latter did not venture to stop the procession. This great Georgian lies buried on the hill which overlooks the Georgian capital and on which stands the ancient church of St. David. Later two other famous Georgians were buried next to him, — the great freedom fighter of the Georgian nation, Ilia Chavchavadze, who was murdered by Russian agents, and the famous poet Akaki Tseretheli.

In spite of Russian oppression and subjugation the ecclesiastical dignitaries of Georgia continued to fight for an autocephalous Georgian Church. The most famous amongst them was Bishop Gabriel (Kikodze). In the 1890's his sermons were translated into English by Wardrop and were published in London in book-form. He was the author of the first textbook in Russian on the "Basis of Experimental Psychology", which appeared in Kyiv in 1858. At the beginning of the 20th century the most outstanding champions of the autocephalous Church in Georgia were the bishops Grigol (Prince Dadiani), Kyrion, Leonid and Ambrosius, all of whom became Patriarchs after the restoration of the autocephalous Church; further, the high priests Kalistrat Tsintsadze (later also a Patriarch), M. Kelendsheridze, N. Thalakvadze, and many others. All of them were frequently the victims of persecution, and the bishops were deported to monasteries in remote regions of Russia.

In 1906 the well-known Russian nationalist N. N. Durnovo, who was profoundly religious, published a treatise entitled "In Defence of the Georgian Church". In this work he fiercely attacked and censured the Russian Synod. He put forward many sound arguments from the point of view of theology and canonical law against the unlawful rule of the Russian Church in Georgia, and emphasized that the Synod had violated all the Christian principles and had thus committed a grave sin. How abominable conditions must have been if even a Russian saw himself obliged as a Christian to criticize his own Church!

IV. The Restoration of the Autocephalous Church

In March 1917, that is to say immediately after the revolution broke out in the Russian empire, the Georgian bishops convened an ecclesiastical council, which was attended not only by members of the clergy but also,

in accordance with the ancient Georgian canonical law, by members of the laity as representatives of the parishes. This council proclaimed the autocephalous character of the Georgian Church, and in October 1917 the Patriarch was elected. Complete self-administration was conceded to the Russian churches in Georgia.

Soon afterwards the Papal legate arrived in Georgia in order to settle the affairs of the Catholic Church, but there was no need to draw up any contractual agreement since this Church, as in olden days when Georgia was an independent state, enjoyed complete freedom.

Georgia's freedom, however, only lasted three years. Once again the Russians invaded the country, bringing with them this time not a crucifix but the hammer and sickle and a rule of savage terrorism.

V. The Georgian Church under Russian Communist Rule

The Red Russian invasion brought the beginning of a terrible martyrdom for the Church. The churches in the villages of Georgia were immediately closed down and turned into theatres, barns or food depots. The cathedral in Kuthaisi was pulled down and a monument to Lenin set up in its stead. The same fate befell the cathedral in Tbilisi, on the site of which government buildings were later erected.

The members of the clergy were given no food-coupons and were branded by the Russians as public enemies.

In 1922 the Patriarch Ambrosius was arrested for having sent a memorandum to the conference of the Major Powers in Genoa, in which he drew the attention of the civilized world to the conditions which prevailed in Georgia and asked the rest of the world to help his country. He was tried in a mock trial. He declared before the court: "My soul belongs to God, my heart belongs to my people, but you can do what you like with my body!" In 1925 the aged Patriarch died in prison.

After the revolt of 1924 was crushed, the following ecclesiastical dignitaries were shot by the Russians: the Metropolitan of Kuthaisi, Nazarius; the high priests Mtshedlidze, Kuchianidze, Dshadshanidze, Dshaparidze, and many others. Many of the clergy were deported to Siberia.

The sacred relics of the national heroes and brothers David and Constantius were removed from the monastery in Mozamethi and put in a museum.

All the Catholic churches were closed down and the priests banished. In his memorandum to the conference in Genoa in 1922 the Patriarch Ambrosius wrote: "there are only 1,500

churches left in Georgia". In 1951, however, the Patriarch Kalistrat said during an interview with a correspondent of the "New York Times" that there were about 100 churches in Georgia. During this interview the Patriarch stressed the friendly feeling of the Georgians towards the Americans. He was promptly arrested on account of this statement and died in prison in 1952.

How many churches are there at present in Georgia? In August 1962 the Patriarch of Georgia, Ephraim II, visited Paris in order to attend the World Church Council. On being asked how many churches there now are in Georgia, he replied: "In Georgia there are now 2 monasteries and 105 priests." He thus skilfully evaded a direct answer and did not mention the number of churches but only the number of priests. It is a known fact that churches are only to be found in some of the towns, and how few they are in number can be seen from the number of priests! Such is the nature of Khrushchov's "liberalization policy" and of the alleged "religious freedom" guaranteed by the Soviet government! But the West continues to practise tolerance towards these ruthless tyrants!

The Communist Russians, however, know how to make the most of propaganda methods. They delude foreign tourists with a show of magnanimous tolerance. Along the railway route, along the shores of the Black Sea and as far as Tbilisi the monasteries on the surrounding hills are flood-lit at night. A most impressive spectacle! And the naive tourists from the West are taken in by this trick. They do not see the tragedy of the Georgian people which is being enacted behind the scenes. In fact, they even assume that the beautiful landscape has been created not by God but by the Soviet government!

The Church in Georgia is obliged to live underground. In the pictorial supplement of the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" of April 13, 1963, there was a photograph of such a church in Tbilisi.

The Russian organ of the Communist Party of Georgia, "Sarja Vostoka", reported in its edition of July 27, 1962, that "in some places religious feasts are celebrated and sacrifices offered to the church." The article then adds that the monastery in Ilori had received a present of more than 1,200 heads of cattle. The papers constantly report that many children are being baptized and that even young Communists are having a marriage ceremony in church.

The Georgians are not mystics, but they are deeply pious. And in their inmost heart they believe in the secrets of the universe.

The Georgian Church lives on, and the Georgian soul is still inspired by Georgian feelings and believes in God Almighty and in immortality!

The 9th Conference of APACL

(held in Saigon, Viet Nam, from October 24-31, 1963)

This year the 9th Conference of APACL was held in Saigon, where the APACL Secretariat also has its headquarters. The subject of the Conference was the Moscow-Peking conflict, the repercussions of this conflict and the anti-Communist tactics.

Over 100 delegates and observers took part in the Conference. Delegations from Australia, China, Hong Kong, Iran, Japan, Jordan, the Republic of Korea, Macao, Malaysia, New Zealand, North Borneo, the Philippines, Singapore, Turkey, Thailand and the Republic of Viet Nam were present. The following organizations and countries were invited as observers: ABN (Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations), ACEN (Assembly of Captive European Nations), Chile, International Committee for Information and Social Activities (CIAS), Free Pacific Association, India, International Conference of the Political Warfare of the Soviets, Italy, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Saudi Arabia, the United States of America, and Germany.

Large delegations came from China, headed by Mr. Ku Cheng Kang, from the Philippines, headed by Congressman Ramon D. Bagatsing, and from Korea, headed by Mr. Dong Jo Kim. The largest delegation was the one from Viet Nam. The ABN delegation was represented by Mrs. Slawa Stetzko and Mr. Michael de Alschibaja.

The President of the Conference, Mr. Tran Le-Quang, the Secretary-General, Mr. Vu Ngoc Truy, the President of the Free Pacific Association, Father Raymond J. de Jaegher, the Foreign Minister Truong Cong Cuu, the Minister of Civic Action Ngo Trong Hiêu, and a delegation of parliamentary representatives gave a reception for the delegates and observers on their arrival.

The ABN delegation took an active part in the plenary sessions and also in the sessions of the various committees. On behalf of ABN Mrs. Slawa Stetzko held a speech, which was reprinted in English and French and distributed amongst all the delegates.

In the 3rd Committee, which was headed by the Korean delegate, Dong Jo Kim and which occupied itself above all with the question of anti-Communist tactics, ABN resolutions were moved by the Turkish delegates. The Turkish delegation was headed by Senator Fethi Tevetoglu and his deputy Ilhan Cevik.

Special mention must be made of the fact that the Turkish delegates did their utmost to get our resolutions accepted. Fierce criticism was voiced by Mr. Vaclovas Sidzikauskas (Lithuania) of the ACEN. He opposed the ABN resolutions on the following grounds: the ACEN could not support the idea of the independence of the subjugated peoples in the USSR, since the State Department supports the ACEN and is only in favour of the independence of the so-called satellite states. ACEN, so Mr. Sidzikauskas stressed, is thus tied down, and would otherwise lose the support of the State Department. He added that in the opinion of the ACEN there is no nation of the Slovaks but of the Czechoslovakians, to whom the ACEN must remain loyal, and emphasized that one must not put all the peoples who have been subjugated, some earlier and others later, in the same category, etc.

The ABN resolution was also opposed indirectly by Madame Suzanne Labin through Mons. Pierre Le Tellier, who attended the Conference as the representative of Chile. He tried to stir up ill-feeling against the Armenians among the Turks and to scare the Chinese by affirming that the partition of the Russian imperium might have serious repercussions on China, since the Chinese too are not a unified people. He then added that one must defend the Russian people since they were

suffering, etc. In spite of this provocative speech the Chinese gave us their active support. We should like to stress that none of the Asian delegations in any way showed a hostile or negative attitude towards our ideas. It was rather a question of some of their members being uninformed about our problems and confused by the negative attitude of other European delegates, as already mentioned.

Our resolution, which was moved by the Turkish delegates, was seconded by Australia, Hong Kong, Malaysia and Macao. After discussion in the committee meetings on October 25th and 29th, it was unanimously voted by the delegates in the 3rd Committee and, like the other resolutions, was later accepted with considerable applause in the plenary session on October 31st.

We print the text of the ABN resolution below. This time the resolution took into account the problem of Croatia, which so far has always encountered considerable opposition on account of the special position of Yugoslavia.

On the whole all the delegates from the Asian countries showed considerable sympathy for our problems, although they did not always comprehend in what way their own freedom is threatened by the Russian imperium. Those who showed a profound sympathy and understanding for our problems were the delegates from Turkey, who advocated our cause as if it were their own, the delegates from China, which is the strongest member of the APACL and whose opinion is respected by all the other Asian delegations, and the delegates from Australia, New Zealand, Hong Kong and Korea.

The ABN delegation has formed a sincere friendship with the Vietnamese delegates. The Vietnamese, under the government of Ngo Dinh Diem, were the hosts of the Conference. They bore all the financial expenses of the Conference (plane tickets, hotel and other expenses).

Various receptions were given for those taking part in the Conference by the following persons: the Foreign Minister Truong Cong Cuu, the Minister of Civic Action Ngo Trong Hiêu, the Mayor of Saigon, the Chinese Ambassador of Viet Nam, the President of the Conference and Minister for Rural Affairs Tran Le-Quang, the Secretary-General of the Conference Vu Ngoc Truy, the President of the Pacific Association, Rev. R. J. Jaegher, Mr. Ku Cheng Kang, President of the Chinese Chapter, the Mayor of Dalat, and the Administrative Council of the Chamber of Commerce. In addition, a dinner was given by the German Ambassador, Baron Wendland, for the German and the ABN delegations.

All the delegations were received in a general audience by President Ngo Dinh Diem. Some delegations, including the ABN representatives, were also received in a private audience by him and on this occasion presented him with gifts (objects of folk-art).

The members of the Conference also took part in the national holiday on October 26th, when a military parade was held, and on October 26th, 27th and 28th they visited the town of Dalat and the "strategical hamlets", which represent a new method of preventing the Communist invasion from the north.

On October 28th the members of the Conference were invited to the opening of the nuclear reactor in Dalat. On this occasion they also visited various other "strategical hamlets" and modern factories (textiles, paints).

The ABN delegates also visited the Foreign Ministry and the office of the Viet Nam Press, where an interview took place. The ABN delegates had brought a number of ABN publications with them which were distributed amongst the members of the Conference.

The members of the diplomatic corps were invited to all the receptions, and those who were taking part in the Conference thus had an opportunity to further already existing contacts and also to make new ones.



President Ngo Dinh Diem receives the ABN Delegates Mrs. Slava Stetzko and Mr. Michael de Alschibaja in private audience.

The Conference elected as the new President of APACL Mr. Ku Cheng Kang, who is also the President of the Chinese Chapter of the League. Mr. Vu Ngoc Truy was re-elected as Secretary-General. It was decided that the 10th Conference in 1964 should be held in Taipei (Free China, Formosa).

Every day during the Conference reports were issued for the press by the secretariat. After the speech made on behalf of ABN by Mrs. Slawa Stetzko a particularly gratifying comment, which stressed the most important points in this speech, was made. It was pointed out that the lady-representative of ABN had stressed that this conference was a proclamation of solidarity with the fight for freedom of Viet Nam, and had said that a partial victory would not eliminate the danger as long as Communism was not destroyed at its very roots and that it could only be destroyed by a common front of the free world and the subjugated peoples, who were fighting not only against Communism but also against Russian colonialism.

ABN Press Bureau

APACL Conference For Liberation Policy

Resolution at the Conference of APACL

*Submitted by Turkey, and supported by Hong Kong, Australia, Malaysia and Macao
Passed unanimously at the plenary session of the 9th Conference of APACL*

Witnessing the process of the decolonization of the world, the collapse of old empires and the victory of the national freedom idea in all continents;

Realising that the Russian colonial imperium threatens the freedom and independence of the peoples of the entire world, above all the peoples of Africa and Asia recently liberated from colonialism;

I. This 9th Conference of APACL reaffirms the resolution of the 8th Conference that 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 (Usbekistan, Tadzikistan, Kirgizstan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan), 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, Rumania, Byelorussia, Estonia, Bulgaria, Latvia, East Germany, Czechia, Slovakia, mainland of China, northern part of the Republic of Korea, Idel-Ural, Albania, North Vietnam, Cossackia, and others.

II. The 9th Conference of APACL warns against the demobilization of the free world by means of the campaign of the so-called positive neutralism, in particular in the countries of Africa and Latin America, which is being pursued in the interests of Moscow by Yugoslavia, whose Communist regime has subjugated the Croats and other peoples who yearn for their national independence.

III. The 9th Conference of APACL warns against the growth of Communist influences in Latin-America.

It declares its solidarity with the fight for freedom of the Cuban people against a Communist despotic regime supported by Moscow, and appeals to the anti-Communist countries of the American continents to help the Cuban people to obtain its liberation from Communist slavery.

Resolution In Support Of the Republic Of Vietnam In Its Struggle Against The Communists

Sponsored by the Philippine Delegation, unanimously Approved

Whereas under the leadership of President Ngo Dinh Diem the Republic of Vietnam has been engaged in a life and death struggle versus the forces of Communism for the last nine years, and,

Whereas the Communists in Vietnam as in other countries have been exploiting every means including religion to carry on their subversive activities and,

Whereas the Republic of Vietnam through the strategic hamlet policy has found the appropriate means for developing countries to defeat the Communists and at the same time to achieve democracy, social progress and economic advance;

The 9th APACL Conference now assembled at Saigon, Vietnam, therefore,

Resolves to express full support to the Government and people of the Republic of Vietnam in their effort to rid their country of the Communist menace and to build a free society based on justice and respect for human dignity.

APACL Wishes To ABN

The 9th Conference of APACL expresses its sincere wishes to ABN on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of its founding (in November 1943) behind the Iron Curtain for success in its fight for the liberation of the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism and for the restoration of the independent national democratic states of those peoples.



The Turkish Delegates Senator Fethi Tevetoglu and Mr. Ilhan Cevik. In the background the ABN Delegate Mr. Michael de Alschibaja.

*The compliments of the season and sincere wishes for the coming
 year to all our friends and readers of "ABN-Correspondence",*
 from the Central Committee
 of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

“Liberation Of Captive Nations – Key To Peace With Justice”

Speech of Charles J. Kersten, Former Member of Congress (Rep.-WIS.) Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Civic Luncheon in observance of Captive Nations Week, at Hotel Statler-Hilton, 12:00 o'clock noon Wednesday, July 17, 1963, at Buffalo, New York, Chairman of Select Committee in the House of Representatives on Communist Aggression, 1953-54.

A few days ago I read a beautiful epitaph: The Iron Curtain, May It Rust In Peace. Let us hope that before it rusts many thousands of people on both sides of it will cut it down.

The idea that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is a far more revolutionary doctrine than anything that Marx or Lenin ever said.

Marx and Lenin wanted a Godless society – the dictatorship of the proletariat – the overthrow of the ruling class. Their disciples have established a rule of fanatical state bureaucracy, based in Muscovy, over many nations segregating them from the rest of the world by a highly efficient, well guarded system of barbed wire fences. But the followers of Marx and Lenin have not accomplished any positive revolution for the benefit of humanity. They have perpetrated a negative revolution, a retrogression toward the ancient pit of tyranny and slavery into which man was plunged at the time of his fall from the Garden of Paradise.

The idea of the American revolution is to free people from state dictatorship. The State is a servant and not a master. Government's main function is to guarantee individual human rights, to prevent any man or group of men from interfering with those rights. To give every person the greatest possible freedom and chance to develop his fullest capabilities, his material and spiritual resources, as a child of the Creator, as the masterpiece of Creation and not as a slave of the State.

This positive and this negative revolution are contending for the loyalty and support of the people of the world today.

Nations in Africa are achieving independence. But the negative revolution, and Russian Communist Imperialism, has reached into Cuba and training centers are being set up here to extend it into Latin America.

In this struggle must we be purely defensive? Must we co-exist with the expanding Russian Communist slave empire?

They tell us there is only one alternative to nuclear war. (And no one in his right mind would unleash nuclear war). That we will have nuclear war unless we learn to co-exist with Russian Communist Imperialism. We must accept the reality of Soviet power. The free world must, as George Kennan says, assume a feminine roll and accommodate itself to the masculine Russian bear. We must put up with the Moscow-based international subversion spreading its atheistic materialist ideas and deceptions into every free world city. We must submit to a flood of false propoganda that tells its fraudulent story of life behind the Iron Curtain as a heaven on earth, only to hide the greatest concentration of human misery the world has ever seen. They say we must build an international order based upon a half-slave, half-free world! – to avoid atomic war!

Khrushchov, by rigging cultural exchanges, assumes the image of an apostle of peace in contrast to the Chinese tiger, seeks to make himself more acceptable to the West, so we will not only agree to co-existence, but actually embrace it as our salvation.

What a fraud! What blindness not to see there is civilization's death in the full embrace of the Russian bear.

The same regime that uses the methods of Pavlov to destroy men's minds so they become breast-beating defendants; that starved 6 millions to death in the Ukraine and drove thousands insane so they resorted to cannibalism; that wired the wrists of prisoners and shot them in the base of the skull into mass graves in Katyn Forest and Vinnitzia and also perpetrated the same method of murder upon American P.O.W.'s in North Korea; that crucified priests in the trees of the forest of Rainai, that packed millions into boxcars and sent them into the Siberian wilderness; that rounded up the small daughters of the citizens of Bucharest and had them raped by syphilitics in jails and sent them back to their parents as a warning to further resistance; that crushed freedom in Hungary under the treads of tanks; that perverts its educational system so as to shape the hearts of its young in the cold doctrine of atheistic materialism in order to break the bonds of loyalty to family and to nation and to poison the wells of truth and make the State their god; that is in the process of destroying the national cultures and traditions of the nations of Ukraine, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Rumania, Byelo-Russia, Georgia, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Albania, Bulgaria, Armenia, Cossackia, East Germany, North Korea, North Vietnam, China and Cuba; the same regime that planted missiles in Havana aimed at the heart of the western hemisphere; the same regime is in power today. This is the regime into whose bloody hands many of our advisors would place our fate with a policy of co-existence!

Does anyone believe that such a regime would hesitate to unleash atomic war upon us if it could safely do so? If Khrushchov's gravedigger's shovel were firmly in his hands, would he hesitate to bury us? It is not only the defensive arms of the West that are a deterrent to Communist military aggression. The greatest deterrent to Russian Communist nuclear assault is the potential of internal resistance to the Red Regime of the Captive Nations.

The prison warden and his bloodthirsty guards cannot safely attack the adjoining village because that would give a great opportunity to the prisoners to rise in rebellion and overwhelm their jailers!

A deliberate Western policy of co-existence with Russian Communist Imperialism recognizes the status quo and helps put the Captive Nations out of existence. It helps to remove the pressures and resistance of millions of people who yearn for freedom. It destroys the greatest deterrent to Communist nuclear attack upon the West. Co-existence with the Russian Communist conspiracy is the surest path to atomic war.

There is a clear alternative to the false dilemma of co-existence or atomic war. Such an alternative is a political offensive aimed at the political defeat of the Russian Communist conspiracy at its Moscow base. We should develop a policy of co-existence with the Captive Nations, not with their jailers. The political power of the people of the Captive Nations - which is the vast majority of the people of the Communist orbit - if co-ordinated and given any kind of support would overwhelm the Communist leadership and bureaucracy like a tidal wave.

But there is great difficulty in implementing the clearly indicated alternative of political victory of freedom and defeat of Russia's Marxist way of life. Many good men in and out of government, in the legislative and executive branches of our government, have proposed sound alternatives to the false dilemma of co-existence or atomic war. A considerable number of anti-Communist action plans have been formulated, publicly announced and ordered by top government officials, including by the President and Secretary of State, during the past 15 years.

But something nearly always happens to US government action projects aimed at

the diminishing or defeat of Communist aggression, no matter how urgently, even the President, may desire their being put into successful action. Probably the most recent and dramatic example was the disastrous invasion of the Bay of Pigs in Cuba.

Why cannot any effective political offensive against Communist aggression be mounted and brought to successful conclusion by our government? The American people would heartily support it. I believe President Kennedy would be all for it as were the immediate past presidents before him.

I remember when young Congressman John Kennedy from Massachusetts came with me to Milwaukee in 1947 and together we exposed the Communist leadership of Local 248 of the Allis Chalmers union and procured the evidence in our Congressional hearings that sent Harold Christoffel, the Communist president of the union, to a federal penitentiary for 7 years for perjury. I believe that was the first successful Congressional investigation that produced substantial results against the Communists. Congressman Kennedy took strong and effective action on that occasion to defeat Communist control of the labor union. I believe he has the same motivation as President today to cause the political defeat of Communist control over nations.

But, just as President Truman and President Eisenhower were curbed, thwarted and sometimes even sabotaged in many of their anti-Communist efforts, so today with President Kennedy.

There are seeded throughout our vast organization of government, just under the surface, particularly in those areas having to do with implementing policy into action, a considerable number of policy experts of a certain and definite stripe.

Many of them believe that Marxism is the wave of the future and we should not defeat it. Many of them have been touched by the idea of Russian Messianism and believe that Russian imperialist expansion can be made less bloody, more civilized, and that we should woo it into more civilized paths.

A number of these experts come from our big universities. They have read a great deal about the theories of Communism and Marxism and, I fear, are attracted by these theories. Such experts are in sharp contrast to those Americans – particularly American soldiers and officers – who have seen and experienced Communist action, not just theory – at the line of the Iron Curtain. These experts are also particularly in contrast to the hundreds of thousands of victims of the Communist way of life or who have escaped from behind the Iron Curtain and who know the facts about Communism as distinguished from theory.

Before we will be able to cause the political defeat of the Communists, curb their power, and bring about their eventual political extinction at their Moscow base – before there can be victory of freedom over slavery – before we can set the course of the USA and the free world toward a policy that will assist in the liberation of Cuba, Ukraine, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Rumania, Byelo-Russia, Georgia, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Albania, Bulgaria, Armenia, Cossackia, East Germany, North Korea, North Vietnam and China, before we can do this, the soft, white appeasing hands of these experts must be taken off the control of the policies of our government.

For the liberation of the Captive Nations is the key to peace with justice. The surrender of the Captive Nations to the slavery of Muscovite Communism is almost certain to bring upon our heads a nuclear attack with which they mean to preface our enslavement.

But I believe the voice and the heart of the American people will make themselves heard and felt by the policy action of our government.

In The Face Of Russian Imperialism

The information which manages to seep through the Iron Curtain sometimes takes a considerable time to reach the West. The items of information which I have selected here and which are compiled in a pamphlet entitled "Les Problèmes Actuels de l'Est Européen" are more or less old and not by any means recent. But that does not matter! The majority of them are ignored by our newspapers.

The press co-operates with the Soviet government in intensifying the wall of silence. But this very fact no doubt lends even more intensity to the cry raised in Ukraine, which was expressed in a letter written a few months ago, namely in December 1962: "I am very weak, I cannot live much longer. I ask God to send death to me . . . N. has left me . . . for after a whole summer of work she and her mother only earned 30 kilograms of wheat here."

To pass on information such as this is a serious offence; and to repeat such information is to calumniate the USSR. As a rule people keep silent if they are Russians or only casual passers-by. Travellers see things more or less according to the possibilities afforded them and also according to their own powers of observation.

A Dr. Faral has published an account in "Le Monde et la vie" of a long trip which he made by car in 1961 through Ukraine, Byelorussia and Russia itself. He covered a distance of nearly 2,000 miles. He brought back many useful details regarding prices, wages and dwelling accommodation. In the account which he has given of this trip he describes various places and says that he was most impressed by the differences which, compared to Russia, are still apparent in an ancient civilized country like Ukraine, even though it has been so terribly abused by those who have undertaken to russify it. Here in Ukraine, so he adds, one feels much closer to the West.

As regards Russia proper he attempts to shed light on the characteristic features to be found there: "... I should like to mention the fatalism, the inclination to idleness, the enslavement of women, the lack of artistic taste ..."

In Kyiv Dr. Faral saw a very fine performance of ballet, but the dancers were Ukrainians, not Russians.

"Shortly before our arrival — he writes — a revolt by the dockers in Odessa had been brutally crushed. They had refused to load a ship with butter intended for Fidel Castro."

Dr. Faral is of the opinion that Communism

in spite of its system of terrorism will not be able to last for ever.

The USSR numbers 200 million inhabitants, the majority of whom are hardly civilized and are indolent by nature. In view of this fact we can boldly conclude that a united Europe, since it includes a population which is as numerous as that of the USSR but otherwise more highly developed, would soon succeed in counter-balancing Soviet power in every sphere. Inversely a disunited Europe would become an easy prey for Russian militarism.

To recognize the weaknesses and the faults of the Soviet Russian empire, to realize that it consists of rebellious peoples or peoples capable of rebellion, — this is the first step towards the victory of the nations that are menaced.

It is indeed strange that one should be so fiercely opposed to what one calls "colonialism" in the West, but so indifferent to ferocious Russian imperialism.

And this fact was emphasized during a recent political conference in New York by various speakers, who included not only certain distinguished Chinese personalities, as for instance Ambassador Tingfu F. Tsiang, and the Korean representative to the U.N., Soo Young Lee, but also the former Prime Minister of Ukraine, Jaroslaw Stetzko, and various prominent Americans such as Michael A. Feighan, Charles J. Kersten and Ignatius Billinsky.

The latter pointed out that the policy of the United States was strengthening the "ascendancy of Communism over the captive nations".

Whatever China's intentions may be, nothing could have been more emphatic than the attack made by Ambassador Tingfu F. Tsiang on the attitude adopted by the powers represented in the United Nations towards "Western colonialism on the one hand, and Moscow's colonialism on the other."

We were gratified to hear Jaroslaw Stetzko confirm what we ourselves have said so often: namely that the captive nations represent a mighty physical and moral force.

In particular, mention must be made of the criticism voiced on this occasion by Michael A. Feighan, who said that the experts on Russian affairs in the State Department were guiding American policy in a direction which supported the divine right of the Russian empire.

Nevertheless one is beginning to realize that this divine right is above all that of finance, hostile to the French colonies for

the same profound reasons which make it favourable to Russian colonialism.

Adlai Stevenson, head of the American delegation in the United Nations Organization, recalled how Ukraine, Georgia and Armenia had been forcibly incorporated in the USSR.

The fact that the same opinions have been voiced by so many different persons should perhaps make those correspondents who tell us that there is no longer any Ukraine or any Georgia and that one must accept the Soviet empire as it is, ponder this question more seriously.

Are they not bowing all too quickly to a supposed fatality, and submitting too thoroughly to the influence of the Russian emigrants scattered throughout Europe and America, who may be anti-Bolsheviks but who nevertheless are still passionately attached to their native country? They may be opposed to Communism, but they are nevertheless fond of their imperialist achievement.

Napoleon in 1812 seems to have had an imperfect notion of the question as far as Ukraine was concerned. Jacques Bainville,

quoted in the pamphlet "Les Problèmes Actuels de l'Est Européen", states that in October of that disastrous year Murat, who was popular amongst the Ukrainian Cossacks, was tempted to become their hetman. The proposal was put to the French Emperor to make Ukraine an independent state under the authority of Murat. But Napoleon apparently realized too late, namely after the retreat, what political and military advantages Ukraine offered him.

Today the process of russification is being carried out by barbarous methods.

"You imagine — says a letter from Ukraine — that Ukrainian is spoken in the streets of the capital, in Kyiv or in Lviv? Not at all; everything that was dear to us is ridiculed and disparaged; all that we learnt about the history of our country and that we cherished is now designated as brigandism, treason..."

But another letter, dated February 1963, affirms: "Ukraine is not dead, and its people will never die."

Such is the hope, such is the faith of this courageous and indomitable people!

("Aspects de la France", No. 676)

What Must Be Done In The West?

In the first place it must be ascertained that *a state of permanent war exists between the West and Russia*. True, it is a different type of war to the ones experienced hitherto, but it is nevertheless a state of war.

Russia is the belligerent party.

The West should stop all financial and commercial support of Russia. Similarly, one should cease all support to those countries which in regard to their foreign policy pose as "neutrals" (Yugoslavia, India, etc.) and actually appear as satellites of the Russians in the United Nations.

The Western countries should demand *the exclusion of Russia from the Organization of the United Nations*; failing this, they should leave the United Nations, since this organization in practice supports Russian expansion.

The West should cease to give financial support to pro-Bolshevist organizations, such as, for instance, UNESCO. The Communist Party (whether disguised or not) should be prohibited in the West. All organizations which under various guises (as for instance pacifists, etc.) engage in pro-Soviet activity in the Western countries should likewise be prohibited.

An active and effective fight must be waged against Russian colonialism. In this connection a network of publishing societies should be organized for the purpose of a genuine, and not a false "democratic", enlightenment of the West regarding the actual state of affairs in the so-called Soviet Union. All pro-Bolshevist and anti-religious propaganda and all propaganda for a "supra-state sovereignty" of the disguised new tyranny (as for example a world government) must be prohibited, just as Nazi propaganda is prohibited.

In foreign policy the discrimination of those states and nations which openly support the traditions of European Christian and Western civilization as a whole must definitely cease. The aim and objective in this respect must be the *disintegration of the Russian imperium* into independent states within their ethnographical areas.

In every country of the free world *the cessation of all campaigns which have hitherto been carried on against the Christian religion and the Church* (as for example the prohibition of religious practices and prayers in schools) must be demanded, and the priority of the Christian religion in those countries in which the majority of the population is Christian must be proclaimed.

Pro-Communist and pro-Russian propaganda in films, television, in universities, and in textbooks of the Russian language, etc., must definitely be *prohibited*. Emphatic protest should be raised against every form of discrimination as regards Christians when appointing persons to lectureships for Russian language and literature.

Strict censorship must be exercised on all large-scale campaigns conducted by the enemies of the Christian religion for the purpose of undermining the morale of the Christian West, in particular of young persons, by "exhibitionist" art and by the glorification of sexual licentiousness and criminality.

All persons who promote the spread of Communism, anti-patriotism, atheism, pro-Russian sentiments, immorality, and of a pro-Soviet policy, and who obviously manifest pro-Bolshevist sympathies *must be dismissed from official departments and universities*.

For the time being one should pursue a *policy of reciprocity* towards Russia, that is to say one should adopt the same type of "cultural" press and other campaigns towards the Bolsheviks and their supporters which the USSR uses against the representatives of the West (and should adopt the same attitude of opposition towards the USSR which the USSR adopts towards the West).

One should always bear in mind that the *most powerful weapon* which can bring about the downfall of the Occident is pro-Russian propaganda, for it subverts the ideology of the West, undermines its morale, and destroys the will of the masses and also of the leading class of the West.

D. D.

Obituary

ROBERT SCHUMAN

On the death of the great French statesman Robert Schuman, who on May 26th this year, the 45th anniversary of Georgia's proclamation of independence in 1918, acted as honorary president of the national rally held by the Georgians in Paris to mark this occasion, the Georgian Association in France sent the following telegram to the French Government:

"In the name of all the Georgians in exile, who are profoundly grieved at the passing of the former President Robert Schuman, we too join in the supreme homage paid by France and the entire world to this great man, who devoted himself heart and soul to the idea of the future Europe, the guarantee of the realization of our national liberation hopes.

Association Géorgienne en France,
President L. Zourabichwili."

Azerbaijan As A Restricted Area

Azerbaijan and Turkestan continue to be a banned area of the USSR for Western visitors. Moscow persists in its determination to prevent direct contact between Azerbaijani — Turkestani and Western peoples. The reason for such an attitude seems to be the following:

Soviet colonial policy toward subjugated Moslem countries, among them Azerbaijan and Turkestan, is more self-revealing than in any other non-Russian area. Russification is being conducted more vigorously here than anywhere else in the Soviet Empire. This, in turn, intensifies the traditional antagonism between the colonists and the native people. The Turkic-speaking people of the Soviet East were, and still are, more irreconcilable towards the Kremlin than any other non-Russians. There are historical reasons for this. The Turkic-speaking peoples have nothing in common with the Russians as regards language, traditions, and religion. This irreconcilability, coupled with a traditional animosity towards Moscow is manifested whenever an opportunity arises, whether it was during the Russian-Japanese conflict, World War I, during the civil war after the Russian revolution, or finally during World War II. In order to liberate their countries from Russian occupation and oppression, they revolted and rallied with the hostile forces in close unity against the Kremlin, and fought desperately to regain national freedom. During World War II, all the peoples of the Crimea and the North Caucasus cooperated with the Germans not because they favored the Nazis, but only because the Germans happened to be fighting their enemies, the Communists. In fact they were willing to compromise with the devil in an attempt to rid themselves of Soviet Russian colonialism. They acted in accordance to an old Turkish saying: "The enemy of my enemy is my friend."

No other nation suffered more than did the Moslem countries of the USSR as a result of the bloody terror and mass deportation, which began from the initial days of occupation and continued until recent years, by the Soviets. These and similar other Russian-Communist acts are the reasons why the Soviet eastern nations have nurtured an eternal hate for the Kremlin. This is the reason why Moscow is trying to prevent, by all available means, any real contact between the unreliable Turkic peoples and Western nations, particularly Americans. Moscow is simply afraid of any recurrence of hostile movements against the regime should there be an outbreak of another conflict between Communism and the Free World.

Yet, the USA, by neglecting these friendly peoples, ignoring their problems, and by

abolishing for example radio broadcasts in their native languages (the Voice of America discontinued such broadcasts in 1953 and they have not since been reinstated), are only assisting the Soviet leaders to achieve their objectives.

The chief target of Communist propaganda is the so-called American "imperialism." Anti-American propaganda is being conducted more extensively in the Soviet East than in Russia itself. There are even great differences between local Russian editions of publications and the native versions. In attacking American "imperialism", the Russian edition of publications and literature uses much more moderate language than is found in the Azerbaijani-Turkestani language issues. Newspapers and periodicals, particularly those for the younger people, constantly publish columns of "analysis" and "answers to the readers" on subjects related to almost every aspect of American life, be it political, social, economic, or cultural, and of course, in a completely distorted form.

Party and Komsomol organizations are also very active in disseminating stories about American racial and religious discrimination, "brutal" exploitation of labor, militaristic and aggressive designs and the like. What is most disturbing of all is that these false allegations are neither disproved nor denounced.

Azerbaijan and Turkestan are a showcase for the Orient

While the gates of Azerbaijan and Turkestan are tightly closed to Western visitors, they are wide open to the "guests" from Asia and Africa. To the visitors from Asia and Africa, these countries are presented as a sovereign free state. The puppet state officials personifying the Foreign Minister, Prime Minister, the "President", are all voiceless marionettes serving Moscow. But there are points of interest in Azerbaijan and Turkestan to be shown which could impress and attract the visitors from the Orient.

Mr. Eugene Wyatt, of the Southern Association of Nieman Fellows, who recently toured the Soviet Union, describes Uzbekistan as a Show Window for the new nations of Asia and Africa, and says that during his four-day stay in Tashkent, he saw visitors from Cuba, Indonesia, India, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Ceylon and Burma. ("Washington Post")

There is an important psychological reason as to why Moscow has transformed Azerbaijan and Turkestan into a show window for the free Orient. The peoples of the Soviet East and the free Eastern world have many

common features. In some countries these characteristics are revealed through identity of language, origin, or religion, while in other countries they are manifested through similarity of traditions, culture, and other common characteristics. And accordingly, all foreign visitors to the Soviet Union are dispatched to those parts of the country where they might be expected to be impressed by what they find most appealing to them. In short, the Kremlin does not spare any effort in presenting Communism and selling its ideology in a most attractive form to the visitors, tourists, and official delegations from the Free World.

Turkestan and Azerbaijan in the Soviet Russian Expansionist Policy

The Soviet Eastern countries are being exploited to the maximum by the Kremlin in its policy designed to spread Communism into the Afro-Asian continents. In this respect, Turkestan and Azerbaijan are designated to play a special role. It should be remembered that the present "cold war", which today threatens the whole civilized world actually started sixteen years ago in northern Iran with the creation of the Azerbaijan "Democratic Government" of Peshawary. Soviet Azerbaijan, with its Communist writers, journalists, technicians, and agents, played a decisive role in the creation of Peshawary's government. The Soviets employed the same means and elements in setting up an "independent" Kurdish government, the Republic of Mahabad. These were the initial developments which led to the present "cold war" between the Eastern and Western nations.

From the very moment when Azerbaijan and Turkestan were invaded, they were transformed into a base where all sorts of Communist agents and subversive elements were trained for activities in the Eastern world. With the purpose of penetrating the Moslem countries, a number of schools and training centers were set up in various centers. All undesirable elements such as Communists, leftists, criminals and others in Iran, Turkey, Afghanistan, Pakistan, or other nations, who were forced to flee their native countries sought refuge in the Soviet Union and they were trained in the centers mentioned and later dispatched to various parts of the world. Such known Kremlin stooges as Nazim Hikmet of Turkey, and the Kurdish leader, Molla Mustafa Barzani of Iraq, also conducted their activities from Baku or Tashkent. One of the most effective centers designated to produce highly qualified subversive elements destined for the Middle and Near East Countries, is the Institute for Oriental Studies in Tashkent and in Baku. This "scientific" center is one of the places where mass production of propaganda material and literature in different languages is manufactured.

Radio Propaganda

Radio propaganda beamed at the Middle and Near East countries is expanding from day to day and also constitutes an important factor. It is from Baku and Tashkent that a carefully worked out program of propaganda in Arabic, Turkish, Farsi, Urdu, Hindu languages are being conducted. A radio station probably located in the vicinity of Nakhichevan, Azerbaijan, is carrying out its clandestine broadcasts especially designated for Iran. Programs of this station are organized in such a way that they are supposed to create an illusion among the listeners that the voices and ideas heard originate from Iran itself. The essence of these diffusions is, of course, nothing but to instigate an overthrow of the present Iranian regime and to create internal chaos. Ardeshir Zahedi, Iran's ambassador to Washington, openly declared recently that Soviet-controlled radio stations in East Germany and the Caucasus have been pouring around-the-clock propaganda daily into Iran and urging the Iranian people to revolt against the Shah's regime. He pointed out that these broadcasts regularly warn Iran that it faces nuclear destruction, unless it pulls out of the Central Treaty Organization. Likewise, another clandestine station, called "Our Radio" and especially designed for Turkey, is bombarding the Turks with appeals to fight against American "imperialism", NATO, and CENTO.

C. L. Sulzberger, distinguished columnist of the *New York Times*, in an editorial after a recent tour of the Middle East wrote: "Yet we must spend more to do better in the continuing propaganda competition. Only recently the Shah of Iran complained to me about the absence of a VOA Persian program which left his country naked to unanswered Communist blasts." (*New York Times*) Now here is an independent state with its own radio broadcasting network in Persian which considers itself naked in the face of increased Soviet propaganda. Yet one can imagine what the situation is of some five million Azerbaijanians in the northern part of Iran whose language is Azeri-Turkish and who do not have any radio broadcasts in their own language except those from Soviet Azerbaijan. They have been left completely at the mercy of Soviet radio propaganda which is beamed from Baku continuously from six o'clock in the morning until midnight.

Delegates, Tourists, and "Technicians"

These representatives of the Soviet Eastern nations are also being kept busy by the Communists in their drive toward the Afro-Asian countries. Activities in this field were expanded particularly after the death of Stalin. From Azerbaijan alone during the last two years, hundreds of delegates and

agents disguised as "representatives" of scientific, cultural, and economic organizations, were sent to India, Iran, Turkey, Indonesia, Burma, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Arab countries. It is quite obvious that Khrushchov realizes very well that any Azerbaijani or Turkestanian can be much more successful in carrying out his mission designated for the Moslem countries than one of Russian origin. The community of religion, culture, traditions, and the historical past would make every Azerbaijani or Turkestani feel more at home in any one of those countries than would a Russian.

Mr. Henry Loomis, former Director of the Office of Research and Intelligence, USIA, in an address entitled "The Soviet Propaganda Campaign In The Middle East: Themes and Methods" and published by the Middle East Institute (1957), in speaking of the intensity of Soviet propaganda activities in the Middle East by means of delegations, said: "Communist China sent the largest Peking Opera Troupe headed by Burhan Shahidi, Chairman of the China Islamic Association which was established in 1955, to exploit the Chinese Moslems for propaganda purposes. *Shahidi, incidentally, obtained cultural agreements with Egypt and Syria and was probably instrumental in gaining their recognition of Communist China. He then left the tour to join some 80 Communist Chinese Moslems on the pilgrimage mission which then toured the Middle East. In all, Shahidi was in the Middle East more than six months, always using Islam as a means of rapport with his audience.*"

Statistics reveal that recent years have brought a considerable increase in the number of Azerbaijani, Turkestani, or other Soviet diplomats of Moslem origin employed abroad. Thus Moscow is advancing its colonial expansion by using previously conquered nations to exploit the peculiarities, appeal to religious sentiments, national feelings, etc. of the target object countries.

America and Soviet Eastern Problems

The conclusion from what was said above would seem to be that the ethnic Moslem groups living within the Soviet Union are successfully exploited by Moscow in its foreign policy and, particularly, in its drive to spread Communism to the Afro-Asian countries. It would also be easy to imply that the most reliable secret allies to the West, behind the Iron Curtain, are these same Turkic nations. But on the contrary, today in America, the leading nation of the Western world, the least appreciated and the most neglected nations are those unfortunate Turkic ethnic groups of the Soviet East which are hostile to every sign of Kremlin imperialism. The official line of thought in

this country seems to be that radio broadcasts or whatever means of propaganda is directed at the Soviet East would instigate the local people to revolt, and this, in turn, may result in bloodshed. Supposedly, the Hungarian tragedy revealed this. There is no need to argue even that this is an entirely erroneous point of view. It is difficult even to believe that such reasoning could be based on any benevolent considerations at all. For more than forty years the nations conquered by the Kremlin have been subdued by the hardships of oppression. They experienced the sort of Hungarian tragedy in the 1920's and 1930's. They are well aware of the fact that propaganda itself, without armed intervention, could not help them to achieve their aspirations for freedom. This is why they yearn to hear only the messages of hope from the outside world, where they could at least detect a sign that they have not been completely forgotten, and so that they could be inspired to endure further unbearable situations.

The Voice of America

American authorities admit that radio broadcasting is the best media for direct contact with the isolated and subjugated peoples behind the Iron Curtain. But not a single word has been beamed to such areas as Turkestan with a listening audience of some 20 million and where Soviet nuclear tests have actually taken place, or to Azerbaijan with more than 10 million listeners. The Voice of America broadcasts for these areas were abolished in 1953. Why?

Certainly not on the grounds of religious discrimination, which is the opinion of some circles. Budgetary reasons are not valid either, insofar as Turkestan and Azerbaijan from every point of view, be it strategic, political or psychological, have a priority for broadcasts in comparison to other areas of the Soviet Union. The real reason for this deplorable situation is to be found in the attitudes of those Russian "experts," who in misrepresenting the true facts about the Turkic peoples of the Soviet empire, only aid Mr. Khrushchov in preventing any direct contact between these peoples and the United States.

To the repeated attempts in finding out exactly why certain peoples in the Soviet Union are denied the right to hear the Voice of America in their native tongues, the same standard answer was given: 1) increased severity of Soviet jamming; 2) the inadequacy of existing Voice of America transmitters, and 3) lack of money. But the facts do not support these arguments.

It is true that the Voice of America broadcasts are being jammed by the Soviets, but this does not result in any special or exceptional situation affecting the Azerbaijan or

Turkestan programs any differently from any of the others. Taking Azerbaijan as an example, let us examine these facts: Transcaucasia is a small unified region of the three Soviet Republics of Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia. If one studies the geography of these three republics, it will be seen that their territories are interwoven. Thus, when a program is transmitted from abroad, for example, to Azerbaijan, it can also be heard with the same degree of clarity in Georgia or Armenia, and vice versa. Mr. Edward R. Murrow recently said that even though jamming is heaviest and that the jamming techniques are the most sophisticated in the Soviet Union, still about three-quarters of the Voice of America programs get through.

Not only does the Transcaucasus have a geographical unity, but the population of this region is blended. For example, in southwestern Armenia, there is a large Azerbaijan province called Nakhichevan. In addition, some 200,000 Azerbaijanis reside in Armenia, and 300,000 in Georgia. On the contrary, there are the most numerous peoples in the Caucasus. The Azerbaijani population of Transcaucasia and a part of North Caucasia totals 4,200,000. The Turkic-Azerbaijani population of Iranian Azerbaijan is 5,700,000. Therefore, the peoples who understand Turkic-Azerbaijani form a potential audience of about 10,000,000. This alone refutes the arguments of the USIA regarding jamming and transmitter difficulties. Even if one should present arguments regarding the technical difficulties of transmission, an appreciation of the political importance of Turkestani and the Azerbaijani broadcasts should make it possible to rectify these technical problems.

Conclusion

All perceptive individuals in the West are today convinced after numerous bitter lessons that "peaceful coexistence" with the Communist world is only self-deception. The Kremlin's ultimate aim is to conquer the entire world but if possible without a single shot. The Kremlin is employing every means of psychological warfare, i. e., subversion, infiltration, propaganda, in exploiting every weak spot of the Free World.

Nationalism is the most important factor in the present Cold War. The Soviet leaders comprehend this reality, and they thus exploit the issues of "national liberation" and "anti-colonialism" so intensively in their struggle against the West.

The nationality problem happens to be the most tender spot in the Soviet anatomy. Touch it, and the Kremlin leaders shriek in pain. Everyone remembers Khrushchov's table-thumping tantrums at a previous UN

General Assembly meeting. He touched off his fury when a Philippine delegate alluded to Soviet colonialism. A few days later, he used his shoe instead of fists, when the Premier of Australia attacked Soviet colonialism. If there is an area in which the United States and its allies can afford to take the initiative, it is definitely colonialism. We must take this initiative for our own safety, for defending our friends and for protecting the whole world from Communist disaster.

In order to take the initiative, the West must very extensively and objectively study Soviet Russian colonialism. We must examine the problems of every single subjugated non-Russian people of the Soviet Russian Empire. We must do this on an individual basis taking into consideration the history, special characteristics, culture, etc., of each people and determine what sort of approach to apply in each case.

Psychological warfare may best be described as an ultimate contest for men's minds. Therefore, strong and effective measures are needed in order to reach the hearts and minds of the subjugated peoples in spite of the Iron Curtain. Moscow, with its initiative, has been conducting a struggle against the West in every corner of the world by exploiting civilized peoples and tribes, groups and societies, whole countries and even jungles. This is a total war and we cannot afford any longer to direct attention only to certain areas while ignoring others. The Soviet East which plays an important role in the Soviet policy of infiltration and is a show window for Afro-Asian countries will some day play an even more significant role in unmasking and condemning Soviet Russian colonialism. Until now, the United States under the influence of the "political untouchables," has made certain decisions without taking the problems of the Soviet East into account. The consequences were deplorable for the West and very profitable for the Kremlin. We hope common sense will prevail and that the United States will not continue to conduct a policy of self-defeat.

We believe that the United States could easily cover this neglected flank in the Cold War struggle by taking some necessary measures as follows:

A. By separating the problems of the ruling-Russians and the captive non-Russians, among them the Turkic peoples of the USSR, as a basic principle, and conducting all research and propaganda activities accordingly in the pertinent Government agencies.

B. It would be very useful to establish a special Research Center for studying the Soviet East, with its own publication, where the Soviet Russian colonial policy in this area could be thoroughly analyzed and illustrated. Such a publication could be distri-

buted in the Islam World, and also among the Afro-Asian and South American countries.

C. The moral and material support of all the non-Russian emigré cultural and political organizations in their ideological struggle against Communism throughout the Free World could encourage the morale and hope of all the political emigrants in the Free World and the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

Ahmed Ibrahim,
Chairman,

The Azerbaijanian Society of America,
49 Culture Street,
Newark, New Jersey

These emigré organizations could work effectively in the newly emerging nations, by assisting them to learn the real nature of godless Communist imperialism.

D. Finally, it is very vital to reinstate the Voice of America broadcasts in the languages of the subjugated peoples of the Soviet East, the Azerbaijani, Turkestani, Idel-Ural, and the North Caucasus.

Isakjan I. Narzikul,
President,

Turkestanian American Association Inc.,
508 Macdade Blv.,
Collingdale, Pennsylvania

Wheat Deal May Be Harmful

From the resolutions adopted at the Mass Meeting, October 19, 1963, held in St. Constantine's School Auditorium at 314 N.E. Sixth Ave., Minneapolis, Minnesota, observing the 30th anniversary of the Communist-provoked most infamous famine in Ukraine, which resulted in the tragic death of over seven million Ukrainians in 1932-33.

We, the members of various Ukrainian organizations of the State of Minnesota, assembled at the mass meeting, sponsored by the Minnesota Branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, dedicated to the memory of over six million Ukrainians, who perished in the deliberately planned and ruthlessly carried out gruesome man-made famine by the predetermined measures of the USSR government in the years of 1932-33 in Ukraine and adjacent areas, - in recalling the inhuman suffering of our kinsmen, we express our heartfelt feelings of profound sorrow and highest respect for the innocent victims of that cruel treatment by the Russian Communist regime.

We must sound a warning to the American Government and people that the present wheat deal may be extremely harmful to the United States and the Free World. Ordinary people will not get that food. It will be used to strengthen the Communist regime and its propaganda abroad. Much of this grain will be stored or diverted for the future war purposes against American interests. The Communist regime has repeatedly used food as a political weapon against its own people. In 1933, the Russian Communist government exported the confiscated grain in order to obtain funds for the development of heavy industry in preparation for the Second World War, while people at home were starving. If wheat help is to be given, - it should be delivered and distributed directly to the constituent republics of the USSR and its satellites under controlled American supervision.

We again declare that the Ukrainian Nation is the best ally of the free world. Once Ukraine is free, the Soviet Russian Empire, deprived of rich Ukrainian natural and human resources, will not be able to wage aggression against the freedom of the world. The liberty-loving nations should remember that neither slavery, suffering, famine nor death will stop the Ukrainian people in their struggle for human liberty with dignity and national sovereignty of Ukraine.

PETITION

to the United Nations Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

To consider Soviet-Russian colonialism in Ukraine

We, the undersigned, request the Special Committee to consider arranging a hearing on and a study of colonial conditions prevailing in Ukraine.

It is proposed to investigate in particular two recent murders – of the Head of the Ukrainian National Liberation Movement, Stephan Bandera, and of the prominent Ukrainian journalist and writer, Lev Rebet – perpetrated by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

As further evidence of the colonial subjugation of Ukraine to Soviet-Russian domination may serve:

1. systematic destruction of religious life in Ukraine,
2. genocide by continuous mass deportations of Ukrainians into territories of the U. S. S. R. outside Ukraine,
3. forced Russification of all phases of Ukrainian national culture,
4. foreign, Soviet-Russian political system imposed and maintained by force,
5. economic colonialism by ruthless exploitation of Ukrainian national resources, labor, and knowledge, profits of which contribute to the aggrandizement of the Russian and not the Ukrainian nation,
6. seizure of political sovereignty of the Ukrainian nation by Russian imperialists and stultifying by this means all development of life and creative abilities of the Ukrainian people.

This Petition is based on the following laws and resolutions:

1. Preamble of the Charter of the United Nations Organization which reaffirms “faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small”.
2. Article I of the Charter which rules “friendly relations amongst nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples,” and “promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.”
3. Resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly which declares that
“1. The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.
2. All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.
4. All armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples shall cease in order to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence, and the integrity of their national territory shall be respected.”

Although the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is a member state of the United Nations, nevertheless its people and state are under complete colonial domination of Russia which works through the organs of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party. Therefore, Ukraine is obliged to endure a *de facto* colonial status and should be considered under the above-mentioned laws and resolutions of the United Nations.

Upon request, we shall immediately procure for the Committee's availability any supplementary information and witnesses.

Very respectfully,

Jaroslav Stetzko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine

Mykola Hryckowian, representative of former members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army

Eugene Lozynskyj, President of the Ukrainian Society of Political Prisoners

- Enclosures: 1. Sentence and Oral Opinion of the High Court of the Federal Republic of Germany in the criminal case against the Soviet citizen Bogdan Stashynsky,
2. Written Motivation of the Verdict in the Stashynsky Trial,
3. Summary of facts of trial of Stashynsky,
4. Shelepin – the Chief Perpetrator,
5. Shepherd in Chains – Martyrdom of Metropolitan Joseph Slipy,
6. Bolshevik Persecution of Religion and Church in Ukraine,
7. Ukraine – under Russian colonial rule.

Decision of the French Court

in the case STETZKO v. "EXIL ET LIBERTÉ"

District Court of the Department of the Seine
17th Court of Petty Sessions

Public Hearing on January 14, 1963
Jaroslav Stetzko versus *de Goulevitch*

Complaint filed by the Prosecution on a charge of *Libel*.

In the presence of the Public Prosecutor the Court heard the statements of the defendant, the claim of the plaintiff, the Public Prosecutor's indictment, and the pleas of the counsel, and, after having deliberated according to the law, adduced:

WHEREAS by writ of Pierre Millet, Clerk of Court, dated March 9, 1962, Mr. *Jaroslav Stetzko* has taken out a summons against a certain party to appear before this court in order to reply to a complaint stating an offence of public libel, on account of the publication in the edition dated December 1961 of the monthly "*Exil et Liberté*" of an article entitled "The Leaders of A.B.N. a party to the genocide practised by Hitler",

WHEREAS Mr. *de Goulevitch* does not deny his capacity as chief editor of the said periodical at the time of the publication of the said article,

WHEREAS, in view of the subject of the said article it is a question of a reprint of an article published in the April 1958 edition of the same periodical under the same title,

WHEREAS this new publication justifies the suit at law,

WHEREAS certain passages in the said article accuse Mr. *Stetzko* of having (together with Bandera, "by the regime which he had established") 1) caused the

assassination of several hundred members of a rival party of Galicia, 2) established a regime of terrorism against the people of Galicia, and 3) caused the murder of millions of Poles and of Jews,

and whereas these imputations of precise facts are of such a nature that they are damaging to the honour and the esteem of Mr. *Stetzko*,

WHEREAS on the other hand, however, the statement made in the passage "it was for having dared to oppose the racial obsession of *Bandera* and of *Stetzko* that our lamented friend was obliged to lay down his life in 1951. Colonel *Goulai* died in 1957", does not contain any precise fact against *Stetzko* but solely casts suspicion on all his party and its leaders,

and whereas this statement cannot therefore be regarded as constituting a libel,

WHEREAS the defendant alleges in good faith that the accusations made by himself, having been corroborated, according to his statements, by various documents, produced in court, had previously been made against *Stetzko* without any reaction on the part of the latter in spite of the serious nature of the said accusations,

WHEREAS good faith is not taken for granted in matters of libel,

and whereas the fact of taking the responsibility for former accusations, even though they were not denied, cannot exonerate the person who gives them new publicity from blame,

WHEREAS there is reason to note in the question at issue that the "documents", press articles and pamphlets cited, go back many years, that nothing forced the periodical "*Exil et Liberté*" in December 1961 to take up these serious accusations against *Stetzko* relating to events which happened nearly twenty years ago, and on the subject of which proof cannot be admitted,

and whereas only the desire to harm a political opponent can explain this publication,

WHEREAS, however, the absence of any denial or of any suit at law at the request of Mr. *Stetzko* at the time of the previous publications, similar or comparable, led Mr. *de Goulevitch* to suppose wrongly that such publications could be repeated with impunity,

WHEREAS, as regards the claim of counsel for the plaintiff, Mr. *Stetzko* does not bring evidence of any material loss, and therefore the damages to be allowed to him should be reduced,

The Court Shows Cause, and after hearing all parties,

Pronounces de Goulevitch guilty of having libelled in writing Mr. *Stetzko*, in Paris, in December 1961, and for a time not limited, by publishing in the December 1961 edition of the monthly "*Exil et Liberté*" an article entitled "The members of A.B.N. a party to the genocide practised by Hitler",

offences which are punishable in accordance with Articles 29, 32 and 42 of the law of July 29, 1881,

And accordingly

Sentences de Goulevitch to pay a fine of 500 Francs,

and stipulates that this penalty is adjudicated with that of 400 Francs pronounced this day,

admits the claim of Mr. *Stetzko* as plaintiff and sentences *de Goulevitch* to pay him the sum of 500 Francs in virtue of damages,

orders the publication of this judgment in the periodical "*Exil et Liberté*", in place of the incriminating article,

orders the publication, in excerpts, of this judgment in three periodicals at the choice of the plaintiff and at the expense of the defendant, the cost of each of these three publications not to exceed 600 Francs,

sentences *de Goulevitch* to pay all costs, and, should he fail to do so, to be arrested for debt.

(Mr. *de Goulevitch* has filed an appeal against this sentence since he considers it too severe. Mr. Stetzko has also lodged an appeal for higher damages to be awarded.)

20th Anniversary Celebration In Australia

of founding of A. B. N., held on September 7, 1963, at Croatian House, Sydney

The President of the Central Delegacy for Australia and New Zealand, Dr. C. Untaru, opened the celebration by welcoming those present, who included diplomatic representatives, Australian guests, representatives of national groups and about 400 members of the general public. In his speech he warned Australia of the growing danger of the Asiatic Communist countries, and stressed that since Australia was on the foreshores of the aggressive Communist powers, she must be especially prepared and safeguarded by building up a strong defence force.

The guest speaker, Mr. W. C. Wentworth, member of the Federal Parliament, welcomed the opportunity afforded him to speak at the A. B. N. anniversary celebration. In his speech he emphasized that it was of the utmost importance that the Australian Federal Cabinet should carefully watch all the developments in Communist strategy, otherwise Australia might find herself in the same position as all the subjugated European nations. The rift among the Communist-bloc nations, he said, did not seem to add up, for whatever their strategy might be, they remained Communist and a constant threat to world peace and to freedom-loving nations. The nature of the workers' paradise, as constantly extolled by the Communist press, was only too evident from the division of the world by an iron curtain. The Berlin wall and thousands of miles of barbed-wire fences and minefields along the Western borders, so Mr. Wentworth rightly pointed out, had been set up not to protect Communist wealth but to prevent the suffering population of the enslaved nations from escaping from their homeland to freedom, as in fact millions had already done. There was only a one-way ticket to Communist countries, he added, — one could get in, but never out. The audience responded to Mr. Wentworth's speech with thunderous applause.

Professor Dragan was the official A. B. N. speaker. He gave a condensed account of the history of A. B. N. and pointed out that A. B. N. had become a worldwide and recognized organization of freedom fighters, who had but one aim, namely to gain freedom for millions of oppressed peoples within and outside Soviet Russia. The Communists, so he stressed, were international and therefore any manifestation of national feeling on their part was ridiculous and nothing but a deception and a trick to lure some new victim into their net. Professor Dragan praised the USA for proclaiming Captive Nations Week and said that it was imperative that the Australian Government too should remind Australians of the dangers of Communism. In conclusion he emphasized the importance of a united front under A. B. N. to regain freedom for nations and freedom for individuals.

Mr. F. Lovokovic, as the Croatian host on this occasion, referred to present press comments in which Croatian nationals were being attacked for subversive activities in Yugoslavia. Coinciding with the anniversary celebrations of A. B. N., the Communist tactics consisted in branding the Croatians as fascists in the eyes of Australians.

The cultural part of the anniversary celebration in Sydney was provided by the Ukrainian Youth Organization, whose orchestra and choir gave a most enjoyable performance.

We Must Warn America

Welcoming Address by Nestor Procyk, M. D., Chairman of the Citizens' Committee to Observe Captive Nations Week, in Buffalo, on July 14, 1963

Mr. Mayor, Very Reverend and Reverend members of the clergy, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

As Chairman of the Buffalo Citizens' Committee to Observe Captive Nations Week, I am privileged and honoured to welcome you at this official inauguration of Captive Nations Week programme in our city.

May I take this opportunity to express the Committee's thanks first of all to His Honour, Mayor Kowal, who, as a member of the National Captive Nations Committee, has done his utmost to make the success of our week-long observance possible. Our thanks also go to the Hon. Chester C. Gorski, President of the Common Council, and to Council members for their co-operation, to our esteemed Police Commissioner, Hon. Howard E. Finney, to Parks Commissioner Hon. Albert C. Killian, Fire Commissioner Hon. Robert J. Zahm, and to all those officials of our city government who have contributed in any way to this our observance. Our thanks to all organizers and organizations who were represented in the parade today by their units, and especially to our Police Department and our good friends from V. F. W. Last but not least, our sincere thanks to all of you ladies and gentlemen who sacrificed a Sunday afternoon to come here and demonstrate that *you share in the plight of those nations captive by the Russian imperialist rulers of the Kremlin, that you share the aspirations of these nations to their national independence and freedom, such as we enjoy them here in the United States of America.*

Now, as we open this Fourth Annual Observance of Captive Nations Week, there are many signs that the Eurasian empire of imperial Russia is beginning to feel the rushing tide of nationalism, produced by the people of the captive, non-Russian nations. These signs of political troubles for Moscow are encouraging for freedom's cause, but they do not suggest that now is the time to relax our vigilance and go to picnics or to beaches instead of *working for the cause of freedom and peace with justice.* On the contrary, these signs suggest that *now is the time to work harder than ever before and to open an intensive political offensive against imperialism in support of the worldwide national independence movement.*

We meet here today in response to the call of Congress and of the President of the United States. In 1959 Congress enacted Public Law 86-90, which set aside this week as a time to remember the plight of the

captive nations and to rededicate our lives and our national purpose to the principles of individual liberty, human freedom, and *independence for all the nations of the world.* President Kennedy has issued the official proclamation called for by that law as he did during the past two years, and as President Eisenhower did on two previous occasions.

It is a special honour for us as citizens of Buffalo to respond to this call by our President and by Congress because so many of our fellow-citizens here on the Niagara frontier have personal, cultural and historical ties with the peoples of the captive nations.

The variable winds which blow over the vast Russian Communist empire raise a number of policy questions for the American people and for our government.

We see above all the efforts of the Chinese Communists to challenge the leadership of the Russian Kremlin rulers. This challenge has little to do with the basic Marxist doctrine; it is centered in the Chinese struggle against what they call "Great Powers Chauvinism" within the Communist camp. Stripped of Communist dialectics this means the Chinese Communists are fed up with the role of the Russian Communists as the privileged class, the superior people, within the conspiracy of Communism. The Chinese Communists regard the Russian Communists as uncultured and uncouth people — which is what they are measured against the ancient culture of China. In essence the Chinese Communist leaders are responding — cognizantly or not — to the demands of Chinese nationalism; they must respond to that powerful demand or be deposed from power. This is what lies behind the present conflict between Peiping and Moscow — despite the camouflage of Communist dialectics which has been thrown up to conceal the truth from the free world.

As we look to the European part of the Russian empire we see further signs of the power of nationalism arising from the captive nations and directed against Moscow.

Rumania is but one example of the trend toward dismemberment of Moscow's empire. Poland is in a state of political ferment, with *Gomulka accusing Cardinal Wyszynski* of advocating war because the Cardinal refuses to support his faltering regime. The truth of the matter is that *Cardinal Wyszynski speaks for the Polish people and Gomulka speaks for no one but his masters in Moscow.* It is becoming more and more evident that sooner or later the spirited Polish horse will throw off the Russian rider on its back.

In Slovakia the spirit of nationalism threatens both the Czech and the Russian Communists. It is possible that Moscow will be forced to recognize the power of Slovak nationalism to save its own skin — while pushing the Czech Communists further into the background.

In Ukraine, Moscow has been forced to remove its puppet premier Podhorny — to blame him for all its crimes and mismanagement in an effort to calm the storm of Ukrainian nationalism. *But the leaders of the Ukrainian independence movement refuse to be calmed by any of the Kremlin's games and are gathering strength for an all-out thrust against Russian imperialism. The unshaken strength of the Ukrainian spirit is symbolized by Archbishop Slipy, who despite 18 years of hard labour and imprisonment did not bow to the Kremlin and did not renounce his faith.*

In Hungary and Bulgaria the Russian-controlled regimes are attempting to calm the storm of nationalism with so-called "liberalization programmes". *But these programmes cannot satisfy the burning desire of the patriotic peoples in Hungary and Bulgaria for freedom and independence of their countries from Moscow.*

The same trend continues to develop in the Baltic states, in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, where forcible russification of these countries has continued for years.

In Croatia the spirit of independence and freedom is growing into revolt against Dictator Tito, another Kremlin puppet designed to lure or mislead and certainly to drain the Western powers and the USA in particular of their economic resources. The same spirit reigns in all parts of Macedonia.

The patriotic people of Albania who have

found themselves between the hammer and anvil of both Communist Chinese and Russian imperial powers are now looking for an appropriate moment to rid themselves of both.

Moscow, in desperation, is now seeking a non-aggression pact with NATO and particularly with the USA. Such a non-aggression pact would be a great help to Moscow because it would serve notice on the peoples of the captive nations that the United States has formally committed them to perpetual slavery and that the Russians are free to use any means to keep them in a state of bondage. *But even this — a non-aggression pact between Moscow and NATO — will not prevent the coming political storm of national independence throughout the Russian empire. Nothing can prevent the fulfilment of the human aspirations of the captive nations. Seventy or eighty million Russians cannot enslave one third of humanity for ever, and the day of judgment for freedom's cause looms on the horizon. That is the real meaning behind the variable winds which now blow over the Russian Eurasian empire.*

Knowing these facts, we are firm in our commitment to freedom; we will not yield in our support for the right of all nations to be masters of their own destiny. *In holding firmly to these beliefs we are acting in the highest tradition of American political heritage and the heritage of all once free and now captive nations.*

Faithful to this heritage and facing constant aggressive moves on the part of imperial Russia, moves which are beginning to reach the shores of this very country, *we must constantly warn America and the American people to be on the alert until freedom and peace with justice prevail everywhere in the world.*

The Rev. van Straaten Warns Against East Policy

The intentions of the Communists are still directed towards the complete annihilation of Christianity; for this reason the Church would forfeit the confidence and trust of the subjugated peoples if it made a pact with Moscow. It is, of course, possible that the Kremlin may now have certain reasons for adopting a more moderate policy towards the Church, but talks with Moscow should not be based on silent acceptance of the fact that the Church is being persecuted by Moscow. These grave words of warning were addressed by the well-known Premonstratensian priest, Father Werenfried van Straaten, to an audience of 600 persons at the 13th Congress "The Church in Distress", which was held recently in Königstein, Germany.

In his speech, which was warmly applauded, Father van Straaten said: "There is great spiritual confusion. Whereas one talks about the reunification in religious faith, our inner unity is in reality endangered. The Catholics are divided. The crisis as regards religious doctrine and discipline is so grave that some bishops can no longer master the situation. Over-hasty reformers are already of the opinion that one should strongly disapprove of the attitude adopted by Pope Pius XII. Thus a Pope, who died for unity and peace, is annexed by a certain clique and his views are abused with the intention of sowing the seeds of discord."

"This lack of good taste — so Werenfried van Straaten added — was prompted by

Mgr. Andrew Hlinka

Twenty-five years ago, on August 16, 1938, Mgr. Andrew Hlinka, the leader of the Slovakian fight for freedom during the years from 1918 to 1938, died. The proclamation of the independence of Slovakia on March 14, 1939, was the result of the fight for freedom of the Slovakian people which was led by Hlinka. The head representatives of the Republic of Slovakia were former co-workers and supporters of Hlinka.



Moscow and was furthered by the Soviet press which wrote: "There are now only two great statesmen: Khrushchov, who introduced de-Stalinization, and Pope John, who eradicated the influence of Pope Pius!" Many Catholics swallowed this poison. The kindness and goodness of heart of the Pope has been interpreted falsely. Thus the "Pacem in terris", the encyclical of Pope John XXIII, in which he appealed for peace in the world, has been construed in a false manner in order to expound the theory that co-operation with Communism is now called for. Khrushchov is endeavouring to gain favour with the Vatican."

Werenfried van Straaten then stressed that those who favour "peace movements" and wolves in sheep's clothing, who try to worm their way into the Church for evil intentions, do not see through the real aims of the Communists, namely to make the Church of the West a "silent Church" too. And he added in this connection that "A bishop who has been released is no proof of the freedom of the Church, and as long as the Church is not free, the freedom of the Ukrainian Archbishop

Slipy is nothing but a Communist deception. We do not belong to that category of persons who believe that the persecution of the Church has come to an end when out-and-out atheists smile or make some tactical concession."

As proof that the war waged against the Church by the Communists continues unabated, van Straaten mentioned the fact that in 1962 alone as many as 1,500 churches were closed down in the Soviet Union. He sharply criticized the "puppet priests and quisling prelates" who have been forced on the churches in the Communist states, and said that this was indeed a scandal without end. He added that the Church of the catacombs had more right to consideration than the "prelates who are servile to Moscow", with whom "some of us would certainly like to have a talk". Werenfried van Straaten concluded his speech with a stirring appeal to help the millions of people all over the world who are starving or sick, and said that if the West did not cast aside its materialistic attitude, then it need not be surprised if the Red Chinese or the Red Russians blew up its cathedrals some day.

20 Years' Activity Of A.B.N.

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

II Corinthians, VI

I. Introduction

Prior to World War II the Russian imperium, known as the Soviet Union, was the mightiest military power in the world.

The Western Major Powers with the exception of France had disarmed, that is to say their military strength was not equal to the demands of modern warfare. From 1935 onwards Germany began to rearm, the international situation became more tense, and there was every indication that war would break out in the near future.

Of the peoples incorporated in the Russian imperium during tsarist times, Finland, Poland and the Baltic countries existed as independent states. Russia was only waiting for a favourable opportunity in the international situation to incorporate them too. And this opportunity eventually presented itself.

On the strength of the treaty between Berlin and Moscow in 1939 the Baltic countries and West Ukraine and West Byelorussia, which had been occupied by Poland, were ceded to the Russians as a "sphere of influence". The Russians took advantage of this situation in their usual manner. In 1939 they occupied the territory ceded to them, that is to say those parts of Ukraine and Byelorussia which had been occupied by Poland; they subsequently attacked Finland and annexed a large part of its territory, and in 1940 they occupied the Baltic countries. The first stage of the Russian strategic advance towards the West was thus accomplished.

War now broke out between Germany and Russia. It could be assumed that Germany, as in the first world war, would favour and support the aspirations of the peoples ruled by Russia to attain their freedom and to restore their independent states, which had been violated by Russia, but it soon became apparent that the men in power in the Third Reich had not the least intention of doing so.

Hitler was obsessed by the idea of Germany's world mission and accordingly intended to found a new German Empire of the German nation.

Immediately after the outbreak of the war the Ukrainian nationalists convened a National Assembly in Lviv, the capital of West Ukraine, and proclaimed the independence of the Ukrainian state as a democratic republic. A

government was formed in which all political parties were represented. The present President of A. B. N., *Jaroslav Stetzko*, was elected Prime Minister of this government. But soon afterwards the members of the government and other prominent political personalities were arrested by the Gestapo and put into concentration camps. This measure was indeed striking proof of the ruthless policy of the Third Reich.

Although the Baltic countries were only under Russian occupation for a year, self-administration was not introduced again there, nor were these countries re-established as states after the invasion of the German troops.

Thousands of persons were now abducted from the occupied territories for compulsory labour.

All the subjugated peoples now realized what a fate would befall them once the Russian Communist regime had been overthrown. In view of this situation the national committees, in Germany, of some of the non-Russian peoples decided to further the setting up of national units. For the opinion was held that the Russian Communist empire must first of all be destroyed and Russian rule overthrown, and then one would be able to survey the situation more easily. But events developed quite differently.

Russia had allies such as the USA and Great Britain on its side, and, in addition, Hitler's brutal and senseless policy had scared the people in the Soviet Union. Furthermore another factor, which is unfortunately not taken into account by the West even today, was of importance. The Russian people had no intention of sacrificing their imperium for liberation from the Communist regime. They preferred to accept the Communist imperium rather than to see it partitioned and lose its power. For this reason they fought grimly and tenaciously for its preservation. And indeed the Russians succeeded not only in preserving their imperium but also in increasing its power and expanding its rule.

II. The Origin of A. B. N.

The national revolutionaries did not allow themselves to be disheartened by the fact that the Ukrainian government had been overthrown and the leading Ukrainian politicians arrested. There were still other men left to assume the leadership. The OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) began to rally forces, to re-organize the various organizat-

ions already in existence, and to set up combatant units. Soon the situation became more difficult, however, owing to the fact that the fight now had to be waged on two fronts, — on the one hand, against the Russians — and their partisans had joined forces with the Polish partisans, and on the other, against the German occupation police and their hangmen.

Hence the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army), which still plays an active part in Ukraine and continues its fight even today, was called into being. In the Soviet broadcast programmes and in the press the "Bandero-vizi", or "Bandera bandits", are frequently attacked and maligned, but the Soviet Russians have not succeeded in "crushing and exterminating" them.

By 1943 it was obvious that Germany would not win the war. The national leaders of the subjugated peoples were therefore obliged to think out and devise new ways and means of conducting the national fight for freedom in future. The leaders of the OUN and UPA decided to organize a joint fighting front of all the subjugated peoples and to establish contact with the national units of these peoples for this purpose. Negotiations were conducted and it was unanimously agreed that a common front was to be formed in this way.

In November 1943 the first conference of the representatives of these peoples was held in a forest near Zhitomir (Ukraine). It is significant that all these representatives were members of national military units. They included Ukrainians — amongst them the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA, General *Taras Chuprynka*, who was killed in action in 1950 whilst fighting against the Russians, as well as Georgians, Armenians, Byelorussians, Azerbaijanians, and representatives of the peoples of Northern Caucasia and Turk-estan. This conference was, of course, convened illegally and secretly, and it was guarded by a unit whose commander was a Georgian. A Ukrainian, *Rostyslav Voloshyn-Pavlenko*, who was killed in action in 1946, presided over the conference. It was decided at this conference that a common front, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A. B. N.), should be founded, in which the subjugated peoples would join forces for the purpose of fighting against Russian rule and the Communist system. It was also agreed that all the national organizations of the subjugated peoples should be members of A. B. N.

At that time no one thought that the number of peoples subjugated by Russia would increase. The Commander-in-Chief of the UPA, T. Chuprynka, according to the minutes of the session as taken down by one of the participators, Omelan Lugasch, summed up his report to the OUN leaders regarding

the significance of the said conference in the following words:

"This conference is of importance to us not only because of what it has achieved for our fight today, but it has also convinced us that a common front of the subjugated peoples is not only absolutely necessary but is also a reality. We have chosen the right course. From today our fight for independence is no longer the isolated fight of an individual people but a revolution in Eastern Europe and Asia for the freedom and independence of all subjugated peoples and for a new order in this part of the world". —

Such was the origin of A. B. N., which later became the international organization of the united subjugated peoples in exile too. A. B. N. is a formation of the fight behind the Iron Curtain. From the time of its foundation onwards contacts with the national organizations of the various subjugated peoples became closer and closer and a lively activity developed.

Meanwhile the Russians occupied the Baltic countries and Rumania; Russian hordes had already penetrated into Hungary and Poland, and it was obvious that the Russians would never relinquish any territory which they had once seized. It was therefore necessary to resort to further measures and to work out plans for activity in the future.

At the initiative of the OUN a secret conference of A. B. N. was held in Cracow in 1944. The national organizations of all the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union were represented at this conference. One of the Georgian delegates was *A. Tsomaia*, who died in New York in 1956 whilst he was still in the prime of life.

At this conference plans of action were worked out and it was decided that A. B. N. should also carry on its activity in the West as spokesman of the subjugated peoples in order to win over the free peoples for the national cause of the subjugated peoples and gain their support for the latter's fight for freedom. It was also decided that A. B. N. should establish contact with the representatives of the countries which had recently been occupied by the Russians. The UPA was to continue the fight in Ukraine and to establish contact with the underground organizations in other non-Russian countries of the Soviet Union and in the satellite states.

III. A. B. N. in the Free West

In spring 1945 the war ended and Germany was occupied by the victor powers. The national freedom fighters managed to get through to West Germany. The Ukrainian Prime Minister, Jaroslaw Stetzko, who had meanwhile been released from a German concentration camp, settled in Munich, and, together with Stephan Bandera, set about building up the organization abroad of the

OUN. Although his health had suffered, Jaroslaw Stetzko had not been broken morally and spiritually by his four and a half years' confinement in a concentration camp. With indefatigable energy he began to rally the forces of A.B.N. and developed a lively activity in this respect.

Since all political activity and organizations were prohibited by the American occupation authorities he secretly convened an A.B.N. conference in Munich-Pasing in April 1946. On this occasion the national organizations not only of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union but also of the Baltic peoples, of Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Croatia, Serbia, Czechia, Slovakia, and Poland were represented. The Peoples' Council and the Central Committee of A.B.N. were elected at this conference, and Jaroslaw Stetzko was appointed President of A.B.N., an office which he still holds today.

Thus a union of all the peoples subjugated by the Russians, that is to say peoples in the latter's sphere of influence, was created, and these peoples were represented by prominent politicians and national freedom fighters in A.B.N. Hence this organization became the legitimate and authorized spokesman and representative, in the free world, of all the subjugated peoples.

In answer to the question as to why the representatives of the so-called "satellite countries" had joined A.B.N., the former Secretary of State (Bulgaria), Dr. D. Walschew, said at the 3rd A.B.N. Congress in Munich:

"We who belong to the peoples that only came under Soviet Russian rule after World War II are frequently asked why we have joined the Anti-Bolshevik Blok of Nations, which was originally only an organization of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, — an organization which has as its immediate aim the solution of difficult and complicated national problems in the USSR, problems which do not concern our peoples of the so-called Soviet satellite countries at all.

The question is also anxiously raised as to why we should unnecessarily complicate the clear and comparatively simpler problem of the restoration of our freedom and independence by allying ourselves with A.B.N. and its demands that the Great Russian imperium should be disintegrated and that the independence of the countless non-Russian peoples incarcerated in this imperium should be restored.

As you no doubt all know, the Bulgarian people have already tasted the fruits of a Russian "liberation" on two occasions and we can already tell a sorry tale about our "double liberator". It is precisely for this reason that we have joined A.B.N. and, like all the other peoples who at some time or other have been the victims of the Russian

lust of conquest, as we ourselves have been, we feel ourselves bound to them, in the future too, by the close ties of a common fate.

And in now joining forces with all the peoples subjugated by Moscow — and it is immaterial whether they were subjugated 10, 30, or 100 years ago — and forming a common fighting front with them, we are not prompted merely by sentimental reasons of love towards the Ukrainians, Turkestanians, Georgians, and all the other peoples. Our vital interests and realistic political considerations alone now demand that we should adopt the principles and ideas of A.B.N. At the same time we are not merely serving our own interests by doing so, but are acting and fighting in the interests of the whole world and its security against constant Russian aggression, which, to quote Berdyaev's words, today appears in the guise of a Bolshevik world revolution, but tomorrow may continue the same handiwork in some other transformation.

If it should some day prove possible to destroy the present Soviet Russian rule of tyranny over our peoples and countries from within, then only by the union and the joint fight of all these peoples, as represented by A.B.N. To the Western world we thus present a concentrated potential of 200 million enslaved persons who are willing to fight for freedom, thus fulfilling what in our opinion is an historical duty. The decision rests with the West, — whether it will avail itself of this potential for its own salvation, too, and set an avalanche rolling, or whether it will continue to allow itself to be lulled by cunning Soviet Russian propaganda and be willing to reach a suicidal compromise at the expense of our peoples.

We at any rate intend to do our utmost to ensure that our countries, which have the misfortune to be situated on the edge of the Great Russian imperium, need no longer live under the pressure of this colossus and be subjected to a Russian yoke of any colour whatever..."

An office was now found for A.B.N. in the premises of the editorial department of the OUN organ "Ukrainskij Somostijnik", in Dachauer StraÙe in the heart of Munich, and an information bulletin was started as the "press organ" of A.B.N.

A.B.N. made its first public appearance with a huge demonstration in 1947. The police of the army of occupation intervened and shots were even fired; but it proved impossible to break up the A.B.N. demonstration. The police merely succeeded in preventing the demonstrators from proceeding to the building in which the Soviet diplomatic mission was housed.

With tireless energy and devotion President J. Stetzko furthered the activity of A.B.N.

The information bulletin grew and developed into a periodical, "A.B.N. Correspondence", which was published in German and in English; for a long time it had an outstanding editor in *Dr. D. Walschegg* (Bulgaria) and made a name for itself by its excellent contributions on world problems and its detailed information from countries behind the Iron Curtain. Its co-workers were and are prominent politicians, publicists and scholars of our peoples, including the ideologist of Ukrainian national thought, *Dr. D. Donzov*. The chief editor of "A.B.N. Correspondence" is now *Mrs. Slawa Stetzko*.

The first Secretary-General of A.B.N. was *Colonel Dr. Milan D. Shijatshki* (Serbia), who is now living in the USA. This post was then held for a number of years by *Dr. C. Pokorny* (Slovakia). His successor was *Prince Niko Nakashidze* (Georgia), the present Secretary-General of the Central Committee of A.B.N. The late *General H. Alabanda* (Croatia) for many years also played an active part in the administrative tasks of A.B.N.

The A.B.N. office dealt with all political work, maintained contact with various political organizations, and conducted correspondence with various official departments and international institutions.

Thus out of small beginnings this organization of the subjugated peoples developed and became of international importance. To all the important conferences of the Major Powers or of international organizations A.B.N. sent a memorandum on the problems of the subjugated peoples. Similar memoranda were also sent on various occasions to the governments of the Western countries.

A.B.N. has also taken part in numerous international anti-Communist conferences, on which occasions the resolutions moved by A.B.N. have always been adopted with an overwhelming majority, thanks to President Stetzko's eloquent addresses and convincing and irrefutable arguments. President Stetzko has attended conferences and congresses in Formosa, Mexico, Saigon, Guatemala, Ankara, Manila, Tokyo, Escorial, Rome, Malta, London and Paris, and, whatever the occasion, has always served the cause of A.B.N. untiringly.

A.B.N. has concluded agreements with the biggest international anti-Communist organizations in the world, namely the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League and the Interamerican Confederation for Defense of the Continent (the union of the anti-Communist organizations of all the countries of South and Central America).

Of our many friends we should like to mention in particular the late *John F. Stewart*, Chairman of the Scottish League for European Freedom in Edinburgh, Scotland. From the outset he supported our cause and loyally and courageously defended the rights

of our peoples. He published several books and pamphlets on the problems of our peoples. And it was at his initiative that a joint conference of the Scottish League for European Freedom and A.B.N. was held in Edinburgh in 1950. This was a most impressive occasion and it was followed by big rallies in various towns.

Another of our most loyal friends is the famous British military theoretician General J. F. C. Fuller, who also contributes articles to "A.B.N. Correspondence".

President Stetzko, Prof. Dr. F. Durcansky (Slovakia), former Foreign Minister of Slovakia and President of the Peoples' Council of A.B.N., Christo Stateff, former Minister of Bulgaria, General F. Farkas de Kisbarnak (Hungary), Mrs. Slawa Stetzko, and other prominent members of A.B.N. have paid numerous visits to the USA and to Canada, where they have had talks with leading statesmen, prominent politicians and members of the government.

This activity of A.B.N. and its extensive work have only been possible thanks to the generous support of the OUN. The main financial burden was and is still borne by the Ukrainian emigrants, who in this way safeguard the existence of A.B.N. This organization has never received any financial support whatever from any other source, but has always been dependent on the help and support of its own fellow-countrymen.

The OUN, which had its headquarters abroad in Munich, was led by the revolutionary national hero of the Ukrainian people, *Stephan Bandera*. As a freedom fighter and revolutionary he fully realized the significance of the common front of the subjugated peoples and for this reason he saw to it that A.B.N. received the greatest possible support from the OUN. He was our loyal friend and comrade. As a Ukrainian he had a high esteem for A.B.N. and loyally served its cause. To the people of Ukraine he was a national hero, whose fame was legendary; the national fight for freedom in his native country was called after him, and the UPA soldiers are still designated by the Russians as "Banderovtzi". Moscow's rulers did their utmost to liquidate him and eventually succeeded in doing so. By order of the Russian government he was treacherously murdered by a KGB agent. This murder clearly proved to the rest of the world that Moscow's government consists of criminals. The Russian government also decided that Jaroslaw Stetzko should be assassinated, but this plan failed for the simple reason that the murderer, KGB agent Stashynsky, gave himself up to the police authorities in Western Germany.

The units abroad of the OUN constantly maintained contact with the OUN and the UPA leaders in Ukraine, and the instructions issued there were directive for the repre-

sentatives in the West. In 1950 the OUN in Ukraine published a pamphlet entitled "Who are the Banderivtzi and for what are they fighting?" It had been written by the ideologist of the OUN in Ukraine, *Petro Poltava*, and was an attack against the enemy and, at the same time, the national political programme of the OUN, which contained directives regarding the activity of this national movement. This programme contained the following passage: "We are endeavouring to form a revolutionary anti-Bolshevist front of the peoples of Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic states, the Caucasus, Central Asia, Siberia, Southeast and Central Europe, whose countries were occupied by the Bolsheviks during the last war. The revolutionary progressive elements of the peoples of Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic countries and the Caucasus and of various other peoples of Southeast Europe have already joined forces in a common fight against Bolshevism, namely in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, and in accordance with the political platform proclaimed by us. The leading organs of A.B.N. are already active in exile, and subsequently a new, active, revolutionary anti-Bolshevist front must be set up within the USSR and in the countries which the latter has recently occupied. This will be a huge step towards effecting the disintegration of the Bolshevist prison of peoples and the liberation of all the peoples subjugated by Bolshevism."

P. Poltava played an active and leading part in the OUN. In the winter of 1951, when he was barely thirty years of age, he was killed in action whilst fighting against the Russians. The example set by this Ukrainian national freedom fighter proves that even under Russian Communist rule the spirit of the sons of Ukraine has not been broken, nor has their national will been destroyed.

The A.B.N. organization did not confine its activity to one country alone. Within a short time branches of A.B.N. delegacies and representations, as well as the organization of the Friends of A.B.N. were established in numerous countries of the free world, and they were frequently set up not merely in one place but, as for instance in the case of the USA, Canada, Australia, and Great Britain, in various towns. More and more countries and people came to be included in A.B.N.'s sphere of activity.

In some countries, in particular in the USA, Canada, and Great Britain, A.B.N. succeeded in winning over prominent personalities in political and public life for the cause of our peoples. It was thanks to these persons and to the efforts of A.B.N. that "Captive Nations Week" was introduced in the USA with the unanimous approval of the U.S. Congress. The resolution passed on this occasion is of historical significance, for in

it the right of our peoples, all of whom are mentioned by name, to the restoration of their independent states and to liberation from Russian rule is proclaimed, recognized and demanded unconditionally.

IV. The Fight and Opposition against A.B.N.

Ever since A.B.N. began its activity in the West it has encountered considerable opposition and many obstacles. It has been constantly exposed to the attacks and defamations of Moscow's Fifth Column, of Communist intellectuals, Trotskyists, and coexistentialists of every kind. And this is the very reason why we have chosen the words of St. Paul in his epistle to the Corinthians as our motto. For we have been obliged to endure much, and have had to wage a grim fight. All the Russians, whether at home or abroad, have united in attacking A.B.N. and defending the idea of the preservation of their colonialism. But we have managed to survive all these attacks. We possess no material values, and everyone knows what that means in the materialistic world of today. But we have successfully fought all obstacles, for our strength has always lain in the ideals and the moral values that we possess.

We derived our strength from the national sources of our peoples, and, fortified in this way, we courageously pursued our course. Today we enjoy international recognition and prestige as the vanguard of the peoples who are fighting for freedom and independence and as the authorized spokesmen and representatives of the subjugated peoples.

In their attacks against A.B.N. our enemies accuse this organization of being anti-Russian. It would indeed be surprising if it had taken people all this time to realize that we are fighting against Russia! We make no secret of the fact that we are in a certain sense "anti-Russian". Just as the Belgians, the Dutch, the Danes and the Norwegians, etc., were anti-German during the German occupation of their countries, so we, too, are and will remain anti-Russian as long as our countries are oppressed by the Russian tyrants and our peoples are violated and murdered by them.

It is the Russians who have imposed Communism on our peoples. The creators of Bolshevism were likewise the Russians; they were the carriers of this disease and they brutally and forcibly inflicted it on our countries. Our peoples always regarded Bolshevism as something alien and odious. They have given proof of their attitude by their fight for independence and by their many insurrections against alien rule, and they have sealed this proof with their own blood.

By accusing us of being dictatorial, our enemies reveal that they feel our superior strength; and we are indeed superior to them

in strength, not by reason of violence and dictatorship, but because we personify a power which is invincible and which not even atomic bombs can destroy. It is the power of our freedom idea, our unwavering faith and our national morale.

We are fighters, and as such, we shall never lose heart. We shall never cease to enlighten the free world on its errors. Incidentally, a free expression of opinion and criticism is one of the main principles on which democratic life is based. And those who are annoyed at such an expression of opinion, merely show their intolerance and undemocratic attitude.

We maintain that coexistence of two opposite worlds is impossible. A conflict is inevitable. We have all taken part in the fight for freedom and have held our ground in this fight. Thus we have become the spokesmen and the representatives of the will of our peoples in the free world. Our lives belong to our native countries and to our peoples, and we shall continue to fight for them in words and in deeds as long as we live.

(To be continued).

Croatian Answer

The World Union of Croatian Youth recently sent a letter to the chief editor of the West German periodical "Der Spiegel", which is published in Hamburg. We print the contents of this letter in full below:

Dear Sir,

It was with considerable interest that Croatian youth in South America read the article entitled "The Croats — the Crucifix and Bombs" which you published in your journal.

We should like to stress the following facts:

During a recent television interview in Frankfurt Mr. Fliegers, member of the U. S. House of Representatives, said in the presence of Tito's representative, Golubovic: "Have you forgotten that the present rulers of Yugoslavia were once murderers? Did you know that they constantly dropped bombs on the Croats, the Slovenes and the Germans during the war? They killed thousands and thousands of persons. Tito himself was a murderer. And it is true that he is the biggest murderer of all time. Someone who for years destroyed human life, has now no right to complain about an attempt to murder him. One must preserve a balance in the world."

In 1945 Tito gave orders that 150,000 Croats were to be murdered, a fact which has been corroborated by the former U. S. High Commissioner for Displaced Persons, Dr. E. O'Connor. And what is more, Tito's agent Bencic in 1947 confessed that he had murdered Dr. Protulipac, President of the Catholic Croatian Action, in Trieste.

In 1960 a bomb exploded in our clubhouse in Buenos Aires; a little girl, three-year-old Dinka Domacinovic, was killed and 20 of our members were injured. Who planted this bomb? Last year the woman-secretary of the Croatian club in Sao Paulo, Brazil, was injured. Not long ago a bomb was hurled at the Croatian Church in Toronto. Practically every day young Croats are killed at the Austrian-Yugoslav frontier whilst trying to flee to the free West. It is hardly surprising that all these incidents infuriate many young Croats and prompt them to resort to acts of desperation. In order to prevent such things from happening, the Croat people must be given their freedom once more; they will then become the most peace-loving people in the world.

In spite of his powerful secret police Tito cannot indict the Croatian Liberation Movement (H.O.P.) on any charges. It is an established fact that this movement exists in 17 countries of the free world. It is likewise an established fact that the Croatian Liberation Movement is a democratic, anti-totalitarian organization, free of all racial hatred, which has as its sole aim to liberate the Croatian state from the Yugoslav Communist monster.

In our organization we honour the leader of the State Rightist Party, Dr. J. Frank, a Jew, just as much as we do S. Radic, the founder of the Republican Farmers' Party and an outstanding democrat, who was murdered in the parliament in Belgrade by Serbian monarchists. This shows how tolerant our attitude is. We honour Cardinal Dr. Stepinac, but at the same time we are tolerant towards all religions, as is emphasized in our programme.

Tito's adherents designate us as "liberal" or "anti-religious". Those who affirm that the members of the Croatian Liberation Movement or of the World Union of Croatian Youth are "Nazis" or "Clero-Fascists", are obviously labouring under a delusion. The day that the new Croatian generation, which consists of true democrats, assumes power in the independent Croatian state — to which we have as much right as Congo and Tanganyika have to their own independent states — we shall prove to the whole world that we are worthy of the spirit of Starcevic, Frank and Radic, against whose ideology the "democrats" of Belgrade are still fighting.

On behalf of our youth organization of the Croatian Liberation Movement and of our supporters in Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Peru, the United States of America, Canada, Germany, France, Belgium, Sweden, Brazil, Great Britain, Australia, Bolivia, Venezuela, Italy and Austria:

*Davorin Erbabovic, Secretary,
Domagoj Vlahovic, President.*

BOOK - REVIEWS

Panajotis Kanellopoulos: "Fünf Athener Dialoge". Hellas und Christentum. ("Five Athenian Dialogues". Ancient Greece and Christianity.) Walter Verlag, Olten and Freiburg i. Br. 251 pp.

Since the author is a statesman — Deputy Prime Minister and former Minister of War, and a politician — a member of parliament, one assumes that the dialogues in his book will be of a political character; and because he is also a university professor and a member of the Athens Academy, one expects the contents, form and style of his work to be strictly scientific. But on reading the book one is agreeably surprised and certainly captivated by it.

Naturally, this book has a certain political atmosphere, for the persons whose opinions are expressed here are historical figures, whose ideas and activity were of immeasurable importance for the further development of the political and cultural life of Europe.

These dialogues, in which such famous historical persons as the Apostle St. Paul, Hadrian, Julian, Alaric, Attila, Justinian, Basil the Great, the philosophers Plato, Aristotle, Hermeias, Diogenes, and many others are brought to life again, give an excellent account of the historical events which left a lasting mark on European culture.

The thoughts of these persons, which are reproduced here, have not been invented by the author, but have been quoted from authentic sources; the author has merely reproduced them in his own style, which, though it is prose, reveals a certain poetic eloquence of mind and soul.

It may strike the reader as strange that someone who is caught up in the slough of politics in our troubled and confused times should be capable of such profound eloquence of thought. But this was also the case in ancient Greece. Even in its most troubled times, when it was threatened by the enemy, some Greek thinker or other withdrew into solitude somewhere in order to ponder on the meaning of life and to write down his thoughts for posterity. And this spirit of the ancient Greeks seems to be immortal.

In one of the dialogues Dion asks: "What will become of Athens without Athens?" — In those days these were anxious questions. Much later the time was to come when Athens existed for almost 500 years without philosophy and the world existed without Athens. But its philosophy, practical wisdom and literature lived on in the European world and formed the mind of the latter and gave it the impetus to its Renaissance. In the course of

time Europe was seized by mercantilism and men's minds and souls were influenced accordingly. The people of Greece and of Athens also became mercantile; they continued to sail the seas as they had done in former times, but their aim was no longer to bring culture to other peoples in this way, but to engage in trade. Now and again, however, the spirit of ancient Greece asserted itself in some thinker or other and shone forth into the world. And this can be said to hold good in the case of the author of this book, too. For a long time now, the streets of Athens have resounded with the shouts of the fighters of the evil proletarian revolution, and also with the noise of the tourists who inundate the country and hasten through this noble city. But the author has withdrawn from this restless, troubled scene and turns a deaf ear to the shouts of the rabble. With profound spiritual tranquillity and wisdom he talks about the meaning and purpose of life, eternity, immortality, and the transitoriness of all earthly things.

"Do you really know whether you are a true person?" — Diogenes asks. And Diotimos replies: "That I do not know; it is more difficult to know that, and much easier to know that I am a Greek and an Athenian!" — But what is man, whom God created in His image? Is God's noble creation homo sapiens? Cicero, so we are told in the fourth dialogue, referred to what Dikiarchos said hundreds of years ago: "Dikiarchos said that man causes far worse devastation than floods and pestilence can ever cause." — And this holds good today as in those days, and perhaps in an even worse form! The author discusses the problems which occupy us nowadays.

He stresses that the strength of the Christian doctrine lies in the fact that it shows man the ideals and aims to which he will always aspire, if he is not a creature without a soul and not an animal, but a human being. But man is by no means perfect, and in this connection it seems appropriate to quote the words of Diotimos in the fifth dialogue: "I am not a saint and can never become one; 'he who is able to comprehend this, let him comprehend it'; I cannot comprehend it. Nevertheless I am a Christian; but I continue to adhere to transitory things in order to seek what is eternal in them. And this, too, is a noble mission. We shall continue to cultivate our thought and our ethics by deriving strength from Jesus, but also noble weaknesses from Plato!"

The author of this book is a Greek, an Athenian and a European in the truest sense, — a man inspired by a profound humanity and sense of citizenship. And these qualities no doubt make his book so enjoyable and refreshing to read. It has, incidentally,

been excellently translated from the Greek into German by Dr. Isidora Rosenthal-Kamarinea.
N. von Kolchis

Östersjön — Fredens Hav? ("Is the Baltic Sea a Sea of Peace?"). Published by "Inform", Lund, 1963.

In this book alarm is expressed at the fact that the Baltic Sea is being threatened to an increasing extent by the Soviet Russians. Indeed, the Baltic Sea and the free countries bordering on it were never threatened as seriously by a powerful enemy as they are today. The Red Russians are doing their utmost to turn the Baltic into a Russian inland sea. The immediate victims in this case are above all Sweden, Norway, Denmark and intimidated Finland, especially since the Baltic states no longer exist and West Germany's power as regards the Baltic has been undermined. Practically the whole of the Baltic coast controlled by the Soviet Russians is being evacuated by the non-Russians and in their place Russians are settling there.

The leading powers of the free world, so it is stressed in this book, should always bear in mind that the Russians aim to eject all the free peoples from the territories of the Baltic Sea in order to then subjugate the rest of the free world. The so-called peace offensive of the Russians in this part of the world is nothing but a trick to deceive the Western world and to deal the latter a deadly blow when a favourable opportunity presents itself.

The following hope is however expressed at the end of this book: "The Baltic Sea as a Red sea will undoubtedly remain a dead sea. The peoples of the countries bordering on this sea will be reduced to silence and will be ruled by one command. But even so, the days when Moscow believed that it was close to achieving its aim seem to be past. For a balance of power will soon be set up in the region of the Baltic. This sea must never become a Red inland sea. It must never remain a 'Soviet sea of peace'."

This book, in spite of its brevity, nevertheless contains extremely informative material on the machinations of the Red Russians in the Baltic territory.
W. O.

"Freedom Also For The Croat Nation."
Croatian Information Service, Series "Croatia and Croatians", No. 12. Buenos Aires, Argentina.

This pamphlet contains a Memorandum signed by all the Croat organizations all over the world, namely in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Venezuela, Uruguay, United States of America, Canada, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Spain, France, Great Britain, Netherlands, Italy, Sweden and Australia.

This Memorandum is addressed to the responsible factors in the free world of the West and the East, to the statesmen and politicians on whom the fate of the individual nations and their very existence at present depend, as well as to ecclesiastical dignitaries and representatives of cultural institutions, all of whom stand for the conscience of our century and bear a certain historical responsibility, and as such embody the hope of the oppressed peoples, which is: freedom for everybody and also for the Croat nation.

The Croats emphasize that their sole desire is to own their country themselves and to be free and independent rulers of their own state and of their own national life.

The Croat organizations who signed the Memorandum express the hope that the claim of the Croats to their own independent state will become part of the conscience and responsibility of the leading statesmen, politicians, ecclesiastical dignitaries and cultural representatives of the free world.

The Memorandum ends with the following appeal: "Give the Croat nation the opportunity to express its will to statehood in a free and democratic manner, so that by your understanding and aid the Independent State of Croatia, comprising the entire historical and ethnical territory of the Croats, shall be restored on the ruins of Yugoslavia." *W. L.*

Stjepan Buc: Misslungene Staatsbildungen auf der Anklagebank ("An Indictment of Unsuccessful State Structures"). Published by "Logos", Munich, 1963. 66 pp.

Those who wish to gain a better insight into political conditions in south-east Europe should certainly read this book by Stjepan Buc, who holds the title of dr. of political science. Conditions in south-east Europe, that is to say in the territory of the Serbs and the Croats, have always been unhealthy and on various occasions have provided the political dynamite not only in the said territory but also as far as the whole of Europe was concerned. It is extremely regrettable that the statesmen of the Western world frequently fail to recognize this fact, which, as has been seen on previous occasions, can lead to terrible political consequences.

The author gives us a detailed and pragmatic analysis of the relations of the Croats and the Serbs to each other and stresses that they are "two entirely different peoples, nations and worlds". In order to impress this fact upon the reader, he devotes two special sections of his book to the Croats and the Serbs and then reaches the only possible logical conclusion, namely that there is no such thing as either a Yugoslav people or a Yugoslav nation.

The ideas which the author expresses at the end of his book are certainly unique. He says: "The sorry history of the world since

1918 should be sufficient warning that things may not remain as they are. A state structure which by reason of its unnatural and illegal composition represents a perpetual hell and a perpetual scene of murder is indicted day in day out by the tribunal of world opinion and by its victims... There are two ways of solving the problem: one course is that adopted by the Western imperialists, who have voluntarily removed themselves from foreign territories. Communist imperialism, on the other hand, has merely intensified its 'Iron Curtain' and has thus shut its eyes to reality..." (p. 65). The author then points out that future events alone will show whether the Eastern imperialists, who are obsessed by a lust of power, are capable of choosing such a course of discernment and understanding (p. 66).

In this book the author has undoubtedly rendered his unfortunate, enslaved native country, Croatia, a great service, inasmuch as he informs other countries, and above all the Western world, on the true and unhealthy political situation in south-east Europe and warns them against the danger which is likely to ensue as a result of conditions there.

V. Ivonivsky

Henrique Martinez Codo: La guérilla en Ukraine ("Guerilla Warfare in Ukraine"). "Revue Militaire Générale" ("General Military Review"), a monthly journal, No. 5, May 1963, p. 570.

The outstanding "Revue Militaire Générale", edited by General M. Carpentier and sponsored by the highest military personalities of the NATO, of Belgium, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, France, the United States and other countries of the North Atlantic Pact, has recently published an excellent article on guerilla warfare in Ukraine during the years from 1941 to 1945, which we warmly recommend to all those who wish to study the Ukrainian question more closely.

After a brief account of the events which preceded the founding of the famous U.P.A. (Ukrainian Insurgent Army, or, as it is known in France, the Ukrainian Army of Resistance) in 1942, the author not only examines the plans of action and the principle manifestations of Ukrainian nationalist resistance, but also discusses in detail the organization and military structure of the U.P.A., its equipment, administration, medical service, etc. He then gives an account of the illustrious deeds of this army in the struggle against the Nazis and subsequently against the Russian Bolsheviks. In 1950 the Commander-in-Chief of the U.P.A., General Taras Chuprynka, was killed in action. Since the armed struggle in the form of partisan warfare had become impossible, the units of the

U.P.A. were absorbed by secret armed organizations which still exist today in Ukraine. "The U.P.A. represents a powerful potential — so the author states — capable of resuming guerilla warfare in the event of another war."

Such is the opinion expressed by the "Revue Militaire Générale". In a preface to the article the Editor writes:

"In 1919 Lenin declared: 'We must fear these guerillas in Ukraine; we must fear them greatly, otherwise they will contribute to our destruction.' Khrushchov, too, was obliged to mobilize whole divisions against the indestructible army of Ukrainian insurgents which waged a fight against the Soviets up to the end of 1950. The Ukrainian independence movement behind the Iron Curtain has by no means ceased to exist and not all the Ukrainian patriots have been deported or executed. In the event of another world war the Ukrainian liberation movement would be a deadly weapon against Russian Communist domination."

N. Ekhadieli

The History of Georgian Law

Comments on the book by R. Arsenidze: "A Study of the Legislation of King Wakhtang VI" (Paris, 1963, 271 pp., in the Georgian language).

The author of this book was Minister of Justice during Georgia's independence (1918–1921) and is one of Georgia's leading social democrats.

This book is the product of many years' work and research on his part, which the author could not, however, always continue systematically owing to the fact that life as an emigrant was not easy for him.

This code of laws of King Wakhtang VI which was issued at the beginning of the 18th century was the last of its kind in the sovereign state of Georgia and was in force until the annexation of Georgia by Russia in the 19th century.

Prior to the legislation of King Wakhtang VI, the laws issued by King Bagrat IV in the 11th century, those issued by King George V the Noble in the 14th century, and in particular common law held good. In addition, the laws issued by the reigning princes were also applied, in particular the laws issued by Bekha I, Duke of Samtskhe, in the 13th century (his daughter was the wife of Michael Kommen, the Emperor of Trebizond).

King Wakhtang VI was one of the most outstanding rulers of Georgia and also a great reformer and scholar. He introduced printing in Georgia and had all Georgia's important historical and classical literary works, as well as the Bible printed.

From the beginning of the 16th century onwards Georgia was constantly the scene of wars between the Persians and the Turks. East Georgia in particular was ravaged and devastated. During the reign of King Wakhtang VI these conflicts were particularly fierce. The King tried to establish relations with the European powers in order to obtain their help. To this end he sent envoys to the Pope, to the King of France and to the German Emperor, but all these efforts proved in vain. When Peter I waged war against Persia in 1722, Wakhtang concluded an alliance with Russia, but the Russian armies retreated unexpectedly and left Georgia in the lurch. In the treaty with Turkey in 1724 Peter I recognized the occupation of the Georgian territories which had been seized by Turkey, even though this was a matter which did not concern him at all. As an ally of Russia, Wakhtang VI was not acceptable to Persia and Turkey and they therefore demanded his dethronement and threatened to resort to reprisals if he was not dethroned. Thus Wakhtang had no other alternative but to leave his country and to emigrate to Russia. He died in Astrakhan in 1737. The Russians refused to give their ally permission to settle in Moscow.

His son, Prince Wakhushiti, who later went to Moscow, was an outstanding Georgian historian and geographer. A printing press was set up by the Georgian emigrants in Moscow and it was here that he published a number of scientific works.

In the code of laws issued by King Wakhtang VI the laws were modernized in keeping with the times. Special sections were devoted to the new penal and civil laws and to the old codes of the various principalities. In addition, a special section was devoted to foreign laws, as for instance to the Armenian laws which held good for Armenians living in Georgia. If one takes this fact into consideration, one is bound to admit that the state of Georgia was indeed exceedingly humane and tolerant to include in its legislation the national laws of foreigners.

Arabian and Persian chroniclers report that in Georgia the Mohammedans enjoyed religious freedom and legal privileges. This was always the case in the Christian state of Georgia. But what have the "Christian" Russians done in this state!

Even in the 19th century the code of laws issued by King Wakhtang VI was still a source of great interest to European scholars, namely to the Frenchmen M. Brosset and R. Dareste (a copy of the code is preserved in the National Library in Paris), and to the German scholars F. Holdack, Kohlen, etc. In his "Etudes d'Histoire du Droit" ("A Study of

the History of Law"), which was published in Paris in 1889, R. Dareste, a member of the "Institut de France", said that King Wakhtang's code of laws was "one of the most interesting monuments in the history of law". Special mention must, however, be made of the work by the Strasbourg legal scholar Prof. Dr. Joseph Karst, "Code géorgien du roi Vakhtang VI", published in the compilation "Corpus juris Ibero-Caucasici" which appeared prior to and after the first world war. Incidentally, certain norms in this code were also adopted in the Codex Napoleon.

In the book under review the author examines this code of laws from the historical and juristical point of view and explains and elucidates the legal sources in relation to the political, social and economic structure of Georgia in those days. He deals at length with ecclesiastical, trade, agrarian and social laws. In addition, he gives the reader a comprehensive survey of the social classes, the aristocracy, clergy, peasantry, the middle classes, merchants, artisans, civil servants, vassalage, and the feudal system. He also discusses the social position of woman, who in Wakhtang's reign already enjoyed equal rights. This outstanding work certainly represents a valuable contribution to Georgian research and attests to the erudition of its author.

It is, however, regrettable that no bibliography has been appended and that the titles of the works mentioned in the text have not been given in full. In addition, the title of the book has not been correctly translated into French. Instead of "Observations sur la Législation...", it should be "Les Recherches...".

Countless Georgian scientific works and essays on every subject imaginable have been published in exile, some of them in foreign languages, too, — a fact which clearly shows that the Georgian emigrants continue to render their fellow-countrymen not only a political but also a cultural service. This fact is greatly appreciated in Georgia itself, where reference is frequently made to such works. Indeed, a young Communist scholar there, D. Mtchedlishwili, once said: "He who wins fame for our people in his own native or in foreign fields of activity and who is proud of the fame of his native country, is a true patriot" (in the periodical "Mnathobi", No. 2, February 1957). It is obvious that this young Georgian scholar was referring to his fellow-countrymen in exile in this statement.

It is regrettable that this work has so far only appeared in the Georgian language, for it is certainly essential that it should be made available for foreign scholars and historians.

Soviet Dictionary Destroys Purity of Byelorussian Tongue

Semantic colonialism — a subtle way with words, refined by agitation and propaganda specialists behind the Kremlin walls — is nowhere practised more assiduously than in the outer republics of the Soviet Union.

A good example of this art is provided by the dictionaries published in Byelorussia for that Soviet republic's non-Russian readers. In the Byelorussian-Russian dictionary published in 1962, the Soviet lexicographers have further attempted to "neutralize the idiom and the originality of the Byelorussian language" and have promoted a "mechanical approach to the Russian language".

Comparison of the 1962 volume dictionary, which was published in 1953, shows that all the Russifications in the earlier volume have been retained in last year's work and that a large number of new, "Sovietized" meanings have found their way into the present volume.

In some cases the dictionary lists the original Byelorussian words for which Russified substitutions have been made, but a narrow meaning is prescribed for these words.

Another etymological phenomenon, pejoration, or a lowering of word meanings in social value, is artificially applied to a number of Byelorussian words, which are listed as "colloquial", though in reality they have not been discarded in formal use.

On the other hand, a mass of words recently incorporated into Byelorussian by leading contemporary Byelorussian writers has been ignored in the 1962 publication. Other words falling into this classification have been retained but unjustly tagged as "dialectical".

The word manipulators of the state publishing house have gone even so far as to weed out a large number of words used by Party-line Byelorussian writers.

Furthermore the Party linguists at the Byelorussian Academy of Science are charged with a mechanical transfer of purely Russian words into the Byelorussian language, where they take the place of excised Byelorussian words.

This merciless practice of performing surgery on the living and healthy Byelorussian language is called officially in the Soviet Union "the enrichment of the Byelorussian language".

"Fibel zur Deutschlandfrage" ("Manual on the German Problem"), Vol. I. Edited by the Society of Expellees and by the United Associations of Bonn and Lower Saxony. Published by H. Schroedel, Hannover, 1962. 103 pp.

The editors and authors of this book are well-known experts on the German problem

and have already made a name for themselves with other publications.

This volume contains a number of excellent articles and essays which deal with various aspects of the German problem from the point of view of history, politics and international law. The subjects dealt with include, for example, German settlements in East Europe, the Polish point of view, Versailles and St. Germain, the Atlantic Charter, human rights, the fundamental principles of international law as applied to the German problem, the re-settlement of Germans, the problem of the German expellees, the question of the right of domicile, the Potsdam Conference, etc. All the articles on these subjects are short, but they are nevertheless most informative.

The book contains numerous illustrations and maps.

This manual is a valuable contribution to the enlightenment of the broad masses of the public, who on the whole are badly informed on these questions. It also contains some interesting data regarding great poets, writers, scientists, and philosophers, etc., who are natives of the territories which have been separated from Germany and which are listed in this book.

But, above all, this manual would be most valuable as a textbook to be used in high schools and especially in teachers' training colleges, since in this way its enlightening contents would find circulation amongst the public. It should certainly be recommended to all such schools and colleges by the competent authorities. For the public should not stand aloof and leave the solution of national problems to the government, the parties and the political unions.

So much for the merits of this book! There are however certain omissions which we should like to criticize. On the map of "Peoples and Languages prior to the First World War" the Caucasus has been omitted. We should like to stress that 1) geographically the Caucasus belongs to Europe, 2) the Georgians and the Armenians belong to the European world of culture, and 3) there were German settlements in the Caucasus too, that is to say in the North Caucasus, in Georgia and in Azerbaijan.

And a further omission: in practically all the views expressed on the German problem from the aspect of international law, we find no sound argument based on international and state law: the fact that the so-called German Democratic Republic exists de facto as a state, that it exercises state power and that this state power is valid and permanent, does not by any means indicate that this republic is a state in accordance with the principles of state and international law and as such is legally valid.

Its state power has no true origin, for it has not been determined and defined by the people but by an occupation (the Russian) power and is administered by the authorized representatives of this occupation power. This state structure — the German Democratic Republic — is a structure which has been set up as a means of reprisals against the German people.

In other words, the German Democratic Republic is an artificially created state structure which has been set up by a foreign (Russian) power on a territory that has been forcibly seized and occupied and by subjugating the population of this territory. The people had no say whatever as regards the setting up of this state structure; they had

no right of decision and no chance to express their will freely, for this structure was forced on them by the said foreign power. Hence it lacks all legal and ethical foundations and all the characteristic features and fundamental principles of a state in the true sense of the word.

To recognize the German Democratic Republic is to recognize violence, despotism and injustice. The fact that the German Democratic Republic resembles a state, does not however make it a state according to international and national law.

"Ex injuria non oritur jus" — this Roman maxim is more valid than ever from the point of view of international and national law!

N. N-dze.

Russian as the "Second Mother-tongue"

Moscow combats cultural traditions of the subjugated nations

by W. Bronska-Pampuch

The relations of the various subjugated peoples of the Soviet Union to the largest nation in the federal state, namely the Russian nation, are always described as most harmonious by Soviet newspapers and periodicals. Tensions, differences and enmities are apparently non-existent. Hence one is all the more surprised to learn that some Russian father or other has forbidden his daughter to marry a non-Russian fellow-citizen, or that visitors to Russia report that Russian nationalism is becoming more and more aggressive and might possibly be a grave danger to all liberalization trends.

In any case, the situation at present as regards liberalization trends is not too rosy. The Moscow "Literary Gazette" recently shed some light on the nature of the struggle which is being enacted behind the scenes regarding the degree and the methods of the russification process.

Under Stalin the principle that Soviet art must be *socialist in content and national in form* held good. On this pretext all the measures of brutal national subjugation and russification were justified. The author of the basic article on the "national question" in the Communist programme, Joseph Stalin, very soon suppressed all that he himself and Lenin had previously said against Great Russian chauvinism. Only the non-Russians are now regarded as potential "nationalists".

It was assumed in many quarters that de-Stalinization meant the end of the formula about the socialist content and national form, and that a freer interpretation could now be put on this formula. But, so the "Literary Gazette" now affirms, "this formula, which has become classical, was right,

is still right and will continue to be right as long as nations and national languages exist". National feeling and national thought are "mature" when they are expressed in a literary work that is created completely out of the atmosphere of the national political problems of today. The possible existence of a national way of thought which has no connection with "class problems" is denied.

It is evident from the polemics of the "Literary Gazette", vague though they may be, that there are some men of learning and critics who are convinced of the individual way of thought of the various peoples of the USSR, a way of thought which is independent of the present problems, that is to say of Moscow's centralist "socialism". Others obviously quite openly express their fears that the national diversity within the Soviet Union might be destroyed by the present cultural policy of the Kremlin. The "Literary Gazette", which mentions these persons, does not omit to point out that, in stressing the national element, they frequently fail to draw a dividing-line between old traditions and what is new; thus, so the paper affirms, they make out that certain "pre-revolutionary" things, which must now be overcome, are national.

We can but ask: what must be overcome and what is not part of the tradition of a people? Who can decide this question? Surely it is not a question that can be decided by some authority outside the people whose cultural traditions are at stake in this case!

Khrushchov on one occasion affirmed: "The Russian language has practically become the second mother-tongue of the peoples of the Soviet Union". And this statement is now being cited again and again. Those poets and

writers who are bilingual and are able to write their works both in their real mother-tongue and in the Russian state language are officially lauded to the skies. This is an entirely new principle, so it is stated. As an argument to the contrary one might well point out that the peoples of the Caucasus, the Ukrainians and the Baltic peoples already fought against this "new principle" under tsarism, and the memory of this fight is perhaps at the back of the nuances in the present discussion, which the uninitiated must indeed find hard to comprehend.

The memory of this fight seems of especial significance if one bears in mind that the peoples who were forcibly incorporated in the Soviet imperium during the last war — the Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians and West Ukrainians — exercise considerable influence on Soviet intellectual life. Elements which are based on contact with the cultural world of these nations can be found not only in the economy of the Soviet Union but also in all spheres of art there, above all in films and in literature, as well as in habits of life and in the moral code. And hence the attack of the "Literary Gazette" against the "pre-revolutionary traditions"!

("Süddeutsche Zeitung")

State of War Declared in Kryvyj Rih

It was recently stated in diplomatic circles in Vienna that fierce clashes between soldiers of the Soviet Army and members of the local militia occurred in Kryvyj Rih, the big iron-ore mining centre in south Ukraine, in June 1963. There were 8 casualties.

According to the information received by Western diplomats in Vienna, a soldier and a militiaman started quarrelling whilst travelling in the same bus. During the argument which ensued, the militiaman pulled out his revolver and shot his opponent.

When the soldiers of the Soviet Army stationed in Kryvyj Rih heard of the murder of their comrade they resorted to reprisals and shot seven militiamen.

These incidents caused considerable tension among the Ukrainian population of the entire district, and the Russian occupants were therefore obliged to declare a state of war, which lasted until the end of June.

Certain German papers published news of these incidents in Kryvyj Rih. The "Han-nover'sche Presse", in particular, in its edition of July 18, 1963, reported in detail on the unrest in Kryvyj Rih.

The well-known Danish daily paper "Ber-lingske Tidende" in its edition of July 18, 1963, also commented in detail on the incidents in Kryvyj Rih and stressed that there was no doubt about the truth of the reports which had come from there.

Scandinavian tourists who visited Ukraine

recently said that the militiamen and their hirelings, the so-called "Druzhynnyky", were greatly disliked by the Ukrainian inhabitants, who were frequently punished by them.

A Ukrainian who lives in Sweden and has become naturalized recently summoned up courage to visit his native country Ukraine at long last. He spent some time in the region of Chmelnytzky. He also emphasized the fact that the Ukrainian farmers hate the militiamen, who co-operate with the members of the secret police, most of whom are Russians. He added that it was not to be wondered at if the Ukrainian population, goaded by the provocations of the militiamen, frequently attacked the latter and sometimes murdered them.

A Ukrainian woman living in Denmark, who visited the West Ukrainian town of Ternopil, also emphasized the fact that conditions in Ukraine were unbearable. From the moment she arrived in Ukraine she was shadowed by militiamen day and night. When she went to visit her brother, who lived in a neighbouring village, without having previously obtained the permission of the local authorities, militiamen suddenly appeared at her brother's house and ordered her to leave at once. But even during the short time that she was at her brother's house she learnt that the militiamen torture Ukrainians whom they arrest; they first subject them to a merciless beating and then interrogate them.

A Danish paper which gave an account of the incidents in Kryvyj Rih stated that NKVD troops surrounded the town and prevented the inhabitants from leaving. Thus the hostile attitude of the Ukrainian population towards the militiamen, who represent the power of the Russian occupants, is perfectly understandable.

In the light of the above facts it is obvious why Moscow declared a state of siege in the important town of Kryvyj Rih, and it is also clearly evident that the fight waged by the Ukrainians against the Russian Bolshevik intruders in Ukraine continues unabated.

In its edition of March/April 1963, No. 3, the organ of the Russian nationalists "Golos Rossji" ("The Voice of Russia"), which is published in Munich, writes as follows:

"The fact must be stressed that A.B.N. has an extremely large reading public, and for this reason it is imperative that we Russian nationalists should use all the means at our disposal in order to fight this dangerous enemy..."

And then follows a threat directed against A.B.N.:

"The enemies of Russia should bear in mind that the Russian soldier, invincible in defence, is ever on guard to protect our fatherland."

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