

A B N CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Vol. VIII. No. 1/2. Jan./Febr. 1957

* Published in English and German *

Price: 1 s; 40 c

General (ret.) F. Farkas de Kisbarnak,

President of the Hungarian Liberation Movement

Stepan Bandera

Primary Conclusions

The Hungarian Fight for Freedom and its Consequences

On October 23rd, the heroic youth of Hungary, inspired by righteous indignation, took up the unequal fight against the subjugators of their native country. Fighting practically with their bare hands, the Hungarian champions of freedom destroyed Soviet tanks; they seized power throughout the country, opened up the frontiers to the free world, and confidently looked to the West to help them with military support.

Had they been given the help they hoped for, the example of the liberation of Hungary would have called forth a chain reaction in the other subjugated countries, and Soviet tyranny would have been hopelessly cornered.

It was already assumed after the riots in Berlin and in Poznan that the West would draw the obvious conclusions from these events, and would not refuse the insurgents its help. During the huge upheaval in Hungary all the peoples behind the Iron Curtain could most certainly have been won over to join in the fight for freedom, and the Soviet colossus would have been destroyed in the conflagration. Instead of helping the Hungarians, however, England and France started their military action in the Suez Canal Zone which resulted in a general crisis; and this crisis in its turn undermined the moral arguments of the West against Soviet Russian intervention in Hungary and caused the Hungarian fighters for freedom to despair.

Despite all this, however, the Hungarians did not give up the fight. Hungarian men and women, boys and girls, hurled themselves at the approaching tanks and the raging Soviet soldiers, put up a steadfast resistance, defied the Communist rulers by starting a general strike, and finally, despite starvation and cold, resorted to guerrilla warfare.

And now the mass deportation of Hungarians to Russia began. The dreadful conditions

which prevailed, forced people, a flee from the co huge influx of r ding to the late of persons who Hungary amoun number of refu 100,000.

But even this was disregarded garian people w We, however, sh cry of our fighti was broadcast: ' will not be spar It will be your t and the light i your hands to us 'The Hungarian played, accompa diene-guns.

Although the F once more of t fought so heroi not been in va fighters for free lives for the c written an illust of the civilized world. And, as a result of events i national politica different aspect. tion" has proved of lies, and the Soviet regime has revealed itself in its true colours to the whole world. Events in Hungary have evoked moral indignation throughout the entire world. In all the countries of the free world admiration and esteem has been expressed for the Hungarian champions of freedom. The entire world has been roused and stirred out of its lethargy by these events. Even Communist parties have protested against the brutal conduct of the Moscow rulers, and various prominent Communists have actually resigned from the Party.

The International League of Free Trade Unions has decided to boycott the Soviets, a measure by which the workers all over the world have declared their opposition to the pseudo-state of workers and its dictatorial regime. The Hungarian fight for freedom has also forced the Soviet Union to adopt an attitude of open opposition to the fundamental principles of the United Nations though it is a member of this organization, inasmuch as the Soviet delegate tried to dispose of the Hungarian question during the UN meeting, by giving cynically-worded explanations.

In this connection the world was, unfortunately, obliged to realize that the United Nations are not capable of asserting their decisions in the face of the Soviets, not even when the question at issue is the life of a whole nation and its complete decimation.

ine and terrorism. of their lives, to act which led to a to Austria. Accor- ation, the number en deported from t 40,000, whilst the ready more than

storic opportunity 'est, and the Hun-) their tragic fate, remember the last countrymen which rget that you, too, Bolshevist storm. The ship is sinking dim! Stretch out s! God bless you!'. anthem was then ie thunder of ma-

have been robbed n for which they ir sacrifices have young Hungarian aying down their heir people, have ater in the history of the civilized world. And, as a result of events i the present inter- n has assumed a lled "de-Staliniza- othing but a pack of lies, and the Soviet regime has revealed itself in its true colours to the whole world. Events in Hungary have evoked moral indignation throughout the entire world. In all the countries of the free world admiration and esteem has been expressed for the Hungarian champions of freedom. The entire world has been roused and stirred out of its lethargy by these events. Even Communist parties have protested against the brutal conduct of the Moscow rulers, and various prominent Communists have actually resigned from the Party.

The Western world has awakened from its long sleep as a result of two factors. In the first place, the West European nations feel the nearness of the terrible clutch of the Muscovite bear and they now clearly realize that they will be the next victims of the Bolshevist menace. Secondly, the Bolshevist pogrom in Hungary has destroyed all the illusions which the Bolshevists sought to create after Stalin's death, namely that their methods were becoming less severe and more human and that the aggressive nature of Muscovite imperialism was gradually vanishing, at least as regards the military oppressive form of action.

Such illusions, designed to lull the political opinion of the world, were suggested not only by treacherous Bolshevist tactics and cunning propoganda, but also by the completely servile and destructive international mafia, which has always been in league with Bolshevism. And the opportunist policy of the Western countries, always ready to reach a compromise with Bolshevist Moscow, contributed to the complete political disorientation of their own peoples.

The political vigilance of the Western peoples was lulled into a deep sleep. But then came the sudden and rude awakening, caused by the Bolshevist blow in Hungary. It was not the brutality of the Bolshevist atrocities — the world has become indifferent to the fate of others when this fate is far away —, but pre-

From the Contents

	Page
Hungarian Insurgents appeal to the Free World	5
Events in Poland	3/4
Dr. D. Donzow	
The Pact with the Devil	5
Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky	
The Moral of Events in Hungary	9
Slawa Stetzko	
I Meet Hungarian Fighters for Freedom	11
Prof. R. Ostrowsky	
Whom Can One Believe?	12
Dr. Arin Engin	
Turkey for Independence of Subjugated Nations	13

(Continued on Page 2)

cisely the nearness and suddenness of this blow which was such a shock to the Western world. A deep indignation against Communism characterizes the feelings of the masses in Western Europe at the present moment. What is more, various intentional and unintentional supporters of Muscovite Communism in the West, who as a result of the unexpected turn in Bolshevik tactics found themselves the object of mockery, have begun to deny Communism and to condemn Moscow on account of its action in Hungary.

Bolshevist terrorism applied in order to suppress the fight for freedom of the Hungarian people has shown most definitely that the nature of Muscovite imperialism and of the Communist regime has not in the least changed, that Moscow refuses to release any of its victims from its clutches, and that it promptly shows its savage claws whenever some people or other rises up in revolt against the Communist yoke and against Muscovite exploitation.

By crushing the fight for freedom of the Hungarian people, the so-called collective leadership has shown itself to the entire world in its true colours, namely as the genuine successor and advocate of Leninist and Stalinist methods. And all the talk about a new course and the end of Stalinist methods has obviously been nothing but a pack of lies.

There can be no doubt that the dictators of the Kremlin certainly did not want such consequences to ensue. The other tactics which were applied simultaneously in Poland clearly corroborate this. The fact that the Bolsheviks by their brutal atrocities in the case of the Hungarians crossed their tactical plans, shows that here other reasons, which were more important to them, were decisive. A comparative study of these two events, that is to say of the Bolshevik reaction to events in Poland and to events in Hungary, reveal the dividing-line, so carefully concealed by the Bolsheviks, where tactical arguments cease to be of influence and the obvious aims of Muscovite aggressive imperialism begin to be decisive. And this

Not even UN observers were allowed to enter Hungary, and the free world was obliged to look on inactively whilst countless Hungarians, driven to despair, were forced to endure deportation and suffer extermination. Even the biggest sceptics in the West must surely have realized by now that Russian tyranny and the Communist system are only able to assert themselves by means of brutal power and permanent terrorism. It is inevitable that one should ask whether there is any possibility at all of ever being able to count on the cooperation of the Soviets when trying to solve the present urgent problems of international politics, and whether and to what extent one can count on a genuine and effective alliance of the Western powers.

At the moment, it is still a matter of conjecture as to what changes are likely to take place as regards the distribution of power in the Soviet Union and which forces may eventually get the upper hand. In any case, however, one is bound to ask oneself what the meaning is of the large-scale shifting and movements of the Soviet forces on the edge of the Western world. As yet, the consequences which the Hungarian fight for freedom will have for the other enslaved peoples remain to be seen. And time alone will show what effects the moral indignation evoked in the whole world by events in Hungary will have as far as the Soviet Union itself and the foreign peoples incarcerated in it are concerned.

These and other questions have been advanced into the immediate foreground by the events in Hungary, and it is not unlikely that the Soviet Union has its own radical solution ready in this respect, namely to bring about a world conflagration when a fitting opportunity presents itself.

question must be dealt with more closely since the answer to it gives an insight into the strategy of Bolshevism, and also helps one to foresee what the Bolshevik reaction will be in a critical situation.

What is the fundamental difference between the risings in Poland and those in Hungary in their initial stage? We should like to stress that there was already a difference in the initial stage of events in these two countries and that the difference became even more apparent with the further development of the situation. At the same time, it must also be emphasized that the Bolshevik reaction was different from the very beginning, although there was to all outward appearance a resemblance between the earliest risings in both countries. In Hungary the Bolsheviks dealt with the demonstrators by using armed force against them from the very beginning, whereas in Poland they desisted from military action and armed force after the conference had taken place between the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party, which had started the revolt.

In Poland the Communist Party was able by means of perfidious propaganda to get the rebellious feelings of the masses striving for independence under control, to guide them into certain channels and to confine them within limits acceptable to Moscow. Gomulka and his supporters took advantage of the fact that they were recognized as national Communists and accordingly they posed as spokesmen on behalf of national and independent tendencies in Poland. In fact, what they demanded from Moscow was a kind of autonomy for the Polish Communist Party, a relaxation of the centralized pressure of the Kremlin, and the calling to order of certain persons compromised as a result of Communist practices so far. The national demands of the Polish people which they supported were limited to a minimum of concessions, which the Communist regime had but to grant them in order to clear the anti-Communist and anti-Moscow atmosphere, at least partly, and to prevent the inevitable explosion.

The Muscovite despots have realized that such internal revolts on the part of experienced Communists are still within the limits of Khrushchev's "de-Stalinization" tactics, and they likewise know that their leadership of the Communist Party and regime and the modest reforms conceded will act as a preventive measure. When the situation becomes dangerous Moscow grants unimportant concessions, that is to say it goes "one step backwards", provided that this measure ensures it the possibility of later being able to go "two steps forward". The guarantee that the Communist system, the dictatorship of the Communist Party, and the garrisons of the Soviet Army are to remain in Poland — the guarantee which Gomulka secured — was the vital point on which the Kremlin based its decision. These three factors represent the corner-stones of Muscovite rule over the subjugated peoples. And as long as these corner-stones remain untouched, everything else is only of secondary importance to Moscow.

In Hungary, on the other hand, the first demonstrations held resulted in events taking an entirely different course from the start. In Budapest the masses who demonstrated in the streets were quite obviously and definitely revolutionary, anti-Moscow and anti-Communist in their attitude and also as far as their slogans were concerned. The Communist Party — both as a whole and as a part — was powerless to stop or suppress the people's revolt. Together with their agents — the top functionaries of the Communist Party in Hungary, the Bolsheviks decided at once that the only way to assert their power and maintain their

supremacy was to suppress the revolution by force. And they kept to this course most consistently. It is true that they made temporary concessions to and compromises with the demands of the revolution, but they only did so for tactical reasons, namely in order to gain time and so as not to be ousted completely at the crucial moment.

The first conclusion to be drawn from the above comparison is that to the Bolsheviks the most important thing and, at the same time, the dividing-line beyond which political tactics are not important, is the consolidation of Communist Party dictatorship in the subjugated countries. The setting up of Soviet garrisons is the second corner-stone of Muscovite dominion. The army bears the main burden of Soviet rule only in the initial and critical stages of the subjugation of a country; normally it plays the part of a pillar and support to ensure stability. The permanent rule of Moscow over each subjugated country is carried into effect by the entire Communist system which imposes limits in all spheres of life, on the entire people and on every individual. The Communist Party and the Communist regime provide the best guarantee of subjection to Moscow. Since they oppose all endeavours on the part of their own nation to achieve freedom and independence, they are forced to rely on the violence of the Communist apparatus and on the power of the Muscovite imperium in order to assert their authority undiminished. This leads to a permanent subjection to Moscow and to the necessity of preserving this state of subjection.

Provided that this guarantee of Muscovite Bolshevik rule over some country or other is maintained, the Bolsheviks may under pressure of circumstances make various temporary concessions to the national, political, economic, religious and cultural aims and desires of the individual people concerned. Cases in which the rigid discipline of the regime was relaxed were already in evidence in Lenin's and in Stalin's day when a crisis was imminent. There was, for instance, the N.E.P. (New Economic Policy), the so-called "Ukrainization", and during World War II a second wave of "Ukrainization". Once the Bolsheviks had consolidated their position again, the screw of the regime was tightened anew. The most important thing as far as Moscow is concerned is to keep the government reins in its hands, even if it is obliged to slacken them a bit for a short time, now and again.

The second conclusion to be drawn from the comparison of developments in Poland and in Hungary is that, whenever the Communist system and the dictatorship of the Communist Party appear to be endangered, the Bolsheviks concentrate their military forces and deal with the people in a most brutal way.

Some persons may argue that under Bolshevik conditions the revolutionary way of liberation is impossible and unwise, and that a nation can liberate itself by the evolutionary method. To reason thus, however, is to deceive oneself. The history of the Bolshevik subjugation of other peoples during the past forty years provides sufficient proof of the fact that the Bolsheviks usually permit the gradual increase of liberties and privileges in various spheres of life for a time, and then suddenly tighten their regime and crush not only all the achievements of this evolutionary process, but also all those national forces which have played an active part in this process. The mode of transition from loose tactics to cruel destruction depends above all on the nature and the degree of the evolutionary process of independence. As soon as there is the slightest indication that Muscovite rule and the Communist system might be overthrown, Moscow acts drastically, and the same applies in the case of revolutionary insurrections or evolutionary development. The fact that the pogroms in

Citizens of the Free World!

Appeal of the Hungarian Insurgents at the Europe Union Rally in Munich, in December 1956

You see before you the sons of a small, oppressed and sorely tried nation! — Fighters for freedom, who, bearing their weapons in their hands, fought in the Hungarian fight for freedom. Many persons are perhaps already of the opinion that the cause of the Hungarian fight for freedom has failed. To these we reply, the Hungarian cause has not failed and cannot fail!

In the course of its history the Hungarian nation often shed its blood for freedom, whilst protecting the West against onslaughts from the East. Whilst we shed our blood, the West developed, became more civilized and richer. And this was our historic role in the world.

The history of the world has seen various outstanding revolutionary movements, when, for instance, the people went to the barricades in order to fight for their rights against their subjugators. We are justified and proud to be able to say that the Hungarian Revolution is unparalleled in the history of the world.

Hungary has so far sacrificed 80,000 sons and daughters on the altar of freedom. 45,000 young persons have been deported by the Soviets. And about 110,000 Hungarians have fled to the West and have preferred the bitter lot of exile rather than further slavery.

Citizens of Munich! We want you to know that those of us who have come here have not given up the fight, but are prepared, if needs be, to continue the fight for our native country and freedom with arms. And we intend to continue this fight for freedom here, too, — even though the circumstances have changed. It is possible to fight without arms, — namely, with the power of the living word. And we believe that our fight here will not be in vain, but will be a fitting continuation and successful conclusion to our fight in our native country.

Of what nature will this fight in exile be? In the first place we shall seek to keep the conscience of the West, which has now been stirred, vigilant, and shall endeavour to spur on public opinion to concrete deeds and action. Secondly, we shall always remind the world of what the Soviet Russian barbarians did to the small Hungarian nation. For, after all, we stand here as the chosen representatives of the Hungarian nation, that we ask the free world for support so that our people may be able to continue their fight.

Above all, we wish to appeal to our young friends, — to the students, to the youth of the working classes, who in practically all the large cities of the world have shown that they are wholeheartedly on our side. Dear young friends! Boys and girls! Students! Wor-

Hungary have been carried out at the same time as concessions have been granted to Poland, proves that the Bolsheviks, like wild animals that appear deceptively gentle, are always ready to attack their victim by surprise.

Every evolutionary development gives them a chance to act according to plan and to choose the most suitable opportunity and manner of delivering the deadly blow. A revolutionary conflict, on the other hand, involves two sides fighting against each other, and the Bolsheviks lose their complete control of the situation. The most important thing in this respect is, of course, that a national revolution destroys the whole apparatus by means of which Bolshevism envelops and controls the nation in question from within. A national revolution establishes a dividing-line between the people and the treacherous Communist Party which serves the enemy. Every national revolutionary insurrection upsets the Bolshevik system of subjugation and improves the position of the people in their hard fight for freedom, provided that they continue this fight in spite of all the sacrifices which it may cost them.

kers and soldiers! In the Hungarian fight for freedom we bore the lion's share. Young friends! Continue to remain wholeheartedly on our side! Make our 15-points programme your own programme, too. Do not forget that whilst you were able to devote yourselves to your studies and prepare yourselves for your future careers, we were obliged to listen to false slogans and lying propaganda day after day, until we finally exchanged the schoolroom for the barricades. Tell the students of all the universities in the free world that the cause of Hungarian freedom has not failed and that our will is unbroken. Expose the role of the present puppet government in Budapest and prevent this government from being recognized.

And in particular, we should like to appeal to the young workers who belong to the International League of Free Trade Unions. Workers! We should like to thank you and greet you from the Hungarian workers. The workers in Budapest, Csepel, Dorog, Gyor, Miskolc, and throughout the whole of Hungary thank you for your courageous attitude and promise you that they will never give up their passive resistance before the original demands of the Hungarian fight for freedom have not been completely fulfilled. Continue to help the Hungarian fight for freedom! Boycott Soviet ships and other Soviet means of transport; make it impossible for the profiteers to continue to bargain with the murderers of our children and our young workers. It is your task to realize the resolutions of our representations unconditionally. If needs be, by strikes. Do not forget that your Hungarian fellow-workers are intrepidly and staunchly holding out in a desperate situation and that they have no trade union support to back up their general strike! Refuse to look after them; refuse to produce goods for the Soviets; and refuse to receive their delegations! Do not soil your clean hands by touching their blood-stained ones!

We have done even more than was humanly possible. But we can only continue the fight if the entire free world helps us. The politicians remain silent! The UN is not able to turn its resolutions into deeds. Therefore, the citizens and all the peoples must cry, "Down with the Russians in Hungary! Freedom for Hungary!"

Free citizens of Munich! We are forced to appear here with a mask, as it were, on our faces. But the mask on my face is a living accusation against the Bolsheviks and their hirelings in Budapest, for if they were to recognize us, they would take their revenge on the members of our families at home. How long we shall be obliged to speak wearing a mask, depends on you. But one mask has already fallen; coexistence, armchair Communism is dead, and the Soviets have revealed their true countenance in Hungary, completely undisguised. God grant that we may soon be able to appear without a mask and be able to look you proudly in the face.

Until such time, help the cause of Hungarian freedom, so that our poor people after their endless sufferings may regain the right of self-determination, which they have earned a thousand times over, and complete and secure freedom.

Hungary calls to Europe: Freedom for Hungary! Freedom for Europe! Freedom for all subjugated peoples!

Association of Friends of Hungary

We appeal to our readers to give their active help to the liberation of Hungary and of all the peoples subjugated by Russia and by Communism. We ask you herewith to support the "Association of Friends of Hungary". All enquiries in this connection should be addressed direct to Mr. Alexander Katona, Munich 54, Rubinstrasse 12/0, Germany.
The Editor

Events in Poland

Gomulka — a Transition Stage

Poland's political attitude is usually assessed wrongly in the West, and Polish "National Communism" still more so. *Gomulka* in any case definitely belongs to the clique who, after World War II, under Stalin's domination introduced and established Communism in Poland. It would thus be an error to regard *Gomulka* as a Polish champion of freedom, even though he at present figures as an alleged representative of anti-Russian Polish national interests. In reality, however, it is not *Gomulka* who represents Polish national interests, but the unavoidable thrust of the Polish masses which forces *Gomulka* to "liberalize" the political atmosphere in Poland at least to such an extent that it is still acceptable to Moscow. *Gomulka's* Communism cannot assert itself for any length of time without military aid from Moscow. What do the Polish people demand of their present so-called "National Communist" government? They demand that the kolchozes be dissolved, that the political one-party system be abolished, that the exclusively Marxist and materialistic view of the world and life in general be done away with; they demand freedom of the press, of elections, of conscience, of national education, etc.; that is to say, they demand all the democratic national rights which are recognized in the free world. Will *Gomulka* be able to concede all these rights? If he were to do so, he would be acting in flagrant opposition to his own political, social and economic system and to his own Marxist views.

This would not, of course, be entirely impossible in the end. Precisely the same thing happened in the case of the Hungarian "National Communist" Prime Minister, *Imre Nagy*, who, during the last few days of his critical governmental power in Budapest, is said to have supported the national demands of the Hungarian people, namely political freedom, free elections, annulment of the Warsaw Military Pact, an appeal to the United Nations to help, and the unconditional withdrawal of Soviet Russian troops from Hungary. At that moment, therefore, he ceased to be a "National Communist", — either consciously or unconsciously. Just as *Milovan Djilas* in his famous article, "The Storm in Eastern Europe", forswore his allegiance to Communism in every form, including Titoism, and abandoned all Communist principles. The fact that a heathen goes over to Christianity and advocates this new ideal is by no means a vindication of heathendom.

It was precisely because of the above-mentioned demands that *Nagy's* "National Communist" government was ruthlessly liquidated by the Soviets. If *Gomulka* were to choose the same course, then he would likewise be liquidated by the Soviet forces; if, however, he does not choose this course, he will be obliged sooner or later to use Moscow's tank divisions against his own fellow-countrymen in order to save the so-called "dictatorship of the proletariat", that is to say, the one-party dictatorship of bureaucracy.

In addition, the fact must not be overlooked that Moscow holds the big foreign policy trump-card in Poland, namely the guarantee of the Polish Oder-Neisse Line. And plenty of propaganda is disseminated in this connection, under the slogan that the Polish state, if it should one day sever its connections with Moscow, would run the risk of having to face a German war of retaliation.

Of course, Moscow's propaganda in this respect is not based on logical reasoning. The German Federal Republic is by no means in a position to undertake an attempt to win back the said territories by armed force, nor has it

any desire to do so; and even if it had, — between the Polish newly acquired Western territories and the German Federal Republic there is the German Democratic Republic, and a German national war of retaliation would have to begin with an attack on this so-called "German Democratic Republic", in which Russian troops are also stationed. One can hardly imagine a less likely event than this in the near future.

Gomulka is faced by a dilemma: either he must cease to be an out-and-out Communist and go over to the side of the Polish people wholeheartedly, or he must, in the end, as we have already pointed out, rely on Russian military power to preserve his totalitarian system.

Even if one only conditionally accepts the erroneous designation "National Communist", the Yugoslav dictator, Tito, is a classic example of a National Communist; that is to say, he allegedly balances between the West and the East, in order to obtain financial aid from the West and "ideological" support from the East, and he will accordingly, in the end, go over to the side of "world Communism", that is, to Moscow.

Thus, what the Western daily press describes as "National Communism", is merely a misleading designation, the sole purpose of which is to camouflage, somehow or other, the efforts of the Communist Khrushchev supporters in the satellite countries to preserve their own power, that is to say, Moscow's power. The youth and the workers of these countries, however, have adopted an opposite and extremely significant course; though they have no large-scale political organization and no carefully organized underground movement, they are fighting with their sheer strength against Russian tyranny, and, in doing so, are applying those forms of organization and training which were forced on them by the Soviets for Russification purposes. It is the "Workers' Councils" who today represent the will of the Hungarian nation, in Budapest, and who demand that the Kadar government, which has been installed by the Russians, should negotiate with them as "an equal with equals"; it is the Communist "retrained" youth organizations and the "Communist" organized army troops who have conducted themselves most heroically in the national struggle of Hungary against Russian tyranny. The people of Hungary are devising new methods in their fight for national and social freedom and justice.

The Hungarian workers are demanding the return of the Nagy government, not because they want a "National Communist" government back again, but because Nagy, during the last few days that his government was in power, accepted the most important demands of the Hungarian fight for freedom. It is immaterial whether he was a Communist or a "National Communist"; it is likewise immaterial whether he acted on the strength of his own convictions, or under pressure of the national fighters for freedom. The main thing is that he officially declared, for the whole world to hear, "Down with the Russians!". And it was precisely such words as these which the Hungarians and, in fact, all the peoples subjugated by Moscow wanted to hear.

We are not interested in Nagy's or Gomulka's fate, but solely in whether these transition stages will ultimately lead to the big distintegration and upheaval in the East in the near future. In that case entirely new elements will assume governmental power, — the national forces, which will overthrow the entire Communist system and will destroy the Russian imperium with all its political colours, and will disintegrate it into democratic independent states. The future belongs not to Gomulka or to Nagy, but to these new national and revolutionary forces.

J. S.

"We Demand Withdrawal of Russian Occupation Troops from All Subjugated Countries"

To: The Honourable Members of Parliaments, Representatives of Press and Trade Unions

Sirs,

We, the representatives of the nations subjugated by Russia, turn to you today with this petition, and with the warning that the last opportunity for saving the world from complete disaster is now at hand.

The situation in Hungary is still not clear. The Soviets continue to murder the Hungarian workers, the working intelligentsia, and even women and children. The resistance of the Hungarian people who fight for basic human rights continues.

The West, except for expressions of sympathy, has not given any effective help to the Hungarian fight for democracy and freedom. On the contrary, by its indecision the West only encouraged the Moscow tyrants to ignore all resolutions and recommendations of the United Nations.

Even the promised economic aid to the East European Governments would in fact more help the Soviet Union and the Communists than the suffering population there, unless direct distribution of the aid to the individual afflicted people is fully secured and supervised by an impartial authority. Otherwise it would be only a repetition of the wasted postwar aid by UNRRA, which for Communist East Europe amounted to 3 milliard dollars.

It is a paradox that the Soviet Union, which is the main centre of all world unrest, is systematically supported by the democratic world, both materially and morally. During the last war it was only the American and British aid to the Soviet Union, amounting to 17 milliard dollars, which saved the Soviets from complete collapse. And after the war, by the conferences of Yalta and Potsdam, the Soviets were given a gift ten times larger; they were given the whole number of additional countries with about one hundred million people. This tremendously increased the Soviet economic resources and the military potential which threatens the whole world.

Fortunately, the Soviet military operation in Hungary has revealed to the outside world the inherent weakness of the Communist system. We wish to say that what happened in Hungary can happen also in other European and Asian countries subjugated by Moscow. To make Communism palatable to the subjugated peoples Moscow will drop the prefix "international" and replace it by the prefix "national", but the aim remains the promotion of Russian imperialism, as proved by the events in Hungary. International and national Communism is one and the same thing, the same brutal and cruel system.

This is also proved by the events in Hungary where the "national" Communist Kadar is fully co-responsible for the murderous orgies of the Russian soldiery. And Kadar is hailed both by Tito himself and by all the Stalinists.

Still, Russian imperialism will not rest. Hungary, and the undeniable Soviet warmongering in the

Middle East, were direct results of Western negligence, indecision and of the "could not care less" attitude. This can become disastrous for the whole world in the very near future.

To save the world, and yourselves, as long as there is still time, we urge you to demand from your Government to give Russia the following ULTIMATUM:

1. Complete withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Hungary within 24 hours.
2. Free and unfettered elections to take place in Hungary under UNO supervision and protection of UNO police force shortly after the withdrawal of all Soviet troops.
3. Withdrawal of all occupying Russian troops from all other subjugated countries, and free unfettered elections to take place in all these countries under UNO supervision and under the protection of UNO police force.

We attach great importance to the UNO supervision to prevent any non-elected temporary governments from restricting the freedom of any political parties and hampering the expression of the true feelings of the population. And we attach great importance to the presence of the UNO police force, or some internationally agreed police force capable of dealing with any situation, to prevent the re-occupation of these countries by foreign troops if the former occupants should try to interfere with the free expression of the will of the people.

If the Soviet Union rejects this ultimatum, demand from your Governments:

- a) to sever diplomatic, economic, cultural and any other relations with the Soviet Union,
- b) to expel the Soviet Union from UNO,
- c) to impose the most severe economic boycott on all countries of the Soviet Block,
- d) to liquidate in all countries the communist parties as Soviet fifth columns,
- e) to support the fight of the countries subjugated by Moscow for their liberation by all necessary means, including military help, issuing in advance an international declaration of independence of millions of these countries to secure action of millions of freedom fighters in the Soviet hinterland. In this manner the Russian empire might be disintegrated without a world war.

Remember that without the liquidation of the Moscow communist centre, the world will never find peace!

30th November 1956

For ABN Committee in Great Britain:
R. Ostrowsky (Byelorussia), Chairman,
I. Bazowsky (Slovakia), Vice-chairman,
W. Oleskiw (Ukraine), Secretary.

Down with the Russians in Hungary

Taipei, Nov. 5 (CNA): Foreign Minister George K. C. Yeh pledged Free China's efforts to invoke the moral force of the United Nations to compel Russia to withdraw its troops from Hungary.

The Foreign Minister, after being informed of the Russian vetoing of a U.S. resolution calling for Soviet withdrawal from Hungary, declared that the Chinese delegation in the world organization would give full support to any resolutions that back up the Hungarian resistance against enslavement.

Minister Yeh stated that Free China in conjunction with free U.N. member nations would do all it could to put a stop to the ruthless Soviet suppression of the Hungarian people's independence movement. He said Free China, which is in full sympathy with the Hungarian people, would not be satisfied with a mere U.N. sanction against Russia, but would seek to invoke the U.N. moral force to force Soviet troops out of strife-ridden Hungary.

In this connection, the veteran Chinese diplomat attacked the hypocrisy of the Chinese Reds, since

they called the Hungarians who sought neutrality and withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact "traitors". He cited Peiping's pro-Soviet stand as evidence of their servitude and collusion with Russia in the latter's atrocities.

He said that the Peiping Red regime had always posed as a champion of "neutrality" on the international scene as witnessed in the Bandung conference and on other occasions. The much propagandized Communist "five principles for peace" also urged "neutrality". But when it came to a satellite like Hungary, there would be no room for "neutrality", he added.

Minister Yeh said this showed how false the "neutrality" urged by the Reds was, which hardly meant anything more than submission to Communism.

The Foreign Minister said that the Warsaw Pact had become a tool in the hands of the Kremlin to control the peoples in Eastern Europe. In this sense, it was not simply a device to encounter NATO.

Dr. D. Donzow

The Pact with the Devil

Our age of progress is not superstitious. It does not believe in devils. But a sage once said that the Devil's cleverest trick is that he manages to convince the masses that he does not exist.

Some of the high-ranking *initiated*, however, who would like to obtain the help of the evil power for themselves and their cause *finally* make a pact with the Devil.

The Devil appeared to Doctor Faustus in the guise of a mediaeval cavalier. In the democratic age or rather in the age of the "people's democracy" he appears in the guise of a Muscovite Moujik butcher, as an arrogant, smiling, well-fed parvenu, part "good fellow" (one of the people) and part gangster (one of the people), whose appearance in an age when everything of distinction was destroyed was particularly tempting to the masses.

After the grim events of the years 1914-1921, the Russian Mephistopheles made his first pact with the Polish Faustus who in that country was called Pan Twardowski.* He gave him the possessions of Galicia and Volhynia, and in exchange Pan Twardowski sold his soul to the Devil and made a promise that he would never rise up against the misdeeds of the Devil in this realm behind the Iron Curtain, either by means of military action or by words, and that he would forget all the noble ideas of the liberation of the peoples. As proof of his submission to the Muscovite Devil, Pan Twardowski deserted his allies in the fight against the Red Mephistopheles and recognized Ukraine as the inviolable booty of the Devil. This pact with the Devil was signed in Riga in 1921 by Pan Twardowski, who thus sold his soul to the former.

Later, in Rapallo in 1922, and finally, in 1939, the Muscovite Mephistopheles tempted the great-grandson of Goethe's Faustus himself. He promised the latter the inviolable possession of all the kingdoms of the world which Faustus might conquer, with one exception — all the Ukrainian territories should come under the direct rule of the Muscovite Devil. He had his own mystical reasons for this. In return Faustus for his part decided to sell him his soul and to renounce his belief in Christ and also promised not to take any action against the Devil's regime in the U.S.S.R., but, on the contrary, to sign a friendship pact with the Muscovite Mephistopheles. As a small reward the German Faustus was initiated in the methods of physical and moral crimes against individuals which had been invented by the Devil and were applied in the U.S.S.R.

When Pan Twardowski was hard beset by the West and begged the Eastern Mephistopheles to help him, the latter appeared in his state in order to collect the promised reward for his eighteen-year old friendship, according to the pact of Riga. In the autumn of 1939, after having been robbed of her soul, Poland became a mere skeleton of a state.

When the "furor toniticus" of the German Faustus became too sinister for the liking of his Western neighbours and when it seemed to them that they alone could not make him see reason, the Faustus of the West appealed to the Muscovite Devil for help. This was gladly granted, all the more so since the German Faustus was revolting against the Muscovite Devil, because he no doubt suspected that the latter would in the near future appear and demand his soul.

For his help the Red Mephistopheles, however, demanded a good deal more than he had demanded from the Polish and the German Faustus. He had no objections to the Western Faustus satisfying his desires as far as possible where the German Gretchen was concerned and even promised to help him in this respect. On the other hand, however, he raised a number of claims. When the victory was being fought for and the Red Mephistopheles held the heart of the Faustian country in his hands, he also took the soul of the German Faustus in accordance with the pact. This happened in 1945.

After the victory had been won, Mephistopheles demanded in return that after a certain time the West should fulfil its promises made in 1941, and should sell its Christian soul to him, and added

* Main character in the legend of the Polish Faustus.

that it could do so in subsequent instalments. To this end the Western Faustus was to reveal his soul to Mephistopheles and to let him in and was not to take any action against him or without him. In addition, the Western Faustus was to allow the emissaries of the Devil to assume positions in all the Western countries —, in the parliaments, in political parties, universities, governments, in the press, in atomic factories, in literature, art, in broadcasting and television, in the UNO, and, in fact, in every sphere of life. These emissaries were to be allowed to appear not as such, but as peace or coexistence angels, as people's representatives, as ecclesiastical functionaries, as men of learning, as tourists, as sportsmen or as ambassadors. Together with these emissaries of the Devil, the Western Faustus was to introduce a new era of fiendish "peace", of prosperity and "peoples' liberation" (in keeping with the Devil's ideas) in his own house and in the world. A necessary precondition for the triumph of such an era (and this was also stipulated by the Devil) was that the Western Faustus was to disregard all protests and all mutiny on the part of the peoples against the regime of the Devil, irrespective of whether these protests occurred in Poznan, Vorkuta, Kyiv, or Western Germany. It was, in fact, to be a conspiracy of silence!

Above all, the Western Faustus was to forget his Christian traditions and was to make no attempt to prevent the de-Christianization of the peoples subjugated by the Devil in Poland, Hungary, Roumania, and, in particular, in Ukraine. Working hand in hand with the Mephistopheles of Moscow, the Western Faustus was to reduce the name and the rights of these peoples to oblivion, in the name of (devilish) progress. When these demands were accepted and the Western Faustus in a gesture of friendship shook the hand of the Muscovite Devil, a hand stained with the blood of those who fought for the truth of Christ, with the blood of martyrs and millions of innocent persons, Mephistopheles rejoiced and declared, "The pact has been signed with blood! The new Faustus is now one of us! I shall therefore now appoint many persons in his country as honorary Beelzebubs!" And such gentlemen as Fuchs, MacKenna, Endicot, Johnson, and Hiss and their protectors and many other persons felt very flattered.

But time passed quickly. Eighteen years after the signing of the pact in Riga, the Red Mephistopheles appeared and demanded Twardowski's soul. Twenty-one years after the signing of the pact in Rapallo, which was the first step to the pact of 1945, the Muscovite Devil demanded his due of the German Faustus. Fifteen years have elapsed since the Western Faustus and the Muscovite Mephistopheles made their pact in 1941. And now that some of the followers of the Western Faustus, realizing the fate that might befall them, are endeavouring to oppose Mephistopheles, the only answer they receive is cynical laughter and an argument which they are unable to refute, namely, "Have I not

appointed you as my honorary Beelzebubs? And does not your Holy Book say that the Devil shall not be chased out by Beelzebub?" Indeed, this is affirmed in the Holy Book, which, however, is no longer sacred to the allies and admirers of the Muscovite Devil. When the Polish and the German Faustus believed the word of the Devil in Moscow, God refused to perform a miracle in their countries which had been overrun by the Devil, for He refuses to perform a miracle where there is no faith in Him, and He therefore withdrew His protecting hand from the Polish and the German Faustus. But the evil power with which they were endowed was much weaker than the power of the Red Mephistopheles and they thus found it hard to resist him.

It will soon be the turn of the Western Faustus. And the Muscovite Devil cannot be chased out by Beelzebubs.

New leaders and new cohorts of crusaders are needed in the West to lead the peoples, — in the first place in order to purge the soul of the West from the Devil and the world from the Devil's emissaries, from their organizations and parties. It is only these cohorts, bearing the banner of Christ, who will be able to cast out the Muscovite Devil. "Be subject therefore unto God; but resist the devil, and he will flee from you" (The General Epistle of James, IV, 7). No one who does not believe in God will succeed in conquering the Devil. Whether the Devil makes a pact with one person or with a whole nation, the only advantages gained by the latter are of a temporary and illusory nature —, and at what a price!

In the end and "pro domo nostra", may the harassed Western Faustus realize the following facts: firstly, in making a pact with the Faustus of the Vistula, the Devil demanded, above all, that this same Faustus should recognize the territory of Kyiv, Ukraine, as the inviolable possession of the Devil and should assert no more claims in this respect.

Secondly, in making a pact with the Faustus of the Spree, the Muscovite Devil demanded that all the Ukrainian territories of Poland, Roumania and Hungary, which had so far escaped his clutches, should be handed over to him at once.

Thirdly, in making a pact with the Western Faustus and later on, too, the same Mephistopheles demanded that the West should recognize all the above-mentioned West Ukrainian territories as well as the whole of Ukraine as an integral part of the Devil's realm and that, accordingly, the West — not as in Prague, Warsaw and Bucharest — should have no representative in Kyiv. Is the Western Faustus capable of fathoming the deeper reason for this tendency? I do not know. But I do know that Ukraine is destined to crush the Muscovite Devil since she made no pact with him and has always obeyed God and resisted the Devil, even though certain people are so blind as not to realize or not to want to realize this fact.

The Glasgow Meetings

Scottish League for European Freedom

Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, ABN.

I had a very great amount of extra work caused by the tragedy in Hungary. It brought enormous correspondence, and there were many important meetings held, especially in Glasgow for which I was able to provide both Scottish and Hungarian speakers. The Glasgow meetings by the University students were the finest in the whole country and there has been nothing like them in England. The Hungarian speaker I sent to them told me he had never seen anything like the spirit of these fine young men. And, unlike people elsewhere, they are not slacking off, but have now gone

on to hold great meetings and debates and pass Resolutions that, "If Russia does not at once restore freedom to all the countries subjugated at any time in history, Britain should declare war on Russia at once." The Scottish Trade Unions are also up in arms. For example, the Firemen's Unions in several counties have passed Resolutions to expel all Communists and former Communists from the Union, and that there shall be no more fraternal visits until Russia has restored freedom to every subjugated country.

I sent to each Delegate of UNO our Memorial and our accompanying letter, as enclosed...

Yours very sincerely,

John F. Stewart.

The Activity of the A.B.N. in Connection with the Revolution in Hungary

The Central Committee of the ABN has taken all the steps it could to persuade the Western world to support the Hungarian fight for freedom. Telegrams demanding immediate help for the Hungarian people have been sent to various governments and prominent persons in political circles of the free Western states and of the United Nations.

In the first place, the Central Committee of the ABN held a press conference, at which the possible development of the Hungarian revolution was discussed and the ABN demanded military help from the West for Hungary.

The next step on the part of the ABN was to send appeals to the ABN delegations and representatives in various countries of the Western world, asking them to hold mass demonstrations on behalf of Hungary. As a result of this step, rallies were held in various countries, in which all the peoples united in the ABN took an active part. In connection with events in Hungary, the ABN Delegation in Winnipeg (Canada), for instance, issued a statement proclaiming its solidarity with the Hungarian fight for freedom. The text of this statement was, incidentally, published in the Canadian press. In honour of the Hungarian fighters for freedom who have sacrificed their lives, the ABN Delegation placed a wreath on the Unknown Soldier's grave in Winnipeg. A telegram was sent to the Canadian Foreign Minister, the Hon. M. Pearson, requesting relief for Hungary.

At a mass demonstration held in Munich, in which about 50,000 persons took part, the ABN was actively represented, and its supporters, bearing ABN banners, participated in the march of silence.

The fighters for freedom in Hungary have been supplied by the ABN with thousands of leaflets in Russian and Ukrainian, which have been distributed amongst the Soviet soldiers in Hungary by the insurgents.

In response to the ABN's request for military aid for Hungary, many persons in various West European countries signified their willingness to fight as volunteers in support of the revolution in Hungary. The Central Committee of the ABN has received many letters in which the writers express their indignation at Russia's aggression and their readiness to fight for the freedom of Hungary.

Unfortunately, however, there is no denying the fact that the leading politicians of the Western nations have not placed any military aid at the disposal of Hungary; and it is only as a result of the hesitant and unchivalrous attitude of these politicians that the Russians have succeeded in ruthlessly and brutally crushing the fight for freedom of the peoples subjugated by Moscow, at least for the time being.

Volunteers for Hungary

*Stud. real. Jan Helge Huseleye,
Sanducksrei 117 B,
Bergen, Norway.*

Bergen, November 1, 1956

*To The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations,
Munich.*

A few days ago I found a request from your President for volunteers to Hungary, in a Norwegian newspaper. Although the situation in this country is now more or less under control, there might be events in the future when help — of any kind — is needed at an immediate call.

In such a case I am glad to say that I should be at disposal at any time, both for military action and reconstruction work.

I am 21 years old and a student of mathematics, chemistry and physics at Bergen University.

*Kind regards.
Jan Huseleye.*

To
Generalissimo Franco, Madrid

We request Your Excellency to assert your entire authority, so that fighting Hungarians may be granted military aid, at least on the basis of voluntary formations.

Jaroslaw Stetzko

The following appeal was distributed among the Hungarians in Hungary. — The Editor.

TO THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE

The Hungarian Liberation Movement, which was founded ten years ago, has set itself the aim of fighting for the liberation of the Hungarian people and, furthermore, of fighting against the unjust peace treaties which these people have been forced to accept.

In the course of the past ten years, we have endeavoured to achieve this aim by means of numerous publications and lectures and have, moreover, sought to enlighten official circles and the public in the West on this question.

The ABN, on behalf of twelve nations, has sent a message to the Hungarian people, and we, too, should like to express our pride at the valiant way in which our fellow-countrymen in Hungary are fighting, and wish to convey to them our deepest sympathy.

Hungarian Brothers! Your fight is of historical importance and is a dramatic and glorious one!

We Hungarians who have been forced to become exiles, living as we do in foreign countries, can only draw the attention of the Western peoples and their governments, by means of words and publications, to the fact that they must support your fight with all the means at their disposal.

And we shall continue to make this our demand until Hungary is liberated.

Your sacrifices are not in vain! They call to the conscience of the whole world! We, too, are fighting for your ideals, and we shall continue to fight untriflingly for this cause.

We have appealed to the UNO to take steps immediately against Russian subjugation. Your fight is an example to the whole world. For you are fighting for the freedom of the whole world.

Our love and our prayers are with you. May God give us the opportunity as soon as possible to be reunited with you in a free and happy Hungary.

THE HUNGARIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT
Farkas Ferenc, President.

To the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld

We request military intervention against Russian brutal aggression in Hungary. We protest against violence Moscow applies against Hungarian legal Government.

/s./ General F. Farkas /s./ Jaroslaw Stetzko

To Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge,

United States Representative to the United Nations

We request military intervention against Russian brutal aggression in Hungary. We protest against violence Moscow applies against Hungarian legal Government.

/s./ General F. Farkas /s./ Jaroslaw Stetzko

His Excellency, President Eisenhower,
Washington.

Best congratulations on your re-election. Please take immediate action to help Hungarian People in their desperate fight against Russian aggression and atrocities.

For ABN in Great Britain:

Radoslaw Ostrowsky, Byelorussia
Igor Bazovsky, Slovakia
Wasyl Oleskiw, Ukraine.

Down with Bolshevik Tyranny!

FREEDOM FOR NATIONS!

FREEDOM FOR INDIVIDUALS!

The hypocritical disguise of "de-Stalinization" was destroyed for ever in the conflagration of Budapest.

The massacre of men, women and children in Hungary is the receipt for a rash coexistence policy.

Peoples of the free world! — Be roused by the thunder of cannon and bombs and by the tragic cries for help of the Hungarians! Do not continue to delay until the time comes when the Moscow tyrants place the chains of slavery round your throats, too!

The countless men and women who gave their lives as martyrs for the cause of the great fight for freedom in Hungary accuse the free world! — They died as victims of the failure of the free world.

The bestial blow of destruction directed against a whole nation has revealed Russian Bolshevism in its true colours, even to those who are blind. This unheard-of outrage to civilization must not be accepted passively!

Statesmen of the West! Break off all diplomatic relations with the headquarters of genocide in Moscow, immediately! Refuse to negotiate with the Kremlin monsters in human guise!

Refuse to come to terms with the Russian Bolshevik criminals and iconoclasts! — Exclude them from the United Nations and from all international organizations!

Down with the Russian prison of nations! — The subjugated peoples must be freed from the colonial tyranny of Moscow and must regain their own independent states once more. Only in this way can the constant menace to the world by the insatiable and ravenous Russian desire for conquest be eliminated for good.

The sacrifices offered by the Hungarian nation were the only way to prevent an atomic war. If this unique national insurrection had received the

proper support from the West, the entire Soviet Russian sphere of influence would have been burst asunder from within by a chain reaction of national liberation revolutions, and would have collapsed. A historical opportunity to prevent an atomic war has been missed.

As long as the free world is not prepared and determined to support actively all national insurrections behind the Iron Curtain, it has no right to mislead our peoples by its propaganda over the radio and thus cause them to shed their blood in vain and to commit suicide.

The heroic fight for freedom of the Hungarians in an isolated post is a last warning to the conscience of the free world. May it not pass unheeded and may the free peoples be spared the fate of Hungary!

May the illustrious memory of the Hungarian champions of freedom, who sacrificed their lives, live on for ever! — They died for Christianity, for civilization and culture, and for the future freedom of the whole world.

THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS (A.B.N.):

Committee "Free Armenia" — Bulgarian National Front — Byelorussian Central Council — Cossack National Liberation Movement — Croatian National Liberation Movement — Czech Movement for Freedom ("Za Svobodu") — Czech National Committee — Estonian Liberation Movement — Union of the Estonian Fighters for Freedom — Georgian National Organization — Hungarian Liberation Movement — Hungarian Mindszenty Movement — Latvian Association for the Struggle against Communism — Polish Social Christian Movement — Slovak Liberation Committee — National Turkestanian Unity Committee — Ukrainian Hetman Union — Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

Russian Imperialism and Colonialism in Hungary

Dr. Tingfu F. Tsiang on the Hungarian Situation, before the Second Emergency Special Session on 8 November, 1956

The sentiments of the Chinese people with regard to the crisis of Hungary have found expression in a resolution passed by the Legislative Assembly of 6 November, 1956. That resolution contained three points. In the first place, the Legislative Assembly condemned the aggression of the Soviet Union against Hungary. In the second place, the resolution demanded the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary and the despatch of an international police force to maintain peace and order in that war-torn country. And, in the third place, the resolution asked for international guarantees of Hungary's independence and freedom.

My delegation voted in favour of the resolution (A/RES/393) proposed by the United States. In voting for that resolution we regretted that we could not do more.

I was sorry and disappointed to see so many abstentions. If I am not mistaken, there was not a single Arab vote in favour of the resolution, and several Asian delegations — delegations which, ordinarily, are in the forefront as regards all matters concerning human rights and self-determination — found it necessary to abstain from voting on that important occasion. I wonder whether these delegations of Asia and Africa mean to tell us that the principles of the Charter hold good only for Asia and Africa, and not for Europe. Is our support of these great principles to be limited to particular regions and particular conflicts? In a measure, I understand the Arab abstentions. I suspect that the Arab delegations were labouring under the diplomatic necessity of keeping the Soviet Union's support in the First Emergency Special Session of the General Assembly. I do not, however, think that such a consideration justified the abstentions, and I would say that even as a piece of diplomacy, the move was not shrewd.

I should like to be frank on this point. I am convinced that the crisis in Hungary is more serious than the crisis in the Middle East. I should also like to say that the solution in Hungary is infinitely more difficult than the solution in the Middle East. Let us have no illusions. It is important that we in the General Assembly, and the world in general, should understand the deep meaning of these tragic events in Hungary.

In the first place, the events in Hungary have revealed the reality and the nature of Soviet imperialism and colonialism. During the last three decades, Soviet propagandists have continuously told the peoples of Asia and Africa that capitalism is inseparable from imperialism and colonialism, that at some stage capitalism inevitably develops into imperialism. These same propagandists have told the peoples of Asia and Africa that communism, by its very nature and definition, could never be imperialist or colonialist. The events in Hungary tell us that the latest, as well as the darkest, chapter in the dark history of European colonialism and imperialism is constituted by the Soviet imperialism and colonialism in Hungary. If people required further evidence on this point, the events in Hungary have furnished the final and indisputable evidence. Hereafter, no one could have any legitimate reason for doubting the reality and the nature of Soviet imperialism and colonialism.

These events have taught us another lesson. In recent years, there have been a number of thinkers and writers, both here in the United States and in other parts of the world, who have wanted the world to accept the *fait accompli*, who have wanted the world to write off the oppressed nations of Eastern Europe and Asia. They have tried to persuade us that the world must simply stomach the tyrannies within the Iron Curtain. They have said that the people in these countries — unhappy though they may be, dissatisfied though they may be — have, after all, accepted the existing regimes. The events which have occurred in Hungary in the last two weeks have demonstrated the falsity of that view of the enslaved and captive peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia. We find that, after ten years of indoctrination and brainwashing, the

Hungarian people have retained the usual, the common human love for freedom and for country.

These, I think, are the deeper meanings of these tragic events in Hungary. All the world is indignant. The public press and radio of all countries have sought words to express their sense of anger, disappointment and astonishment at the brutality of Soviet actions in Hungary.

In my opinion, one of the best expressions of our common sentiments in these grave days is to be found in an editorial published in a great newspaper, *The New York Times*, on 5 November. This editorial is entitled "We Accuse" and I think that it is worthy of being read out in full to this Assembly:

"We accuse the Soviet Government of murder. We accuse it of the foulest treachery and the basest deceit known to man. We accuse it of having committed so monstrous a crime against the Hungarian people yesterday that its infamy can never be forgiven or forgotten.

Lenin wrote in 1900: "The Czarist Government not only keeps our people in slavery but sends it to suppress other peoples rising against their slavery (as was done in 1849 when Russian troops put down the revolution in Hungary)." How apt these words sound today when we substitute 'Soviet' for 'Czarist' and 1956 for 1948.

Hatred and pity, mourning and admiration, these are our emotions today: hatred for the men and the system which did not hesitate to shed new rivers of innocent Hungarian blood in order to reimpose slavery; pity for the Soviet soldiers, duped into thinking they were fighting 'Fascists' when they killed defenseless or nearly defenseless men, women and children; mourning and admiration for the heroic Hungarian people who feared not even death to strike for freedom.

Gone now are the last illusions. Moscow now stands self-exposed. The torrent of Soviet bullets yesterday did not kill only Hungary's freedom and Hungary's martyrs. Those bullets killed first of all the picture of a reformed, penitent Russia seeking to repudiate Stalinism and practise coexistence. Could Stalin have acted more barbarously than did his successors yesterday? Can we have any doubt now of what awaits us if we ever relax our vigilance and permit ourselves to become a prey to Soviet might, as was Hungary yesterday?

The day of infamy is ended. The foul deed is done. The most heroic are dead. But the cause of freedom lives and is stronger than ever, nurtured by the blood of those who fell martyred in freedom's cause. The Hungarian people will never forget. We shall not forget. And out of hatred and tears is born the resolve to carry forward the struggle till freedom is triumphant."

To President Chiang Kai-shek, Taipei

We request your Excellency to intervene so that fighting Hungarians receive military aid at least on the basis of voluntary formations.

Jaroslav Stetzko.

Telegram To

Mr. Jaroslav Stetzko, President
Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations,

I am directed by the President to acknowledge your cable. Foreign Minister Yeh and Dr. Tsiang, our permanent representatives at United Nations, have made repeated denunciations of Soviet Aggression and atrocities in Hungary. Airmailing Minister Yeh's statements and asking Chinese Delegation forward you those by Dr. Tsiang.

Kindest Regards

Shen Chang-huan
Political Vice-Minister
of Foreign Affairs.

To The Hungarian Anti-Communist Revolutionary Government

Sirs,

It is such a heartening thing to learn from news reports that your people are uprising with inspiring courage, in waging a gallant and holy war against the ruthless force of the Soviet imperialists for the consecration of our anti-Communist cause. On behalf of the 534 cultural, academic, social, occupational, religious, overseas civic organizations of the Chinese women and youth of Free China, I sincerely extend to you our highest admiration, and wish to assure you that we will do everything in our power to back up your sacred cause.

Wishing you every success, I have the honour to be

sincerely yours,

Ku Cheng-kang, President
Board of Directors
Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist
League, Republic of China

Statement by Chinese Representative before the Security Council on the Situation of Hungary, on Sunday, 28 October, 1956

The intervention of the Soviet military forces in Hungary constitutes a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter which clearly forbids the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State. My Government joins with other Governments of the free world in expressing its stern indignation at the latest Soviet acts of brutal aggression. The ruthless slaughter of Hungarian people by the Soviet military forces and their Communist stooges in Budapest is but another example of the well-practised pattern of Communist aggression the world over. The Chinese people are watching the heroic struggle of the Hungarians with profound sympathy and admiration, but it is not enough to watch with admiration the mighty efforts and sacrifices now being made by the Hungarian people. We are therefore in full agreement with what the representative of the United Kingdom has advised us this afternoon. He said: "The Council cannot stand idle in the face of this situation." (S/PV. 746, p. 39.)

The present struggle in Hungary is a fight not only for national independence, but also for human rights and fundamental freedoms. The Hungarian people must have the inalienable right to choose freely its form of government without any interference whatsoever. In his United Nations Day message the President of my country declared:

"We are witnessing today a struggle between despotism and freedom, the like of which has never happened in human history. On the outcome of this struggle hinges the fate of mankind. Unless the loyal Members of the United Nations take up the challenge in time by collective measures to counteract Communist despotism, the success of the United Nations in carrying out its primary function will be jeopardized and the very foundation of this Organization will be threatened."

On 15 December of last year, in our statement before the 556th plenary meeting of the General Assembly, on the admission of new members, we pointed out:

"The hard facts of life will yet teach the world that an enduring peace cannot be based on appeasement or on a compromise with principles. Enduring peace can be established only on the solid foundation of the freedom of peoples." (A/PV. 556, para. 64.)

Freedom-loving nations and people of the whole world, unite in the fight against Russian colonialism for the freedom of nations and individuals!

Moscow's Offensive in the Near East

The British and French governments chose a most unsuitable time for their joint action in the Suez Canal Zone and formulated the aims of this campaign in an unpleasant manner. Sir Anthony Eden and M. Mollet commenced their military operations at the very moment that the revolt in Hungary reached its height. It would be erroneous to believe that Sir Anthony Eden in this way opened a second front against Moscow, and thus forced the latter to split up its forces. The front in Hungary remained isolated, and all it could hope for at the most was unanimous moral support on the part of the entire free world. The untimely action in Suez to some extent diverted the attention of the world from events in Budapest, and, from the psychological point of view, made it easy for Moscow, whilst fiercely attacking Great Britain and France in its propaganda, to deal with the Hungarian revolution in a most barbarous manner. Had there been no British and French action in Suez, all the countries of the free world, including the Afro-Asian countries, might perhaps have been prompted to set up a united front of moral condemnation against Moscow. And that, incidentally, would have been all that would have happened, since there was and is no major power in the West which could risk intervening by armed force in the case of Hungary, — and this would have been the only means of actively helping the heroic Hungarian fighters for freedom, that is to say with arms.

It is even more erroneous to assume that Moscow would not have undertaken its brutal liquidation of the Hungarian revolt, had there been no Suez case. Under any circumstances Moscow would have acted as it did. It is therefore wrong to affirm that the British and French action in Suez had made the liberation of Hungary impossible. Moscow would only have withdrawn from Hungary if the U.S.A. had sent it a serious ultimatum, to the effect that if the Soviet troops were not withdrawn from Hungary, America would intervene by armed force. If President Eisenhower had sent American divisions to Western Germany, from where they would have been able to intervene in Hungary, Moscow would have been obliged to withdraw; Moscow dreads another world war, for the Russian imperium is, after all, a colossus with feet of clay; and this would really have been the only way of helping the Hungarian revolution.

But to make the British Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, the scapegoat, is to divert the attention of the world from Moscow's atrocious crimes in Hungary. Moscow is well aware of the fact that President Eisenhower did not want to assert his power, and it was precisely for this reason that Moscow ventured to suppress the Hungarian national fight for freedom in so brutal a manner.

There have already been two October Revolutions in the history of the world, — the Russian one and the Hungarian one. The Russian October Revolution brought slavery, suffering and death to the world; the Hungarian October Revolution has become the symbol of national freedom and noble-mindedness for the whole world. The great Hungarian October War will mark a new chapter in the future annals of the history of the world, for it was a war of liberation conducted by a whole nation against Soviet Russian tyranny.

Sir Anthony Eden was not in a position to help Hungary actively and effectively, but at least he showed more courage than President Eisenhower, for, in the midst of Europe's fatal pacifism, he ventured to attack Moscow in the Suez Canal Zone. His action was by no means timely, and we cannot agree with his political motives in the narrower sense; but, be that as it may, the British and the French government, in taking action in Suez, were not attacking Egypt or the national aims of the Arabian peoples, but Moscow's foreign policy, which is the driving force behind Egypt's President Nasser. The entire previous diplomatic game between Nasser and Moscow shows quite plainly that Nasser must not be regarded as a champion of true Arabian national independence, but as a kind of Arabian Benes. He could have built the Assouan dam with the help of the U.S.A., but he preferred to play a double-dealing game with the Soviets, who have tricked him in the end. And at present, Nasser still remains the exponent of Soviet in-

fluence on the Near East, and for this reason we cannot approve of his *present* policy.

The mistake which Great Britain and France made in the Suez question was that neither of them formulated the political aspect of their military operations in the Canal Zone correctly; all financial and administrative questions, connected with the use of the Canal should be decided exclusively by Egypt, but the Canal as a waterway of world importance must be protected against Soviet intrigues. We have not much confidence in the so-called "police troops" of the United Nations, but at least it is better that they should be stationed in the Canal Zone than that the Suez Canal, which is of vital importance as a world trading route, should be left to the Soviets on the strength of President Nasser's false policy; it is most certainly better that Anglo-French or American or even UN troops should guard the Canal than that this task should be entrusted to the present Egyptian army with its Soviet Russian instructors and weapons.

The sovereignty of Egypt is in no way undermined by such a measure; Turkey, too, has complete sovereignty, and yet passage through the Dardanelles is free and regulated by international agreements; just as passage through the English Channel is free, on the strength of the generally recognized principle of the freedom of the seas. There are for instance, on the strength of certain agreements, American troops in Spain, Germany, Turkey, etc., but this fact in no way limits the sovereignty of these countries. Why then should the protection of the Suez Canal by Western troops be assessed in a different way?

The question at issue in this case is not Arabian nationalism, which would arouse our wholehearted sympathy and win over the entire world, but the insincerity of its leaders. The fact that in some Arabian countries the masses are starving and that their sons and daughters, as for instance in Saudi Arabia, are actually sold as slaves, whilst the rulers of these countries revel in a luxury worthy of the "Arabian Nights" and want to blame Western "colonial imperialism", which in any case no longer exists there, for everything, is nothing short of insincerity and deceitfulness, which can only be of advantage to the Muscovite Soviet Communists. In attacking Anglo-French imperialism, President Nasser is forgetting his own imperialistic claims some time ago to the state of Sudan, which flatly refused to accept the idea of a "federation" with Egypt. The Indian Premier Nehru, too, who is unfortunately pro-Soviet in his attitude, refused to recognize Pakistan's independence at the time and is still averse to a plebiscite in Kashmir; states which have but recently obtained their national independence are, unfortunately, already endeavouring to subjugate foreign nations, who are just as unwilling to live under Indian or Egyptian rule

as precisely Pakistan and Sudan formerly were to live under British rule. Nasser aims to set up a Pan-Arabian Empire; we, however, are of the opinion that Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia or Sudan have the same right to national independence and do not need Egyptian domination. For this reason we wish all Islam peoples complete independence, but without Moscow's guardianship.

It was undoubtedly a mistake on the part of the French Socialists and the British Conservatives to attach primary importance to the question of possession, when dealing with the Suez problem. Ocean routes of world importance belong to no one; they are free and must, of course, in the first place be protected against the imperialistic aims of Soviet Russia by international troops. But it is precisely on this point that London keeps silent, and Paris contents itself with vague statements. As affairs now stand, the entire Suez action has only produced one single, positive result, but it is precisely this result which should not be overlooked in the flood of pacifist and "pro-coexistence" watchwords: Moscow's prestige in the Near East has suffered considerably; it promised to help the Egyptians to build the Assouan dam; it promised to help the Egyptian government with its "voluntary divisions" in the event of a military conflict. None of these promises, however, have been fulfilled. Since the President of the U.S.A. stated most definitely that the presence of Soviet "volunteers" in the Suez Canal Zone would mean the outbreak of another world war, Moscow has kept quiet and has left its "allies", whom it has deceived, in the lurch. And this is the most important point to bear in mind as regards the entire question; anyone who attacks Muscovite imperialism by armed force is accordingly — whether he wishes or not — an ally of the nations subjugated by Moscow. It is true that we do not approve of the untimely nature and lack of political insight of the Anglo-French action in Suez, but it was nevertheless an act of defence against Bolshevik aggression in the Near East which has compelled Moscow, at least for the time being, to desist from such aggression in the Arabian countries. Our opinion in this respect must not, however, be interpreted as a hostile attitude towards Egypt. We are solely anxious to see Egypt, too, rescued from Soviet Russian bondage.

The Anglo-French operations in the Suez Canal Zone have, of course, only put a temporary stop to the Soviet offensive in the Near East; both these Western major powers are at present undergoing too many internal political crises and their military strength is much too weak for them to be able to stop the Soviet "urge" in this part of the world for good. But perhaps the Americans will take on this task. The main thing is that the Soviets must be prevented from having a free hand in the Near East.

M. S.

In Support of the Liberation Movements

November 16, 1956

Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, President,
The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations

Dear Sir,

On October 31, 1956, we asked your favour to relay our letter of sympathy to the Anti-Communist Revolutionary Hungarian Government. We expected that you might have been able to forward it for us.

Here in Free China, the general public has deepest sympathy with the Hungarian people's anti-Communist movement and pledges all-out support to their heroic struggle against Soviet Russia. They have recently set up an organization — The Committee of All Civic Organizations of the Republic of China in Support of the Anti-Communist Movement of the Hungarians — to handle the matters of aid and comfort. And on November 16 they held in Taipei a mass meeting and resolved to launch a fund-raising movement for that purpose. At the meeting, they also prayed

for those martyrs, sent messages of appeal to the United Nations and U. S. President Eisenhower, and passed a resolution to set up a Committee of All Civic Organizations of the Republic of China in Support of the Liberation Movement of the Peoples Behind the Iron Curtain, with the purpose to help those less fortunate peoples to regain their freedom. Finally, they also decided to send a message of sympathy to the anti-Communist Hungarian people.

Enclosed please find two copies of the message to the Anti-Communist people of Hungary in support of their heroic struggle against Soviet Russia. It is hoped that you would kindly relay it through the channel of radio broadcasting or other effective means to the Hungarian people.

With best wishes, Sincerely yours,
Ku Cheng-kang, President Board of Directors
Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League,
Republic of China.

Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky

The Moral of Events in Hungary

The revolution which broke out in Budapest in October and spread throughout Hungary, the subsequent Soviet military intervention, and the passive resistance of the greater part of the Hungarian people which still continues, — all these events should be thoroughly pondered on. They point an extremely useful moral, which should be taken into account when considering the question of the liberation of the enslaved peoples. And the powers of the free world, too, should evince an equal interest in these facts, for their freedom, integrity and peace are likewise threatened by Moscow's machinations.

1) It has clearly been shown that Communism finds no support among the non-Russian peoples behind the Iron Curtain. It has become evident that the Communist regime has been installed not in the interests of the population of the various countries concerned, but in the interests of Moscow. And for this reason this regime has no moral or political justification. There are no grounds whatsoever for regarding this kind of regime as a government in the meaning of modern political science.

2) It has become perfectly obvious that the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain reject every form of Communism, that is to say, not only Muscovite, but also Titoist Communism.

The assertions systematically circulated in the West, to the effect that a large proportion of the population in the enslaved countries approves of the Communist system and that for this reason one should become reconciled to the idea of the preservation of Communist dictatorship, have thus proved to be entirely false. There can now be no doubt about the fact that these assertions were made in the interests of Moscow and that they were for the most part systematically circulated by persons in Moscow's service. And this has further been proved by the shortsightedness of many diplomats and statesmen of the free world, who have allowed themselves to be influenced by such theories.

3) It has been shown that both Muscovite and Titoist Communism can assert themselves against the resistance of the population only by resorting to ruthless violence. It is obvious that the Communist system, which was imported into the countries behind the Iron Curtain by the intervention of the Soviet Russian Army, can only assert its power as long as it can rely on this army for support.

Not even Tito has any illusions in this respect, and for this reason he agreed to the intervention of the Soviet Army in Hungary. Thus even Tito has acknowledged that the so-called National Communism to be introduced in Hungary merely represents a tactical form of Communism, and it is therefore not surprising that this form of Communism is obliged to rely on Moscow's help if it is to maintain its position. Once again it has become evident that the difference between Stalinism and Titoism lies in the fact that Tito would like to see the Communist dictatorship spread without the unpleasant flavour of Muscovite imperialism attached to it. The rulers of the Kremlin, however, regard the situation from the realistic point of view and are well aware of the fact that the spreading of the Communist system without the Soviet Russian Army, which has been employed in order to help establish this system, is a purely Utopian idea. Both sides know perfectly well that the Communist system can only assert itself as a dictatorship by constantly relying on ruthless violence.

4) It has become evident that the enslaved peoples are capable of liberating themselves. It is true that Moscow has succeeded in crushing the revolution in Hungary and the riots in East Berlin, Poznan, Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan, and Outer Mongolia, etc. But the Kremlin was only able to achieve this result because all these insurrections were carried out separately.

It can be assumed that in the event of co-ordinated revolutions and riots on the part of a large number of subjugated nations and a co-ordinated standstill of production in various countries, it would be possible not only to paralyse Moscow's power, but also to undermine and disintegrate the entire Muscovite imperium from within. Events in Hungary have shown that once an entire nation revolts, not even a whole army equipped with the most modern weapons can succeed in gaining control of the situation. And there

can be no doubt that, in the event of general resistance and the paralysis of production in various countries, the peoples in question can assert their will, even in the face of a large army.

The reason why such an attempt has so far not been made is that the necessary union of the exile organizations of the various enslaved peoples, in the free world, could as yet not be effected owing to lack of understanding on the part of the democratic powers; and the preconditions for a co-ordinated action on the part of the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain were so far, therefore, missing. Under the existing conditions there could only be unplanned, spontaneous resistance and riots, which gave no guarantee of success.

5) Although some of the peoples enslaved behind the Iron Curtain were actually surrendered to Moscow thanks to the help of the West, and although the Kremlin despots have acknowledged that the Communist system represents not a democracy, but the most evil form of tyranny, which abuses the fundamental rights and freedoms of individuals and nations in the vilest manner, it has become evident that none of the enslaved peoples can look to the West to liberate them. It is obvious that these peoples will only become free if they themselves overcome Communist tyranny.

30 Years in the Service of his Fellow-Countrymen

The President of the Peoples' Council of ABN,
Prof. Dr. F. Durcansky, 50 years old.



On December 18, 1956, the President of the Peoples' Council of the ABN and of the Executive Council of the Slovak Liberation Committee, Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky, celebrated his fiftieth birthday. For as long as thirty years he has served his fellow-countrymen and his native country. Since the end of World War II and, in particular, since the death of the President, Dr. Josef Tiso (on April 18, 1947), as a political martyr, Dr. Durcansky has represented the national fight for freedom of the Slovak people against Communist tyranny and the artificial state structure of Czechoslovakia.

The people of Slovakia and the national resistance movement regard Dr. Durcansky as their authorized representative and spokesman. During the trial of President Tiso, Dr. Durcansky was sentenced to death by the Communist rulers, but the sentence could not be carried out as he was not in the country at the time.

We should like to take this opportunity of wishing our highly esteemed friend and the champion of the cause of freedom for Slovakia, Dr. Durcansky, the fulfilment of his ideals, namely the restoration of the independent state of Slovakia.

Volunteers for Hungary

Lancaster, Pa., U.S.A., October 27, 1956

Dear Sir,

I have just read in our local newspaper that you are going to ask the Western nations to send a Foreign Legion of Volunteers to help the Hungarian people to try to win their freedom from the Russian iron-fisted rule. Thank you for taking such a step, and I should like to appeal to you to accept me as one of the first men to volunteer for such a task. I think it is one of the worst things I ever heard of, for the Western free world to stand by and let the tanks and planes of the Russian army slay people like they are doing in Hungary. If I were anywhere on European soil, I am sure I would be in the rebel army of the Hungarian people, who are fighting so bravely for their freedom. It seems impossible for a people to withstand such odds. I am ready to help right now. If you can give me any information on how I can get over there, please do so. If I had the funds, I would pay my own expenses to join those wonderful people.

I am 28 years old, 171 lbs, and an ex-serviceman of 9 years service and am in good health. I am willing to leave here within the next twelve hours, to do what I can to help to free the Hungarian people. My heart is with them every minute of the day.

Thanks very much.

Robert E. Lewis.

*

November 19, 1956

ABN's Message to Free Trade Union Committee, New York

As the coordination centre of the national liberation organizations of all the subjugated peoples behind the Iron Curtain, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations wishes to express its sincere thanks to you for your decision to boycott the Soviet Union because of the massacre of the working people of Hungary by order of the Moscow government.

At the same time we should like you to convey our admiration to all trade union organizations and members for the attitude they have manifested by this unanimous decision. This step on the part of the International League of the Free Trade Unions is the most effective reaction by the free world to Moscow's brutal and ruthless terrorism and legitimates the working classes as the spokesmen of the true conscience of progressive mankind.

True to our watchwords — "Freedom for Nations" — "Freedom for Individuals" — we send you our sincere greetings in the confident hope that a new world of genuine social and national freedom and justice will soon be realized.

United Nations

New York

19 November 1956

Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations
Zeppelinstraße 67
Munich 8, Germany
Gentlemen,

I wish to acknowledge the receipt of the communication which you addressed to the United Nations on 26 October 1956 concerning the situation in Hungary.

Please be assured that every effort is being made through the United Nations to bring about a peaceful and just solution to the serious problems with which the world is faced in this critical period.

In accordance with the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, your communication will be included in a list, circulated to the representatives on the Security Council, of communications received from private individuals and non-governmental bodies, and will be kept at the disposal of members of the Council.

Very truly yours,

Chief of Section, Department of Political and Security Council Affairs

Americans for Hungarian Freedom

From the Speech by Mr. S. Szabo, on Radio Station, Miami, Florida, Dec. 9, 1956.

We wish to pay our humble homage to the wonderful people of Austria, the people that has so little for themselves, yet, they gave even that little to the homeless refugees of Hungary! We want to thank our American friends, who are going out of their way to alleviate the pain of the children, the old and infirm. But, my friends, it is not a loaf of bread or your dollars that the people of Hungary want; they are one of the proudest people in this world of ours; and recent events have shown that they have a right to be proud. It is BAYONETS they want, for that is the only thing the godless Russian barbarians understand.

To make our timid Administration understand, please, all of you, individually, write a letter to Mr. Dulles and Mr. Eisenhower. Please, listen to our broadcasts, which will follow in the weeks to come. We will give you the pure facts, facts that are either distorted or kept from reaching the public. We, Americans for Hungarian Freedom, welcome assistance from all of you, for the Hungarians are fighting and dying for all of us.

Ukrainians Express their Solidarity with the Hungarian Fight for Freedom

Countless Ukrainian emigrant organizations and the rallies which they have held express the solidarity of the Ukrainians with the Hungarian fight for freedom.

On November 10th, Ukrainians held a demonstration against Russian aggression in Hungary, in front of the United Nations buildings.

In Canada the League for the Liberation of Ukraine issued a statement proclaiming the solidarity of Ukraine with the Hungarian fight for freedom and appealing to the nations to support Hungary wholeheartedly.

The Ukrainian Medical and Charity Service in Germany has appealed to all Ukrainians to collect gifts and money for the Hungarian fighters for freedom.

Similar declarations of solidarity with the Hungarian fight for freedom have also been made throughout the entire free world by Ukrainian Youth organizations, by the Ukrainian Committee for the Defense of the Victims of National, Political and Religious Persecution, and by many other Ukrainian organizations.

Draft Message to Anti-Communist People of Hungary in Support of their Heroic Struggle against Soviet Russia for the Cause of Freedom

Dear anti-Communist people of all Hungary:

You, freedom-loving people of Hungary, for the sake of freedom and existence, for the cause of Hungarian independence and self-reliance, have engaged in a life-and-death struggle against the barbarous aggressor — Soviet Imperialism. Your heroic resistance against the brutal force of the aggressor has not only won the admiration and support of all freedom-loving and democratic peoples throughout the world, but has also inspired and encouraged numerous enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain to follow suit.

Soviet Imperialism has been trying to carry out its insidious designs on world conquest through ample employment of its ideological weapon. Under the disguise of a smiling face and peace proposals, it has made every attempt to hoodwink the world. But all its trickery cannot stand the test of actual facts. Facts have uncovered the mask of its sinister grimace and exposed the true face of the butcher. Now these inhuman Soviet monsters have wantonly slaughtered the innocent Hungarians who have every reason to strive for the righteous cause of freedom!

Valiant Hungarian fighters for freedom! You have fought courageously with empty hands and human blood against the guns and

tanks of Soviet Imperialism. You have staged strikes unswervingly against the Communist puppet regime for free elections, at the point of the Soviet bayonets. Your gallant and unremitting efforts have undoubtedly written an illustrious chapter in the annals of anti-Communism for the cause of freedom.

To back up the heroic anti-Communist resistance of our Hungarian brethren, we, the entire nation of the Republic of China, have called a conference here in Taipei today with delegates from every walk of life. We appeal to the free world to extend to you the greatest possible assistance and pledge ourselves to give you effective support. We firmly believe that freedom will eventually triumph over enslavement, and righteousness will crush barbarism. Let all freedom-loving peoples of the entire world march hand in hand determinedly to crusade against Communism and tear down the Iron Curtain.

We wish to offer our highest tribute to you all, the fighters for freedom of Hungary.

The Anti-Communist and Anti-Soviet Russia Mass Meeting of All Civic Organizations of the Republic of China in Support of the Anti-Communist Movement of the Hungarians.

ABN Rally in Metz

On November 18th, the representatives of the nations which are members of the ABN held a rally in Metz. This rally was proof of the complete solidarity of the peoples subjugated by Moscow with the fight for freedom of the Hungarian people against imperialistic Russia, and at the same time was an act of protest against Muscovite Communist atrocities in Hungary.

As the local prefecture had not given permission for a mass demonstration to be held, the rally confined itself to placing a wreath on the cenotaph.

At nine-thirty in the morning, several hundred persons of various nationalities, carrying their national flags, assembled on the "Square of the Republic". They were joined by the Poles and the representatives of the French Red Cross.

From the "Square of the Republic" the procession then moved in the direction of the cenotaph. A wreath bearing the national emblems of various nations was carried in front of the procession; immediately behind it, came the flags of the peoples subjugated by Moscow.

Representatives of the city council of Metz and of the press also took part in the procession and were present when the wreath was placed on the cenotaph.

A memorial service, which was attended by all those who had taken part in the rally, was then held in the Church of San Egal. The Church was crowded; in front of the altar more than a dozen national representatives stood with lowered national flags, which symbolized the complete solidarity of all these peoples in the fight against their common enemy, — imperialistic Moscow.

Appeal

of the Ukrainian Committee in France for the Defense of the Victims of National, Political and Religious Persecution in the U.S.S.R.

UKRAINIANS IN FRANCE!

For three weeks the Hungarian people, with their weapons in their hands, fought for their freedom and independence. Known for centuries as the enemy of the freedom of nations, imperialistic Moscow crushed this national revolt with the aid of thousands of tanks and numerous divisions. Justified in its indignation, the entire freedom-loving world protests against the Bolshevik genocide in Hungary. And the Ukrainians, who were among the earliest victims of Russian aggression, join in this protest wholeheartedly.

The fight in Hungary has not yet come to an end! Suppressed by the overwhelming brutal power of the Bolsheviks, yet invincible, the heroic Hungarian people continue to fight until they achieve their complete liberation. They need help from

the free world in order to heal their dreadful wounds. Thousands of wounded, widows and orphans, homeless and starving persons, who are threatened by disease and death, the exhausted and the weary, are urgently in need of help, — in the form of food, clothes, medical aid, and money.

Welfare and relief organizations all over the world are doing their active share to help Hungary. The Ukrainian emigrants are asked to join in this task. The Ukrainian Committee for the Defense of the Victims of National, Political and Religious Persecution in the U.S.S.R., which has its headquarters in Paris, appeals to you to send gifts of every kind to one of the following addresses:

- 1) La Croix Rouge Francaise (aide à la Hongrie), 17, rue Quentin-Bauchant, Paris 8^e, compte courant postal No. 26-58 à Paris;
- 2) Payerie générale de la Seine No. 14205, or by Postal check: No. 9000-03 (pour la Hongrie);
- 3) Secours catholique, 120, rue du Cherche-Midi, Paris, C.C.P. 5620-09 (Hongrie).

Gifts of food are accepted in Paris at the Gare d'Orsay and in the provinces by the local committees.

Note

In accordance with a decision reached by the Congress of the Conference of Ukrainian Free Professional Organizations and the Union of Ukrainian Workers in France, Ukrainian workers who are members of the Christian Trade Unions in France are to send their gifts for the Hungarian Relief action to the following address:

C.F.T.C., 26, rue de Montholon, Paris 9^e, C.C.P. 283-24.

Thanks of Hungarian Liberation Movement

I should like to express my sincerest thanks for all the kind letters we have received and for all the generous sympathy and understanding which has been manifested.

We Hungarian emigrants know how great the moral power of the enthusiasm expressed by millions of persons is, and we are firmly convinced that the sacrifices made by the Hungarians for the cause of freedom are not in vain as long as mankind is conscious of the precious value of freedom.

If the responsible politicians of the free nations had shown as much energy and determination in opposing Bolshevism as millions of persons have shown in expressing their sympathy and admiration for the Hungarians, our country and our people would already be free.

/s./ F. Farkas de Kisbarnak, President.

Slawa Stetzko

I Meet Hungarian Fighters for Freedom

On a hill, at the edge of the wood, there are some sheds, — the Wagenried Camp. And it is here that the Hungarian insurgents who have succeeded in reaching the West are accommodated. Although it was a bitter cold and windy day when we visited the camp, most of the persons living in the camp were standing out in the open in groups, talking to each other. The majority of them were young men, girls, some children, and one very old woman.

I have seen many camps, and the most characteristic thing about all of them has always been the noise and the merry laughter of children. Here, however, a serious atmosphere prevailed. The sad expression on the faces of the Hungarian refugees reflected their recent experiences. We entered a long shed. What struck us most at a first glance was the spotless cleanliness. Clean floors, poorly but cleanly dressed persons, and tidy rooms.

There were six young men seated in the room which we entered. From the calm expression on their faces one would hardly have thought that a few days previously they had ventured to attack the Muscovite colossus, before whom the West, despite all its material and military strength, can only tremble. One of the young men had only one arm. His rapid gestures and speech and his extremely alert eyes revealed an unusual store of energy. He told us that his name was Nagy Bela. Upon my asking him whether his name might be mentioned, he replied that he had nothing to fear, since none of his relatives in Hungary were still alive. I knew that he had fled across the frontier alone, and there was thus no point in asking him any more questions about his family. He told us that he was a lumberman by trade and that in Hungary he and the other five young men in the room had worked together in the forest. The place where they had been employed had been 12 kilometres away from Budapest, and they had given up their jobs in order to take part in the protest demonstration in the Hungarian capital which had then become the massacre of the Hungarian people. They had remained in Budapest in order to help defend the town against the Muscovite aggressors.

Information about the Ukrainians

Mr. Bela and his friends knew that I was Ukrainian. They told me that there had been two Ukrainian families — two women with small children — living in their native village. They had arrived in Hungary towards the end of the war, after having fled before the advance of the Bolsheviks into Ukraine. Their husbands had remained in Ukraine in order to fight against the Muscovite occupants. In 1945 the Bolsheviks had got hold of these two unfortunate women and had taken them to Siberia, along with a lot more persons, in goods trains. One of the women had been called Kruschelnyzka, and her eight-weeks old baby had died of exposure during the journey in the goods train.

Mr. Bela then mentioned World War II and said that in those days he had not been able to understand why the Bolsheviks had always sent units composed only of Ukrainians and Byelorussians to fight against the German and Hungarian tank troops. Now, however, he added, he realized the reason for this, namely that Moscow had wanted to decimate the youth of Ukraine and Byelorussia in this way, just as it was now trying to do in Hungary. It is particularly gratifying to me to ascertain that the Hungarian insurgents discriminate

most clearly between the Ukrainians, Byelorussians and other nationalities, and the Russians. They are well aware that there is a deep rift which separates the Russians from the other subjugated peoples of the U.S.S.R. They do not confuse these conceptions, like even educated persons in the West frequently do. But I wanted to make quite sure and so I asked them, "Do you regard the Soviet Union as a

always made time and found some opportunity or other to enlighten their children as to the truth, either whilst working in the fields, or in the evenings, at home, or somewhere else, anywhere as long as they were not watched by the others. Communist doctrines were rejected, and the Communists did not succeed in demoralizing the youth of Hungary."

The Girl with Singed Hair

And no one who sees and talks to these young fighters can have any doubts as to the fact that the Communists have failed to undermine their morale. Even the children have



Insurgents in the streets of Budapest

uniform whole, or did you know that only the Russians there are the superior nation and that there are many other non-Russian peoples living under their rule?" The answer I received was, "We were perfectly aware of that. In fact, we have already been told all about the various Soviet Republics, and 'hopes' have even been held out to us that in time Hungary, too, might become one of the Soviet Republics like Esthonia, Lithuania and various other countries already are. And that decided us!"

Not a Word of Russian

"Not doubt you were taught Russian. Did you really learn the language?" we then asked. Mr. Bela and his friends smiled and then replied, "We learnt Russian every day, but we hardly understand a word. We hated everything that was Russian." In answer to my question as to whether they had not been afraid of being punished at school for this reason, they said, "Fortunately, flogging was forbidden during lesson-time. This form of punishment was reserved for other cases and for future occasions. At school the teachers tried to instil some of the Communist ideology into the children's minds. But as soon as the children got home and asked their parents whether there really was no such thing as God, their parents told them all about the Lord's Commandments. And it was the same with history and geography and other subjects. The parents

resorted to the fighting tactics of the partisans and have actually proved that they have mastered these methods, a fact which the Bolsheviks in Hungary have been made to realize only too plainly. I noticed that the hair of one of the girls in the camp was cut all unevenly. She must have noticed my look of surprise, for she promptly gave me an explanation of her own accord. Illushka (in English, Helen), as she was called, told me, without the least embarrassment and in a candid way, how she had set fire to Russian tanks, just as if it were some harmless child's game. "Oh, my friends and I set fire to the Russian tanks with bottles of petrol. We managed to set fire to the first tank and the second tank so nicely, but we were a bit too quick in setting fire to the third one and the flames caught my hair". Illushka, by the way, is only fourteen.

It is not surprising that the Russians were terrified of the courageous Hungarian children. Three tanks remained on the same spot in a street in Budapest for three whole days. None of the soldiers ventured to emerge from them. Their fear of the insurgents was obviously stronger than hunger and thirst.

Settling up with Moscow soon . . .

"Did the population want a war?"
"No one wanted a war. But if anyone had asked us whether we wanted to go on living



"Russians go home"! Inscriptions in Russian and Hungarian in Budapest.

under the present conditions or settle up with Moscow, every one of us would have answered, settle up with Moscow, and preferably today rather than tomorrow!"

"You ask whether the revolution was prepared and planned beforehand? No, it was not. The slightest plot would have been noticed and would have led to persons being arrested. The revolution broke out spontaneously. Subjugation has united the entire Hungarian nation, and its one and only wish was to drive the Russians out of Hungary for good. We always used to listen in to the broadcast programmes from the West. It is true that no one ever promised us any military help, but in our inmost hearts we always hoped that such help would be forthcoming when the time came. We were firmly convinced that President Eisenhower would be re-elected and that America would then direct her policy towards the liberation of the peoples subjugated by Moscow. But our hopes in this respect have, however, been sadly disappointed."

"Did you hope for any support from any of the neighbouring subjugated peoples?"

"Many of us were convinced that if our fight for freedom were successful, Hungary's example would also be followed by Ukraine, Roumania, Poland, and other countries."

Imre Nagy — a Transition-Stage Regime

"What was the nature of relations between Hungary and Yugoslavia? Was Tito popular in Hungary?"

"Tito was only popular in Hungary in so far as he broke with Moscow. The only thing we liked about Tito at the time was his breach with Moscow, but nothing else."

"What is the attitude of the Hungarian people to National Communism?"

"Communism failed to take root in Hungary. This fact can be seen from the 16 points of the programme of the Workers' Councils. According to these points, the kolchozes for instance were to be dissolved, and private farming was to be introduced again, etc."

"If the revolution was also directed against a National Communist regime, how do you explain the fact that the Imre Nagy government was on the whole supported by the insurgent population?"

"Nagy accepted all the demands of the Re-

volution Councils, including the annulment of the Warsaw Pact, the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, and the introduction of free elections. And it was solely for this reason that his regime was acknowledged, but only as a transition stage until general and really free elections should be carried out."

I was amazed at the political maturity of these Hungarian workers. Despite eleven years of Soviet rule, there was nothing Soviet whatsoever in the way they behaved or talked. And one of the things that struck me as I talked to them, was that one of them, seeing that there was no ashtray on the table, walked the whole length of the room twice, to the coal-scuttle, so as not to let any cigarette ash fall on the floor.

Goodbye, Hungary, — We shall return!

I said that I would like to talk to one of the women-refugees, and thereupon a fair-haired, young Hungarian woman was brought into the room. I asked her how she had managed to get across the frontier. She told me in a voice that was quite hoarse, as she was suffering from a severe cold, "There were eleven of us, including seven children, the eldest of which was a little girl of 6½. We drove along out-of-the-way lanes towards the frontier, in order to dodge the tanks which were following us. Thirteen kilometres before we reached the frontier we left our horses, which were completely exhausted, behind, and proceeded on foot, carrying the children in our arms."

"Did you take part in the fighting?"

"No, because I have a baby which is only a few weeks old. But my husband was one of the fighters for freedom. We left all our possessions behind, as it was impossible for us to take anything with us. We were very sad to leave our country, but I am firmly convinced that we shall be able to return there some day."

"And what are your plans for the immediate future?" I asked Mr. Bela and the other refugees.

"Our one and only wish is — to return home! But if we cannot do so very soon, we shall take on some kind of work here."

By this time it was seven o'clock and we were obliged to leave, though we were very sorry to have to say goodbye to these splendid, courageous Hungarian men and women.

Prof. R. Ostrowsky,
President of the Byelorussian Central Council

Whom Can One Believe?

The "Repatriation Committee" which has its headquarters in the East sector of Berlin and is run by former MVD general, Michailowitch, publishes a periodical which appears in the languages of the various foreign peoples of the U.S.S.R. and makes propaganda for repatriation among the emigrants in the West.

This year's September edition of the periodical in Byelorussian contains letters written by emigrants who have been repatriated, in which they describe conditions in their native country most favourably, and also appeals from persons in Byelorussia asking their relatives and friends who are living in the West as emigrants to return home. A certain Fjodor Mazura, for instance, who returned to his native country a short time ago, describes the Byelorussia of today as a "free and prosperous" country. At the same time, Mazura, who was undoubtedly already a Soviet agent whilst he was living in the West, attacks the Byelorussian emigrant organizations and, in particular, those of their representatives with whom he himself cooperated.

The fact that this "repatriate's" article is, as far as its contents are concerned, in conformity with what was dictated by the MVD, is not particularly surprising. What strikes us as more interesting are the contradictory statements made by the Communists and their masters. Whereas all the propaganda publications on the subject of repatriation extol the "joyful, prosperous and happy life" in Russian-ruled Byelorussia, the official organ of the Communist Party of the Byelorussian Soviet Republic, "Zwiesda", again and again gives the lie to all these fine phrases. As can easily be read between the lines in connection with the articles published by the "Zwiesda", the standard of living in Byelorussia has dropped to such an extent during the four decades of Russian Bolshevik rule there that the population can count themselves lucky if they only get enough bread and potatoes to keep them from starving.

That this statement is entirely in keeping with bitter reality, can be seen from various articles which have appeared in the above-mentioned Party organ; in its editions of July 5 and October 10, this year, for instance, it published certain statistics which referred to the state of the potato crop and clearly indicated the serious situation as regards supplies. According to the "Zwiesda", an unbelievable state of affairs, as far as fulfilling the fixed quotas and getting in the harvest was concerned, resulted in more than half the grain crop rotting out in the open and the potato crop being spoilt by frost because it was not got under cover in time. In view of such official statements, one can well imagine what living conditions must really be like in the Byelorussia of today, — conditions which the propaganda pamphlets of the East Berlin "Repatriation Committee" would have us believe are "happy and contented"!

And housing conditions in Bolshevik-ruled Byelorussia are no better. A leading article, entitled "The Uncompleted House", which was likewise published in the "Zwiesda" of October 10, 1956, gives the following picture of housing conditions: "A month ago we celebrated moving into the 38th house built under the social building scheme. It was indeed a joyful event. But the happy mood of those who had moved in rapidly vanished. Complaints were constantly being voiced. In the case of one tenant the walls had cracked as a result of the damp; in the case of other tenants the window-frames did not fit properly, the stoves were choked with soot, the doors would not close, or the electric lighting was faulty. As a result of inadequate drainage, the cellars were flooded after the rain." Such is the "happy life" in reality in Byelorussia under Communist rule.

The fact that the East Berlin "Repatriation Committee" resorts to such glaring lies about conditions in Byelorussia, for its propaganda purposes, makes one wonder to what extent one can credit its assurances that repatriates will be granted an amnesty. Such promises of an amnesty have been given in the U.S.S.R. on numerous occasions, but they only proved to be the undoing of those who believed them. And they had to pay for their credulity either with their lives or by being deported to the slave labour camps in Kolyma and Kamchatka. It is therefore not surprising that the latest campaign to recruit persons for repatriation,

Turkey for Independence of the Subjugated Nations

Extract from an Interview with Dr. Arin Engin, Member of the Turkish Historical Society (Turkish Academy)

Question: *What is your opinion of the foreign policy at present pursued by Moscow?*

Answer: Certainly the heavy pressure of the national liberation movements of the Ukrainians, Turkestanians, Poles, Hungarians and other peoples has forced the inhuman terrorists and criminals of the Kremlin to yield a little in their foreign policy, in order to gain time and to renew their ultimate aim which they will never abandon, namely the conquest of the world by that "supernation" (!), Russia.

Question: *What is your opinion of de-Stalinization?*

Answer: There is a proverb in Turkish which says, "A man going to Dimyat (Egypt) for rice, lost his wheat at home". It can be fittingly applied to the de-Stalinization policy, for the Russians, by resorting to this plan in order to win the good will of the national liberation movements within the Soviet Union and of the world in general and in order to gain a breathing-space for their criminal ends have lost a great deal, since the many political contradictions and divergences revealed in this policy have given the oppressed nations a chance to overthrow Stalinist terrorism and have also made the rest of the world discredit the sincerity of the Russian Communist ideology. This policy has shown that the sole aim which the Russians are endeavouring to achieve is the supremacy of Russian "Messianism" all over the world, — a Russian world conquest under the guise of Communism.

Question: *Do you consider that Moscow's chief aim at this stage is to bring about a discussion in its favour of the Dardanelles question by stressing the current problem of the Straits?*

Answer: The unscrupulous aim of Russian imperialism to obtain the Turkish Straits has been evident time and time again, but has always been frustrated by the determined opposition of the Turkish nation. At the present time, the Russians are hoping to kill two birds with one stone by means of their intrigues regarding the Suez Canal. They most certainly still pursue the aim mentioned above, but they are doomed to failure once more. And it will be a final and complete failure, for it is obvious that the Russian imperium has now reached the tottering point of total disintegration and destruction, — the downfall of the last imperium in the world.

Question: *Do you think that universal support of the national fight for freedom of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain by means of national revolutions would be able to bring about the downfall of the Russian Empire?*

Answer: I believe that the only way if we wish to avoid atomic warfare, to bring about the downfall of the Russian Empire, the happy realization of which is incontestable very soon, is to support wholeheartedly, morally and materially, the whole national liberation movements within and without that detestable

despite all the methods of bribery applied and all the pressure exerted on relatives, etc., meets with practically no response at all on the part of the emigrants in the West.

The Communist rulers, however, try out a special trick. To begin with, they allow the repatriates to live with their families, unmolested, in order to stress the repatriation propaganda. They can afford to do so, since they already have the repatriates firmly in hand. But after the latter have played their part as decoys for other emigrants and as soon as they attract attention in "confidential" circles by making remarks criticizing the regime or by pointing out the advantages of conditions in the West, they are promptly "liquidated". For there is nothing that the Bolshevik rulers dread more than the truth about life in the free world, against which they have sought to protect themselves by means of the Iron Curtain. Thus, even honest and well-meant appeals on the part of friends and relatives to emigrants, to return home, are nothing but a cunning trap devised by the regime which proves the undoing of the repatriates, without the said friends and relatives, who have been used as a tool in this case, however, being aware of this fact.

frontier which is known as the Iron Curtain. Such support must be so great as to start new liberation movements and unify them all in one single aim: the destruction and complete disintegration of the Russian Empire, — whatever colour it carries, red or white, it does not make much difference.

Question: *Do you agree with the idea of the ABN that the Russian imperium in any form, Communist or democratic, republican or monarchist, represents a world danger?*

Answer: The Russian character is an antithesis, in my opinion, of human justice and goodness, and for this reason the Russians throughout their whole history have never been capable of setting up an efficient state administration. Since every state is based in the first place on justice and moral goodness, and since the Russians have not been endowed with such high moral qualities, they always have been and will continue to be a menace to world peace and happiness until they are completely destroyed as a political entity.

Question: *Is public opinion in Turkey in favour of the disintegration of the Russian imperium into independent national states?*

Answer: In Turkish folklore and mythology and in Turkish epics there exists a historical national desire which is symbolized by a "Red Apple". Every Turk knows this "Red Apple", which has perhaps been inspired by the mythological "Apple of Discord". The "Red Apple" symbolizes the downfall of the Russian imperium and the destruction of every form of Russian state as long as the Russian nation as a whole remains evil, cruel, unscrupulous, and morally inferior. No one knows the Russians better than the Turks do. We have suffered much through their cruelty because of our own sincerity, honesty and goodness. In the course of the history of our country we have on countless occasions fought against them for the cause of justice. We know their inferiority both in peace and in war. They have deceived our peoples time and time again in order to achieve their own indescribably cruel imperialistic aims. But surely in the long run, good will triumph over evil; and all the nations subjugated by Russia will obtain their complete independence. This is the belief of all Turks.

As an example of the unspeakable atrocities committed by the Russians, both White and Red, I should like to mention the following historic fact: the whole population of the Crimean Khanate was entirely destroyed after the Russian occupation, that is to say from the time of the reign of Catherine II (1783) up to the present day. Half the Turks were forcibly deported to Turkey, whilst the other half were massacred or perished in Siberian camps (mostly in 1944). Today there is not a single Turk living in Crimea. Another example of the atrocities committed by the Russians can be seen in the case of our fellow-nation, the peace-loving and highly cultured Ukrainians, of whom 7,000,000 have perished at the hands of the Russians.

Question: *Is it in the interests of Turkey that independent national states of Turkestan, Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, North Caucasia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Byelorussia, and of the other nations that are at present subjugated by Moscow, should be set up on the ruins of the Russian imperium?*

Answer: It is certainly in the interests of Turkey, as well as in the interests of the whole of sincere humanity. The Atlantic Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights must be realized for every nation and for every individual; they must not merely be expressed on paper; and mankind must fight for their realization. Ideas that are not put into practice are dead.

It is our sincere wish that all our fellow-nations should obtain their complete independence very soon, both in the interests of Turkey, so that she may have friends instead of Russian imperialists as her neighbours, and in the interests of the realization of human ideals.

October 25, 1956.

The Ukrainians and the Hungarian Revolution

During the Hungarian Revolution the cooperation which exists between the peoples subjugated by Moscow was clearly evident, and this cooperation will be of the utmost importance for further wars of liberation and, under certain circumstances, will prove to be a death-blow for Moscow.

A most vital fact in the first promising stage of the Hungarian Revolution was the conduct of the units of the Soviet Army stationed in Hungary, which for the most part consisted of Ukrainians. These units showed a friendly attitude towards the Hungarian fighters for freedom, and a considerable number of Ukrainians — Soviet soldiers and officers — went over to the side of the Hungarians and joined forces with them.

Thus, after the first combats between the Hungarian fighters for freedom and the units of the Soviet Army, Moscow was no longer in a position to crush the insurrection and saw itself forced to transfer its elite guards divisions, composed mainly of Russians, to Hungary.

This fact did not entirely escape the notice of the Western world, and part of the American press, in particular, published special commentaries on this subject.

The "New York Post" of November 9th published an article by S. Allen, which was based on documents received in Washington and which stated that the reason why the Kremlin transferred 8 divisions from Russia to Hungary, in order to crush the Hungarian Revolution, was that it doubted the "trustworthiness" of the occupation troops already stationed in Hungary. The article went on to say that this fact proved decisive for the apparently somewhat hesitant decision of the Kremlin at first, to use its own military forces against the Hungarian fighters for freedom, for from the very start the Kremlin was determined to crush the Hungarian Revolution. It was pointed out that the majority of the units stationed in Hungary, however, consisted of Ukrainians and that the Russians' mistrust of the Ukrainians had been aroused still more by the friendly behaviour of the soldiers of these units towards the Hungarian population. Once the puppet government had been liquidated, so the article stressed, Moscow had become seriously alarmed at the numerous reports of fraternization between the Ukrainians and the Hungarians, and, on various occasions, in fact, Ukrainians, taking their weapons and tanks with them, had gone over to the side of the Hungarians.

The American journal, "Newsweek", of November 26th, also published a short report on the same subject, which although it does not actually mention the Ukrainians nevertheless obviously refers to the same facts when it quotes a news item received from Vienna. In a commentary entitled "The Red Gambits" it is stated that the grim network of the Russian security service, headed by General Ivan Serov, is making a thorough search in Hungary for the 3000 Soviet soldiers, including 60 tank equipments, who deserted and went over to the Hungarian fighters for freedom. Most of them, so the report adds, have joined the Hungarian underground movement.

A.B.N. Demonstration in Canada

On November 4, 1956, an anti-Communist demonstration was organized by the A.B.N. in Winnipeg (Canada), under the leadership and at the initiative of Father Semen Yizhyk, the chairman of the A.B.N. in Winnipeg. Ukrainians, Hungarians, Slovaks, Byelorussians, Croats, Lithuanians, Estonians, and Latvians took part in the demonstration, the purpose of which was to express the solidarity of these peoples with the Hungarian fight for national liberation. A resolution was passed requesting Foreign Minister Pearson in Ottawa and the UN to intervene immediately and to help the Hungarian insurgents.

The members of the various nationalities present at the meeting carried their national flags. A priest, Father Pius, of the Hungarian Catholic Church, delivered a speech on the situation in Hungary. A wreath, bearing the inscription, "To the fighters for freedom of the nations subjugated by Moscow", was placed on the Unknown Soldier's grave in Winnipeg. Detailed reports on the demonstration were given by the English press, radio and television.



Budapest in the first days of the liberation war. "Russians go home"!

Big Protest Meeting in Munich

Under the motto of "Freedom for Eastern Europe", the Ukrainian Committee for the Defense of the Victims of National, Political and Religious Persecution in the U.S.S.R. on November 25th held a big rally in the "Deutsches Museum" in Munich.

Recent events in Hungary and in other countries subjugated by Moscow, and the appeal of the Ukrainian political prisoners in Soviet concentration camps to the United Nations were the reason for the rally.

The rally was outstanding proof of the close cooperation which exists between the emigrant representatives of the peoples enslaved by Moscow, a fact which is likely to be of considerable significance in the future.

Speakers at the rally were E. Ströhr (Hungarian Liberation Movement), B. von Bokor (Hungarian Refugees' Committee), Prof. Dr. Durcansky (former Foreign Minister of Slovakia), Prince N. Nakashidze (member of the Presidium of the Georgian National Organization and Secretary-General of the A.B.N.), Prof. Wierer (Czech Organization), and Major-General V. Jadranski (Croatian National Liberation Movement). The resolution of the rally was read by the Polish representative, Mr. Dziekanowski.

The German representatives who spoke at the rally were Dr. Becher, member of the Bavarian parliament and chairman of the BHE/GB party, and Mr. Franz Gaksch, CSU member of the Bavarian parliament. In his address Dr. Becher stressed the fact that there could be no free Germany without a free Ukraine and, vice versa, no free Ukraine without a free Germany. Mr. Gaksch said that coexistence with the Russians was impossible, since they resorted to brutal power. He added that Russian imperialism could only be checked by other countries likewise resorting to such power.

Mr. W. P. Stachiw, one of the Ukrainian representatives, described events in the East European countries and referred to Article 58 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., according to which the Soviets sentence members of other nations and put them in concentration camps, or, as in the case of the Hungarian fighters for freedom, abduct them. He said that he was extremely surprised that the Soviet Union had ever been accepted as a member of the United Nations, seeing that it had Article 58 in its Constitution. In addition to the above-mentioned speakers, Mr. Kalynyk, a Ukrainian political prisoner in Soviet concentration camps from 1933 to 1939, and Mr.

A. Bilynskyj, who was released a year ago after ten years' internment in Soviet concentration camps, also spoke at the rally.

At the end of the meeting two resolutions were passed; the first resolution requested the United Nations to set up a commission for the investigation of conditions in the concentration camps and slave labour camps in the Soviet Union, and to deal with the appeal of the Ukrainian internees on the agenda

of the United Nations. The second resolution referred to events in the East European countries and requested the Western world to take appropriate measures against the Soviet Union, for the crimes committed by Moscow.

Immediately after the rally, a press conference was held, during which the photostats and translations of the appeal of the Ukrainian internees were handed over to the press.

Distress and Suffering in Carpatho-Ukraine

The "Exile Newspaper Service" of November 16th publishes a report by a teacher, who succeeded in escaping from Carpatho-Ukraine a short time ago and who gives the following account of conditions there:

"Conditions in Carpatho-Ukraine at present are terrible. The people are so dreadfully poor that most of them are obliged to walk about barefooted; if they do possess any footwear, then there is usually not more than one pair of shoes or boots for the whole family. In most cases handwoven materials made at home are used for clothing. Foodstuffs are dear and poor in quality. A snack in one of the restaurants in Chust, which, incidentally, are few in number, costs 4 to 5 roubles, which is a lot of money, if one takes into account that the rate of exchange for 100 roubles is 100 DM (German Marks). Very often it is impossible to obtain bread for days on end. Owing to the serious food situation large numbers of the population, above all the farmers and workers, of Carpatho-Ukraine are forced to emigrate to Russia in order to get work there. They do so only under the pressure of circumstances, for they are well aware of the fact that they are paid much less in the Soviet Union than the Russians.

The roads in Carpatho-Ukraine are in a shocking condition, and where repairs are carried out, these are usually done by women. All the churches in Chust have been closed down, with the exception of two Orthodox churches. In Uzhorod, the second largest town in Carpatho-Ukraine, all the churches save one have been closed down."

But not everybody living in Carpatho-Ukraine at present is obliged to suffer like the native population. In the former spas, Volowe and Volowec, there are luxurious villas which are frequented by "guests" from Moscow, who behave in a most unrestrained manner. They hold drinking orgies

and go hunting. The militiamen round up the hunt-drivers, who, however, are never very keen to report for duty, since it happens quite frequently that the "prominent guests" are drunk and fire at the drivers. The "prominent guests" also have to be kept provided with young girls for entertainment as they are not content merely with hunting and drinking.

Not far away from Volowe and Volowec, the Soviet Union reveals its true character. Southeast of Volowec there is the provincial town of Rohowo with the concentration camps, "Dumen I" and "Dumen II". In addition to these, three further camps are being built. Concentration camps are at present also being built in Jasinia —, namely so-called transit concentration camps, through which those prisoners pass who are being taken further into the interior of the Soviet Union. Since November 6th, so-called "travelling concentration camps" have been arriving in Uzhorod from Hungary, that is to say, goods trains, consisting of sealed trucks with air-holes, protected by barbed wire. People can be heard inside the trucks, screaming for water, in Hungarian. Guards stand on duty round these trains and refuse to allow anyone to approach the trucks and relieve the distress of the prisoners by handing them vessels containing water. After a short stop on a siding, the trains proceed in the direction of Rohowo, and it is assumed that the prisoners are taken to the transit concentration camps there, only to be abducted to the Soviet Union later on.

Internees in the transit concentration camps in Rohowo are interrogated in a building which is equipped with so-called "cages", in which the prisoners are tortured.

Such is the true character of the Soviet Union which has once more been revealed to the world, in Hungary.

From Behind the Iron Curtain

BOHEMIA

According to the latest reports, an oppressive calm at present prevails in Czecho-Slovakia. Broadcast appeals are complied with and statements issued by the government and the Communist Party authorities are accepted without comment. Even the Hungarian minority in the Slovak Csemadok (Union of Hungarian Workers in Czecho-Slovakia) has been forced to express its satisfaction at the suppression of the Hungarian revolt, in a proclamation. Manifestations of loyalty to Moscow are constantly being given by the radio and the press; appeals are issued stressing the duty of the workers to form voluntary brigades in the factories, and the "huge increase" of new members in the Communist Party is mentioned. Shortly before the collapse of the revolution in Hungary the Prague government sent the Nagy government a telegram, in which it was clearly stated that Czecho-Slovakia could not remain indifferent in the face of Hungary's "rash course", since the latter was a "threat to all socialist achievements". Soon afterwards, Czecho-Slovakian troops deployed along the Hungarian frontier and entrenched themselves there. So far, however, no reports have been received regarding any direct intervention on the part of these troops. On the strength of their experience with the Hungarian army, the Soviets no doubt prefer to do without the assistance of the Czecho-Slovakian troops.

BULGARIA

A wave of arrests has recently occurred in Bulgaria, its purpose being to forestall and prevent riots from breaking out as was the case in Hungary and Poland. The extent to which these arrests have been carried out can be seen from the fact that all the prisons and concentration camps in Bulgaria are overcrowded, and that new concentration camps have been set up, that is to say, former concentration camps which had been "closed down" have now been reopened. Countless prisoners, including the high dignitary of the Orthodox Church, Archimandrite Stefan, are interned on the island of San Anastasia in the Black Sea, which lies opposite the Bulgarian harbour of Burgas. More divisions of the Soviet Army have meanwhile arrived in Bulgaria in order, if needs be, to crush all attempts on the part of the population to assert its liberation aims.

After countless persons have been arrested, including the former Prime Minister Muravieff and various other well-known personalities, Soviet troops have now marched into Bulgaria, in order to prevent a recurrence of what happened in Hungary.

BYELORUSSIA

The statistics published by the Soviets, which hitherto have always been a state secret, indicate a very considerable decrease in population in Byelorussia. According to these statistics, if, indeed, one may credit them, the population in Byelorussia now numbers 1.2 million less than in the year 1940. If one takes into account the normal increase in population, then the population of Byelorussia numbers 1.5 million persons less than one would expect. On the other hand, however, the statistics indicate a considerable increase in population in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (in Russia proper).

The statistics are one-sided, inasmuch as they do not include the countless thousands of young persons who have been abducted for the purpose of cultivating new districts in Kazakstan and other regions of the Soviet Union, in the figures for the Soviet Republic from which these young persons have been abducted.

The paper, "Snamja Junosti", which appears in Minsk, was formerly called "Stalin Youth" and is still the organ of the "Komsomol", publishes a

report about further "volunteers", who are transferred in batches every day to the Far East, to Siberia and to regions in the Arctic Circle. These young persons are forced to work in the iron ore mines, on the construction of the railway route from Alma-Ata to beyond the Chinese frontier, and on the opening up of new regions in Kazakstan. Although the above-mentioned newspaper has received and, in fact, quoted numerous letters, describing the dreadful conditions in all these regions, from young persons who have been abducted and could not stand the life there and fled back home again, it still tries to recruit other "volunteers" who would be willing to go to these regions, and actually accuses the writers of such letters of being "chuligans".

ESTHONIA

The former President of Esthonia, Konstantin Püts, the Commander-in-Chief of the Esthonian Army, General Johan Laidoner, and his wife, and many other prominent persons were among those who were abducted from the Baltic States and put into prisons in the Soviet Union. Konstantin Püts and Johan Laidoner both died in Soviet prisons after suffering years of misery, privations, torture, and solitary confinement. Thousands of their fellow-countrymen have suffered the same fate, and to this day are either languishing in Soviet concentration camps or are being forced to do slave labour in the uncultivated regions of the Asiatic part of the Soviet Union.

HUNGARY

As was reported by someone who arrived in Munich from Hungary a few days ago, the insurgents there are greatly disappointed and embittered at the fact that no help whatsoever has been forthcoming from America. In view of the assurances given by Eisenhower on numerous occasions, to the effect that the U.S.A. must support the cause of freedom of the satellite nations, the Hungarians assumed for certain that America would at least support them with arms, even if military intervention should be impossible. The Hungarians, so the report adds, have, however, meanwhile come to the conclusion that the U.S.A. is contemplating the possibility of cooperating with Nagy and for this reason has left the insurgents in the lurch.

It is pointed out that this more than fateful idea of coexistence, which would only serve to support the national Communist regime in Hungary as in Poland, would cost the West the sympathy it has hitherto enjoyed in Southern and Eastern Europe. The speaker voiced the opinion that the Americans would have the same experience as the Germans had when they occupied Ukraine. When the Ukrainians realized that their hopes that the Germans would liberate them, were in vain, the sympathy they had manifested at the start towards the Germans turned to violent hatred. This state of affairs, so the speaker stressed, was already evident in Hungary at the present time where the sentiments of the population were anti-American.

On the other hand, however, the Hungarians, so he added, felt that close ties existed between them and the Austrians, and moving scenes were enacted along the frontiers, wherever the Austrians and Hungarians had a chance to come into contact once more. The spontaneous help which the population of Austria had offered the Hungarian insurgents — and it had been the first to do so —, so the speaker stressed, had revived this long-standing feeling of kinship between the two peoples and would ensure more than merely friendly cooperation between them in the future.

LATVIA

It has now been learnt from reliable sources that the former President of Latvia, Karlis Ulmanis, who was arrested in 1940 after Russia seized the Baltic States and was kept in strict solitary con-

finement in Soviet prisons in Kirow and in the Butyrka prison in Moscow, died during his imprisonment. The Latvian Foreign Minister, Helms Munters, and his wife, who, after they were arrested, were separated from their children and abducted to the Soviet Union, died whilst being taken to Siberia.

LITHUANIA

The former Prime Minister of Lithuania, Antanas Merkys, who, together with his wife and small son, was arrested after the Soviet occupation of the Baltic States and imprisoned in the prisons in Wjatka and Iwanowo and in the Butyrka prison in Moscow, was sentenced to twenty-five years because of "anti-national activity". In 1954 he was supposed to have been released on the grounds of an amnesty. He is at present living in a prison camp settlement in Vladimir, east of Moscow. Permission for him to leave the town has for the present been refused. The same fate was also shared by the former Lithuanian Foreign Minister, Jozuas Urbysys, who is likewise said to be in Vladimir at present.

POLAND

Following the reorganization of the leadership of the Communist Party, purges have now been carried out in the subordinate Party organizations of the individual voivodes (provinces). Numerous Communist committees have been forced to resign.

Mass-Resignations from Kolchozes

The "democratization measures" have now met with a reaction in the rural areas of Poland, too. The collective farms which were forcibly established some time ago are now beginning to disintegrate to an ever-increasing extent. So far more than 2,000 farmers in the provinces of Breslau and Bromberg alone have handed in their resignation from the kolchozes and have filed applications for the restitution of their property. Incidentally, the chairman of the Committee for Collective Planning stated that most of the forcibly established collective farms were in any case only able to exist thanks to various kinds of state financial grants.

Mass-Deportation of Jews

Government circles in Warsaw are extremely alarmed at reports they have received about the mass-deportation of the Polish population of Western Ukraine and Lithuania to Siberia. The majority of the victims of these deportations are Jews. Relatives and friends of Jewish families living in Lemberg and Wilno have received despairing letters from the latter. In many of these letters suicide is mentioned as the only way out.

The deportations began about three weeks ago. The main destination of the deportees is the Siberian region of Birohitchan, whither Soviet Russian Jews were already deported in large numbers during the purges in the 1930's. Other groups of deportees have apparently been sent to the mining area of Kolyma in the Arctic region of Siberia.

RUMANIA

During the Hungarian Revolution students and workers in Roumania, too, also rioted. Assisted by the Soviet Army, the Moscow-ruled Communist government in Bucharest has taken steps to prevent any further demonstrations. The negotiations of the Roumanian delegation in Moscow were intentionally prolonged, in order, on the one hand, to deceive the Roumanian people into believing that the regime is to be relaxed, and, on the other hand, to gain time to suppress the Hungarian Revolution completely so that an insurrection in Roumania shall not occur at the same time as the revolution in Hungary. In order to divert the attention of the population from events in Hungary, the Roumanian National Assembly is at present discussing the new "election law", which will allegedly permit greater freedom of election. The election results can, of course, already be foreseen, but it is hardly likely that such methods will be able to deceive the Roumanian people much longer.



SLOVAKIA

According to reliable information, skirmishes are reported to have occurred in Slovakia between Slovak insurgents and PVS units. Members of the Slovak resistance movement have on several occasions destroyed the tracks of the "Friendship Railroad" at various points. For this reason, the number of troops entrusted with the task of guarding this railway route, which leads to Russia, have now been increased fourfold.

The workers of Slovakia are wholeheartedly in sympathy with the Hungarian insurgents, a fact which is evident from the large number of leaflets which are circulated secretly and the slogans which are written up on the walls of the mines and factories during the night. It is reported by someone who has just returned from Czecho-Slovakia that the population there is buying up all the goods in stock in the shops, since riots are expected to break out there any day. The same person also mentioned the fact that there are PVS sentries on guard in front of all the big factories, that the soldiers of the army have had all leave stopped, and that speakers at propagandist meetings are escorted by a strong civilian guard. He said that the situation in general had reached boiling-point. All attempts on the part of the Party functionaries to pacify the masses meet with opposition, and the leading functionaries who try to hold warning speeches in the mines and factories about "provocation and agents", either address empty assembly halls, or find themselves jeered and hooted at.

Government circles are in a state of nervous suspense and fear, since they expect the smouldering fuse to cause the powder-barrel on which the Prague rulers are enthroned, to explode at any moment.

*

At the beginning of October this year, the Slovak Roman Catholic bishops, Jan Vojtassak and Dr. Michal Buzalka, were released from the prison in Leopoldov. Both of them were sentenced in 1951 to long terms of imprisonment by the Communists, because of their loyalty to the Vatican and to the Slovak Republic. No doubt they were released in October because of old age, but in any case they have not been allowed to resume their ecclesiastical office. After their release they were sent to a remote spot in Slovakia and placed under police surveillance.

The chief organ of the Communist Party in Slovakia, the "Pravda", once again attacked the Slovak Liberation Committee in its editions of October 7th and October 13th this year. Communist propaganda in Slovakia is trying its utmost to discredit the Slovak Liberation Committee in the eyes of the Slovak population, but so far has not met with the least success in this respect.

After the outbreak of the Hungarian anti-Communist national insurrection, riots broke out in numerous towns in Slovakia, but were suppressed by the Communist police. The broad masses in Slovakia are, however, expressing their sympathy with the Hungarian fighters for freedom in various ways. The Communist press publishes violent and insulting attacks against the Hungarian insurgents in its daily editions. A few days after the outbreak of the Hungarian war of liberation, the Prague government issued orders that the entire frontier between Slovakia and Hungary was to be occupied and guarded by military units. The situation in Slovakia continues to be one of tension. The Prague government has advised the Slovak diplomatic representatives in Prague to return to Slovakia since, so it affirmed, it could not guarantee for their personal safety there.



TURKISTAN

In Turkestan the Soviets have adopted certain special measures, which appear to indicate preparations for a war. The journal "Wojnyne Znamia", of October 1956 (the organ of the Voluntary Union for the Furtherance of the Soviet Army, Air Force, and Navy — DOSAAF), reports that "soldiers, under the guidance of officers, have carried out a mountaineering tour as a sports training, near to the frontier between Turkestan and Iran." Actually, this tour was a mountain manoeuvre held by the reinforcements of the Soviet Army which arrived in Turkestan in

September, as can be seen from an article published in the Soviet military paper, "Krasnaja Swesda", No. 271. This article states: "The present military tension, created by warmongers in the Near East, makes it imperative that the Soviet Army should at all times stand by in fighting readiness . . . Above all, great responsibility now rests with the military district command in Turkestan, the military units of which are at present stationed in that territory of the Soviet Union which is now directly threatened by the aggressors of the Near East. Irrespective of the ultimate issue of the war in the Suez Canal Zone, the fighting readiness of the troops of the military district command in Turkestan must in no way be relaxed . . ."

The "Pravda", of November 27, turns its attention to the economic situation in Turkestan and in particular to the passive resistance put up by the population, and writes as follows: "The population of Amu-Dar'j and of the mountain districts of Kopet-Dahi is intentionally delaying deliveries of cotton. The koldhoses, too, have not fulfilled the quotas which were fixed in connection with the increase of livestock. Many of the koldhos workers have simply abandoned their work and have gone off to look for a chance of earning more wage in the factories . . ."



UKRAINE

Riots and Sabotage in Ukraine

In its edition of November 20th, the English newspaper, "Daily Telegraph", published a detailed report by its correspondent in Vienna, Gordon Shepherd, in which he mentions the demoralization of the Soviet military units in Hungary and the fact that riots have occurred in Ukraine. During the past few days, so he reports, some of the Soviet soldiers fled to Yugoslavia, surrendered arms and asked for refuge, whilst others gave their weapons to the Hungarian insurgents.

According to his report, acts of sabotage have occurred in Ukraine on the railway routes to Hungary, in order to prevent reinforcements of Soviet troops from reaching Hungary. One of such acts of sabotage, so he adds, was carried out south of Peremysl, not far from the Polish frontier.

Riots are said to have taken place in Ukraine, above all in Carpatho-Ukraine. The Soviets concentrated four infantry divisions in the district of Uzhorod, as they feared that acts of sabotage might be carried out on the important strategic route which connects Lemberg with Budapest.

A report in the "Daily Express", of November 20th, likewise mentions riots in Ukraine.

New Deportations from Western Ukraine

Further concentration of Soviet forces on the east frontiers of Poland and mass deportation of the population of Western Ukraine have caused considerable anxiety in Poland. At the beginning of November, the Russians transferred about 10 divisions from Latvia to Poland, in order to have them standing by in readiness and with the intention of sending them to East Germany. Persons living in Western Ukraine are being deported to Central Russia and to Siberia en masse.

Riots in Ukraine

The Dutch correspondent of the newspaper "Telegraf", writing from Austria, reports that during the war of liberation in Hungary riots also took place in Ukraine, which were crushed by the same brutal measures as were applied in Hungary. He adds that he received this information from Hungarian refugees who arrived in Austria.

Unrest in Other Countries

The Western press has recently published various reports about cases of unrest and demonstrations in different countries behind the Iron Curtain.

In East Germany, students in Dresden tried to start a transport strike, whilst in Rodenberg a monument to the memory of soldiers of the Red Army was attacked and destroyed. It is also reported that farmers demanded free elections for appointment to positions in agricultural organizations.

In Roumania, especially in the frontier zone bordering on Hungary which is for the most part inhabited by Hungarians, demonstrations continue.

Demonstrations and riots are also reported from Bulgaria, where the Communist Party is at present in the throes of a crisis owing to the split between the "Stalinists" and the "Liberals". According to recent press reports, the Bolsheviks have sent a large number of divisions to Bulgaria in order to suppress the fierce riots which have broken out among the population.

BOOK-REVIEWS

Ukraine under the Soviets, by Clarence A. Manning. Bookman Associates, Inc., 34 East 23rd Street, New York 10, N.Y.

An acknowledged expert on things Slavonic, Clarence A. Manning of Columbia University's Slavic Department, has written a timely and informative volume on life under Communism.

In writing this book, Professor Manning has had the help of a distinguished group of Ukrainian DP professors now resident in Western Europe. These specialists made available to him the results of a series of detailed studies on every aspect of life in Ukraine under Communist rule.

The volume, therefore, presents much valuable information that has not been available before. The specialist and general reader will find much of significance on social and economic conditions, agriculture, religion, population shifts (forced and natural), Soviet linguistic policy, Ukrainian literature, the natural sciences under the Soviets, medicine.

Sharing importance with this information and, perhaps, of greater significance for the Free World, is the fact that Ukraine and its population have been from the beginning of Communist rule used as a gigantic laboratory for future Soviet conquest. It is among the Ukrainian people that the Soviet masters worked out their program of disintegration, infiltration, conquest, exploitation and russification that they have employed so successfully since the end of World War II. It has cost the Ukrainians dearly to serve as this laboratory for they have perished by the millions in this process.

What happened in Ukraine is now going on in Warsaw, Budapest, Bucharest, Sofia, in Ulan Bator, Peking and Pyongyang. The object of this book is to study this process. Once that is understood, much that is obscure in the history of the last years will become clear and we will know what to expect in the satellites behind the Iron Curtain and what methods can best be devised to check the Soviet paralysis of civilization. J. M.

500 Ukrainian Martyred Women. Edited by Stephanie Halydyn. Published by The United Ukrainian Women's Organizations of America, Inc. New York 1956.

This book has grown out of the demand to make known to the world the suffering of humanity "behind the Iron Curtain" and the conditions prevailing in the Soviet concentration camps in which thousands upon thousands of our Ukrainian men and women find themselves today.



ABN CORRESPONDENCE

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

Munich, Zepelinstr. 67
Phone: 4 10 69 -:- Germany

Editorial Staff: Board of Editors
Editor responsible: D. B. Osinsky

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

Reproduction permitted but only with indication of source (A.B.N.-Corr.).

Annual subscription DM 4.— in Germany, 2 Dollars in U.S.A., 12 shillings in Great Britain, and the equivalent of 2 Dollars in all other countries.

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

Erscheinungsort: München

Herausgeber: Presse-Büro des Antibolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen (ABN), München 8, Zepelinstraße 67/0, Telefon 4 10 69

Schriftleitung: Redaktionskollegium

Verantwortlicher Redakteur: D. B. Osinsky

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Vol. VIII. No. 3/4. March/April 1957

• Published in English and German •

Price: 1s; 40 c

Limits of Atomic Warfare

Hungary's revolutionary fight for freedom has shown that the liberation of the nations subjugated by Moscow can only be achieved by means of the integral liberation and simultaneous national revolutionary insurrection of all the nations within and outside the U.S.S.R. which are subjugated by the Kremlin. The separate liberation of any one nation is impossible, all the more so if the free world maintains a passive attitude, — as the Hungarian revolution has likewise proved.

The riots organized by the prisoners in Vorkuta, Kingiri and Norilsk at the initiative of the Ukrainian fighters for freedom, the workers' insurrections in Berlin and Poznan, like the revolt in Hungary, have shown that a national revolution is possible even under the conditions of Russian Bolshevist terrorism. The most important achievement of all these insurrections is the fact that the people have overcome their fear of the totalitarian Russian and Communist system. This change of attitude on the part of the masses is a factor of the utmost importance which will prove decisive for the future fate of the Soviet regime. The fact that the younger generation and the workers have now become the vanguard of the revolution is evidence of the complete failure of materialistic training, of the Marxist Leninist doctrine of class conflict and of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The weapon of Marx and Lenin in the fight against capitalism and the guarantee of a capitalistic defeat, namely a general strike, has, in the hands of the workers, become the most dangerous weapon against Marxo-Leninism as the expression of modern Russian imperialism. The younger generation, on whom Communism had set all its hopes, has now become the champion of the national anti-Communist and anti-Russian fight for freedom. The mask worn by Communism as a disguise for the Russian lust of conquest has been torn aside. Communism of every kind, including national Communism, has been rejected in principle by the masses of the farming and working classes and by the younger generation.

"Down with the Russians! Down with Communism of every kind!" were the leading

watchwords of the revolution for freedom. The fact that about 15,000 Ukrainian soldiers of the Soviet Army went over to the side of the Hungarian freedom fighters — a fact which, incidentally, was reported in the world press — proves that the U.S.S.R. is no longer to be regarded as a monolithic unit. And it also brings home to the world the fact that 55 per cent of the soldiers of the Soviet Army are non-Russians, who will join forces with the national fighters for freedom against the Russian subjugators. The precondition which would speed up this process would be the proclamation of the **Big Charter of the State Independence of the Nations** and, above all, the disintegration of the Russian imperium into national states.

The fact that Ukrainian, White Ruthenian

and other non-Russian soldiers of the Soviet Army went over to the side of the insurgents clearly shows that the vulnerable spot of Bolshevism, as a form of Russian and, in fact, any imperialism, is definitely the **national problem**. Which leads to the logical conclusion that the anti-Bolshevist and anti-imperialist national idea of liberation, embodied in the national, democratic state sovereignty of every one of the peoples subjugated by Moscow (whether in the U.S.S.R. or amongst the so-called satellites), and a just social order for the welfare of the workers and farmers are the guiding principles of the liberation revolution. The disintegration of the Russian imperium, whatever its political colour may be, and the elimination of every form of Communism and every system of

Continued on Page 2

Bonapartism Replaces A Myth?

The West is surprised. On the side of the subjugators or on that of the subjugated peoples?

The tragic events in Budapest are described as the "moral Stalingrad of world Bolshevism" and as the "Waterloo of Marxist ideology in its Moscow form", and rightly so. The West evinces surprise at the ruthless brutality, the cynicism, mendacity and cunning of the Kremlin rulers. None of us would have needed to be surprised if we had better memories, — that is to say if we had not forgotten that the same men, who are now in power, on previous occasions let millions of Ukrainians starve to death in order to break their will to freedom, murdered or abducted thousands of persons in the Baltic states, and unscrupulously enslaved and exploited the colonial peoples of the Great Russia imperium. Yes, they are the very same men: Khrushchev, Serov and Bulganin, to mention but a few of them. And the system, too, is the same: a police state built up on violence and expansion aims. Is there any reason then why anyone should be surprised at the events in Hungary? The only thing that is surprising is the extent to which the West has been lulled by Moscow's Fifth Column, by the advocates of coexistence and by its own suicidal wishful thinking, and has become a victim of the Kremlin's systematic propaganda. We shall do better in future to take more notice of the blood-stained hands of Moscow's spokesmen rather than of their smiling masks.

It is not the political wisdom of the West, nor the allegedly friendly atmosphere of the coexistence conference in Geneva, nor any concessions on the part of the West as payment or part-payment to Moscow that have helped to set events moving in Eastern Europe. For years we have failed to regard those forces which engendered the resistance in Poland and Hungary as our allies in the fight for a free Europe. We have been presumptuous and blind in disregarding the indomitable will to freedom of the subjugated peoples, their hatred of an alien power in the form of a Soviet system forced on them against their will, their dread of Russification, their contempt of the mendacity and cynicism of the governors sent by Moscow to rule them, and their determination to become members of the community of European peoples once more. When they stretched

out their hands to us in a gesture of appeal in Budapest, Poznan, and in Berlin in 1953, we failed them. Our way of thinking was not dynamic enough and we reconciled ourselves all too easily to events. We are now endeavouring to quiet our guilty conscience by an expiatory offering for the victims. We shall be obliged to make big sacrifices.

We have no political programme as regards Eastern Europe, and, what is even more serious, we have no internal relationship to the peoples subjugated by Moscow. We debate as to whether we should reach an understanding with Moscow or with Moscow's governors in the satellite countries, that is to say with the big or with the small subjugators, and overlook the fact that in doing so we are attacking our only possible allies, the subjugated peoples, in the rear. We must come to an understanding with these peoples and thus establish a starting-point for a practical policy in Eastern affairs. This indeed is a difficult task, but one that is vital and urgent. If we do not join forces with the fight for freedom of these peoples, there can be no hope of a return to our native country or of an appeasement in Eastern Europe. It is quite possible that new and unexpected events may occur in the East in the near future. Are we to face them helplessly once again, because we have no set programme?

A very large majority of experts are of the opinion that decisive changes are to be expected in the Soviet Union in the near future. Yes, indeed, there are serious-minded observers of the political development in the Great Russian sphere of influence who believe that the next important events will most probably occur not in one of the satellite states, but in the Soviet Union itself. As a result of the shift in the social structure of the population, the accretion of the administrative system, which wrongly designates itself as the Communist Party, and the very obvious rejection of Bolshevist doctrines by the younger generation, certain sentiments have been aroused, which, so the experts say, are already influencing the attitude of many of the population; the Kremlin is now only regarded as the head of a totalitarian state, and no longer as the source and brain of a moving ideological force. The fire of the revolution of the Communist Party has died out, and people are now longing for a lawful and orderly

From the Contents

	Page
Dr. D. Waltschiff	
Bulgaria Affected by Events in Hungary	3
Dr. D. Donzow	
Peace and Prosperity, or — Freedom?	3
Miloslav Svoboda	
The Situation in Czecho-Slovakia	4
M. S.	
On the Threshold of a New Era	5
General J. D. Vito	
The Policy of Missed Opportunities	8
Janos von Corody-Catona	
Cardinal Mindszenty	9

social and economical exploitation are, therefore, the main watchwords of every future revolution in Eastern Europe which can count on success.

It must be borne in mind that the Russians in the U.S.S.R. only constitute 47 per cent of the population, and this is not even counting the population of the European so-called satellite countries which amounts to 88 millions. These figures likewise indicate the importance of the national problem in the Bolshevik-controlled territory.

The fact that Kossuth and not Horthy has become the symbol of the present national revolution in Hungary is, moreover, an indication of the social nature of this revolution and of its anti-Moscow attitude. Kossuth was the hero of the Hungarian war of liberation which was waged against Russia in 1849, when the army of the Tsar, in keeping with the spirit of "enlightened despotism" of the absolute rulers at that time, put down the national rising.

If one sets one's hopes on national liberation revolutions, then it is logical that there must be planned and systematic action amongst the soldiers of the Soviet Army so that they accordingly direct their weapons against the subjugator and go over to the side of the revolution. The Hungarian revolution is, in the first place, rather a war of liberation against alien, in this case Russian, occupation. Moreover, every form of imperialism towards neighbouring peoples is alien to the Hungarian revolution; it is solely the idea of liberating their own people, without any claims or "historical pretensions" to foreign countries, which has mobilized the Hungarian masses. The recipe for success is the releasing of national, revolutionary chain reactions in all the countries subjugated by Moscow, which process must be actively supported by the free world. The preparation of this synchronized and co-ordinated liberation campaign requires such active support on the part of the West, for Moscow and Bolshevism are not only our enemies, but also the enemies of the whole world.

An essential precondition for the success of the revolution is the setting up of a politi-

cal planning centre, which would be acquainted with the treacherous and sly methods of Russian imperialism. It was precisely the fact that there was no such centre which made itself felt during the Hungarian revolution. Both regular divisions and divisions of the insurgents stood by inactively in Hungary, whilst the Russians slyly carried on negotiations regarding the transfer of their troops and at the same time concentrated new forces, only to arrest the Hungarian commanders who had been invited to take part in these negotiations, and in this way to undermine the revolution from the military point of view. There can be no doubt about the fact that Nagy, who since he himself is a Communist, trusted Moscow, was to blame for this state of affairs. The national revolutionary representatives of the anti-Communist and anti-Russian attitude which prevailed in Hungary would not have committed the mistakes made by Nagy, who, after all, was only a supporter of but not an active fighter for the revolution. Nagy's Communist mentality and his pro-Russian attitude were likewise obvious when he naively trusted Kadar and left the Yugoslav embassy; even the lesson he should already have learnt failed to cure him of his blindness. Furthermore, it was obvious that Kadar was "the wooden horse of Troy" that had been smuggled into Nagy's government by Moscow, but Nagy, a national Communist who had been trained to respect Moscow's "magnanimity", failed to realize this. Thus, the consequence to be drawn by the West is, that if it wishes to be victorious over Russian imperialism, it must set its hopes only on the national liberation forces and not on the national Communist ones.

The relaxing of the regime of the so-called satellites to the limits of Titoism means the collapse of every kind of liberation policy. The masses will spontaneously exceed these limits and in the end will have to face Russian tanks. For this reason, the only method which promises success is the drawing up of an extensive plan for the final, but not evolutionary, settling up with Bolshevism, that is to say for the preparation of the national libe-

ration revolution, organized by national forces who have never collaborated with Communism or Russian imperialism.

The preparation and planning of this form of national liberation revolution eliminates the "tragic surprises" which occurred in the case of Hungary, since it includes as its main aim large-scale, general and completely anti-Communist and anti-Russian "surprises".

It is a precondition for the successful co-ordination of the revolutionary fight for freedom of the subjugated peoples that the national liberation organizations and centres in exile, as representatives of the national liberation forces in their native countries, should be regarded by the Western major powers as **contracting parties**, instead of these same powers allowing them to be destroyed from within by subversive activity, as was the case so far.

The West shall give its support on the strength of its recognition of the national liberation idea, that is to say the disintegration of the Russian imperium and of all other artificial and forcibly created state structures of several nations, of the same type in the Muscovite sphere of influence, into national states, within their own ethnographical frontiers and with a just, democratic social order. The representatives of the national fight for freedom are to be treated by the West as partners with equal rights. This means that the West should place the means of conducting a psychological war at the disposal of the representatives of the liberation movement and should allow them a free hand in planning and carrying on this war in keeping with the organized liberation insurrection; it also means that the method of trying to exert purely tactical and cyclical pressure on the Kremlin which has been practised by "Radio Free Europe", "Radio Liberation" and "The Voice of America" should cease. A positive attitude on the part of the West towards the plan to destroy the Bolshevik imperium from within by means of national liberation revolutions and technical support of the cooperation of the national liberation organizations with their representatives abroad, would make a systematic, co-ordinated and synchronized action possible, would facilitate the political and strategic planning and organizing of the liberation revolution, and would result in a double exchange of ideas from the point of view of the subjugated countries and the free countries. "Radio Free Europe", "Radio Liberation" and "The Voice of America" have given encouragement to the subjugated peoples, have held out hopes to them and made promises, but at the crucial moment have left them in the lurch; they have treated the freedom fighters of Hungary as their **helpmates**, only to snatch a premium from Moscow as regards the partition of the world into two parts and to continue to respect the status quo, a fact which at present characterizes the main aim of American policy.

A change of attitude on the part of the West as regards the splitting up, the demobilization and discrimination of the representatives of the liberation fight in exile would lead to an intensification of the fight in the subjugated countries, since the watchwords of this fight are the same watchwords which are proclaimed by the representatives of the liberation fight in exile.

The chain reaction of revolutions would destroy the prison of nations from within. In order that this aim may be achieved, however, the free world must give its support from without and must approve of and agree to the plan of the national liberation organizations, on the basis of the ideology of the A.B.N.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) has again resorted to measures to prevent the transportation of reinforcements for the Muscovite occupation troops in Hungary via Ukraine and to stop the deportation of Hungarian freedom fighters from Hungary to Russia via Ukraine. This is the beginning of a chain reaction, but it is one which is **not co-ordinated**.

Bonapartism Replaces A Myth? (Continued from Page 1)

state of affairs. And the strife and contention among the men of the Kremlin, so it is pointed out, is connected with this fact.

Whatever happens, Marshal Zhukov, so it is said, holds the key position. The army put an end to Stalin's absolute rule, and it is likewise an established fact that the army liquidated Beria and, with him, the only power which existed apart from itself. Even if Molotov in his new capacity as Minister of State Control were to join forces with the General of the political police, Serov, he would have no chance of being able to swim against the current successfully. The Soviet marshals are alarmed at the fact that in Poland and Hungary the workers, soldiers and the youth of the country were the persons who rose up in revolt against the Soviet regime; and how far can the military leaders trust the Party, for it may have caused a similar state of affairs to exist in other satellite countries and possibly even in the Soviet Union, too.

It is affirmed again and again that at present there are only two leading personalities in Moscow who enjoy a certain amount of confidence among the population, -- Marshal Zhukov and Malenkov. Without much ado, the tradition of the Russian army is replacing Marxism and Leninism in the political instruction courses for soldiers, to an ever-increasing extent. Officers' uniforms, insignia and cockades, such as were formerly worn by tsarist officers, are more and more in evidence. And more and more appeals are made to Russian patriotism. The revolutionary impetus has been exhausted; the spirit of a movement is dying, and all that remains is the apparatus of power which nevertheless continues to threaten Europe as before.

Are we about to witness the setting up of a Russian Bonapartism? There are certain indications in this direction. Whether we shall witness

a reversion to the original Great Russian imperialism which for centuries was able to spread successfully over two continents and which regards Europe merely as a peninsula of Eurasia, is another matter. Perhaps President Eisenhower assumes that he will be able to come to an understanding about the demarcation of spheres of influence more easily with his former Russian war colleagues. Roosevelt thought he could do so with Stalin, but this attempt was bound to fail, since political Great Russian imperialism in the guise of Bolshevism is just as expansionist as the "merely" military form of imperialism. As far as the immediate future is concerned, the internal troubles in the Kremlin are all the more reason for us to expect surprise operations on the part of the Soviet army against the West and in the Near East. Taking a long-term view of the situation, however, it can be assumed that Moscow's aggressive power will be weakened as a result of the internal changes in the Soviet Union.

A huge rally on behalf of Hungary was recently held in the Albert Hall in London. The leading Hungarian woman-Social Democrat, Anna Kethly, who was released from prison and was a member of the Nagy government for a short time and is at present in Belgium, sent a message to the members of the rally in which she wrote as follows: "It was the entire Hungarian nation who resorted to desperate measures in order to protest against moral hypocrisy, political terrorism and economic exploitation. Communist dictatorship in Hungary, which has existed there for ten years, has ended in a complete moral bankruptcy." The myth is dead.

And this bankruptcy is final. The clock cannot be turned back. The mask has dropped. A new epoch in European history has begun with the heroic fighting in Budapest. And it is our duty and our urgent task to determine the role which we are to play in this new epoch. R. Storch

Bulgaria Affected by Events in Hungary

The national revolt in Hungary in the first place caused a serious crisis in Bulgaria, too. On the one hand, this crisis was characterized by mass arrests, reinforcements of police patrols in all the large towns and industrial centres, prohibition of the sale of alcohol, temporary suspension of the postal service with other countries, and a large-scale propaganda campaign, the purpose of which was to intimidate the population and ward off a revolt against the regime. At the same time, a long series of measures introduced by the government, as for instance a rise in wages and salaries, the revision of the delivery quota system and partial suspension of the same and increase in cost prices the introduction of old age pensions for the kolchos farmers, an increase in the allowances granted for children, and measures to remedy unemployment, were obvious proof of the grave and dangerous discontent on the part of the population, a state of affairs which has been caused mainly by the material distress of the masses, whom the government now desperately sought to pacify.

This time, the victims of the wave of arrests and deportations to concentration camps were not only well-known and leading personalities belonging to the opposition, but also to a very large extent numerous Communist functionaries who were known to be "revisionists" and who, when the new course, the so-called "de-Stalinization", was recently introduced, openly ventured to support the idea of a change in the regime.

All these repressive measures and economic reforms were, of course, only palliative measures, which have in no way succeeded in doing away with the far-reaching motives of the "revisionism" in the Party and the opposition against the Communist system. Despite this fact, however, the above-mentioned economic measures have alleviated the distress of the masses somewhat and things are to a certain extent quieter than they were, which no doubt explains why revolutionary tendencies on the part of the population have automatically died down. The tragic issue of the national revolt in Hungary in particular discouraged the inclination of the Bulgarian people to revolt, and a possible insurrection on the part of the masses against the regime has thus, at least for the time being, lost the support it had.

Interesting information about the response which the events in Hungary met with in Bulgaria and about the attitude of the people and the government in Bulgaria is provided by various leading articles of the Party organ, "Rabotnitschesko Delo". We should like to quote some of the passages which seem to us to be particularly significant. In connection with the expectations voiced, that it would be the turn of Sofia after Budapest, one of these articles for instance writes as follows: "These ominous prognostications show that the enemies of our socialist country have not given up the idea of restoring the rule of the bankers, industrialists and wealthy landowners. In order to deceive the credulous, their aims to subjugate the working classes anew are presented in the guise of a 'democratization' of public and economic life. The moral to be drawn from events in Hungary is that the vigilance of the Party and the people must be actively roused in order to suppress all attempts at counter-revolutionary activity in our country."

In another article the following statement is made as regards the ideological aspect: "The attempts of the newly fledged Revisionists to

distort Marxim and Leninism, are meeting with fierce resistance on the part of the international workers' movement. It is the sacred duty of our Party and our working class to keep the banner of proletarian internationalism unsullied and to foster our friendship with the socialist countries. The Bulgarian Communists regard the relation of our country to the Soviet Union and to the Soviet Communist Party as a touchstone of loyalty to socialism as a whole. Friendship between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union is to us light and sun and for this reason we intend to protect and cherish this friendship."

This conservative attitude on the part of the present Bulgarian government and the desire to prevent an evolutionary process within the Party become comprehensible if one considers the specific development of events which took place in Bulgaria after the 20th Party Congress. The fact that Chervenkoff was replaced by Jugoff was neither a genuine "de-Stalinization" measure nor a gesture of politeness towards Tito. It was mainly a question of balancing internal Party differences between the group of "permanently domiciled" Communist leaders, to which Jugoff belonged, and the former emigrants to Russia, who were regarded as favourites of Moscow and who were represented by Chervenkoff. A new balance of forces in the government and the

Party was achieved by retaining Chervenkoff, who, incidentally, now also plays an important part in the government, as acting Prime Minister. The head of the government, Jugoff, and the First Secretary of the Party, Todor Jivkoff, both of them fanatical Communists and acknowledged advocates of world Communism under Soviet rule, were thus still able to pursue the course of complete servitude to Moscow which had been followed so far.

In the months that followed, this course was plainly evident in the ruthless prevention of all attempts on the part of certain Party members to criticize and liberalize the regime, as for instance by introducing changes in the kolchos system, slowing down the rate of industrialization, revising capital investments, emancipating intellectual and cultural life from the absolute control of the Party, and similar measures. It was therefore only logical that events in Hungary merely provided the present government in Bulgaria with a further reason for stressing the eternal loyalty of Bulgaria to the Soviet Union and her rigid adherence to the principles of the Soviet Communist Party and to the policy pursued so far, and for warning the people of Bulgaria most emphatically to desist from any attempts to revolt against this course or to follow Hungary's example.

Dr. D. Waltscheff

Dr. D. Donzow

Peace and Prosperity, or — Freedom?

The Imponderables of World Politics

It is difficult to form a clear picture in one's mind of future political events if one does not take into account the imponderable things, namely impulses of a spiritual and immaterial nature. And if one disregards them, it is likewise difficult to answer the question as to where the source of the most significant and most dangerous resistance for Moscow against its monstrous imperium is to be sought.

Though it may sound paradoxical, this dangerous resistance is to be found among the "unimportant" peoples who are hardly taken into account, — the peoples of such countries as Spain, Germany, Turkey, Poland, Hungary and Ukraine. Why? Because all these nations have, at some time or other, survived a life and death struggle against the empire of the new Mongols: Turkey in three hundred years of constant wars, Spain in the war of 1936-1939, Germany and Poland during World War II, Hungary in 1919 (under the dictatorship of Bela Kuhn) and in 1956 (the Rakoshi-Rosenberg dictatorship and the recent revolt), and Ukraine in the war against Bolshevist Moscow from 1917 to 1921, in 1941 when hundreds of Ukrainian soldiers of the Red Army refused to defend the Russian empire, in 1943-45 when the U.P.A. conducted a guerilla war against the Red Army, and finally in 1956 when Ukraine supported the Hungarian insurgents.

This kind of "coexistence" of these and other peoples (of the A.B.N.) with Russia — a coexistence which France, England and the U.S.A. have never experienced in their history — has made these peoples particularly resistant to Moscow and has kindled in their hearts a fierce hatred of Muscovite tyranny, a hatred of which the free West has no idea. Moreover, these peoples have become thoroughly acquainted with the mentality of the Russian people, — the mentality of an incalculable, rapacious and blood-thirsty beast which is prompted not by logical reasoning, but only by brute force. These peoples have realized that coexistence with such a nation would lead to the destruction not only of the material prosperity of every nation, but also of all their political and moral values, such as national independence, religion, morals,

patriotism, and observance of national traditions, — values which make life worth living for the nation and for the individual.

Their knowledge of the Russian mentality has also made these peoples discredit every Muscovite lie, by means of which the Russians always seek to camouflage the trap they have set for their chosen prey. The Russians will no longer find it easy to deceive these peoples, still less to buy traitors amongst them. The only means left in this respect to which the Russians have had to resort, has been to intimidate these peoples by their dreadful system of terrorism. But even this last means of holding peoples in slavery has to some extent proved futile, as can be seen from recent incidents in Russian concentration camps (riots on the part of Ukrainian prisoners) and from the Hungarian revolution.

Deception, bribery and terrorism suddenly proved ineffectual in dealing with those enlightened and intrepid nations who are inspired by noble ideals and who value freedom more than bread, peace or even life itself. And some of these nations realized that the fight against Russian barbarity is only likely to be successful if the people are united under their own national banner and are prepared to defend their religion, their native country, their old historical traditions and their freedom. But they can only win this fight if they are led by their own national leaders and not by a clique of leaders, lusting for power, who advocate international peace but not freedom and who are actually of foreign origin, as for instance Bela Kuhn, Rosenberg ("Rakoshi"), Goere (Gross), Rosa Luxemburg, Lenin, Trotzky, Molotov and Kaganovich, or the Spanish "democrats", who were at all times willing to sell their country to any foreign, rapacious, international clique who respected neither the religious faith nor the traditions of the nation. And this has been the cause of so many civil wars and revolutions amongst these peoples, as for example the war led by Kemal Pasha, the war waged by the Spanish Falange, the recent revolution in Hungary, and, still earlier, the fight of Ukraine against Moscow and the transfer of governmental power in Ukraine

Miloslav Svoboda :

The Situation in Czecho-Slovakia

The Situation in General

Considerable nervousness on the part of the Communists and the government is at present evident in Czecho-Slovakia, too, though the situation there to some extent differs from the situation in the other satellite states.

Czecho-Slovakia is a state of two peoples, the Czechs and the Slovaks. The Slovaks stress the fact that in 1946 the majority of them voted against the Communists, whereas the Czechs voted for the Communists as the strongest party. The Slovak attitude is therefore that the Czechs should begin to take steps to deal with the Communists since they are to blame for the present situation. The Czechs, on the other hand, hope that the Slovaks, who at present enjoy a certain amount of esteem because of their anti-Communist attitude and, in the opinion of the Czechs, are therefore in a more advantageous position, will start an anti-Communist campaign. The state of quiet which prevails in Czecho-Slovakia is thus, to a certain extent, due to the differences of opinion between these two peoples, whom the Communists keep in check against each other and amongst themselves.

The Economic Situation

There are various reasons for the fact that Czecho-Slovakia is at present the most reliable satellite state.

In the first place, the Czechs in the past already manifested certain Communist trends, which were evident in the Czecho-Slovak divisions in Russia during and after World War I and in the riots which occurred in Kladno, Prague and elsewhere.

In the second place, the Czechs have never had a common frontier with Russia, but had to cope with difficulties in the shape of the Germans under Hitler's rule. For this reason they came to regard the Russians, whom they did not know and who were far away from them, as their "Slav" brothers, — an illusion of which the Communists have not tried to cure them.

Thirdly, the economic situation in Czecho-Slovakia is better than it is in any of the other satellite states. The Communists allow the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia to produce large quantities of

export goods so that it may obtain foreign currency. And because the economic situation there is so favourable, the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia is at present the most reliable satellite state. The extent to which the Communists are interested in keeping a hold on Czecho-Slovakia by means of economic measures, can be seen from the fact that during the Hungarian crisis the Soviets brought large quantities of goods into Czecho-Slovakia and stocked the shops with them, and also introduced a cut in prices just before Christmas.

Why the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia?

Czecho-Slovakia is extremely important to the Communist bloc, and there are two special reasons for this.

In the first place, the state territory of Czecho-Slovakia represents a long East-West axis. The loss of this territory would endanger Communist rule in the Democratic Republic of Germany, in Poland, Roumania and Hungary, and would enable anti-Communist forces to gain direct access to the frontier of the U.S.S.R.

In the second place, Czecho-Slovakia possesses large ore deposits which also supply some of the other satellite states. The loss of Czecho-Slovakia's uranium might be as serious for the Soviet Union as the loss of the Roumanian oil-fields was for Germany in World War II.

Communist rule in Czecho-Slovakia, as in the other satellite countries, is based on the secret security police system and on a network of spies and agents, — methods which reduce the people to a state of apathy and mutual distrust.

Just recently, the Communists have introduced various security measures in the factories, universities and colleges. At the universities and colleges they have been employing members of the Communist Youth Organization, who are not students, as agents. Another of these measures is the introduction of overtime pay at the factories in order to divert the workers' attention from other matters.

Groups of the Czecho-Slovakian Communists

In Czecho-Slovakia the army does not play an important part. It is still regarded as not particu-

larly trustworthy, even though the commanding officers are Communists and there are over three thousand Soviet advisers in it.

larly trustworthy, even though the commanding officers are Communists and there are over three thousand Soviet advisers in it.

The fact that members of the Czecho-Slovakian frontier guard are frequently transferred indicates that not all of them are trustworthy Communists. Only entirely trustworthy Communists are assigned to the frontiers bordering on West Germany and Austria, whereas members of the frontier guard who are regarded as being less trustworthy are sent to the frontiers bordering on the satellite states.

The official police in the streets is not trustworthy, but the secret security police (the Státní bezpečnost — StB), on the other hand, consists entirely of absolutely trustworthy Communists.

The Communists in Czecho-Slovakia are divided into three groups: the Fierlinger group, the Zapotocky and Kopecky group, and the Barák and Novotny group.

The most powerful personalities are the Minister of the Interior, Barák, and the Party Secretary, Novotny, who is in charge of the Communist security and police system which is organized on Soviet lines. Incidentally, there are numerous Soviet advisers in the police force.

The man who has least influence at present is Zdenek Fierlinger, the president of the parliament. He was originally a Social Democrat, but in 1948 he betrayed his party by joining it with the Communist Party.

The deputy of the Prime Minister, Václav Kopecky, is fairly unpopular, but has built up a powerful system of supporters amongst the writers and propagandists of the country.

The President, Antonin Zapotocky, has probably most contact with the people. Of all the leading political personalities of Czecho-Slovakia, he seems to be the most popular with the population, possibly because he has not lost touch with the working classes. Incidentally, his father, too, was very popular with the workers.

Soviet Influence

As was already mentioned, there are about three thousand Soviet advisers in the army, whilst in the police force there are about two thousand. In addition, the Soviets have established their economic advisers and economic and diplomatic representatives in Czecho-Slovakia in all the important key positions. In connection with events in Hungary, units of the Red Army have also appeared in Slovak territory.

Growing Discontent

The workers in Czecho-Slovakia have recently taken courage and have begun to show their discontent by increased absenteeism and by demanding higher wages and higher sick pay, etc. By resorting to absenteeism they are conducting a fairly effective fight against the regime. According to statistics supplied by the State Department of Statistics, 17,516,000 shifts were lost by absenteeism in 1955 and on an average 53,000 workers stayed away from work every day.

The discontent amongst the entire population is considerable, but it is hardly likely that a revolution will break out in Czecho-Slovakia, for the reasons which we have mentioned above and also because the Czechs in particular are waiting for the West to take steps against Communism and are hardly likely to revolt like the Hungarians have done. The Czechs are aware of the fact that they are only a small nation and would not be able to achieve anything in this respect on their own, and they now realize this even more so, after what has happened in Hungary. They will be prepared to join in the fight against Communism, and this attitude on their part is based on their experiences in the past. There can, however, be no doubt about the fact that, in the event of a big conflict, neither the Slovaks nor the Czechs will give the Communists the least assistance, but will, to begin with, refuse to cooperate with the latter and will resort to secret sabotage, and will then, in the end, support the forces of freedom by open resistance.

to the army and its commander, Symon Petlura, who was later murdered in so vile a manner in Paris.

These revolutions, the experience these peoples gained in the fight against Russia, their profound hatred of Muscovite tyranny and of Moscow's hirelings at home and abroad, as well as their adherence to their religion and national traditions, and their rejection of the false idols of "progress" and materialism, — all these things helped to make these peoples the strongest bulwark of European freedom and ancient European culture, however strange this fact may seem to some persons.

The question may be raised as to whether these peoples have won the war against Russia and have regained their independence. Yes, some of them have, — as for instance Spain and Turkey, and Germany, too, in part. Poland, Hungary and Ukraine have for the time being become Russian satellites, forgotten by the rest of the world. It is true that they have, at least for the time being, lost the war against Moscow, but, we may rightly ask, have the Western powers won this war? Just as little, in fact, as the above-mentioned countries, for the free West has lost all its cold or "luke-warm" wars against Moscow, — the world war in 1945, the war in China, in Korea, in Poland, in Hungary, in the Balkans, in Germany, in Egypt, in Arabia, and elsewhere. Sometimes it lost these wars without actually having waged them, as Poland for instance did in the 18th century, after the country was partitioned for the first, second and third time.

They all lost the wars they waged, but there was one difference, and that is that nations like Hungary and Spain, etc., know that a war with Russia is inevitable and that world peace is impossible as long as the Russian imperium is not partitioned

in the same way as the Ottoman and Habsburg empires were partitioned in former times. But does the West realize this fact?

Nations like Hungary and Spain know that Russia must in the first place be defeated from within and that a definite stop must be put to the propaganda which is disseminated against the religion, the morals, the patriotism, the historical traditions and the national interests of the people, if the nation is not to be demoralized and denationalized and its fighting spirit undermined in advance. They know that recognition of the freedom of a nation by Russia cannot be achieved by conferences or resolutions or money, but only by fighting and bloodshed. They refuse to accept any form of super-government, be it that of the Kremlin or that of a so-called world government. And, finally, these nations know that there are certain ideals which are higher than those of prosperity and peace. And they also know that those who, in the first place, long for peace and prosperity, will be forced to sacrifice their freedom for them. Those who want peace must think about freedom. But those who want national freedom must only think about freedom and must, for the time being, forget prosperity and peace.

These are the principles — the "imponderables", which are perhaps not popular everywhere in the free West, but which give the above-mentioned nations of Europe the moral strength to continue their fight against Russia and which make them the most important bulwark of Europe's freedom. Will the free West adopt these principles as its own? We cannot say. We only know that all those who — after the partition of the Habsburg, the German, the Ottoman and the Japanese empires and after the gradual decay of the French and British empires — are determined to help preserve the Russian imperium, from Greece to Alaska, in its integrity, are signing their own death-warrant.

On the Threshold of a New Era

"With the victory of National Communism in Poland a new era in the history of Communism began... With the Hungarian revolution a new era in the history of humanity began... The Hungarian revolution was an immense step forward and stated the question of freedom under Communism very clearly..."

These are the words with which Mr. Djilas introduces his famous commentary on events in Eastern Europe, to which he gives the title, "The Storm in Eastern Europe". And he could not have chosen a more fitting title. The storm of the people's anger touched Poland and, gathering force, then swept Hungary.

There are moments in history which are important because of their far-reaching consequences. And Djilas is right when he says that we are at present experiencing a historical moment of this kind. It is immaterial how the Hungarian revolution will end, — with a victory on the part of the people or on the part of the Soviet reactionaries. It is possible that Moscow may be able to consolidate its power to such an extent that it can crush the revolution and restore the old order of things. This has happened on more than one occasion in the course of the various revolutionary eras which history has witnessed. *The importance of the events in Hungary lies in the fact that they have revealed the ideological and moral degeneration of the Soviet system and its complete severance from the masses.* The only power which Bolshevism can now rely on in Hungary is armed force. The present state of affairs clearly indicates which course the further development of events may take. It will be the same course which has usually been taken in history when, on the one side, there has been a system supported by armed force, and, on the other side, the masses demanding their rights.

Furthermore, the significance of recent events in Hungary also lies in the fact that they have clearly shown that the time is ripe for the liquidation of Bolshevism. Had this not been the case, then the Hungarian revolution would have flamed up and soon died down again without any far-reaching consequences, just as former uprisings throughout the history of Bolshevism have died down; for they were so far all put down by Bolshevism, not merely with the aid of bayonets, but with the force of its ideas, by means of which Bolshevism succeeded in winning over part of the population once more, after it had convinced them that these ideas were the most progressive in the world. This vision of Bolshevism as the *representative and champion of a new, progressive social order* has now disappeared. It is true that it appeared once more before the eyes of the world and before the eyes of the workers, in whose name it spoke without being asked to do so, but it appeared without its mask and spoke without fine phrases for once, and even many of the Communists have thus now realized that the Bolshevik system and the dogmatic and out-of-date dialectic of their ideas will not bring about the further progress of mankind, but its downfall. Many of them, as for example Mr. Djilas, have broken with Communism and have shown up its false ideology and its failure to set up a new and better social order. There are, of course, others, who seek "new ways" which lead them either to serfdom or to social democracy.

All this shows that Bolshevism as an ideological power has, in fact, ceased to exist; indeed, Bolshevism itself has provided the opportunity to start the fight against it, a fight which, in spite of any momentary successes on the part of Bolshevism, is bound to end in the latter's defeat.

Political Ferment in the Soviet Union

Like every other national revolution, the Hungarian revolution centered on the question of freedom. In spite of the fact that Soviet military power has for the time being succeeded in suppressing the demands of the Hungarian people, the wave of unrest which events in Hungary started is now beginning to spread to other regions to an ever-increasing extent, and it has already reached the Soviet Union. The political ferment which has now begun there is similar to that which led to the partial revolution in Poland and to the Hungarian

revolution. An indication of this ferment in the Soviet Union can be seen from the criticism voiced there about the Soviet system and from the discontent which prevails there, above all among the students and the workers, because of this system spreading. In addition, events in Hungary have greatly influenced the intelligentsia in the Soviet Union, in particular the non-Russian intelligentsia. A further expression of discontent and one which is likely to have even more far-reaching consequences is the activity of anti-Soviet and anti-Russian forces in Ukraine and the Baltic States.

It may be argued that similar expressions of discontent and, indeed, open revolts against the Soviet system have on numerous occasions been in evidence in the Soviet Union, and in particular in Ukraine, but have always ended in failure. It is true that we cannot ascertain beforehand whether such attempts are now likely to prove more successful than they have hitherto been, but under the present circumstances we have every reason to believe that the chances of success as regards the undermining and, possibly, even the liquidation of the Soviet system in the U.S.S.R. are greater than they have ever been before. The problems which caused the Hungarian revolution exist to the same or even to a greater degree in the Soviet Union, too. The breach between the masses and the ruling Soviet class is as serious in the Soviet Union as it is in Hungary. And the most

since they want to show everyone and everything in the worst possible light. The "Pravda" likewise censures this type of critic. Of course, these widely spread forms of "criticomania" do not necessarily mean that an organized opposition has already been set up and that the people are openly demanding their rights. But the attention which is at present paid to these problems by the entire Soviet press leads us to infer that the regime sees in them a greater danger than it would have the world believe. And we cannot forget the fact that such "small" things as these led to recent events in Poland and Hungary, for they are tiny flames which may cause a huge conflagration.

According to reports from Moscow, strong and increasing anti-Russian tendencies are noticeable among the students in Lithuania. A strong feeling of opposition is also apparent among the intelligentsia. This matter has now become so serious that it is being dealt with by the Verhovna Rada itself, and the Secretary of the Communist Party in Lithuania, Snetchkus, has already announced that purges are to be carried out. According to information supplied by Lithuanian emigrants in Stockholm, the underground resistance movement in Lithuania continues to be active.

The Activity of the Ukrainian Underground

The world press has recently published various reports about the renewed activity of the Ukrainian resistance in the Carpathians. According to these reports, insurgents have on several occasions blown up a large number of railway tracks and

ABN Congratulations for Mr. Macmillan

His Excellency

The Right Honourable

Harold Macmillan, M. P.

Prime Minister.

Your Excellency,

Welcoming your appointment as Prime Minister of Her Majesty's Government we wish your Excellency the very best success in this most important office.

We, the representatives of the peoples subjugated by Russia, hope that your Excellency and your Government will give priority consideration to the cause of liberating our nati-

ons from Communism and foreign Russian domination both in the satellite countries and in the Soviet Union itself.

At the same time we beg your Excellency to give active support to the Hungarian people, who are still fighting for their freedom and for Christian civilisation, because on Hungary's fate largely depends the fate of our subjugated peoples in Central and East Europe and ultimately the fate of Western Europe. Your very sincerely,

R. Ostrowsky (Byelorussia) Chairman

I. Bazovský (Slovakia) Vice-Chairman

W. Oleskiw (Ukraine) Secretary

important thing to remember, is that the political ferment has started as a result of the serious inner crisis of Bolshevism since Stalin's death and as a result of the crisis in the satellite countries.

Are we justified in regarding the political ferment in the Soviet Union as serious? The proportions which it has already reached can in the first place be seen from the Soviet press. The Soviet press usually keeps silent about problems which show up the regime in an unfavourable light, and especially about problems which reveal the discontent and dissatisfaction of the masses, for the simple reason that it does not want to give such matters publicity. When it does mention them, however, it is only because it is forced to corroborate them since they are already established and widely known facts.

Workers' and Students' Opposition

Just recently, the Soviet press has been paying a great deal of attention to these matters, and both the "Komsomolska Pravda" and the "Trud" have sharply censured the elements who, at students' and workers' meetings, criticize Soviet life. According to reports in the Soviet press, at the students' meetings "demagogical and censorious expressions by means of which they try to decry the undeniable achievements of our socialist culture" are to be heard, whilst at the workers' meetings "criticizing elements sometimes even succeed in disorganizing the whole meeting". The paper "Trud" bemoans the fact that the principle of criticism and self-criticism has been abused in recent times. Certain "orators", so this paper writes, "attack everything and everybody in the world" and "regard Soviet reality through dark-coloured glasses",

bridges in Carpatho-Ukraine, thus disrupting the transport and communication line with Hungary. In connection with the intensified activity of the Ukrainian underground movement in Carpatho-Ukraine, numerous arrests have been carried out amongst the population. A news item broadcast by the radio station at Kyiv, to the effect that the "resettlement" of part of the population from Trans-Carpathia to the remote regions of the country has now begun, corroborates the fact that these arrests were actually carried out.

There are, of course, also modest reports in the Soviet press about what is going on in the Soviet Union. And despite the modest nature of these reports, one very important conclusion, however, can be drawn from them, and that is, that *the days when the people in the Soviet Union were afraid of their own shadow are now over.*

Discontent in some form or other is becoming more and more evident. This statement as such may not mean very much. But in connection with all the events which are taking place behind the Iron Curtain, and in particular in connection with the revolution in Hungary and the events in Poland, about which the people in the Soviet Union, despite censorship, know more than we imagine, — all these forms of discontent assume an entirely different aspect. They may be the initial stage of a political ferment which will shake Bolshevism in its foundations. They may be the beginning of a new revolutionary era of the nations, which will wipe the Soviet slave system from the face of the earth and give all nations of Eastern Europe their freedom. And it is therefore imperative that the question which has been so clearly raised by the Hungarian revolution should be solved. *M.S.*

Turkestan Against Russian Imperialism

By Veli Kajum Khan, President of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee in Turkey

At the invitation of his Turkestanian fellow-countrymen, Veli Kajum Khan, the President of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee, spent four months last year in Turkey. For 1½ months of his stay he was the guest of the Turkish government. Since Turkestan lost her independence sixty years ago, this was the first time that a Turke-

indeed — once again gave proof, by resolutions and rallies, of the fact that they unanimously support the National Turkestanian Unity Committee and are determined to continue their steadfast fight for the independence of Turkestan.

The Turkestanians in Turkey maintain a close contact with the millions of Turkestanian emi-

Committee. They regard this Committee as their lawful, authorized national representative.

In his speeches dealing with foreign policy, Kajum Khan explicitly defined his attitude towards the principle of cooperation with the non-Russian peoples (A.B.N.). The programme of the A.B.N., which advocates absolute independence, met with great approval.

The Turks and public opinion in Turkey are definitely anti-imperialistic and anti-Communist. Communism cannot exist in Turkey, and to refer to someone as a Communist is, in fact, regarded as the biggest insult and a person who does so can even be sued in court.

The Turkish people are greatly interested in the cause of Turkestan and feel that they have a natural affinity with the people of Turkestan, who speak the same language as they do and belong to the Turkish nation. The Turks receive the Turkestanian expellees with open arms; they have helped all the Turkestanian refugees in an exemplary manner, by giving them a chance to obtain land, property and houses on favourable and preferential terms. The Turkestanians have been given an opportunity to play an active part in the economic sector and many of them hold responsible positions. They wholeheartedly and unconditionally do their share for the common good of Turkey and the Turkish people. And they are prepared at all times to sacrifice their lives and their property and possessions in order to defend Turkey, should that country ever be attacked. The Turkestanians are thus very well-liked in Turkey.

Turkey of today is a modern democratic and powerful state, which is well aware of its role as the defender of Europe. The government refuses to allow either the East or the West to dictate its policy to it. The Turks support the idea of freedom and independence for all peoples. Construction work and industrialization have progressed enormously.



The President of the N.T.U.C. with his staff of co-workers in Adana

stanian politician was the guest of the Turkish government, a fact which caused considerable gratification among the Turkestanians in Turkey and the Orient.

The arrival of Kajum Khan was announced by the Turkish press and radio and he was welcomed as the President of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee. During the whole of his stay in Turkey the Turkish press published current reports on his receptions, extracts of his speeches, as well as interviews and pictures. Official banquets were held in his honour. On these occasions he spoke before audiences consisting of members of Turkish official circles and Turkestanians living in Turkey, on the national problems of Turkestan and the fundamental principles of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee.

Kajum Khan visited Western, Central and South Anatolia, and was welcomed most cordially everywhere by representatives of the government, governors, and Turkestanians. In all the towns which he visited the Turkestanian cultural and social organizations set up special committees to welcome him, and a group of Turkestanians accompanied him throughout his tour. During his stay representatives of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee came to Turkey from Pakistan, Iraq, Arabia, Syria and Jordan, in order to discuss Turkestanian problems with him and report on their work. Veli Kajum Khan was also invited to visit Pakistan, Iran, Arabia and Egypt.

Veli Kajum Khan had an opportunity to talk to many prominent persons in public life in Turkey, and in Ankara he was received by the State Secretary of the President, by the President of the Big National Assembly, by the acting Prime Minister, by the Foreign Minister and the director of the press and the broadcasting corporation. In addition, he was able on various occasions to exchange ideas with the governors, politicians, parliamentary delegates and party chairmen in the various towns and districts he visited, as well as with prominent personalities of public and cultural life, with representatives of youth organizations and of the central Turkish women's organization, and with leading economists.

Kajum Khan was welcomed particularly cordially by his fellow-countrymen, and held no less than sixty lectures on the burning problems of Turkestan at the present time.

As a result of his visit, all the Turkestanians living in Turkey — and they are very numerous

grants in the Orient, who by means of resolutions, letters and delegations once again assured Veli Kajum Khan that they unanimously and wholeheartedly support the National Turkestanian Unity

Congress of the Bulgarian National Front

Vice-President of ABN, former Bulgarian Minister Christo Stateff visits Canada

The Congress of the Bulgarian National Front was held in Toronto (Canada) from December 22nd to 24th, 1956. The delegates of this organization from Canada and the U.S.A. attended the Congress. The chief speaker was the former Bulgarian Minister, Christo Stateff, who is the Vice-President of the Central Committee of the A.B.N. and President of the Liberal Party and, as Chairman of the Bulgarian National Front, represents the Nationalists and the other political parties which belong to this organization.

At the opening rally on December 23, messages of greeting from the Bulgarian King, *Simeon II*, the President of the Central Committee of the A.B.N., *Jaroslav Stetzko*, the Canadian Prime Minister, *St. Lorain*, President *Eisenhower*, the head of the government in Ontario, *Mr. Frost*, and from various other foreign notabilities and prominent personalities of Bulgaria and other subjugated nations were read.

The following prominent men were present in person at the opening ceremony: *Mr. J. Cornish* of the municipal council of Toronto, *Mr. R. Meachaney* as representative of the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada, and *Mr. W. Bezdilibnyk*, the Secretary of the A.B.N. in Canada and representative of the Association for the Liberation of Ukraine (L.W.U.).

In a short opening speech *Mr. Bezdilibnyk* stressed the close ties which exist between the A.B.N. peoples and, in particular, between the Bulgarian and the Ukrainian peoples. He said that the Bulgarian-Ukrainian friendship was far more solidly established than the "friendship of the Muscovite liberator" of the Bulgarian people, and added that the help which Moscow had given the Bulgarian people in the war against Turkey had been dictated by the same motives which were now prompting Moscow's actions as regards Egypt.

After a welcome had been expressed to all those present at the Congress, *Minister Stateff* made a speech in the name of the Bulgarian National Front. He described the present position of the Bulgarian nation and defined its political attitude and activity:

"After World War II the Bulgarian nation was reduced to the position of a satellite. The formal status of the Bulgarian state does not alter the actual reality of Russian occupation which is concealed behind the ideological 'class conflict', the 'fight against capitalism and Fascism'. Bulgarian patriots of all the national groups and parties of Bulgaria are attacked and the Muscovite quislings and Communist hirelings of Moscow are extolled as "true democrats".

"King Simeon II of Bulgaria stands for Bulgarian independence, and one does not need to be a monarchist to realize this fact."

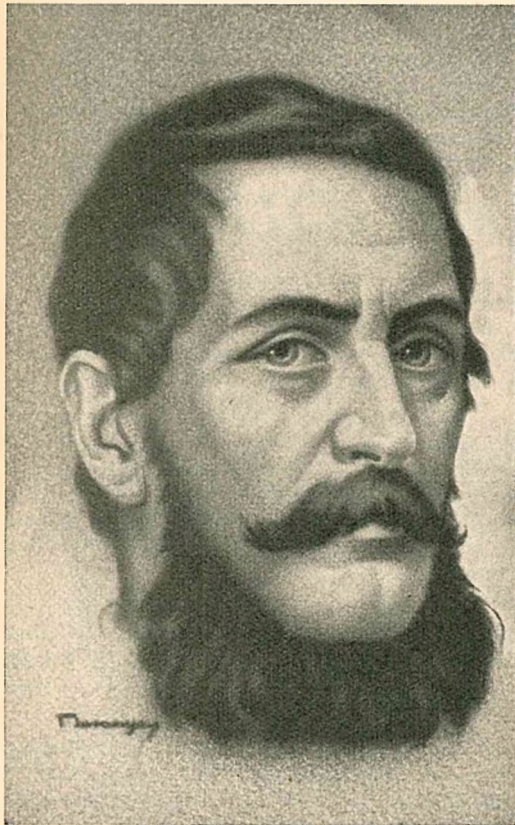
Minister Stateff described the Hungarian Revolution as a classical example of the corroboration of his political standpoint and that of the leading men of the ABN. He said, "The Hungarian Revolution is a national rising. The Hungarian counter-revolutionaries are not the Hungarian patriots who are accused of capitalism and Fascism and of acting as agents. The collective centre of the counter-revolutionary forces, who are the local agents of Muscovite imperialism, is the Muscovite police system in the subjugated countries."

In conclusion he said, "I have experienced more than one war in the Balkan countries and I know what war means. But all those who, because of their dread of war, advocate coexistence, do not know that this form of coexistence is much worse than a war; it involves far more bloodshed than any war. And all those who have chosen freedom as their aim must realize this fact."

A Hungarian Freedom Fighter speaks up:**“We want our Country to be Free!”**

By Tibor Simon

On that misty day in late autumn, when we — young persons and workers — held a demonstration in front of the town hall, which at that time was still in the hands of the Communists, in the Hungarian Plain, and shouted, “We want our country to be free!”, we little thought that a few weeks later we should be homeless in foreign



Lajos Kossuth
the hero of the Hungarian war of liberation, waged against
Russia in 1849.

countries and should ourselves experience the sad lot of emigrants, after these inspiring days of fighting and self-sacrifice.

The masses marching behind the noble banners of the revolution shouted, “Europe awaken! Remember, if you have perhaps forgotten so, that our country is part of your soil!”

Free peoples of the world, realize that, together with our people, other neighbour-nations are forced to suffer the same fate of bondage! No propaganda, however cunning it may be, will be able to deceive us as to the true intentions of Bolshevism or to deter us from our aims, which culminate in our longing for freedom for our country.

As far as we are concerned the fight for freedom has not ended; it is only the method of fighting that has changed. And it is now our duty to prove to the free world that Bolshevism is no longer limited to any frontiers, but is aiming to deprive the rest of the nations of their freedom. We are well aware of the fact that there is a big difference between a dictatorial and a democratic form of state. But it is time the free nations realized that if their neighbour maintains a terrorist regime which stops at nothing, they themselves are in a disadvantageous position which will continue to exist until a democratic government assumes power in every country in the world.

Strange to say, the representatives of the West have reached an understanding with the representatives of the Kadar government and have discussed the question of the latter being allowed to visit the refugee camps in Austria. These representatives of the Kadar government are the very same men who, at the Austro-Hungarian frontier, issued orders to our murderers and requested a foreign power to fire on all refugees and to take prisoner and deport all those who could be seized at the frontier. And it is with such vile creatures that the representatives of the free world sit down

at the same conference table, in order to learn from them whether the refugees are to be treated well or badly! It is obvious that there is something wrong here. It would be more natural to refuse to have anything whatsoever to do with such rogues.

We should like to reserve our remarks regarding the “Hungarian Revolution Council” founded in Strasbourg, for another occasion. Today, we shall confine ourselves to saying a few words on the relations which exist between the older emigrant groups and the new ones.

The numerous Hungarian organizations in existence at present all have a different conception of the new Hungary, and it is a very different Hungary from the one for which we have fought. We for our part would, however, like to state one definite fact, namely that the Hungarian Revolution was completely uniform and we did not have to bridge over any big differences in our country. Since the days when our fellow-countrymen first began to emigrate from Hungary the course of history has changed and, with it, much in our native country. The most important thing is and must be that it is our sacred duty to justify our freedom aims here in the West, to consolidate them, and to stress the fact again and again that we want our country to be free. This aim can only be achieved by united effort, and we are of the opinion that time is short in this respect, especially since we must prove to our fellow-countrymen at home that we have actively done our best to carry out this task here in the West. But it must not be a case of we young ones having to fight this battle, aided only by a small number of the older emigrants, and having to manage without the experience they have gained in the course of time.

We pray to God to give us the wisdom and the chance to justify the trust which our fellow-countrymen have placed in us.

We pray to God to give us strength to keep our revolution as clear and as pure as we have begun it.

May the brotherly understanding and affection which has already sprung up between us and the emigrants of neighbouring peoples serve as an example in this respect.

In the midst of our sufferings at home we eagerly listened to Hungarian programmes from abroad and were convinced that the broadcasting station which transmitted them was on our side. In the meantime, however, our illusions have been shattered and we now know that this is not so.

Why are we, who risked our lives for the freedom of speech, not allowed to speak our mind here in the free world? It seems as though everything is subordinated to the interests of money. Who can tell us why the broadcasting station no longer transmits its Hungarian programmes and why we are not allowed to speak over it? Why are we not at least allowed to make use of this weapon against Bolshevism? If there is a government of puppets somewhere, which constantly produces more such governments and subjugates other countries just as it has subjugated our country, why are we not allowed to say what we think about these decadent phenomena?

Free world, we appeal to you not to give us only clothes, food, work and accommodation, for which we are, of course, extremely grateful, but to place this broadcasting station at our disposal, too, since it was built for us. Give us this weapon! Do not forget that we have waited a long time for the moment when we can call out to our usurper:

“We want our country to be free!”

After the Elections in Poland

“Under present conditions only one free and sovereign Poland is possible—Socialist Poland”. That is the motto Gomulka went to the elections with. These elections were sensational, above all because they were the first elections which have been carried out behind the Iron Curtain under approximately free conditions. They were sensational also because, as Gomulka said himself, there was at least the actual possibility to vote for “Socialist” Poland.

The victory of Gomulka and his party must have been easy. Although the casting of ballot papers proceeded without perceptible terror, the voters went to the polls with full consciousness that the elections were being carried out in the shadow of Muscovite bayonets. The voting for the candidates, alien to or even opposing Gomulka’s policy might have produced only one result: the armed intervention of the Muscovite forces and the compulsory setting up of a puppet government, similar to the Kadar government in Hungary. The Polish population was reluctant to expose Warsaw to the lot of Budapest. And when it had to vote for “Socialist” Poland it voted for the “Socialist” Poland with Gomulka and not with a new Byerut at the head.

The victory of Gomulka in the elections is the legalisation of the movement which had already assumed the name “Polish October”. Is it possible to call that the victory of the Polish People? We would like to draw attention to the Gomulka party’s electoral slogan which drastically reminds us of a sentence of Lenin, which is laid down in the basis of the Soviet national policy: “Free Ukraine is possible under the condition that there is a union of Russian proletariat and Ukrainian proletariat, without such a union there can’t even be talk of it”. Now this sentence has only been rephrased and adjusted to the new conditions: “Under the condition that there is a union of Polish proletariat and Russian proletariat, free Poland

is possible, without such a union there can’t even be talk of it”.

Moscow by its attitude has shown that it would not release Poland from its sphere of influence but at the price of complete destruction. By their voting for Gomulka the Poles realised the threat of Moscow and acted accordingly. Therefore the results of the elections cannot be considered in any way as the victory of national Poland, alien to every form of Muscovite control over it. It only marks oppression which has the outward forms of giving people freedom to choose. But on the other hand too much over-emphasis on the victory of “the Polish Socialism” cannot please Moscow. Moscow has no great choice in the Polish matters, either. It has the choice between Gomulka, whom it loves not so sincerely, and military intervention, which would again deliver a serious blow to the Communist movement outside the U.S.S.R. Thus Moscow first called up Gomulka for conferences, set limits to his rights and afterwards elected him. And it means a kind of concession, a certain compromise, particularly obvious in view of the hardening of its policy in Hungary, in other satellite countries and the U.S.S.R. itself.

“The Polish Socialism” received the majority of the votes polled and formally its position is thus fortified and legalised. But in fact it is, probably, far weaker now than it was in October last year. Then it was the expression of a limited and restrained revolution but nevertheless a revolution, and thus constituted the attractive force to some part of the population. Now it is ceasing to be such a force. It assumes the appearance of the settled régime supported by Moscow. As such, it may and must itself be forced to apply the same terror which had already been applied by Byerut.

Together with the increased control in the other countries of the Communist bloc Poland’s chances to be an exception must lessen every day. One day this unnatural compromise will collapse.

M. W.

General J. D. Vito:

The Policy of Missed Opportunities

Historical Mistakes and Errors made by the West

Owing to their inadequate knowledge of Communist methods and of the modern history of dictatorships, the Western Allies both during and after World War II committed a number of serious errors.

The fact that the West hastened to help Communism, when Hitler fought against Stalin, gave Bolshevism a chance to develop to such an extent that it is now in a position to threaten the entire free world incessantly. Even if it is true that the Western powers wanted to bring about the destruction of Hitler's regime through Moscow, nevertheless after Germany's collapse an entirely new situation ensued, and had the Western Allies used this situation to advantage, they could have brought some far-reaching changes. Had the U.S.A., England and France, in keeping with Admiral Doenitz's suggestion, joined forces with the German army against Russia, the Bolshevik menace would have been overcome and peace would have been ensured for all time. Instead of doing so, however, the Western forces remained inactive along the Elbe and in Bohemia and patiently waited until the Soviets had occupied Berlin and Prague. And this serious strategic error was the beginning of the Russian Bolshevik violation of half Europe.

The West Sacrifices its own Allies

An equally serious error was the fact that, though it was by no means necessary, the Kremlin was asked to join forces with the West in bringing the war against Japan to an end, and Russia thus had the fulfilment of her ambitions in the Far East practically thrust upon her. As if the destruction of the strongest anti-Communist countries and the most reliable bulwarks against Communism, Germany and Japan, had not been a fateful enough step on the part of the West!

Though the fact that the Western statesmen surrendered millions of Yugoslav and other refugees to the Communists, who then promptly murdered the latter, can perhaps not be described as conscious or intentional support of the Muscovite genocidal policy, there is nevertheless no denying that the power of Communism was in this way consolidated and that the West thus lost these patriotic forces as loyal and natural allies. The same thing happened in the case of the Roumanian and Bulgarian nationalists who appealed to the Western statesmen to give them a guarantee that they would not be surrendered to Russian captivity, but the West, in deference to Stalin, rejected this request.

Despite the fact that all peoples, whether guilty or innocent, are now forced to suffer as a result of all these mistakes, the grotesque situation, completely uninfluenced by a profounder knowledge on the part of the West, continues to exist, inasmuch as an unnatural and deceptive coexistence policy is advocated and the will to freedom of the peoples subjugated by Russian Bolshevik imperialism is ignored.

Mistakes in the Atomic Field

When America was the only country which possessed the atomic bomb a further opportunity was missed, namely to force Russia under pressure of this fact to withdraw and confine herself to her ethnographical frontiers. Instead of which, the West calmly looked on whilst the atomic secret was being revealed to the Kremlin, and since then has confined itself to futile discussions on disarmament questions and prohibiting atomic and hydrogen bombs, — as if the Kremlin despots would ever dream of parting with their best trump card, which they have gone to such pains to obtain! The Soviets are well aware of the fact that with the aid of this trump card they would be able to wipe out the entire population of the USA within ninety minutes. And in this connection it is little consolation to think that, vice versa, the same thing might happen to Russia, for in that case the whole of Europe would be involved, too.

Such, then, is the situation in which we now find ourselves as the result of a policy which appears to be completely blind to opportunities and necessities! Instead of making all kinds of concessions and paying deference to a system, which, in any case, does not show the least under-

standing in this respect, it is imperative that a firm and unwavering attitude should be adopted, and it is essential that European defence should be speeded up as fast as possible. It is entirely wrong to believe Einstein's statement, to the effect that no defensive weapon can protect a country against the atomic bomb. That would mean that all one can do is to remain unarmed and wait for a murderer to attack one. On the contrary, Russia is already armed to the teeth for the purpose of carrying out an offensive, and we of the West, therefore, must be armed even more in order to ward off Russia's attack. All other arguments on the part of certain opposition groups can only be regarded as an indirect invitation to commit suicide!

The West is the Victim of its own Weakness

Recent events have revealed the fruits of the constant hesitancy of the West and its failure to adopt a firm and unwavering attitude towards treacherous Bolshevism.

In 1939, when Hitler marched into Poland, the West, in those days still conscious of its strength, promptly went to war as a protest against the violation of Poland. Nowadays, it is the Soviets who appear strong in the eyes of the world and the Western powers who are weak. Otherwise the Russians would not have been able to invade Hungary in 1956 as brutally as they did and to subjugate that country anew, without someone

Franco and Churchill

Immediately after the conference in Casablanca, on February 21, 1943, Franco wrote to Churchill as follows:

"Communism is a terrible threat to the world, and now that it is being supported by the victorious army of a major power, all clear-sighted persons are bound to be alarmed at this menace. Once Russia has seized Germany, nothing and no one will be able to stop Russia's advance. If Germany were to cease to exist, the Europeans would have to create a new Germany, for it is ridiculous to believe that Germany's place could be taken by a federation of the Lithuanians, Poles, Czechs and Roumanians, since such a federation would rapidly become a union of Soviet states."

Churchill's reply was, "After the war England will be the strongest military power in Europe; it will be easy to keep Russia in check, and I do not think that Russia will pursue an anti-European policy after the war."

(Notes by General S. D. Vito)

actively supporting the Hungarian fight for freedom.

Further proof of the weakness of the West is the fact that England and France promptly desisted from military operations in Egypt when they were threatened by the Soviet Union. The Soviets, however, have no intention of withdrawing from Hungary in spite of the indignation and protests voiced by the whole world.

The above facts clearly prove the confusion which at present exists in the West's way of political thinking, but the opinion expressed by a certain French general about two years ago, to the effect that the Russian danger was far away, but the German danger close at hand, is even more wide of the mark. As if Germany, defeated and unarmed, could be more dangerous than the Russian Bolshevik vampire, armed to the utmost! In any case, how far away is the Russian danger? Are the Bolshevik aggressors not already in the heart of Germany? Are they not in Berlin, and thus before the gates of Paris, London and Washington?

It remains to be seen whether the Soviets intend to provoke a war before the rearmament of Germany is accomplished. It is, however, imperative that they should be forced to confine themselves to the limits of their ethnographical frontiers by firm and definite means, and this requires outstanding statesmen, who support the principles which have been advocated undauntedly by the A.B.N. for years.

Freedom for all!

Mr. Ku Cheng-kang, President of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, Republic of China, has forwarded to His Excellency President Eisenhower the following appeal:

Soviet atrocities in Hungary have caused world indignation. We admire your firm stand in rallying the Free World to give timely assistance to the Hungarian people in their fight against Communism. At present Soviet crimes and terror not only show no sign of coming to an end, but they are increasing by the minute. In view of this, we, representatives of Free Chinese Civic Organizations, passed a unanimous resolution, in addition to pledge our full support to the uprising of the Hungarian freedom loving fighters, respectfully requesting your immediate action on the following:

(1) *The United States will lead the Free World to safeguard the freedom and independence of Hungary and, in accordance with the example set in solving the Suez Canal crisis, to ask the United Nations to send an international police force to Hungary to supervise the immediate withdrawal of the Russian troops.*

(2) *American aid to Anti-Communist Hungarians should not be limited to medical assistance etc. But the United States should take positive steps to urge the United Nations to pass a resolution branding Soviet Russia as an aggressor and expel her from the United Nations.*

(3) *We appeal to you to carry out your policy of liberating the nations that have fallen behind the Iron Curtain, by taking effective measures to give crushing blows to the aggressor.*

Your leadership for justice, Mr. President, not only has won the confidence of your people but also gives great hope to the world. At present when the people behind the Iron Curtain have risen against Communism, we believe you will grasp this opportunity to lead the Free World in their fight for the liberation of countries under Soviet domination so as to make good your promise to set all enslaved people free.

Yours very faithfully,

Ku Cheng-kang, Chairman

The Anti-Communist and Anti-Soviet Russia Mass Meeting of All Civic Organizations of the Republic of China in Support of the Anti-Communist Movement of the Hungarians

Ukrainian Help for Hungarians

On behalf of the Ukrainian Red Cross in Munich, Prof. Dr. J. Hynylewycz gave a donation of 1,000 Deutsche Marks, to be used to help the Hungarian fighters for freedom in Hungary, to the President of the Hungarian Liberation Movement, General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak. A further donation of 186 Deutsche Marks for the same purpose was made by the Ukrainian Women's Union of the DP Camp in Neu-Ulm, represented by Mrs. Mudryk. General Farkas de Kisbarnak expressed his sincere thanks for these donations. In a letter to the Ukrainian Red Cross, the Hungarian General Julius Kowac, who is at present in Cleveland, also expressed his gratitude for the gifts which have been donated in order to help the Hungarians.

Janos von Corody-Catona

Cardinal Mindszenty

December 26th was the anniversary of the day on which Cardinal Mindszenty was arrested by the Communists. To mark this occasion the author of the following article, a well-known Catholic politician and writer, placed his personal recollections of his meeting with the Hungarian Primate at our disposal for publication purposes. As Cardinal Mindszenty's fellow-worker, he was constantly in touch with the Cardinal. He spent 8 months in Communist prisons. He is at present living in exile in Switzerland, where he devotes himself to working for the cause of freedom of the Christian church and of his native country. (The Editor.)

The Hungarian nation has pledged its soul forever to Christianity and has given the Church many saints.

On numerous occasions the Hungarian people have defended Europe with their very blood. The Tatars laid waste to Hungary. The Turks occupied the major part of Hungary for more than 156 years. The Russian army already invaded Hungary on a previous occasion, namely in the year 1849. And in those days the Hungarian bishops likewise defended Christianity as generals. The entire Hungarian episcopate, together with its king, fell in the battle of Mohács, in which the Turkish forces were ten times superior in number to the Hungarian troops.

And this same heroic quality was manifested by Cardinal Mindszenty, too, when the heavily armed Soviet army entered his native country and tried to convert the people forcibly by means of atheistic Communism and to drag their souls into the depths of godlessness.

Cardinal Mindszenty recognized this danger and, following the example of his ecclesiastical forefathers, together with his loyal fellow-workers, took up the struggle against moral and physical tyranny.

I was happy to be able to be one of his fellow-workers in this fight. He was a true priest in the highest sense, who not only celebrated High Mass with solemn ceremony in Church, but also mingled with his flock in many a long pilgrimage.

During one of the journeys he undertook in the course of administering the rites of confirmation, the following incident occurred: some Communists threw stones at his car and smashed one of the windows. The Cardinal told the driver to stop and he got out alone. He went up to the group of Communists and said:

"There are some other persons in the car with me. If you want to kill me, here I am!"

Ashamed of their behaviour the Communists moved away. Some of them, however, remained behind and kissed Cardinal Mindszenty's hand as he blessed them.

After the Red Army stormed Budapest our lovely capital became a heap of ruins. The ancient castle of Buda was the first building to be destroyed. And the Cardinal's Palace was damaged to such an extent that only three rooms remained habitable. St. John's Church and the buildings belonging to the Ministry which were next to the Palace were likewise destroyed.

In spite of the fact that various persons begged the Cardinal to leave, he continued to live in the Palace and to receive the faithful in audience there. At night he actually remained in the Palace without any protection of any kind, despite the danger of a possible Communist attack.

A message which I sent to the Cardinal whilst I was in the Communist prison very nearly proved my undoing.

It was a very cold winter and there was no heating in our prison-cell. We lay on the floor and had only two blankets, one to lie on and the other as a cover. During the day we were not allowed to go to sleep. I had a high temperature and was suffering from a nasty attack of tonsillitis. The Communist doctor refused to give me any treatment, and I rapidly became worse.

Eventually, they realized that treatment was necessary. Every Tuesday morning, the prisoners who were ill were handcuffed together and were taken past the cordon of Communist sentries to St. John's Hospital for treatment.

A friend of mine in the town had meanwhile heard of this procedure. Pretending to be a patient, he sat down in the waiting-room at the hospital, to which we were also taken. When the guard who was with us was not watching us, my friend thrust a piece of chocolate into my pocket and I gave him some letters from me and my fellow-prisoners to our respective families.

The Communists were informed about this trick somehow or other, for there was a spy in every cell.

On an icy cold day we were once again told to line up in readiness for our trip to the hospital. I had previously stuffed my socks, above my shoes, with letters written by my fellow-prisoners, and underneath these letters there was a long message which I had written to Cardinal Mindszenty and in which I appealed to him for help on account of the dreadful treatment we had to endure in prison and the entirely inadequate food rations. I also mentioned the fact that the governor of the prison, a grave-digger who had been promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel of the police, was in the habit of torturing the prisoners by heating them, and that he had driven many of them to commit suicide.

When we reached the courtyard the police-sergeant suddenly shouted:

"You are smuggling letters out of here, and I am now going to search you!"

I trembled all over and thought I was done for. What would happen if my message to the Cardinal about the cruelty of the prison governor were to fall into the latter's hand!

They now started searching us. There were twelve of us. Four prisoners were searched, — their pockets, hats and clothes, — before it was my turn.

I have never prayed so fervently and desperately in all my life. — The sergeant stepped up to me. He started feeling the inside of my hat, my clothes, my pockets and sleeves. I was done for.

All of a sudden, another Communist came up to him, saluted and gave him a message. The sergeant continued to search me, my trousers and my legs. My socks were bulging with the letters that I had hidden in them.

But the sergeant failed to notice the bulge! — I am sure the Lord must have heard my prayer. I was safe! — My poor heart was still beating painfully that same evening as a result of this alarming incident.

The "Credo" Societies were the largest Catholic men's organization in Hungary. They can be compared to the Society of the Holy Name in America.

The last congress of the "Credo" Societies was

"Hungary calling Europe"

On December 4, 1956, the Europe Union held a very impressive rally, with the above motto, in the town hall in Munich. The main feature of the rally were the reports given by a number of Hungarian refugees who had taken an active part in the heroic fight for freedom and who recently arrived in Munich.

Six Hungarian fighters for freedom — three students, a former employee of the Budapest broadcasting company, a housewife, and a worker —, some of them persons who led the fierce fighting in the 7th district of Budapest, gave short accounts of their experiences in which the course of events was once more recalled as something tangible and real. The audience listened with rapt attention for an hour to their words, which in their seriousness and objectivity reflected the tragedy of events in Hungary. All those present at the rally were deeply moved when, at the end of the meeting, the Hungarian fighters for freedom, together with their fellow-countrymen in the audience, sang the Kosuth song, an incident which made the rally an unforgettable experience.

The morale and discipline of the Soviet occupation troops when fighting the working classes, including women and children, frequently broke down. On various occasions Ukrainian and Byelorussian troops and tank units refused to carry out orders to fire and in many cases went over to the side of the insurgents. The new divisions, which

were sent to Hungary from the Soviet Union as reinforcements and which consisted for the most part of Russian and Mongolian troops, were given to understand that they were to be used in Berlin or in the Suez Canal Zone, since their morale and discipline would most probably have been undermined had they been told the truth.

held in Budapest, and Cardinal Mindszenty was present on this occasion. At that time an agitation campaign against him was already in progress. The Communist and Marxist newspapers ridiculed him, and the hired rabble shouted, "Down with Mindszenty!" On one occasion the Reds held a procession which included a hearse containing a coffin, that bore the inscription, "Mindszenty". If anyone ventured to voice any criticism, they were promptly beaten black and blue and thrown into jail.

Cardinal Mindszenty issued some magnificent pastoral messages to the people of Hungary. The first of these pastoral letters, dated October 18, 1945, contained an important programme, namely a protest against Communist inhumanity and persecution of religion. His pastoral message of May 20, 1946, on the subject of religious instruction and the communication of the Catholic schools has become famous. He objected to the dissolution of Catholic societies and to the ban on Corpus Christi and Easter processions. The Hungarian people supported him wholeheartedly. Thousands of persons assembled to listen to him whenever he spoke in any of the towns and villages, and on such occasions no newspaper propaganda or placards were needed to rally crowds. With untiring energy he spoke in many districts of Hungary in the course of the Hungarian Marian Year. The Communists suspended the railway services and issued a number of vetoes, but the people drove in carts or else came on foot to hear him.

But the Communists refused to tolerate this state of affairs, and on March 18, 1948, Cardinal Mindszenty sent out his last pastoral message.

One must not, however, imagine that the Cardinal merely attacked the enemy. He quite openly mentioned all the sources of evil and vice which can drive us spiritually into the arms of Communism.

He had a forceful and truly Hungarian oratorical style, a sound sense of judgment and a keen and logical reasoning power. Always conscious of his dignity as a priest, he was indomitable when obliged to defend the truth of the Lord's teachings and of Christianity, and on such occasions he refused to regard the enemy with tolerance.

And what is the moral to be drawn from the exemplary life and tragic fate of this priest? — It is not only the Communists, who support and help to spread the system of Communism, who are responsible for all the atrocities which Communism has so far committed in the world. All Christians who look on passively and tolerate such atrocities without protesting must likewise be held responsible!

were sent to Hungary from the Soviet Union as reinforcements and which consisted for the most part of Russian and Mongolian troops, were given to understand that they were to be used in Berlin or in the Suez Canal Zone, since their morale and discipline would most probably have been undermined had they been told the truth.

The wrath of the Hungarian people is directed not only against Russian rule, but in particular, against the Communist regime including the National Communist variant of this system, which the masses recognize as a camouflage and unconditionally reject.

According to admissions made by Soviet soldiers who have been captured, a general opposition against the regime even prevails in the Soviet Union, too. They said that, as a precautionary measure against any possible military revolts, the troops in the garrisons in the Soviet Union were as a rule not allowed to use heavy arms, which were only supplied to them when they were employed for active service.

The fighting spirit of the soldiers of the Red Army breaks down as soon as they encounter determined resistance and counter-attacks. The Hungarian housewife who spoke at the rally and who had taken part herself in the fight against the Soviet tanks, stressed the fact that there was no need to be afraid of the Soviet soldiers.

Before the rally closed Mr. Katona, a retired army captain, read an appeal to the free world (s. "ABN Correspondence", No. 1/2, 1957).

M. Threecross:

Janus' Trap

The Russian writer, Maxim Gorky, described Bolshevism as a "purely national Russian phenomenon". He justified the Bolshevik policy of exterminating other nations by saying, "When the enemy doesn't surrender he has to be annihilated". The entire history of Russia (Muscovy) is flagrant proof of such "relations" between "Holy Mother Russia" and the subjugated nations. The most fitting description of the status of the enslaved nations under the yoke of Russian tyranny prior to 1917 has been given by the Bolsheviks themselves, as can be seen from the following passage from "The History of the Communist-Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union (V.K.P.B.)", 1945: "Tsarist Russia was a prison of nations. Numerous non-Russian nations were deprived of all their rights. The Tsarist government tried to suppress all signs of a non-Russian national culture and endeavoured to enforce compulsory Russification."

Russia's (Muscovy's) start on the path of history is indeed the starting-point of invasions. And these invasions have continued for seven centuries and have now reached their culmination in a deadly menace for the entire Western world.

At the present time, Russia (Muscovy) has under her despotic and ruthless control more than 700 million persons, of whom only about 80 million are Russians. The U.S.A., too, are now faced by the prospect of being converted — after a radical extirpation of all "non-proletarian elements" — into a "Pennsylvania of Russia".

Russia (Muscovy) — the Home of Genocide
Russian invasions mean the genocide of other nations, as is proved only too clearly by the following examples:

a) When the Russians conquered the state of Novgorod in 1487 they liquidated its entire population. In the capital alone they killed more than 30,000 persons, of whom 8,000, mostly women and children, were drowned in the River Volkhov, whilst the rest were brutally massacred. The persons who survived, numbering about 15,000, were deported to the East, and the Russians settled in Novgorod.

b) In 1553 the Muscovites conquered the Tatar state of Kazan. The greater part of the population was murdered and the Russians now settled in Kazan. Astrakhan, likewise a Tatar state, suffered the same fate in the year 1556.

c) The Russian conquest of the Byelorussian towns of Smolensk and Polotsk in the 16th century was "crowned" with the murder of the majority of the inhabitants, including 20,000 Jews.

d) Muscovy's attack on the Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania as they are now called) in the 16th century was one of the most horrible crimes in history. The population of entire towns and villages was massacred, people were burnt and buried alive.

e) Muscovy's attack on Ukraine at the beginning of the 18th century was "famed" for the murder of the entire population of many towns and villages, in particular in Baturyn, Lebedyn, and Perevolochna.

f) The conquest and so-called "appeasement" of Caucasia lasted fifty years. Some of the Caucasian peoples were liquidated completely. The Russian forces, under the command of General Yermolov, killed all the Chechenes who tried to protect the freedom of their country. Eventually, all the Caucasian peoples were subjugated, including Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan, nations which possessed an ancient culture and civilization. Georgia finally fell under the yoke of Russian tyranny in the year 1801.

g) Russia is likewise "famed" for her "invention" of concentration camps for non-Russians. The first of such camps were founded at the beginning of the 18th century in St. Petersburg and Ochakov and thousands of internees, including persons from the Baltic countries, Don-Kozaks, Ukrainians, and Byelorussians, perished there as a result of the terrible slave labour to which they were sentenced. Incidentally, certain monasteries in Muscovy were also converted into concentration camps.

h) The Bolsheviks, as the true emanation from the Russian nation and the embodiment of its most aggressive form of annexionism, have continued to pursue the same "traditional" genocidal policy towards the enslaved nations, solely with the dif-

ference that the degree of liquidation was and often is total. The Bolsheviks' "sincerity" in revealing the extermination and Russification policy of the Tsarist government is nothing but the "sincerity" of a thief, who, in order to trick his pursuers, shouts, "Stop! thief!"

Whereas the revolution against the Tsarist government in April, 1917, was simultaneously the actual revolution of the subjugated nations, the Bolshevik assumption of power in October, 1917, was in the truest sense the Russian reaction of the counter-revolutionary bloc. The Bolshevik takeover was, in the first place, a new attempt to dislocate the Russian imperialist forces with the aim of counteracting the empire's disintegration and suppressing the liberation movements of the enslaved nations, since the old Russification policy had failed. It is a well-known fact that practically all the non-Russian nations spontaneously proclaimed the restoration of their independence early in 1917.

Russian imperialism has disguised itself in a red cloak and now serves Russia's fixed idea of a world conquest.

The West has many genuine and dependable friends and allies in the Soviet Union, among the "aliens", the "inorodtsy", as they were already designated in former times by the Russians. Mr. Khokhlov, however, in his explanations in the "U.S. News and World Report", June 15, 1956, as to the meaning of Khrushchev's speech, does not differentiate between the "superior" and the "inferior" peoples, between the oppressors and the oppressed, between the enemies and the friends of the West. He classifies them together under the name of "Russian people". He tries to create the impression that the ethnic Russians (Muscovites) are also subjugated people, — subjugated by the Bolsheviks. He has apparently forgotten that "Bolshevism is a purely national Russian phenomenon", a purely internal matter for Russians, and the embodiment of external aggression and exploitation for non-Russians. The non-Red Russian imperialists seek to create the impression that the "Russians (Muscovites) are fighting Bolshevism, too." Khrushchev's speech, however, clearly proves that there is constant resistance on the part of the enslaved nations to Bolshevism. If to some Russians (Muscovites) the Communist Bolshevik system is a matter of regime only, to non-Russians it is a matter of double significance, namely of regime and of hostile imperialism. Khrushchev's speech indicates . . . the "serious fight of the Communist Party against bourgeois nationalists" . . . According to Khrushchev, this fight is an "ideological" and not an imperialistic one! He mentions the recent attempts of Azerbaijan and Georgia "to revolt and proclaim their independence"; he also mentioned the fact that thousands of Georgians were arrested in 1951-52. According to Stalin himself, as quoted in Khrushchev's speech, during the period of collectivization "10 million peasants died in the Soviet Union, a large proportion of them in Ukraine". In fact, during the collectivization not 10 but nearly 20 million peasants lost their lives, and most of them were non-Russians. It is worth stressing the fact that whereas the extent of collectivization in 1931 amounted to 90 per cent in Ukraine and other non-Russian republics, in Muscovy it only amounted to 20 per cent.

Khrushchev in mentioning the Mingrelian nationalist organization in Georgia, added that . . . "there have at times been manifestations on the part of local bourgeois nationalists in several other republics."

He confirmed the deportation of whole nations from their native countries in the years 1943 and 1944 as well as the liquidation of the republics of these peoples, namely the Karadaian, Kalmykian, Chechen-Ingushetian, and Kabardin-Balkarian republics. He did not, however, refer to the liquidation of two other republics, namely the Krim-Tatar and Volga-German republics. The entire population of the Krim-Tatar republic, numbering about 600 thousand and including women, children, and old persons, were expelled from their homes and sent to Siberia! Khrushchev, of course, did not mention the fact that Russians (Muscovites) settled in the countries "vacated" in this way as a result of the liquidation of the republics. Nor did he mention that the Bolshevik go-

vernment, when the number of victims who had died of starvation in Ukraine in 1932 and 1933 amounted to 6 millions, attempted to settle "true Socialist-Russians" (Muscovites) in their "vacated" towns and villages. Khrushchev further affirmed that the "Ukrainians escaped the fate of being deported solely because there were too many of them and there was no place to which to deport them." He tried to explain the atrocious crimes of Russian Bolshevism as being the result of Stalin's wilfulness. But we have only to recall the liquidation and deportation of the population of Novgorod in the 15th century.

Khrushchev naturally said nothing about any resistance on the part of the Russians (Muscovites) themselves to Bolshevism, since such resistance does not exist.

Khokhlov's classification of all the subjugated nations together with the Russians (Muscovites) under the name of "Russian people" obviously has as its purpose the transfer of the responsibility for Russian (Muscovite) Bolshevism to the non-Russians, too. Use of the term "Russian people" enables the Russian imperialists in the West to claim that the Russians (Muscovites) too, like the enslaved nations, are fighting Bolshevism. Russian politicians in the West use the term "Russian people" and refer to the subjugated nations' fight as "Russian resistance" for the purpose of protecting the Russian imperium ("One Indivisible Russia") from a possible disintegration should Bolshevism be overthrown.

In the course of the so-called "Leningrad Affair", a few Russians (Muscovites) fell victims to the wilfulness of Stalin and Beria. Khokhlov's explanation that this "Affair" was a form of punishment for "Great Russian Chauvinism" is ridiculous and is only likely to be believed by those who have very little knowledge of politics. Not one Russian (Muscovite) has been punished for his nationalism. It is true that, in starting a new wave of terrorism against the "bourgeois nationalists", the Bolsheviks with a cunning smile also mention the "fight against the Great Russian chauvinists", a fight which is always symbolical of the Russians themselves and serves as a camouflage for the real terrorism against the non-Russians only.

The fight against Russian imperialism and Communism has so far only been carried on by the peoples subjugated by Moscow; they will continue this fight, and the West should realize this fact, and give them effective support, if it does not want to be destroyed by Moscow itself one day.

Change in Status Quo by Chain Reaction

At a meeting arranged by the Europe Union in the West German town of Landshut on November 29, 1956, the Ukrainian journalist, *Ihor Schurlywyj*, an ABN co-worker and a member of the Ukrainian Council of the Movement, gave a lecture on the Eastern menace and how to overcome it. The leaflets asking the people of Landshut to attend the meeting, which were distributed in large numbers in the streets of the town on the previous day, were signed by the Europe Union, all the German political parties, the Seliger community, the National Council for Freedom and Right, the Landshut People's University, and the National League for Peace and Freedom.

In his lecture, which lasted one and a half hours, the speaker stressed the fact that mighty forces are secretly at work in the subjugated peoples of Moscow's colonial empire between the Elbe and the Pacific, and added that until recently many of the Western politicians were unaware of the existence of such forces. He then compared these forces to atomic energy, with which man has only recently become acquainted. Nowadays we know that a chain reaction can cause a huge atomic explosion of the energy which is concealed in atoms. And, similarly, it is possible to bring about a change in the present unjust status quo in Europe by means of a chain reaction in Moscow's colonial empire.

The local German press reported on the lecture in detail and stressed the fact that the meeting had been a big success.

New Standards for Freedom, Democracy and Sovereignty

An Example of Communist Casuistry

In a recently published treatise the President of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Todor PAVLOFF, demands in the first place the thorough "re-education of teachers" as a precondition for the up-to-date education of the younger generation. He points out that certain traditional conceptions of the basic forms of state and political life must be discarded, in order to meet the requirements of our times. This leading ideologist of Bulgarian Communism then arrives at certain new ideas, in particular as regards the conception of national independence and sovereignty. And in view of the present political situation in the world, these ideas are certainly most interesting.

Pavloff takes the recent events in Hungary and Egypt as the starting-point for his arguments and proceeds to reproach the West, or rather its political leaders, with ideological discrepancies and political inconsistency. He maintains that whereas in the capitalistic world the *national idea* is, on the one hand, *negated* and the peoples are asked to renounce their sovereignty in favour of the cosmopolite idea and in the interests of American ultra-imperialism, the same imperialistic West has, on the other hand, tried to kindle lawless nationalism and aggressive chauvinism in Hungary. This, so he stresses, is, from the ideological point of view, "double bookkeeping", which tries to take advantage of the short memory of the masses in Hungary and elsewhere who have been confused and terrorized by reactionary propaganda.

He goes on to say that, in view of the new ideological crusade against the Soviet Union and Communism which is now being conducted by the West "with hysterical boldness and desperate effort" for the purpose of completely destroying Communism, it is absolutely imperative that ideological training in the socialist camp should discard all fixed and out-of-date ideas and allow itself to be guided by the modern meaning and application of certain fundamental state and political conceptions and systems. According to Pavloff, the most important precondition for the right education and training of youth today is that the teachers themselves should be re-educated in the new spirit, and not only the teachers as the actual representatives of ideological training in the narrower sense, but also all adult persons in the socialist state as a whole.

Pavloff is of the opinion that the *fundamental condition* for a re-training and re-education must, above all, be the realization that the abolition of the personal cult has nothing whatever to do with the attempts to deny the achievements of the Soviet and the Bulgarian revolution and to discard the entire socialist system.

After this introduction, Todor Pavloff proceeds to define the fundamental conceptions of state and political life as follows:

In the general and abstract sense there are no such things as *freedom, democracy and dictatorship*. One can only use these conceptions in connection with concrete events to which they refer. In the capitalistic world these forms of state and political life are bourgeois in character and are thus merely a pseudo-freedom, a pseudo-democracy and a ruthless bourgeois dictatorship. In the present Bulgarian People's Republic, on the other hand, there is, according to Pavloff, freedom and democracy of the people, of the workers, of the farmers and of the intelligentsia, and also a dictatorship which belongs to the people and which is directed against the enemies — at home and abroad — of the people's democracy, of socialism and of the independence and sovereignty of the state.

Pavloff then emphasizes the fact that the *fight for independence and national sovereignty* must, as regards its fundamental and guiding principles and aims, be determined by the same class standards. He goes on to say that a *fight for independence and sovereignty at any price, particularly if it is directed against a people's democratic state and against the vital friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, is in reality no longer a fight for independence and sovereignty*. Such a fight, as events in Hungary have shown all

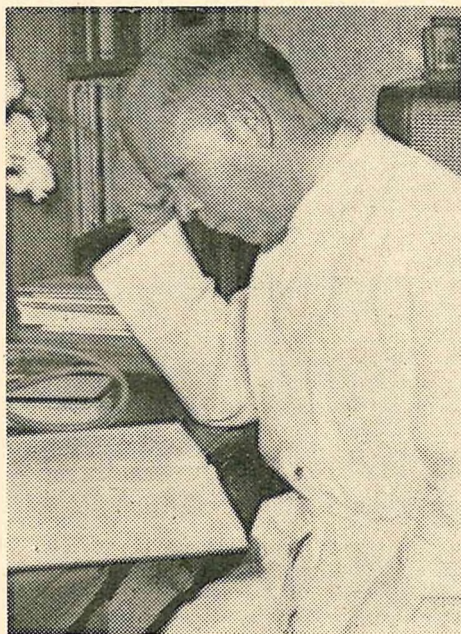
too plainly, might very well be used to advantage by the "Fascist reactionary and counter-revolutionary elements".

In conclusion, Pavloff stresses that the socialist re-training and re-education of the teachers, in the first place, and then of the "wonderful, heroic Bulgarian youth" will be ensured if the above facts are realized. He points out that this task of re-training and re-educating the teachers and the younger generation in Bulgaria is now in firm, safe and experienced hands, and adds that the illusions cherished by the people's enemies of a repetition in Bulgaria of events in Hungary will vanish and have, in fact, to some extent already vanished.

(The above-mentioned treatise was published in the government gazette, "Otschestven Front", No. 3821, of December 9, 1956.)

Twenty-five Years' Jubilee as a Priest

As a teacher of religion at a big girls' school in Zagreb, Stefan Kukuljas, gained an insight into the problems of adolescent youth and, at the same time, realized that he still had a lot to learn if he was to help others morally and spiritually. He went to Rome, to the Gregoriana, for a year, where he studied moral theology under the German Jesuit priest, Hürth. In 1942 Kukuljas came to Munich in the capacity of priest to the Croatian workers there. In spite of his clerical work he managed to make time to study medicine. With the permission of his diocesan superior, he attended the university as a student, and as he was always attired in ordinary clothes on these occasions, only a few of his fellow-students realized that he was a "priest of the workers". After taking his degree as a doctor of theology, he qualified as a doctor of medicine in 1952. In his capacity as a priest he held mass in the mornings, and during the rest of the day he worked as a doctor in



Dr. Stefan Kukuljas in his study

various hospitals, including the one in Wörishofen. But his thirst for knowledge was not yet satiated. He had previously attended a course of psychology lectures held by Professor Lersch, and he now studied psychotherapy for three years, in addition to his work as a priest at the refugees' camp in Allach. Last summer he was awarded his diploma for psychotherapy by the Munich Institute. At present he is studying eye diagnosis under Professor Angerer ("One looks right into human beings as if through a window") and chiropractic. On Sundays he holds divine service in a refugees' community in Untermenzing, Munich. Incidentally, Stefan Kukuljas recently celebrated his twenty-five years' jubilee as a priest.

The Latvian Welfare Fund "Daugavas Vanagis"

"Money was short. What was to be done with not a copper left and about half a million roubles owing to the state, It was decided to sell 3,000 geese not yet fat enough for market." ("Sovetskaja Latvija", 28. 10. 56).

This is just one of the countless examples illustrating the state of collectivised agriculture in Soviet occupied Latvia. The above report appeared in the Communist newspaper "Sovetskaja Latvija", describing a collective farm in the Vilani district.

In the years of her independence, Latvia was a flourishing agricultural country, producing a surplus of bacon, butter, timber and flax. Considerable quantities of these commodities were exported to Great Britain in return for industrial goods.

On the other hand, however the Communist regime has done its best to smash the prosperity of the Latvian people. During the last 12 years of Soviet Russian occupation all land has been expropriated from the farmers and pooled in collective farms (kolhozes). In 1948 alone, in order to break the resistance of the farming population some 60,000 farmers and their families were deported to Siberia.

The small strip of land permitted for cultivation by individual families affords the only hope of warding off starvation. But not always. Comrade N. Bisenieks, the secretary of the Latvian Communist party, in his article, sarcastically called "The Development of the Kolhoze Democracy" ("China", 12. 10. 56), sounds the warning that those who do not fulfil the minimum work target will lose their private plots.

While the party bosses see that deliveries to the armed forces and the government are met at all costs, the workers toil on.

Would any trade union in the democratic world tolerate exploitation and denial of human rights, as practised in the worker's paradise?

There can be no doubt about the fact that the Latvians will not tolerate Soviet Russian occupation and its evils much longer — at the first opportunity the Latvian nation will rise to restore freedom and independence. God bless Latvia.

Limits of Atomic Warfare From Page 2

The aim of the Western world should be to set its hopes on the national liberation revolutions and to prepare them by means of a co-ordination centre of the national, revolutionary liberation organizations — on this side of the Iron Curtain, too, — which represent the fundamental principles of national state independence, democratic freedoms and social justice, as well as by definitely excluding an agrarian social order in favour of big landowners or an industrial social order in favour of capitalists and by opposing every form of Communism. Experience has already proved that big landowners and capitalists, like all forms of "classical" capitalism, are definitely a thing of the past.

The recipes resorted to by the statesmen of the West, which above all prescribe practical indifference to the processes going on behind the Iron Curtain and definitely stress non-intervention and the fact that one should wait and see how events develop and turn out, are certainly favourable to Bolshevism. The example of Hungary has shown that "waiting and seeing" have led to the genocide of the Hungarian people.

Not only do the states of the West want us to act as a cat's-paw for them, but they also want to achieve temporary successes at our expense by bargaining with the U.S.S.R.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the riots in Berlin and Poznan, and the insurrections of the Ukrainian prisoners in the concentration camps of Vorkuta, Kingiri and Norilsk have shown that it is possible, with the help of national liberation revolutions, to destroy the Russian Bolshevik, imperium from within and thus prevent an atomic, that is, a world war. The policy of liberation is the means to preventing such a war; the policy of coexistence, on the other hand, is the surest way to start an atomic war, which would logically break out as a result of coexistence.

It stands to reason that revolutionaries and revolutions cannot be suppressed by atomic bombs.

Z. K.

Press Reports:

Ukrainians Support the Hungarian Fight for Freedom

The "NEW YORK POST" of November 9, 1956, published a report which was based on official information and was worded as follows:

"The reason why the Kremlin transferred 8 new divisions from Russia to Hungary in order to put down the liberation revolution was that it had doubts as to the trustworthiness of the Soviet occupation forces stationed in Hungary. This also explains the indecision of the Kremlin at first, to resort to the full use of armed force against the fighters for freedom... But the majority of the units stationed in Hungary consisted for the most part of Ukrainians. The old feeling of distrust on the part of the Russians towards the Ukrainians was intensified still more by the friendly relations between the Ukrainian soldiers and the Hungarian population. And after the removal of the Budapest puppet government, Moscow became seriously alarmed at the many reports about fraternization between the Ukrainians and the Hungarians. In several cases, Ukrainians, taking their arms and tanks with them, went over to the side of the fighters for freedom."

The "NEWSWEEK" of November 26, 1956, also published a very interesting news item and wrote as follows: "The dense network of the Russian security service, headed by General Ivan Serov, is busily searching Hungary for 3,000 Soviet soldiers, including 60 tank crews, who have deserted and gone over to the side of the Hungarian fighters for freedom. The majority of them have joined forces with the liberation movement." Apparently most of the soldiers concerned belonged to Ukrainian units of the Soviet Army.

Ukrainian Insurgents in Hungary's Fight for Freedom

In its edition of December 17, 1956, the London paper, "DAILY EXPRESS", published the following report:

"Ukrainian freedom fighters have blown up the railway line used by the Red Army to supply its troops in Hungary. The line was sabotaged at several points near Lvov, a rail centre in Western Ukraine, about 100 miles east of the Hungarian border, say reports. Red Army reinforcements, including security men, have moved into West Ukraine."

The Russian press again began to publish attacks directed against the renewed activity of the Ukrainian nationalist forces, who are, of course, said to "receive their instructions from the American intelligence service headquarters in Frankfurt".

15,000 Ukrainians Go Over to the Fighters for Freedom

A front-page article with the above title was published by the London "OBSERVER" in its edition of December 16, 1956. The article — a report by a Hungarian fighter for freedom, Lajos Lederer, — was worded as follows:

"A large-scale revolt of Soviet troops, chiefly Ukrainian, has broken out in Hungary and has linked up with armed Hungarian units still preserving control in several maquis areas..."

My sources trace the revolt back to the effect on Soviet Army morale of the initial assault on Hungarian young people and workers. They estimate that even during the first Soviet intervention in October, individual desertions of Soviet soldiers reached thousands. When the second wave of Soviet tanks returned on November 4 to crush the national rising, they were kept well in hand, firing blindly, for four days. As soon as they were dispersed over the country to terrorise people into submission piecemeal, it proved very difficult to make them carry out orders, and friendly contacts with the population were established in many areas.

The Reason for the Kadar Government's Indecision

The total number of the organized units in revolt by the week-end was estimated by my sources at 15,000. The largest part of them have joined the Hungarian forces in the mountains of

the Borsod country, near the frontier of Carpatho-Ukraine, which forms part of the Soviet Union. But there are similar cases in other maquis areas. It is stated in Budapest that the higher Soviet authorities are now so preoccupied with this development that they have little time for dealing with the Hungarian revolution itself, and that this is in part responsible for the impression of drift and indecision lately conveyed by the actions of the Kadar "Government". General Serov, the head of the Soviet State Security Committee, and a number of his top officials are reported to have been flown in in the last few days.

Entire Units Go Over with Tanks to Hungarian Freedom Fighters

After some time, the higher Soviet authorities reacted by flying in large numbers of officers of the political administration, exchanging — and in a number of cases arresting — local commanding officers. During the past week, this has led a number of officers, chiefly Ukrainian, to take their units over to the Hungarian freedom fighters and call on other units to join them. Some units have come over with their tanks, others with only light equipment. The defecting officers have broadcast on Army transmitters, giving their own name and rank, and calling in the Ukrainian language on their comrades to join the fight for the liberation of their own country and their families."

The French and German Press

The following news item was published by the Paris paper, "L'AURORE", in its edition of December 16/17, 1956.

"Fierce fighting is in progress in Western Ukraine. Countless acts of sabotage have been committed by Ukrainian insurgents. During the past week Ukrainian insurgents have blown up the railway line between Stanislaviv and Dolyna and between Stanislaviv and Kolomya at several points. A number of goods trains, which were taking ammunition to Hungary for the Soviet occupation forces there, were blown up on the tracks. The activity of the Ukrainian insurgents extends as far as the entire mountainous region bordering on the Carpathians. Throughout the country the insurgents are assisted in every way by the Ukrainian population. By way of reprisals the Bolsheviks are carrying out mass arrests. So far, the number of Ukrainians who have been arrested (by December 15, 1956) amounts to many hundreds."

"LE PARISIEN LIBERE" of December 17, 1956, writes as follows:

"Ten thousand Soviet soldiers have gone over to the Hungarian freedom fighters; 3,500 of them have joined forces with the Hungarian freedom fighters in the district of Miskolc, whilst 2,000 have gone over to the Hungarian side in the Bakot mountains, and 5,000 to 6,000 in the district of Petsch."

The papers in the United States also mention the fact that the Ukrainians are taking part in the Hungarian fight for freedom. The "New York Herald Tribune" and "The Philadelphia Inquirer", as well as many other leading papers which have a circulation of millions of copies, are constantly publishing reports about the Ukrainian fighters for freedom.

Ukrainian Insurgents in Action

(Reported from Vienna, on December 17, 1956)

On the evening of December 17, 1956, the radio station at Miskolc broadcast the following report: "After fierce combats with the Muscovite Bolsheviks, the town of Miskolc has now been seized by Hungarian and Ukrainian insurgents."

The Ukrainian insurgents have blown up the railway bridge in Worochta and a railway tunnel just outside Worochta, and there is now no communication line via Worochta with Carpatho-Ukraine and Hungary.

New Soviet units are having to be conveyed to Hungary via Roumania."

Ukrainian Tanks Fire On A. V. O.

The following news item appeared in the "MÜNCHNER MERKUR", on November 2, 1956:

"This was what happened: the A.V.O., the Hungarian political police, was firing on thousands of demonstrators, all of whom were unarmed. Suddenly, some obstinate Ukrainian or other — no doubt his head was shorn in the Russian manner and he probably looked just like a loyal Marxist — must have gone on strike and must have been reminded of chains, — not the chains on his tank, but the chains which fetter the masses. All of a sudden, there tank towers veered from "12 to 6" — as they say in army language — and three commanding officers shouted "Fire!". But the tanks fired on the A.V.O. troops, not on the demonstrators. And Communist police were killed by the volley of Red Army tanks. This was undoubtedly the finest deed in the history of this Soviet regiment and the worst short circuit ever experienced in a Party system."

All the above-mentioned incidents speak volumes. And they are a sure sign of the fact that there is amongst all the peoples who are subjugated in the Soviet sphere of influence a profound feeling of solidarity against their mutual Russian enemy and subjugator, — a solidarity which is likely to assume an active and concrete form at the least provocation. And this fact is of immeasurable importance as far as the future course of the liberation process is concerned. It is, however, regrettable that the world press only comments on this fact in brief and does not pay more attention to it.

The Youth of the Subjugated Countries against Moscow

In its edition of December 21, 1956, the Swiss newspaper, "Neue Züricher Zeitung", published some interesting information about manifestations of anti-Moscow feeling, chiefly on the part of students, in various countries of the Soviet Union.

"A revolutionary attitude on the part of the students is spreading not only in Latvia but also in the other Baltic states. This is clearly evident from the leading articles and informative material published in the Latvian newspaper, "Sovietskaja Latvija". This paper writes that 'the influence of a foreign ideology and a bourgeois attitude are becoming more and more evident among the younger generation'. Young writers have recently shown a tendency to depict Soviet life in 'naturalist colours'. Some writers strongly support formalist views which are directed against the Soviet ideology. The students of Riga University do not read the Soviet press, but gain their information from other 'dubious' sources."

A similar criticism was also expressed about the youth of Esthonia at the Party Congress in Tallinn, which was held at the beginning of December 1956. In the schools in the Esthonian capital the demand was voiced that the symbolism of the Soviet pioneers should be replaced by the traditional rules and principles of the Esthonian scouts. The leader of the Esthonian pioneers — a Russian of the name of Vigorova — objected to the fact that a similar idea in other youth organizations had even found support in the Latvian official Komsomol newspaper."

Kyiv Students Hold Demonstrations

The Vienna newspaper, "Neuer Kurier", of December 16, 1956, stated that Hungarian refugees, who had reached Austria from Hungary via Kyiv, reported that numerous demonstrations had been held by Kyiv University during the previous week. Large crowds of the population had spontaneously joined in the students' demonstrations. Some of the demonstrators overpowered the guards at the prisons and prison camps and liberated the internees, who included 300 Hungarians who had been deported to Ukraine at the beginning of November. The Ukrainian population actively helped them in their illegal return to Hungary.

The "Neuer Kurier" also reports that the official newspapers of the Soviet republics of Latvia, Esthonia and Lithuania have admitted that there

are unrests and riots in these countries. The paper, "Sowjetskaja Estonia", reproaches the youth organization of the KOMSOMOL with having failed to instil into the youth of Esthonia "a feeling of affinity with the other peoples of the Soviet Union, in particular with the Russian people".

The Moscow paper, "Pravda", saw itself forced to comment on such exaggerated statements on the part of the press of the non-Russian republics of the Soviet Union and declared most emphatically that "as regards events in Hungary, countless newspapers in the Soviet republics express views which are a violent contradiction of the principles of Marxism and Leninism".

The "Salzburger Nachrichten" of December 17, 1956, corroborated the report that Ukrainian insurgents had blown up the railway line from Kolomea and Stanislaviv to Hungary at several points, thus forcing the Soviets to convey troops to Hungary via Roumania.

"Ukrainian Insurgents Help Hungary"

This was the title of a report published in the Vienna paper, "Welt am Montag", of December 17, 1956, which was worded as follows: "Reports about considerable activity on the part of Ukrainian insurgents are increasing from day to day. We have learned from well-informed sources that Ukrainian insurgents completely destroyed the railway line to Hungary, via the Carpathians, on November 12th and November 18th, and that the Soviets were thus forced to send trains to Hungary via Roumania. The insurgents blew up the railway tracks and damaged the bridges in the eastern and western districts of the Carpathians".

The following report was published in the newspaper, "Grazer Montag", on December 17, 1956: "Vienna, December 16 (Reuter, AFP, APA). The Budapest Opera House was to have been reopened yesterday, Sunday. But anonymous leaflets were sent to the artistes and placards were posted up which bore the following threat: "It would be a pity if the Opera House were reopened, for this lovely building would only be destroyed". For this reason the reopening was postponed until December 25th. According to reports from various news agencies, 15,000 Soviet soldiers, most of them Ukrainians, have gone over to the side of the Hungarian freedom fighters. Students from North Korea are also said to have joined the Hungarian freedom movement. In the course of fierce fighting Hungarian freedom fighters cleared the town of Miskolcz of Soviet troops..."

The "Kleine Zeitung", which likewise appears in Graz, in its edition of December 16, 1956, published a report with the following title:

"Ukrainians Liberate Deportees"

"In connection with events in Hungary, demonstrations have been held by the students of Kyiv University. Large crowds of the population spontaneously joined in these demonstrations. In the Ukrainian capital a riot broke out which could only be put down with considerable difficulty. Demonstrators overpowered the guards at the prisons and prison camps, liberated young Hungarians who had been deported, and took them through the town in a triumphal procession."

A Polish Student's Account

H. Noch, a young Polish student who escaped from Poland in 1954, went from Munich to Hungary and was caught in Budapest during the dramatic days of the anti-Russian revolution. His account appeared in Polish and Ukrainian newspapers in Europe, and he, too, reports that many Ukrainians went over to the side of the insurgents. He writes:

"Next day, November 1, I went to look at the battered city, accompanied by an insurgent who knew the French language. Near the radio station building there were Hungarian tanks ready for combat (under the insurgents' command — Ed.) and also three Soviet tanks whose crews were Ukrainians who went over to the insurgents in the first days of the revolution. On buildings, posts and on windows of stores we saw innumerable inscriptions, "Russians Go Home!"

"... We met the commander of the sector which we were visiting, and he told us about the heavy fighting in this part of the city:

"We suffered heavy losses here, but it could have been even worse had not there been on the Soviet side many Ukrainians, Georgians and other non-Russian soldiers. Many of them not only helped by firing in the air, but actually went over to our side."

Propaganda Leaflets for Hungary

Several thousand leaflets, published in the name of the Hungarian Liberation Movement and signed by the President of the Movement, General Ferenc Farkas, were distributed in the fighting sectors of the war of liberation in Hungary by the insurgents themselves. The English text of these leaflets, which were worded in Hungarian, was published in "ABN Correspondence", No. 1/2, 1957.

In addition, over 12,000 appeals and leaflets in Russian and Ukrainian, which were published in the name of the groups of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists abroad and in the name of the Central Committee of the ABN and were addressed to the soldiers and officers of the Soviet forces in Hungary, were also distributed. These leaflets exhorted the Soviet soldiers to desist from firing on innocent Hungarian men, women and children, whose sole desire is to be free, and, above all, asked the soldiers of the Red Army who are of Ukrainian or other non-Russian nationality to refuse to carry out the orders they received, to go over to the side of the Hungarian insurgents and to join forces with the latter in fighting their mutual Russian enemy.

According to authentic reports received from Hungarian freedom fighters, the Ukrainian and White Ruthenian units, in particular, of the original occupation troops clearly showed their unwillingness to carry out orders to fire and several thousands of them went over to the side of the insurgents and helped the latter in their fight.

A Message to the Soldiers of the Soviet Army

"Soldiers and officers of non-Russian origin!

For what and for whom are you fighting? You yourselves are making the yoke imposed on you and on your peoples firmer!

What wrong have the Hungarian peasants, workers and students done you, when they took up arms against national enslavement, against subjugation and despotism, against collectivization and the system of sweating the workers, against concentration camps and prisons, in which the best sons of the Hungarian nation are tortured to death? Do you not know that conditions in your own country are just as bad? Is there such a thing as your own national and democratic state which is independent? Have you your own national armies which would defend the interests of their own peoples? Are you allowed to express your opinion freely or to freely worship God in your faith?

Comrades! The time has come for you to decide for whom and for what cause you are fighting! For a free life or for death in bondage? For the disintegration of the Muscovite Bolshevik prison of nations and for a free life, worthy of man, in your own independent, national and democratic state, or for the present condition of slavery? For starvation or for prosperity? For concentration camps and prisons or for a free life, for the freedom of speech, conscience, thought and assembly, for a life which is free from fear and distress? For free elections or for Communist hirelings and overseers, who have been forced on your peoples by Moscow?

The Hungarian people — like the workers in Poznan have done recently and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) has been doing for years — is heroically shattering the Bolshevik fetters which have bound it for so long!

The Hungarian Communist criminals have proved powerless in the face of the people's wrath, and for this reason they appealed to Moscow for help, in order to crush the revolt of their own fellow-countrymen.

Do you know against whom you are fighting? Against workers, peasants and students like yourselves, who long for freedom just as much as you do. Do not heed Bolshevik lies, which say that this outbreak of national wrath has been "provoked by Western capitalists". No! The cause of this outbreak is to be sought in a terrible subjection and servitude, in tyranny and hardship, in the Bolshevik system of exploitation, prisons, concentration camps, and national subjugation.

Are you aware of the fact that you are fighting and senselessly killing not "capitalists and landowners", but poverty-stricken workers and "collectivized" peasants who have been exploited by the

Communist system, — workers and peasants who lead the same wretched existence in Ukraine, in Caucasia, in Turkestan, in Byelorussia and in every country which is subjected to the ruthless power of the Kremlin and the subjugators installed there by the Kremlin.

Refuse to fight against the Hungarian insurgents! Go over to their side! Join the ranks of the mighty national, revolutionary liberation movement of all the peoples subjugated by Bolshevism, and fight for the cause of freedom for nations and freedom for individuals, and for the independent, national, democratic states of our peoples!

Leave the ranks of the Soviet Army, an army of subjugation and slavery! Join forces with the insurgents!

And bear in mind that Stalinist-Khrushchev tyranny will increase still more in your native countries, too, if the Muscovite criminals, with your aid and the help of Nagy's clique, succeed in suppressing the revolt in Hungary!

Russian soldiers of the Soviet Army! Why do you kindle the hatred of all the peoples of the world against yourselves and your nation by helping to crush the liberation movements of the subjugated peoples?

Go over to the side of the insurgents and direct your weapons against the Communists, — for the freedom and welfare of your children, wives and parents, too! Join forces with us, the non-Russian peoples, and fight for independent, national, democratic states for all peoples of the world, for the destruction of all empires, and for the freedom of nations and individuals! Every nation, including the Russian nation, too, shall have its own state within its ethnographical frontiers, and no nation shall be allowed to subjugate others!

Against whom are you fighting? — Against workers, peasants and students like yourselves! Why do you allow yourselves to be used by the Khrushchev gang in the Kremlin as hangmen against the Hungarian people, who are your neighbours?

We exhort you in the name of freedom, truth and justice and in the interests of the welfare of your native country and our peoples, to cease fighting against the insurgents and to join forces with them!

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!
October, 1956.

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

From the Declaration of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.)

"Hungary is not alone in her heroic fight. The increasing activity of the revolutionary fight of Ukraine and the other peoples, in response to the Hungarian national revolution, will prevent the Bolsheviks from crushing this revolution.

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists addresses the following appeal to the soldiers of the Soviet troops who have been sent to Hungary to put down the revolt there: refuse to carry out the vile orders issued by the Bolsheviks; refuse to fight against the Hungarian fighters for freedom, and, on the contrary, help them in every possible way; go over to the side of the insurgents and join forces with them in fighting against Bolshevism for the freedom of nations and individuals!

The groups of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists abroad declare their solidarity and their willingness to support all campaigns which aim to give Hungary's liberation revolution moral, political, military and other kinds of assistance.

The groups of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists abroad would welcome and support the formation of military units consisting of volunteers from various nations, who should take an active part in Hungary's fight for freedom and should fight under its banner for the freedom of nations and individuals against Bolshevik tyranny.

Long live the victory of the Hungarian National Revolution!

Long live Hungary, freed from Soviet occupation and Communist tyranny!

Long live the heroic Hungarian insurgents!
Long live the anti-Bolshevik liberation front of the nations!

The Leaders of the Groups of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists Abroad."

Protest Rally for Freedom

„Freedom Fighters' Day“ in Buffalo

The Hon. Steven Pankow, Mayor of Buffalo, New York, issued a special proclamation on November 25, 1956, designating it as "Freedom Fighters' Day" in honor of the Hungarian freedom fighters. On the same day a huge anti-Russian demonstration took place in Buffalo. †

Parade and Rally was sponsored by the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations — Buffalo Chapter — Ukrainian Div.

“Free World — Forward March!”

From the address delivered by RT. MSGR. ROMAN J. NUWER, during the Freedom Fighters' Day Rally.

Msgr. Nuwer is a retired Brigadier General in the United States National Guard.

We protest — vigorously and justifiably against the tyranny that exists in some parts of the world. Specifically — we accuse the communist government of Russia of having robbed many nations of their FREEDOM and holding them in slavery by force of military might.

We protest against this slavery — because every human being has the inalienable right to LIFE — LIBERTY — and the PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS in this world.

WE OF THE FREE WORLD ARE TO BLAME THAT THE COMMUNIST DICTATORS WERE NOT ELIMINATED WITH NAZIISM AND FASCISM immediately after World War II.

For 10 long years — the condemned slaves in all the subjugated countries have been pleading the free world to do something about their slavery; have been telling us that the persecution of the red devils in Moscow is getting beyond human endurance.

What did the free world do about it? We gave them our moral support and some food and clothing. Yes — we beamed messages of hope to them over the radio. We dropped propaganda leaflets over their countries. They do not need any propaganda leaflets — they do not need any messages — what they need is HELP, HELP, HELP, from the free world to get the heels of the red devils off their necks. They did not ask us for food or clothing or money. What they wanted was FREEDOM — the right to Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness — even as you and I.

And — finally — when they could no longer stand the persecution of those red devils in Moscow — they rebelled — they revolted — they dared to stand up and defy the tyrants and their mighty armies. Yes — in East Berlin — in Poland — in Hungary — practically barefisted — they dared challenge the tanks, the armored cars, the machine-guns — the grenades of the occupying armies.

And what did the free world do? As usual — we sent them encouragement, propaganda, food, clothing, money, medicines.

The efforts of these enslaved people must be supported with more than moral support and material comforts. Their blood cries to us for the kind of help that will make them free — return to them the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

It is the duty of the free world to demand that the United Nations Assembly order the communists and their red dictators to get out of the free world and should drive them out by force.

No sane person wants war. But there are some things worse than war. There are some things worse than death. Slavery is worse. They prefer death to slavery. We of the free world must help them to regain their right to Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness. Anything less than that is hypocrisy, frustration and ignominious cowardice. FREE WORLD — FORWARD MARCH!

Enslaved Peoples' Trustworthy Partner

From the speech by Dr. Nestor Procyk

We have come to this gathering today — this Freedom Fighters' Day — to pay tribute and express thanks to the gallant fighters for freedom in Hungary and in Ukraine; Byelorussia, the Bal-

tic States and Poland; Croatia, Albania, in North Korea; in each and every Soviet-Russian or Communist ruled country; to pay tribute and express thanks to all soldiers of freedom and justice who are fighting and dying for the cause of the free world. Since their immense sacrifices undoubtedly serve as a bulwark in thwarting the further Soviet Russia expansion, they are fighting indirectly for the preservation of freedom of this very country of ours.

In the failure of the free world of Western Democracies to render effective support to Hungary's exasperated struggle for independence I see the tragedy of both — Soviet Russian captive nations and the world freedom and peace.

For the example of Hungary's fate is only the latest link in a long chain of national uprisings and revolts in many other countries under Muscovite domination.

Ukraine, the first to rise against Muscovite domination, has been in continuous struggle marked by many revolts and uprisings against her Northern oppressor. During all that time and especially during the last decade, when the heroic Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) waging partisan battles in almost every corner of Ukraine or neighbour countries tried valiantly to hold to the West, hoping for help, the answer was the same as to Hungary today: silent expectancy and political inertia.

A fate similar to that of Hungary and Ukraine was also suffered by Byelorussia, Cossackia, Idel-Ural, the Caucasian people, Georgia and Turkestan and all the so-called member Republics of the Soviet Union, paying tremendous sacrifices for this hated "membership".

After the 1939 occupation of the Baltic States the Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians met the same fate and a large part of the population was deported to Eastern areas of the Soviet empire and replaced by Russian-born inhabitants, despite the rebellion and protest of the native population. The West again was silent with few meaningless exceptions.

This attitude of the Western democracies undoubtedly gave a lot of encouragement to the Soviet rulers especially during and after World War II, when they were able to widen their sphere of direct influence to the so-called satellite countries, where they immediately initiated their well-known pattern of enslavement, russification and destruction. So, if anyone would like to know how things were in Ukraine, Georgia, in the Baltic States or Bulgaria he would only have to ask these Hungarian patriots who were fortunate to come to this country. Only then can one realize how much misery, persecution and destruction all the other Soviet Russian oppressed nations have had to suffer and yet how much energy and courage they were able to preserve to continue their fight for freedom. It seems that in that hidden reserve of energy with the tremendous tension of the high patriotic and fighting spirit within all captive peoples will lie the downfall of the Soviet Russian empire, which sooner or later will meet its end. The Kremlin is aware of this and makes cunning efforts to prevent its doom. On the other hand, the oppressed peoples who learned to rely on their own strength rather than to expect outside help, are closing their ranks in a common Anti-Communist front under the banner of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

To prove our sincerity to them and to regain their confidence we must counteract the Soviet Russian power of slavery, fraud, injustice and lies by demonstrating our power only of freedom, sincerity, justice and truth. Along these lines we should not only recognize the liberation movements of all captive nations, but should grant them our active support. We should strengthen the common front of oppressed nations in their struggle for freedom and support the entire Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations by our active and effective policy of liberation. When we start such a policy of liberation with full sincerity and preserverance we shall be certain to gain in all the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain a most valuable and trustworthy partner in our struggle against the Soviet Russian empire and for freedom and peace in the world.

„The best way to lasting peace is to support the resistance movements“

Mass Rally in New York

On December 30, 1956, a mass rally was held by the Ukrainian Congress Committee in New York, in the Manhattan Center Hall. More than three thousand Ukrainians took part in the rally in order to give moral support to the Ukrainian and other subjugated nations in their fight for freedom and independence. Representatives of Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Armenia, Lithuania, Idel-Ural and other subjugated countries were also present at the rally. The rally opened with speeches by the chairman of the Organizing Committee, D. Halytchyn, who spoke in Ukrainian, and the chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee, Prof. Lev Dobriansky, who gave his speech in English. D. Halytchyn emphasized the role of Ukrainian nationalism in the fight for independence, whilst Prof. Dobriansky expressed regret at the fact that the USA had not supported the national revolution in Hungary and had thus missed the opportunity which had presented itself.

The secretary of the Labour Executive Council, James G. Michael, drew attention to the letters written by the Ukrainian prisoners in Mordovia. He stressed the importance of the resistance movements and the fight for freedom, and said that the free world, even if it were only prepared to make a small effort, could help the subjugated peoples to regain their sovereign rights sooner.

Further speakers were Senator Jacob Jevite, Republican, of New York, and the staunch friend of the subjugated peoples, Congressman M. Feighan. Senator Jevite accused Red Moscow of being the most ruthless colonizer in the history of mankind, and said that he supported the idea of helping the resistance movements of the subjugated peoples as this was the best way to lasting peace in the world.

In a powerful speech Mr. Feighan criticized the USA for its indecision regarding events in Hungary. American help would not provoke a world war, he said, if Moscow were not prepared for a war, and if Moscow were prepared, then it would start a war without waiting for causes. He stressed the fact that the subjugated peoples must be given help so that they might regain their freedom as quickly as possible. Mr. Feighan promised to submit a resolution at the next Congress session, requesting the government to take immediate steps to expel the U.S.S.R. from the UN forum and to introduce adequate economic sanctions. A storm of applause greeted his words, "all contacts with Moscow must be severed".

A Hungarian fighter for freedom who had taken part in the revolution in Hungary then gave a brief survey of the Hungarian liberation war. He emphasized the fact that the Ukrainian units of the Red Army had refused to fire on the Hungarians and had actually joined forces with the latter on several occasions.

An extremely moving speech was delivered by Prof. Stanislovivsky. He was arrested in Vienna, deported to a concentration camp in Siberia for ten years, and finally released, as an Austrian subject, last year. He told the audience about his meeting with Metropolitan Joseph Slipy, who was a fellow-prisoner with him for a considerable time in the death camps.

Before the rally closed, those present passed a resolution, demanding action on the part of the USA in support of the fight for freedom of the Ukrainian and other subjugated nations.

The "New York Times" and numerous other newspapers published reports of the rally, and a summary of the meeting was given by the various American broadcasting stations.

*
We herewith beg to inform all our subscribers and distributors in Great Britain that the Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., 237 Liverpool Rd., London W. 1, is authorized to collect all sums due to us for editions we have supplied, and to remit same to the following address: Süddeutsche Bank A. G., Munich, Filiale Depositenkasse, Neuhauser Straße 6, Account No. 300 188.

From Behind the Iron Curtain

BULGARIA

In accordance with the recent Russo-Bulgarian agreement, about 15,000 Bulgarians are to be deported from Bulgaria to the "eastern provinces of the U.S.S.R." Officially, only persons who are unemployed are to be deported, for the purpose of obtaining work in the U.S.S.R., but actually, the Bolsheviks are already deporting young men who might possibly rise up in resistance against the Muscovite occupiers. The deportations are supposed to be carried out in Spring.

ESTHONIA

A new phase in the resettlement of young persons has begun in Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia. The reason for this new resettlement campaign is the attitude of general opposition which prevails in these countries. As stated by the president of the National Union of Esthonia, Rej, in Sweden, more than 2,000 young Esthonians and Latvians have been deported to various regions of the Soviet Union. Khrushchev himself has made an official statement to the effect that by the end of 1957 about 20,000 young Esthonians and about 100,000 young persons from all the other Baltic States will have left their native countries and will have been resettled to virgin lands. They will be replaced in the Baltic countries by workers of various other nationalities.

Thus, the collective leadership has resorted to Stalin's old methods, namely the extermination of all the peoples under Soviet rule and the forming of a Soviet, or rather, a Russian nation. As Mr. Rej rightly assumes, the purpose of the deportations from the Baltic States is to put a stop to the increasing wave of resistance, particularly among the younger generation, against the Soviet regime and national subjugation.

This opposition in the Baltic States will not, however, assume the proportions of the Hungarian resistance, since these countries have no armies of their own and, in any case, all active resistance is ruthlessly and brutally suppressed. Passive resi-

stance, on the other hand, is becoming stronger and stronger. The young people are boycotting the Youth Organization of the Komsomol and the entire Communist systems of education and training. The number of young persons who are members of the Komsomol is steadily decreasing. Of the 3,700 students at the University of Dorpat, for instance, only 37 are members of the Komsomol, whilst of the 2,250 students of the Polytechnical Institute in Reval only 8 are Komsomol members.

To quote from Esthonian Soviet newspapers: "... only one-sixth of the Komsomol members take an active part in the life of this organization; the rest are influenced by the subversive ideology of capitalism." Lectures on Marxism and Leninism are frequently cancelled because no one attends them.

Mr. Rej stated that the Russians do not trust any military units of a national character. Thus, after the Poznan riots, the remnants of the Esthonian corps were disbanded, despite the fact that they were stationed in Central Russia, had already undergone several purges and were, moreover, under the command of Russian officers.

GEORGIA

Moscow's Commissars

A Russian, P. W. Kovanov, has been transferred from Moscow to Tiflis to take up his appointment as second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia. He has no doubt received instructions to keep an eye on the Georgian Party organizations, in which nationalist tendencies still prevail. This is the first time in the history of the Communist Party of Georgia that a Russian from Moscow has been appointed to a leading post in the Party.

A Russian has also been assigned by Moscow to a post in the Georgian government, — J. Mostovoy, who has been appointed acting Minister of the Building Materials Industry.

Moscow evidently does not trust the Georgian Communists.

Nationalist Ideology

The Georgian intelligentsia and the students are sharply censured by the Georgian Party press. The students, so a leading article of the Party organ writes, are lacking in morale and do not display a Communist attitude to work or consciousness "of Soviet patriotism, proletarian internationalism and the feeling of friendship between the peoples". The Party organizations, so the article adds, do not worry at all about this attitude. ("Kommunisti", No. 253, of October 28, 1956.)

The same article reports that as many as 46 students were expelled from the College of Technology alone, "on account of various offences".

In an opinion expressed by the Central Committee of the Youth Organization of the Party (the Komsomol) on this subject, it is stated that nationalist ideas have not yet been exterminated amongst the youth of the country and "they imagine that the Georgians are a special people" (to quote the words used).

As is constantly stressed by the Georgian press, Georgian historians, whenever possible, avoid mentioning the period of Georgian history from the 19th century onwards, that is, the period during which Russia occupied Georgia. Not a single historical work of the Academy of Sciences deals with the Soviet era in Georgia. The historical and ethnographical museum in Sugdidi has published the "Fairy-tale" by the 19th century author, M. Gurieli, which attacks the Russians. The public libraries in Georgia still have copies of D. Tschibridswili's works (he died in Germany some years ago, — N. E.). The book, "Georgia and Russia", which appeared in 1919 and in tendency is anti-revolutionary, chauvinistic and anti-Russian, is still to be had. Press critics affirm that a definitely nationalist trend and glorification of the past prevail in Georgian literature.

It has been stressed on various occasions that a drastic war must be waged against all these phenomena and deviations, but so far all efforts in this respect appear to have been futile.

Hundreds of students have been sent to Turkestan and Siberia in order to work there. As many as 2,000 Georgians are working in Kazakhstan as specialists, and several hundred are employed in Siberia and even in China and Vietnam. Young persons are now refusing to go to these countries and are trying to put up a resistance. Students who have just passed their final examinations at universities and colleges are refusing to go to the destinations to which they are assigned. Of 359 newly qualified doctors 124 failed to put in an appearance at the places to which they had been assigned ("Kommunisti", No. 5, of January 6, 1957).

The Bolsheviks have been ruling in Georgia for over thirty years, but they have not succeeded in breaking the national spirit. Our people have the longing for freedom of spirit and of national life in their hearts, and this longing cannot be destroyed as long as the nation lives. N. E.

RUMANIA

Disturbances in Roumania

Numerous disturbances have recently occurred in Roumania, in the district of Tchernavoda. The first of these disturbances occurred when Bulgarians, living in this town, tried to liberate Hungarian prisoners who had been put into concentration camps. About thirty persons were killed by the police on this occasion. Similar clashes with the Red police occurred in Rasova and Mangalio and at various other places in the district of Dobrudze. Numerous persons were arrested.

SLOVAKIA

NEWS FROM SLOVAKIA

The Bratislava "Pravda" has disclosed the fact that, prior to the recent price cut, only five wireless sets were sold in a month in the largest department store in Bratislava. According to the same paper, the sale of wristlet-watches was on an average only one per week. This is, indeed, an eloquent example of the high standard of living under the Communist government!

Alexander Mach, the former Minister of the Interior of the Slovak Republic, who in 1947, in

Before it is too late

To
THE SECRETARY-GENERAL,
UNITED NATIONS.

Sir,

At a PUBLIC MEETING held in Edinburgh on Saturday, 24th November last, the following Resolution was unanimously passed, and we were requested to forward it to United Nations.

On our part, we trust that United Nations will take instant action and will not spend time in debating while countless lives are being sacrificed for the cause for which United Nations ostensibly exists, and we hope you will bring this letter to an early meeting of the General Assembly.

We would emphasize that the massacres and tortures now proceeding in Hungary have been inflicted on every country brought under Russian domination at any time in history and that these atrocities are not merely Communist but traditionally Russian. It is only under the disguise of Communism that the age-long Russian determination to conquer the world for Russian Imperialism works today. Unless it is stopped, if necessary by force, America as well as the rest of the world will fall a victim. We should also point out that United Nations has a legal right to intervene, while, as for all the non-Russian States in the Soviet Union, by Article 17 of the Soviet Constitution, each of these States has the right at any time to secede without conditions, so that Russia has neither legal, moral nor any other right to prevent them. Quoting the United States Congress Commission (Kersten), Russian rule was imposed by "murder, rape, plunder and destruction." For justice to be brought to these tragic lands, it is

necessary that all Russians be evacuated from them and genuine free elections be held which will enable the several countries to elect their own national Governments. The first step can be taken by prompt action by United Nations *before it is too late* and we trust that immediate action will be taken and United Nations justify its claims for human rights.

Yours faithfully,
John F. Stewart, Chairman.

RESOLUTION

"We here assembled, realising that the heroic Hungarians fight, not only for their own freedom, but ours, and the freedom of the world, and that the Communists are trying to drown in blood the desire of the Hungarians to live their own national life, hereby call upon United Nations to take all steps open to them to stop the deportations in Hungary and elsewhere, to ensure that there are free Elections, and that Soviet armed forces are withdrawn from Hungary and other enslaved countries, so that the letter and spirit of the Atlantic Charter may be observed.

"This Meeting expresses the opinion of the refugees of all European nations residing in Scotland from behind the Iron Curtain and of their Scottish friends.

"From Scotland, the Land of the Free, we call upon the whole world to secure that Hungary is left to the Hungarians and oppression and tyranny ended in all countries enslaved by Soviet Russia."

D. MACNAUGHTON, W.S.,
Chairman.

BOOK-REVIEWS

500 UKRAINIAN MARTYRED WOMEN. Published by the Ukrainian Women's Organization of America, Inc., New York 1956, edited by Stephanie Halydyn, with maps, illustrations, and Bibliography. 159 p.

This book is a document of Soviet Russian genocide in modern times, edited by a group of Ukrainian women patriots as a result of a Protest Manifestation and Commemoration of 500 Ukrainian heroines killed by Soviet tanks in the slave labor camp at Kingir, in the Summer of 1954. The Meeting was held in New York on February 26, 1956.

The book contains all the speeches of the participating organizations, including a protest resolution to the U.S. Congress, to the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations, as well as a telegram to the President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower.

The eyewitness statements of Dr. VARKONY, a Hungarian recently released from a Soviet concentration camp after a 5 year imprisonment, about the Ukrainian Prisoners' revolt in the concentration camp at Kingir, Siberia, which lasted from May 16, 1954 until June 25, 1954, when 500 Ukrainian women defending their husbands barred the way of the Soviet tanks, and were crushed by them, make this book a most valuable document of Soviet genocide and tyranny in our day.

The photostatic copy of the original letter, written on cloth by the Ukrainian women political prisoners in Red Soviet Russia, is addressed to the entire Free World and to the United Nations, Commission of Human Rights, demanding action and protection. A short history of Ukraine, the fight for freedom of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and a study of the inhuman conditions in Soviet Russian concentration camps helps to make this book full of meaning to the uninformed and acts as a stimulus to the complacent to cry out against such infamy. Maps, illustrations and a bibliography point up the usefulness of this book as a source for every searcher seeking material on the particular subject of Russian genocide; a subject with little available documentation due to the thoroughness of the Communist assassins.

Write for the book, to be sent free, to the:

UKRAINIAN WOMEN ORGANIZATIONS OF AMERICA, Inc.,

UKRAINIAN NATIONAL HOME, 140 Second Avenue, New York 9, N. Y. U.S.A.

Dr. A. Sokolywyd

Vasyl Hryshko: "Experience with Russia". Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., New York 1956, pp. 180.

is a conscientious exposition of the main facts, documentary evidence and founded argumentation pertaining to the problem of the traditional Russian nature of Soviet imperialism and colonialism, showing the true face of the book comes from the historical experience of Ukraine, the greatest victim of Russia's policy of conquest. It was the well publicized "Celebration" organized by Moscow in 1954 to mark 500 years of Russian "friendship" with Ukraine which called to mind this sad Ukrainian experience. What those 500 years of Russian "friendship" meant to Ukraine and what conclusion the world free from such "friendship" should arrive at from this 500 years of experience is the subject of this book.

The book is not restricted, however, merely to an historical review of Ukraine's experience with Russia. It also touches the important problem of the role and significance of non-Russian peoples in the USSR in the struggle of the free world against the Communist threat emanating from Moscow. In this connection the book sheds light on the dangers of pro-Russian orientation in the West which is being built up by imperialist Russian emigrant groups, particularly in the United States. To the American reader used to one-sided Russian sources, this book can be a valuable contribution to the study of problems of the Soviet Union.

G. N. Shuster: "Religion behind the Iron Curtain". The Macmillan Company 1954; German edition: "Religion hinter dem Eisernen Vorhang". Marienburg-Verlag, Würzburg. pp. 288.

This book by George N. Shuster should really be called, "Religion behind the Iron Curtain in the Satellite Countries", for he confines his account for the most part to the countries in Europe which were seized by the Russians during World War II.

On the strength of a thorough study of the literature available on this subject and using his own experiences

as U.S. High Commissioner of Bavaria and also various oral reports, the author gives an account of the position of religious-minded persons behind the Iron Curtain.

In doing so, he deals with the territory of East Europe, which he divides into four large regions, as follows:

- 1) the territory of the former Danube monarchy;
- 2) the Balkan peninsula;
- 3) Poland, the Baltic States, Latvia, Esthonia and Lithuania;
- 4) the Soviet occupied zone of Germany.

Shuster proceeds from the conviction that the high cultural level which was attained in this territory prior to Communist rule was, in the first place, based on the religiousness of the population there. From the moment that Communism in East Europe began to fight the churches as the acknowledged champions and spokesmen of this religiousness, the future existence of culture there was endangered. The churches which are persecuted by Communism are, above all, the Roman Catholic Church, the Greek Orthodox, the Greek Catholic or Ukrainian Catholic, and the Protestant Church, as well as the Jewish religion. The author gives numerous examples of the way in which these Churches are persecuted, and raises the question as to whether and in what manner religion both in the free world and, in particular, behind the Iron Curtain can overcome this danger. Incidentally, he attaches considerable importance to the solution of the social problems involved.

There are various errors in the book, as for instance the author's incorrect conception of the distribution of the confessions in Ukraine, for example, where 7 million persons belong to the Greek Catholic Church (that is to say, the Ukrainian Catholic Church) and about 40 million belong to the Orthodox Autocephalous Church. Mr. Shuster regards the Greek Orthodox Church as identical with the Greek Catholic Church, that is, the so-called United Church, which is a serious error on his part, since the Greek Orthodox Church does not acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope. It is true that Shuster is fairly well acquainted with conditions in Poland and Hungary, but his knowledge of matters pertaining to the Church in the countries which have been subjugated by the U.S.S.R. is very scant. And his knowledge of the history of Ukraine and of the development of Christianity there is likewise imperfect and reveals the influence of Russian imperialistic tendencies.

It was Ukraine and not Russia which officially adopted Christianity in the year 988, for the Kyiv empire was Ukrainian and not Russian. Actually, the entire history of Christianity in Ukraine, Caucasus, Byelorussia, and Russia as depicted by Mr. Shuster should be re-written, since his book contains so many serious mistakes in this respect.

The author makes no mention of the martyrdom of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAPC) or of that of the Georgian and Armenian Church. And he completely overlooks the Union of Brest. It would really be necessary to write another book about the position and the history of the Church in the non-Russian countries of the U.S.S.R. in the fight against Russian orthodoxy which has been forced on them. There are various gaps in the author's account of the Ukrainian Church in Carpatho-Ukraine and Bukovina, and his criticism of the fight of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church against Communism is too sharp. Furthermore, he does not devote sufficient attention to the persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine, where all the Ukrainian bishops and thousands of priests were arrested and deported and many of them murdered. He does not regard Communism as a form of Russian imperialism, and this accounts for his serious errors when assessing Russia's policy regarding the Church in the non-Russian countries from the historical point of view.

In spite of all this, however, his book is striking and interesting and certainly worth reading.

Slawa Stetko

Alexander Orlov: "The Secret History of Stalin's Crimes". Random House, New York 1953; German edition: "Kreml-Geheimnisse". Marienburg-Verlag, Würzburg. pp. 458.

The interesting point about this book is that it has been written by the well-known henchman of the Kremlin despots and high-ranking official of the Moscow Cheka, GPU, MVD and NKVD, Alexander Orlov. The crimes committed by the Russian Communist tyrants which the author describes and which he tries to blame on Stalin's attitude, are atrocious, to say the least. It is interesting to note that he endeavours to justify certain persons whose character and position were similar to his own, although it is perfectly obvious to everyone that it would have been impossible for a tyrant to rule the Russian empire without a clique of persons who were in reality ruthless criminals.

It was not until Orlov personally was about to meet the same fate that the opposition in the Communist Party suffered, that his conscience began to trouble him. But be that as it may, the facts which Orlov relates in his book are extremely interesting and were, for the most part, hitherto unknown. The fact that he mentions the insurrections in Caucasus and Ukraine against Russian tyranny and compulsory collectivization and describes the way in which air force units were used to suppress the insurgent peasants, is proof of the invincible urge to freedom of our peoples, though Orlov himself, of course, remains an out-and-out "Greater Russia" imperialist.

It is highly significant that even the GPU estimates the number of persons who died of starvation at 3 to 5½ million. When describing the methods used to torture prisoners, Orlov tries to differentiate between good and bad GPU men. In any case, however, we know from other sources and also from prisoners who have been interrogated by the Cheka, the GPU, the NKVD or the MVD, that the terrorist methods applied are much more dreadful than Orlov would have us believe. Since he himself was a member of this gang of murderers, he is no doubt loath to expose the cannibalistic attitude of the high-ranking NKVD officials too much.

It is likewise interesting to note that Orlov did not disclose his information about Stalin's system of agents in the "ochrana" until after the introduction of the so-called "de-stalinization". And it looks as though he is trying to blame a tsarist "ochrana" agent for the Russian terrorist regime, so as not to attack the traditional Russian system of ruling.

The account which Orlov gives of the extermination of Ukrainian, Caucasian and other national fighters for freedom by most inhuman methods, is particularly interesting. It is certainly worth-while reading this book in order to see the Bolshevik system, which we have been fighting and accusing before the whole world for years, through the eyes of a member of the Cheka.

In his book Orlov poses as Stalin's public prosecutor and his accusations are allegedly directed against the entire system of the Russian imperium, which he, incidentally, in the days when he held a leading post helped to establish. The phenomenon of Stalin was only possible on the mental, moral and social basis of Russian imperialist Bolshevism, a fact which, by the way, is stressed by the Christian-minded Russian philosopher, Berdjajev, in his books on the essence of Bolshevism. S. S.

Stefan Sturm: "Wie leben die Sowjetmenschen nun wirklich". Marienburg Verlag, Würzburg, pp. 191.

The Soviet Union, the only colonial empire in the world, a peoples' prison, which represents a menace to the free world since it is aiming to subjugate the latter under Russian rule and force the Communist system on it, arouses the curiosity of the whole world, and people try to find out as much about it as they can.

Most of the information they obtain, however, is based on fantastically embellished reports and descriptions circulated by the Soviets themselves. And the foreigners who visit the Soviet Union return with stories of "Potemkin villages", "economic achievements", "magnificent buildings", and "huge military strength".

But who really knows what is behind all this facade and what sort of a miserable existence the people in the Soviet Union lead? Who really knows what the life of the "Soviet people" is like? All this is shrouded in mystery.

The above-mentioned book describes the everyday life of the people living in the Soviet Union; it reveals the secret of what this life is really like, and herein lies the value and significance of this work.

It is based entirely on Soviet sources, — local Soviet newspapers which never reach the free world. The authors of all the articles which have been used as sources for this book are out-and-out loyal Communists, who, in keeping with the usual method of "self-criticism" and because they are firmly convinced that they are doing their "socialist native country and the furtherance of the Communist state a service, endeavour to expose and combat unsatisfactory conditions publicly, namely through the medium of the press.

The book deals not with the millions of persons who are imprisoned in concentration camps and slave labour camps, in order to "open up" the country, but with the persons "living a free life" and working as "free workers". It is not so much a political book as a documentary work on the terrible tragedy of mankind under Soviet Communist rule. It is true that it only deals with a certain boundless region beyond the Arctic circle, but life in this region is typical of life throughout the entire Soviet Russian imperium and in keeping with Soviet reality in all its grim aspects.

The book gives the people of the free world an accurate picture of the life which men and women, who have been degraded to the level of koldhos animals and factory robots, are forced to lead. It tells the tragic and appalling truth about the everyday life of the people in the Soviet Union, who have been deprived of all human rights and human dignity.

The book contains one map, twenty-two sketches and ten pictures. The cartoons reproduced from Soviet newspapers are especially interesting and serve to illustrate the grim humor of these unhappy people.

Those who would like to know what life in the Soviet "Paradise" is really like, should certainly read this book.

The reader will no doubt shudder at the thought that it is precisely this same Soviet Russian imperium, which has so far already forcibly subjugated so many peoples, that is now endeavouring to drag down the rest of the civilized world into its hell. The book is a warning to the world to beware of Russia, which at no point in her history has ever abandoned her lust of power and her traditional methods of subjugation. N. E.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE
Freiheit für Vietnam Freiheit für Indonesien

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

Munich, Zepelinstr. 67
 Phone: 410 69 - 1; Germany

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

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

Reproduction permitted but only with indication of source (A.B.N.-Corr.).

Annual subscription DM 4.— in Germany, 2 Dollars in U.S.A., 12 shillings in Great Britain, and the equivalent of 2 Dollars in all other countries.

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

Erscheinungsort: München

Herausgeber: Presse-Büro des Antifascistischen Blocks der Nationen (ABN), München 8, Zepelinstraße 67/0, Telefon 410 69

Schriftleitung: Redaktionskollegium
 Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Slawa Stetko.

the course of a so-called democratic mock-trial in Bratislava, was sentenced to imprisonment for life, has now been released.

In November 1956, the chief organ of the Communist Party in Slovakia, the Bratislava "Pravda", published an article which attacked the President of the Executive Council of the Slovak Liberation Committee, Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky.

Since the Prague government was afraid that the anti-Communist revolt in Hungary might spread to Slovakia, it not only introduced the usual police measures, but also issued orders that untrustworthy reservists in Slovakia were to be called up, so as to have a better check on them. In the villages the reservists in question were dragged out of their beds in the middle of the night by the police and were taken away on lorries. In the towns the reservists were apprehended whilst at their work in the factories, and were likewise taken away on lorries.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Vol. VIII. No. 5/6. May/June 1957

* Published in English and German *

Price: 1 s; 40 c

ABN at the Asian Conference in Saigon

The APACL's (Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League) Third Conference was opened on March 27th and held its closing session on April 1st.

Fourteen Delegations from Asia and Australia attended the Conference.

They were: Australia, Burma, China, Honkong, Korea, Macao, Malaya, Pakistan, Philippines, Ryukyu, Singapore, Thailand, Turkey, Vietnam. The Delegations from Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), Czech-Sudetengerman Federal Committee, Greece and Indonesia took part in the Conference as observers.

The opening speech was delivered by the *Hon. Tran-Chanh-Thanh*. The Chief Delegate of Thailand then gave an address in reply to this speech.

The conference first approved the membership of seven new members: Australia, Turkey, Pakistan, the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Burma and Laos.

The conference also unanimously approved as observers Greece, Indonesia, ABN and the Czech Sudeten German Federal Committee.

Dr. Bui Tuong-Chieu of the Vietnam delegation was elected Chairman of the conference and Mr. Nguyen Huu Thong of the Vietnam delegation, Secretary-General.

On March 27th and 28th, the conferees successively heard the reports given by delegation chiefs and observers.

Subsequently the conference heard the reports of the Central Liaison Office, the League Council, the League Extraordinary Conference and the Youth Conference, which were all accepted.

After the Rules of Procedure of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist Conference and Regulations governing the organisation of the Secretariat of the APACL were approved, the Conference worked in the six Committees during March 29 and 30.

Committees: — Policy towards ex-Communists, Information and Propaganda Media, Labour and Agriculture, Education, Economic Affairs, and Ideologies.

China was elected as a chairman of the League Council, Saigon chosen as permanent site of the League and deputy secretary-general, and Thailand the secretary-general.

It was adopted that the Fourth Annual Conference of the League will take place on March 27th, 1958, in Bangkok (Thailand).

The final declaration of the conference was adopted unanimously. The resolution of congratulations to the host country was submitted and adopted by the conference.

Already during committee work on ideologies and propaganda, the ABN delegation submitted the following resolution:

"The APACL supports the aims of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain: to crush communism, annihilate Russian imperialism and to restore independent democratic states in ethnographical areas of the nations enslaved by Soviet-Russian Imperialism in Europe and Asia."

This resolution was transferred to the Plenary session in order to be included in the final declaration as additional passage.

In revised form and enumerating also the names of dependent countries such as Ryukyu, Singapore and Malaya, this resolution was then submitted by the Korean delegation. The delegate from Turkey immediately proposed a resolution of the same meaning but without any name specified. The conference, after 15 minutes of stormy discussion, decided by vote to refer two resolutions to the League Council for further consideration.

On the occasion of the APACL's (Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League) 3rd Conference held in Saigon, receptions in honour of the participating delegations were given by different Republic of Vietnam high-ranking officials.

First, the delegations of the APACL member countries were entertained at a reception given in the garden of the Foreign Department by Mr. Vu-Van-Mau, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, at 6 p. m., 27. III. 1957. Among the prominent guests present at this party were Vice-Speaker Pham-Van-Nhu, the government members, diplomats and newsmen etc. . . .

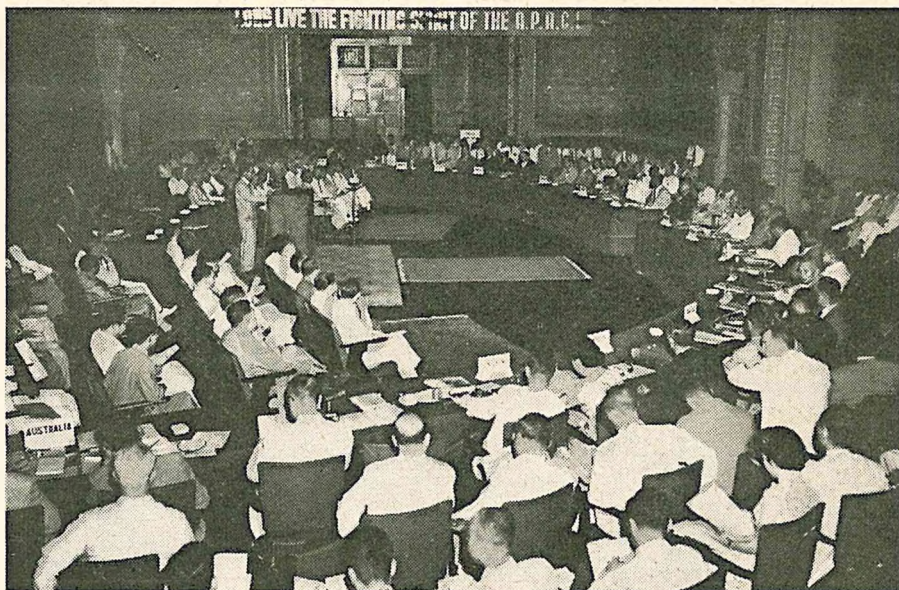
A dinner was given by Mr. Tran-Chanh-Thanh, Information and Youth Secretary and Chairman of the Steering Committee of the Communist Subversive Activities Denunciation Campaign, in honour of these delegates at the Dong-Khanh Restaurant, Cholon, on 27. III.

In addition to the foreign guests, one also noticed the presence of government members, diplomatic corps' representatives and delegates from political and business circles.

In a short speech in English, Information Secretary Tran-Chanh-Thanh welcomed the delegates and stressed that solidarity and union mean strength.

On March 28, 1957, the delegates to the APACL's 3rd Conference were entertained at a reception given in their honour by the Republic of China Minister Plenipotentiary and Mrs. Yuen Tse Kien.

Among the prominent guests present at this party, were Speaker Tran-Van-Lam, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Vu-Van-Mau, and Information and Youth Sec. Tran Chanh Thanh; the diplomats and their wives; Reverend Father Raymond J. De Jaegher, Chairman of the Free Pacific Association; Mr. Hoang Nam Hung, Chairman of the Vietnam-China Friendship Association; local and foreign newsmen etc.



First day of Conference, during Mr. Tran-Chanh-Thanh's opening speech.

Under the guidance of Mr. Tran-Chanh-Thanh, Chairman of the Steering Committee of the Communist Subversive Activities Denunciation Campaign, the delegations to the APACL's Third Conference were received by the President of the Republic of Vietnam at Dinh Doc Lap on March 29, 1957.

The delegates were greeted upon their arrival at the Independence Palace by Mr. Le-Van-Hoa, Presidential Protocol Head.

The President delivered a short speech in which he emphasized the problem of international co-operation to defeat communism. He said in part:

"Facing the work of destruction of the communists, we must proclaim that the laws governing the progress of mankind are not solely economic in nature, that such progress is also and above all conditioned by the laws of morality. Marxism has had a bitter experience in making a principle of the contempt

and even the destruction of religious beliefs, bases of morality.

"I think it is the duty of the League to reaffirm the primacy of the spiritual. Let the relations between nations, like those between individuals, rest on justice, loyalty, brotherly collaboration."

He then reminded his audience that "Communism preys on our slightest differences, weaknesses and hesitations, and exploits them mercilessly to its advantage."

The President pointed out that love should be opposed to the hatred preached by communism. He insisted on the necessity to make use of new weapons "light of traditional religions." After urging that Free World countries must set up a front of steel to defeat communist imperialism, he wound up in expressing his faith in the victorious outcome of the "struggle which we are all carrying on for a just and noble cause."

A brilliant reception was given on April 2 at 18:30 at Dinh Doc Lap by the Chief Executive in honour of the APACL delegates.

Outstanding Vietnamese and foreign dignitaries attended this party, among whom were the Government members; the diplomats; Mr. Tran Chanh Thanh, Chairman of the Steering Committee of the People's Communist Subversive Activities Denunciation Campaign; Msgr. Caprio, Apostolic Visitor; Rev. Father De Jaegher, Chairman of the Free Pacific Association; H. E. Perfecto Laguio, Under-Secretary of State for Commerce and Industry of the Philippines then visiting Vietnam; and local and foreign newsmen.

The reception which took place in a cordial atmosphere continued until late in the evening.

On March 26th, the Delegates took part in the reception given by the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the

Republic of Korea and Madame Choi Duk Shin to celebrate the R.O.K. President Syngman Rhee's 82nd birthday.

On March 28th, 1957, a dinner was given by Mr. Trau-Tam, the deputy chief of the Central Board of Directors of the People's Committee for the Campaign of Denunciation of Communist Subversive Activities in Vietnam.

Two days later a dinner was given by His Excellency Ku Cheng-kang, who talked to all the delegates prior to his leaving for a visit to the Conference in South America.

The delegates to the APACL's 3rd Conference were welcomed by a parliamentary address on April 1st, 1957, by the President of the National Assembly.

On April 4, 1957, the delegates were entertained at a reception given in their honour by Dr. Bui-Tuong-Chieu, the President of the Conference in Saigon.

For Overall Anti-Communist Unity

Mr. Ku Cheng-kang, Chief Chinese Delegate, in his virulent speech showed the crisis of the Communist Bloc.

... "The outbreak of the anti-Russian movement in Poland and the anti-Communist revolution in Hungary has manifested that not only the peoples behind the Iron Curtain have the will and determination to strive for freedom, but the controlling mechanism of Soviet Russia is frittering away. It has disclosed the tottering foundation of the proletarian society behind the Iron Curtain. It has indicated the beginning of the disintegration of the world Communist movement. The Communist bloc is indeed being confronted with an unprecedented crisis.

"On the other hand", he said, "anti-Communist strength all over the world has during the past year developed with daily more vitality."

on the basis of the Three People's Principles as advocated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Thirdly, we must do away with all forms of enslavement patterned after Soviet Russia to rebuild a free and happy society.

... "We should not only consolidate all anti-Communist strength of the Asian peoples, we should promote overall anti-Communist unity of the whole world to eliminate the common enemy of the entire human race.

... "Let us march along with the unity of purpose to tear down the Iron Curtain, to eliminate the common enemy, and to realize the common goal of our historic fight."

Mr. Plang Phloyphrom, Chief delegate of Thailand, urged:

"All of us must be careful, must be cautious



From right to left: Australian delegate, C. A. Osborne, Chinese delegates, President Ku Cheng-kang and Dr. Pao Hua Kuo, Secretary-General; in the background: the Rector of National Taiwan University, Mr. Chien Shih Liang.

... "Under the barbarous rule of the inhuman gangsters, our mainland compatriots have kindled the anti-Communist conflagration throughout the land. Large scale anti-Communist revolutions have cropped up one after another in Singkiang, Tibet, Inner Mongolia, Sikang, Szechuan, and Chinghai.

... "It has developed from individual fight into organized action, from self-defense for survival into armed resistance, and from spontaneous resistance into a revolutionary movement to join the anti-Communist efforts of Free China.

... "Under the leadership of President Chiang Kai-shek", he continued, "the absolute majority of our mainland compatriots, the 10 million free Chinese in Taiwan and the 14 millions of our overseas brethren are fighting with the unity of purpose to achieve the following objects:

First, we must eradicate the treacherous puppet Peiping regime which is but the instrument of Soviet Imperialism. We must restore the national independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of China. Secondly, we must uproot the proletarian dictatorship and rebuild the Republic

about what will happen to us from the communist bloc, and must be prepared to face communist armed and 'peaceful' aggression, otherwise we all will be lost.

... "There is every reason to believe that the APACL is progressing remarkably. Three years ago the league had only five member-countries, viz. Korea, the Republic of China, the Philippines, the Republic of Vietnam and Thailand. Two years later the number of the member-countries increased from five to eight, including Hongkong, Macao and Ryukyu.

... "Today there are fifteen countries which have become members of the APACL, and which have pledged to exert all possible efforts to combat communism."

He finished his speech with the words:

"Please bear in mind that the duty of the APACL is not only to resist communism but also eradicate it, that success in all this depends wholly upon our sincere cooperation and genuine unity, and that 'united, we stand; divided, we fall'."

Assistance to all enslaved peoples

Dr. Chin Hang Kong, Chief delegate of the Republic of Korea, praised Vietnam for the tremendous progress it has made in eradicating the Communist fifth column that was left there by the unfortunate Armistice of Geneva.

Speaking of the League, he said:

"Our record is not entirely bad. But this is not a service club, nor a social or cultural organization. This is a movement involving the struggle for free survival, and against the Communists; second best is never good enough. We must win totally or we shall lose totally. There is no middle way, no possible compromise — as all those who have fought the Communists know so well.

This is the conference that must turn the tide, if the League is to be a decisive weapon against Communism, colonialism, and aggression in general. The people of Hungary have already shown us the way. These freedom fighters rose up against the Reds in a revolution that would have succeeded, had it not been for the timidity of the Free World. The Reds say that Hungary's freedom fight failed, that it was suppressed, and that there will be no repetition. That is not so. What happened in Hungary rekindled the fires of liberty everywhere behind the Iron Curtain — from Albania to the Baltic and into the Soviet itself, from Manchuria and north Korea, through Mainland China, and into north Vietnam.

... "We must see to it that all free peoples and governments rise up to assist those who fight in the name and cause of freedom.

Let this be our program:

First, that all the peoples of Asia must be free and equal.

Second, that we must band together our collective strength to defeat Communism now.

Third, that we shall quickly go to the assistance of all enslaved peoples who are willing to risk their lives for liberation.

... "Only those who fight for freedom are entitled to be free. This is our test — not only as a League, but as a people who say that liberty means more than life itself. Let us prove ourselves now — and in the months just ahead — with a mighty crusade of revolution that will sweep Communism, colonialism, and aggression from Asia and from the earth."

Work at all Levels

Inamullah Khan (of the Pakistan Delegation) emphatically suggested that

"The people must be made to understand the hollowness of just being lost in the material side of life. After all there is a soul in our body and the yearnings of the soul have got to be satisfied, and the soul-less cult of communism cannot, by its very nature, satisfy this important urge of human life", he continued . . .

... "My small delegation represents Pakistan. Ours is a Welfare State, a state based on the ideology of Islam. In my country, the communists, despite their frantic efforts, have not been able to make much headway, because we pitch the higher ideology of Islam against the god-less and purely materialistic ideology of Communism. Nonetheless we are conscious of the danger. We know the subtle inroads these communist cells of workers are capable of making. Yes, we are not complacent. We are, therefore, not content only to preach Moral values and popularise higher and noble aspects of life; we are also, therefore, making sincere efforts to ameliorate the conditions of our masses. We want to obliterate the very ponds where our Communist friends may be able to fish. But our task is not easy. We still have old-fashioned and self-centred capitalists and we still have our feudal land-lords. They must be told of the coming storm and they must be asked to mend their ways. It, however, takes time before you change your Social Order, but we are at it, and I am confident we shall succeed but it means hard and planned work, continuous and a sustained work and work at all levels."

The Malayan Delegate, Ong Chin Seong, cherished the hope that

"this conference will do something to race against the so-called Afro-Asian group." "In the March of the Asian peoples' revolution", he said, "we should abolish Communism completely, wishing that the success of our conference here in Saigon will have a better success than the Afro-Asian Communists." —

Rather die than live on knees

Mrs. Nazh Tlabar, the grand-daughter of the last Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire, a member of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, pledged in her speech:

"We are with you to the end in this anti-communist fight, because the people of Turkey after eleven major wars with Russia have always proven that they would rather die on their feet than live on their knees.

"My friends", she continued, "Hitler was rightly not tolerated for his crimes, his disciples were hanged in Nürnberg, but the Russian conqueror who rules today a bloc of 900 million enslaved peoples and stretches from the Adriatic to the Yellow Sea, who in Europe alone keeps 100 million people under its yoke and again in Europe alone has added 392,000 square miles to its territories, strangely enough continues to expand unhindered. This is one side to the picture and a very sad picture indeed. Now let us look at the other side.

During the past decade, 18 nations totalling 650 million people, that is one fourth of the human race, have gained independence. Freedom thus came to 2,894,000 square miles. Add to this Ghana, the former Gold Coast, and soon we will be adding many other nations of Asia and Africa. All because freedom-loving nations have long since realized that other nations have the right to live in liberty.

Why is it then that in the tremendous Russian Empire with a population of 215 million inhabitants, 65 different nations and over 200 tribes, no one can dare ask for freedom? Everybody knows the answer. I will not repeat what has been said over and over again. Specially now when the world has newly witnessed the Hungarian Tragedy, where the Bolshevik regime let drop its mask before the eyes of the whole world when it decided to suppress by military intervention, involving thousands of Soviet tanks, an uprising of the workers and students against the masters of a "people's demo-

cracy". Such cynical brutality must have proved at last that in the final analysis Soviet communism is not interested in ideas and ideologies but in naked power. I earnestly hope that those who have believed the talk about relaxation and peaceful co-existence and the hypocritical policy of de-Stalinization, who have at least hoped that this change of attitude will lead to an international relaxation which will create the "new climate", that means the return to diplomacy in the East-West conflict making negotiation possible, have this time learned their lesson better."

"With all this, I must quickly add that I am not as desperate as I was after the Geneva Conference. What the Moscow Trials, the concentration camps, the Jewish doctors' 'plot', the hanging of Rajk, the war in Korea could not do, Budapest has finally done. November 1956 has brought one of those lightning illuminations of the situation as are rare in the life of individuals and nations. I think this is very important for the future."

"Should Russia gain control of the Straits, then she would control the Mediterranean, extend her influence from the Black Sea to the Suez Canal and as far as Gibraltar. No wonder, at the Potsdam Conference in 1945 when Mr. Truman suggested the internationalization of all the strategic waterways of the world including the Turkish Straits, the Rhine-Danube waterway, the Suez, Panama and Kiel Canals, Stalin was interested only in the Turkish Straits. But Moscow knows today that Turkish foreign policy is based on confidence in its own demonstrated strength and rightful objectives, it does not stem from fear of Russia. Turkey has always boldly maintained the initiative. On the other hand, as you must know, communism is outlawed in my country. It is also outlawed in the hearts of the 24 million Turks. For us a communist cannot be a Turk, we consider it shamefully degrading to be a slave to a butcher."

Individual Dignity and National Independence

Jose M. Hernandez, Chief Delegate of the Philippines,

informed the audience that in the Philippine Congress today there is a Bill under consideration which aims to outlaw the Communist Party and any other association which has the same subversive objectives as the Communist Party. "The supporters of the Bill," he said, "believe that this is not a violation of the right of association because as long as any association does not have the subversive purposes of the Communist Party, it will be allowed to exist in our democratic system."

"Our greatest threat comes from Red China. Our country consists of 7083 islands and therefore, the coastline is almost limitless. Red Chinese infiltrate the country through the southern islands and merge with the population. In a year or two they become a part of the population. These are the enemies we must watch, for they present the greatest danger to our country."

The Singapore Delegate, Tsai Huisheng, stated that

Singapore has a population of over a million and among them are many races, Malays, Chinese, Indians, Pakistanis and other Eurasians, Ceylonese, Europeans, Americans and Australians, the people there for a long period living happily and in friendship with one another.

The people there are not only peace-loving, but also law-abiding and communism is hated by them. Till World War II the communists had a chance for their propaganda.

Elected Government was affected by the strikes of labourers which were secretly directed by the communist devils. Riots by bus-men and riots by students caused the unrest of Singapore; so the Elected Government determined to comb these subversive activities and maintain peace and order.

"Nevertheless, I am obliged to give reason to the wise President of the host Republic, H. E. Ngo Dinh Diem when he points out in his message on the occasion of the Proclamation of the Constitution, that the rise of the standard of living of a

country, as necessary it might be, does not constitute a total answer to basic human aspirations. Individual dignity and national independence are inherent features of all societies, and if these needs are not satisfied, then, as you say in article 2 of your Charter, International Communism will be able to exploit the national consciousness of the peoples and take advantage of their nationalistic movements to impose on them a new colonialism."

Individual Dignity and National Independence are the most important needs of all Societies, said Mr. D. Poulakos, the observer from Greece, in his speech.

"After a revolution which lasted practically from 1944 up to 1949 and which caused the complete or partial destruction of 150,000 houses, reducing to the refugees status one tenth of our population, we undertook and we achieved the moral and material recuperation of our country within a very short time, obtaining a rate of increase of our industrial production which constitutes a record in the European Economic statistics of that period."

In his speech the Chief delegate of Macao, Tommy Yung,

described his country as "a small port with a population of more than hundreds of thousands, but as it is bordering the Iron Curtain the Macao people know well about the cruelty of Communists and they are strongly opposed to communism. Their grievances turn out a tremendous force ready for the holy war of anti-communist subversion and Soviet Imperialism."

He said, "the Asian peoples are now engaged in a life and death struggle against Soviet Imperialism and there is no way out unless we work together in the holy war. We are willing to join the Macao people, regardless of their nationalities, who are steadfast anti-communists, to form a stronghold for the free world and to fight side by side against Soviet Imperialism in the hope that we might reconstruct a free and democratic Asia."

The Headquarters of Communism

Mr. H. Firdaus A. N., Indonesian Chief Delegate, who recently visited Red China devoted much attention in his speech to the Communist fallacy.

"All that is propagated by communists and agitated by them is against the real fact. They cry for democracy, democracy in the new form, for example in the red China, the same country is a totalitarian country. They cry that they defend humanity, but the people of Hungary and Poland are terrorised by the Russian government unjustly, the headquarters of communism.

Many Moslems are killed and their countries are robbed by communists. The Turkestan people as a prosperous country, where Moslems hold the teaching of their religion firmly, and other coun-



tries such as Caucasus, Azerbaijan, Ukraine, Lithuania, all are robbed and trampled by the Russian communist government."

We were especially thankful to him for the political picture he gave us of his own country.

"Indonesian people dislike the word 'communism'. You remember, after the communists started the revolution against the Indonesian Republic, called Madiun Affair in the year 1948, on 18th September.

At the same time, Musso, the chief of communist terrors, was sent by Moscow to demean the President of the Republic, and branded him as the agent of imperialism, seller of Romusja etc. In that bloody revolution many people died. The government officials, military, police, leaders and Ulema, killed by the communists, that is why all Indonesian people hate the communists and fight against communism with the national army; at last the chiefs of communists such as Musso and Amir Sjarifuddin, ex-Prime Minister were put to death; and not long after, the fire of that revolution was extinguished by the government led by Dr. Mohammed Hatta, the Prime Minister of the same time. For this we thank Dr. Hatta very much.

The communist revolution ordered by Moscow failed. Their leaders hid themselves and D. N. Aidit ran away to Peking.

A few years later, after the relation of Indonesia and Red China had become a friendly one and the embassy of the people's Republic of China opened in Djakarta, while the relation with the Chinese Nationalists was severed then the communists felt happy. They have the new blood to increase the strength which for the last time was lost. Afterwards the Russian Embassy opened in Djakarta and this is a real addition to their strength for the communists to run on their activities. Since then, the communists have received aid from Russia and Red China morally and materially.

Meanwhile, the Moslem parties such as Masjumi, Nahdatul Ulama and other religious parties are opposed to Sukarno, because they are all anti-communists."

Dr. Rudolf Hilf, Secretary-General of the Sudeten-German Czech Federal Committee, rightly said:

"It is not sufficient to be Anti-Communist. Anti alone is negative. We should not be on the defensive alone. We should be on the offensive. That means, the strength of the communists is their will and their belief to change all peoples on this earth. They will succeed, if there is not a new force and a new belief from our side to change also all the nations of this our world into a new age and a new community."

Representatives from Many Parts of the World

attend the Conference

1. AUSTRALIA:
J. G. Gorton, Senator
C. A. Osborne, Major-General, the Reverend
2. BURMESE DELEGATION:
Thakin Ba Sein, President, Burma Democratic League
Thakin Kyin, Executive Director, All-Burma Anti-Communist League
Ko Hla Soe Lwin, Director, All-Burma Anti-Communist League
3. CHINA:
Ku Cheng Kang, Delegate, National Assembly, President, APACL, China, Chairman Free China Relief Association
Hoang Chao Chin, Speaker, Taiwan Provincial Legislature
Pao Hua Kuo, Member, Legislative Yuan Secretary-general, APACL, China
Liu Peng Kiou, Publisher, New China Critic Member, Central Committee of Young China Party
Chien Shih Liang, President, National Taiwan University, President Chinese Chemical Society, President, Chinese Association for the Advancement of Natural Science
Jimmy Wei, General Manager, Broadcasting Corporation of China, Publisher, China News and Publication Service Ltd.
Tan Ye Ming, Deputy Secretary-general APACL, China
Michael Tung, Secretary, Legislative Yuan Adviser, APACL, China
Wang Po Wen
4. HONGKONG:
Mr. Yip Tin Sing, Chief Editor Outlook Press
Gen. Chen Hsiao Wei, Managing Editor The Observatory Review
Mrs. Lilian C. Lee, Professor, Chu Hai College, HK
Mr. Fung Hoi Chiu, Chairman, Free Labor Union
Mr. Cho Foo Kong, Director, Chih Luen News Agency and Press
Miss Ng Soo Woon, Editor, The Observatory Review
5. KOREA:
Chin Hang Kong, Chairman, Korean Chapter of APACL
Bup Rin Kim, Member of Council, Korean Chapter of APACL
Clarence Ryee, Member, Korean Chapter of APACL
Chang Kee Young, Member, Korean Chapter of APACL
Chai Ho Kim, Chief, Foreign Dept. APACL of Korea
William A. Glenn, Korean Chapter of APACL
John M. Prentice, Colonel
6. MACAO:
Tommy Yung, Chairman, APACL, Macao
Lowance Fung, Vice-Chairman

On April 4, the Vietnam Press writing about the APACL Conference, mentions that telegrams and motions of support have been addressed to the APACL 3rd Conference. It writes that telegrams came from "anti-red organizations such as the League of Liberation of Ukraine" (Canada); "Anti-Bolshevik Nations Bloc" (Canada); "Committee of Liberation of Hungary" (England); "National Committee of Esthonia" (Canada); "Anti-Communist Association of Singapore"; "Free China's Embassy in Bangkok, etc. . . .

According to our own information, telegrams were also sent by: "AFABN, Byelorussian Congress Committee of America"; "Bulgarian National Front of Canada and U.S."; "Organization of the Defense of Four Freedoms of Ukraine"; "Ukrainian American Youth Association"; "Association of Former Members of U.P.A."; "Association of Former Prisoners"; "Presidium of Ukrainian Nationalist Units Abroad"; by more than ten "Hungarian Liberation Movement" branches in the world, and by Croatian, Baltic and several other organizations of the nations subjugated by Russian Imperialism and Communism.

- Joseph Cheung, Adviser and Secretary
P. H. Yung
7. MALAYA: (Federation of)
Ong Chin Seong,
Yeh Yen
 8. PAKISTAN:
Inamullah Khan, Secretary-Gen., World Muslim Conference, Secretary-Gen., Pakistan U. N. Association Sr. Vice-Chairman, World Federation of UNAS President, All-Pakistan Youth Movement Chairman, Council of World Muslim Affairs

- Dr. Ahmed Emin Yalman, Publisher and Editor-in-Chief, VATAN daily
14. VIETNAM:
Bui Tuong Chieu, Lawyer, Professor, University of Saigon
Nguyen Phuong Thiep, Lawyer, Member National Assembly
Do Quang Hue, Lawyer
Le Van Tuan, Lawyer
Dr. Ly Trung Dung, Member, National Assembly
Dr. Nghiem My



Ngo Dinh Diem,
President of the Republic
of Vietnam.

- Ebrahim Ahmed Bawany, Director Bawany Group of Industries Vice-President, Jetpur Memon Association Trustee, Begum Ayeshy Waqf
M. A. Masuri, Journalist, Publicity Secretary, Council of World Muslim Affairs
9. PHILIPPINES:
Dr. Jose Ma. Hernandez, President, Philippine Anti-Communist Movement (PACOM)
Miss Micaela Montemayor, Board of Directors, PACOM
Mr. Simeon G. Del Rosario, Secretary-Gen., PACOM
 10. RYUKYU:
Mr. Tsai Chang, Director, Ryukyu Chapter of APACL
Mr. Hsieh Tsu-Kai, Secretary to Mr. Tsai Chang
 11. SINGAPORE:
Tsai Huisheng
Loke Peng Lum
 12. THAILAND:
Plang Phloyphrom, Publisher and Editor The Bangkok Tribune
Dr. Vibul Thamavit, Dean of Thammasat University
Mrs. Valai Pholyphrom
Mr. Siri Pramechitt, Thammartripartti newspaper
 13. TURKEY:
Mrs. Nazli Tlabar, Member, Turkish Parliament, Chairman, Turkish Women Ass.
- Nguyen Thai, Editor, The Times of Vietnam
Nguyen Huu Thong, Lawyer
Tran Quoc Buu, President, General Confederation of Christian Trade-Unions
Truong Vinh Lee, Member, National Assembly
Tran Tam, Deputy-chief, Central Board of Directors of Anti-Communist Campaign in Vietnam
Vuong Van Quang, Engineer
Mrs. An Thi Ky, Professor
Mrs. Nguyen Ngoc Linh, Journalist
1. ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS (ABN)
Jaroslav Stetzko, Former Prime Minister of Ukraine, President, A.B.N. Central Committee
Gen. F. Farkas de Kisbarnak, Chairman, ABN Commission for Military Affairs and President of the Hungarian Liberation Movement
Mrs. Dankiw Anna, Editor, ABN-Correspondence
 2. CZECH-SUDETENGERMAN FEDERAL COMMITTEE:
Dr. Rudolf Hilf, Secretary Gen., German-Czech Federative Committee
 3. GREECE:
Mr. Dimitrios Poulakos
 4. INDONESIA:
H. Firdaus A. N., Secretary-Gen., Indonesian Anti-Communist Front
Amiruddin Djamil, Vice-Secretary

The Will to Freedom of the Subjugated Peoples

Speech held by Jaroslaw Stetzko, President of the Central Committee of ABN, at the Conference in Saigon

Your Excellencies, Delegates and Guests!

It is a great honour to us to be able to take part as guests in the Third Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, and in the name of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) we wish to express our sincerest greetings to you and our best wishes for the complete success of this historic Congress. We do so as the spokesman of the following national revolutionary organizations and centres of the peoples of East Europe and Soviet Asia who have been subjugated by Communism and Russian imperialism: Committee Free Armenia, Bulgarian National Front, Byelorussian Central Council, Cossack National Liberation Movement, Czech Movement for Freedom ("Za Svobodu"), Czech National Committee, Estonian Liberation Movement, Union of the Estonian Fighters for Freedom, Georgian National Organization, Hungarian Liberation Movement, Hungarian Mindszenty Movement, Latvian Association for the Struggle against Communism, Lithuanian Rebirth Movement, Polish Christian Social Movement, Slovak Liberation Committee, National Turkestanian Unity Committee, Ukrainian Hetman Union, and Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

We should like to express our special thanks to the Vietnam Chapter of the APACL, the host of this Conference, and, above all, to His Excellency, Minister Tran-Tam for having made our participation possible. At the same time, we should like to express our pleasure at being able to get to know Vietnam as the advanced sector of the front in the uncompromising anti-Communist fight of freedom-loving Asia. The warlike spirit of this valiant people shall be a reminder to all of us of our imperative duty to overthrow the Communist world enemy together by a united front.

We are also extremely grateful to the China Chapter of the APACL and, in particular, to President Ku Cheng-kang for having enabled me to visit Free China in October, 1955, at his invitation and gain an insight into the unique achievements of this admirable country in all spheres of life from the point of view of the anti-Bolshevist fight, and also for the fact that the cooperation between the ABN and the APACLROC has been realized. And it is thus our privilege to take part as guests in this Conference which is of far-reaching significance.

Ladies and Gentlemen! — The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) is a co-ordination centre of the national revolutionary liberation organizations of the peoples subjugated by Moscow's imperialism and Communism. Its aim is to destroy the Bolshevist imperium from within by means of national liberation revolutions, in order to disintegrate it into national independent states of the nations which are subjugated in it. In this respect I am thinking in particular of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Poland, Slovakia, Bohemia, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, North Caucasus, Turkestan, and other freedom-loving countries.

The activity of the ABN, however, is not merely confined to the direct Soviet sphere of influence of East Europe, but also supports the fights for freedom of the peoples behind the Bamboo Curtain, who are aiming to achieve their independence and the overthrow of the Communist order of society. Indeed, the ABN is fighting Communism and Russian imperialism in the whole world on the basis of the recognition of state independence and a free social and state political system for all the nations on the earth. And it regards as its friends all those who unconditionally profess these principles.

The ABN, as the representative of the will to freedom of the non-Russian peoples held in captivity in the Soviet sphere of influence, on

principle rejects the Russian imperium in every form. In accordance with its principle — "Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!" — however, it recognizes the right of the Russian people, too, to their own national state within their ethnographical frontiers.

In this world there must no longer be any division into ruling nations and slave nations, nor must there be any special privileges or tutelage for some nations and not for others. All peoples, regardless of their race, religion, size and wealth, are equal in God's sight and have the same right to freedom and national independence and to lead their own life in

pire over the whole world with the aid of its Red Chinese, Red Korean, Red Indonesian and other tools.

In the process of exposing this new Russian colonialism our ABN peoples and their liberation organizations, which for decades have experienced Bolshevist rule, are best fitted to help the APACL, all the more so since our fundamental principles are entirely in keeping with the freedom aims of the peoples of Asia.

The participation of representatives of non-Asian peoples in this APACL Conference and the exchange of experiences and ideas will



The ABN
Delegation

keeping with their national, religious and cultural traditions. For this reason we wholeheartedly welcomed the proclamation of the independence of the Republic of Vietnam and of the Republic of Korea, for these historic events represent an important factor of progress in the development of the human race.

In the clash between the imperial and the national idea in the present era, the national idea always emerges triumphant, as can be seen from recent events in Africa, for instance, and the example of Ghana. The question thus arises, why — if all empires are being dissolved — should the Russian colonial empire alone be preserved? This is undoubtedly, as the revolutionary fights for freedom behind the Iron Curtain prove, already a historical anachronism!

Since the Western empires have retired from the scene, Russian colonialism is endeavouring, above all in Asia and Africa, to take over the legacy of these empires by means of cunning watchwords of national and social liberation, with the aim of setting up a single world empire, which Lenin designated by the harmless formula of a "World Federation of Soviet Socialist Republics".

In this polarity of contrasts between a world imperial Communist order of coercion and a free world integration on the basis of organically ordered national state systems, the APACL Conference is at present confronted by a very important task: the exposure of world Communism as a camouflage for a new vicious colonialism, which intends to enslave mankind by the totalitarian system, in order to extend the Russian colonial em-

most certainly be a big step forward in the formation of a common world front on the basis of state independence for all nations. The encirclement of the Bolshevist imperium of tyrants by means of a global front of freedom and the moral and political pressure exerted by this front will increase the dynamic potential of the subjugated peoples still more. This increased activity behind the Bamboo and the Iron Curtain, together with our active support from the free world, would bring about the downfall of the despotic empire.

It would be of considerable importance for the success of the fight against Moscow's new colonialism if the APACL Conference were to approach the Western Major Powers with the recommendation that they should proclaim a Great Charter of the Independence of all Nations of the World, as a basis for the future world political order after the downfall of the Communist imperium of slavery.

The vulnerable spot of the Russian colonial imperium lies in the national urge of the subjugated peoples. To apply the lever here is to contribute a valuable share towards destroying this peoples' prison from within. In addition to the organic crimes in the unnatural Communist social and economic system and in the totalitarian enslavement of the individual, the national problem represents the deadliest danger to Moscow's colonial empire.

The Communist conception of the world cannot be opposed by a similar ideology, but only by an entirely different system of values which are derived from the spiritual character and the traditions of our peoples.

Collectivism must be opposed by the principle of private enterprise on the basis of small agricultural holdings and property acquired by the work of the individual, whereby the out-of-date feudal order of society would be done away with for good; totalitarian enslavement must be opposed by the freedom of the individual; godless fanaticism by religion and faith in the higher values of life; and internationalism which excludes patriotism by the national ethos.

The attitude of the Asian continent as the birthplace of the great religions of the world is opposed to the materialistic ideology of godless Communism. Asia would become immune to fraudulent Communism were it to retain its own spiritual and intellectual character and to realize national independence and social justice.

In accordance with the resolutions passed at the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920 at Lenin's suggestion and repeated at the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1945, the so-called "bourgeois democratic revolution" in Asia as a national revolutionary process was to be supported by the Communists as a deceptive manoeuvre. The purpose of this manoeuvre was to put the Communists in power in Asia in order to then set up a hitherto unheard of system of totalitarian slavery and national subjugation.

Ladies and gentlemen! — May we be permitted, as the victims of Communist tyranny for decades, to warn the credulous masses of the Asiatic nations not to allow themselves to be misled by the crafty promises of the Communists. In this respect it suffices to remind this audience that the criminal Communist system is allowing more than 15 million persons from East Europe and Soviet Asia alone to languish in a most brutal manner as innocent and freedom-loving human beings in the concentration camps, and that in the 1950's it let more than 8 million innocent persons from Ukraine, Byelorussia, Caucasia and Turkestan die of starvation during the systematically organized famine, in order to break the will to freedom of these peoples. Thus, even before the outbreak of the second World War, the Communist system was already impeding the biological development in our countries. The Communist crimes perpetrated during and after World War II, such as genocide, predatory occupation of foreign countries, provocation of new wars, extermination of the peasants and the refractory workers and intelligentsia, abolition of private property, persecution of religious faith, are only too well known and for that reason need not be mentioned here in further detail. Communism of every kind is the symbol of mass murder, famine, slavery, godlessness, high treason and treason, of the extermination of peoples and of inhumanity.

It is regrettable that the Communist mass murderers, instead of being tried before a world court and boycotted by the whole decent-minded world, are allowed to have a decisive say in the United Nations and in other international institutions. And it is equally regrettable that certain states of the free world try again and again to get the Mao Tse-tung clique admitted to the UNO, in order to foster world criminality and thus place the noose round their own necks. Only very few statesmen, on the other hand, support the idea that the freedom-loving Republic of Vietnam and the freedom-loving Republic of Korea should be admitted to these organizations. It is, indeed, disgusting that there are still certain circles who question Free China's right to represent the subjugated Chinese people in the international forum.

Ladies and gentlemen! — The big Hungarian national liberation revolt has shattered the last illusions cherished by any nation regarding the so-called "new course" in Moscow. This revolution was a national one, and one which defended religion and the private property of the working classes; it was directed against every form of collectivism; it was for a democratic state political order and against a totalitarian one; it was anti-imperialistic and anti-Communist, irrespective of whether Russian or so-called National Communism is in power in Hungary.

The main watchwords of the Hungarian fight for freedom were to be seen in all the pictures published in connection with this event and were worded as follows: "Down with the Russians" and "Down with Communists of every kind". These two watchwords formulated in short and concise terms the aims of the Hungarian revolution. And these same watchwords have determined the ideological and political character of all the insurrections which have recently occurred behind the Iron Curtain, including the revolts in the concentration camps. These events of far-reaching historical significance have sounded the death-knell of the suicidal policy of coexistence and have made the free world, too, realize that national liberation revolutions are the only possible alternative to an atomic war.

The decision in the final fight can only be determined by the national liberation revolutions of our peoples, who, in addition to their courageous action, would also create a balance as regards the conventional weapons with which they are now equipped. Thus the danger of an atomic war would be lessened considerably, for revolutions and revolutionaries cannot be destroyed by atomic bombs.

It is extremely gratifying to us to know that this fact has already been realized by free Asia, as I ascertained during my visit to Free China. The alternative for the whole world is not "coexistence policy or atomic war", but only "atomic war or liberation policy", since the coexistence policy must inevitably lead to an atomic war. This policy provides the Kremlin rulers with a chance to continue their subversive activity in the free world unpunished, to strangle our active fight for freedom, to consolidate their own position, to increase their military potential and then to carry out a surprise attack on the free world.

Ladies and gentlemen! — Summing up, I should like to stress that the greatest success of our national fight for freedom at the present time is to be seen in the fact that our peoples have lost their fear of the Moscow tyrants.

Everywhere in our countries the fight against the alien Communist intruders has flared up, and this fight is being conducted by our peoples in defiance of death and in the firm conviction that Russian despotism with its system of satraps will soon be overthrown. We have entered upon an ideological and political offensive; the Communist ideology imported from Moscow is obviously in full retreat in our countries. Undisguised Russian imperialism with its insistent Russification policy is mobilizing Russian chauvinism, which is to help preserve the Russian colonial imperium. But the days are past when there were still convinced Communists in our countries. All that remains are merely the paid agents, instigators and slaves of the alien Muscovite occupiers.

When the Russian imperium is dissolved, the source and leadership of world Communism will likewise collapse, for Mao Tse-tung and the Communist tyrants of North Korea, North Vietnam, etc., are, after all, merely agents of Moscow. They are not defending the interests of their own peoples, but the interests of a world conspiracy organized by Moscow, a fact which, incidentally, was also admitted by that Communist evil-doer, Chou En-lai, when during his visit to the countries of East Europe he proclaimed Moscow everywhere as the leading power of the Communist world revolution.

The peoples of Asia are not alone in their efforts to get rid of this oppressive Communist yoke. They are supported by all the nations subjugated by Moscow in East Europe and Soviet Asia. A united encirclement operation could now be systematically carried out from the frontier countries of the Muscovite imperium via Siberia, Turkestan and Caucasia, all the more since there are millions of fighters for freedom, for instance, in the countless concentration camps located in Siberia. How right such a project would be, can best be seen from the demands raised by the prisoners during the large-scale strikes in Norylsk in June, 1953, and in Vor-

kuta in July of the same year. These demands were:

1. National Independence for the separate nations of the Soviet Union.
2. Land for the peasants.
3. Factories for the workers.
4. Free democratic elections and the formation of new governments.

(From "Vorkuta" by Scholmer.)

These same demands were raised during an insurrection on the part of the concentration camp prisoners in Kingiri (Turkestan), in July 1954, a fact which emphasizes the realizable character of a joint action in these territories.

Your Excellencies! Ladies and gentlemen! — From my remarks so far it can be seen that the East European and Asian peoples not only have common political aims, but as regards their geographical position, too, represent an initial base for direct political and other operations directed against the Soviet Russian sphere of influence. The Communist world conspiracy with its headquarters in Moscow must be opposed by a united world front of freedom with a co-ordination centre for the systematic and co-ordinated action of the free and the subjugated world. On the strength of their concentrated power, the enslaved nations in cooperating with the free world will be in a position to deal the sworn enemy of all human values, the sworn enemy of every form of freedom, national independence, religion and culture, a mortal blow.

The ABN is confident that the Communist puppet governments in North Vietnam, on the Chinese mainland and in North Korea, together with the entire Communist system of slavery and the Russian colonial empire, will soon be eliminated for good by joint effort, and that the said territories will then be reunited in freedom with their national Republics of Vietnam, China and Korea.

In conclusion I should like, in the name of my people and as the head of the last free Ukrainian government in my native country, and, in particular, in the name of the present revolutionary liberation movement, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), and of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (UHWR) — the present underground government of Ukraine, to assure the honourable representatives of the anti-Communist countries of Asia of our unity and solidarity with your fight.

Long live the Republic of Vietnam, of China and of Korea, and the entire Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League!

Long live the independent national states of all the peoples subjugated by Communism and Russian colonialism!

Freedom-loving nations and peoples of the whole world, unite in fighting against Communism and Russian colonialism for the independence of the nations and human freedom!

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

An Excursion to Dalat

On April 2nd, the delegates to the Third Asian Conference of the APACL took part in an excursion to Dalat, which is situated 300 kilometres north of Saigon. They were conveyed there in two motor coaches, which were accompanied by an escort of six military cars. On the way the delegates visited some refugee villages, where they were given a cordial welcome by the inhabitants. They also inspected some tea plantations and visited some waterfalls nearby, and were greatly impressed by the luxuriant vegetation, — palms, tropical flowers, cacti, and bamboos, etc.

On their arrival in Dalat, the visitors were welcomed by a women's delegation, bearing bouquets of flowers. An official reception was then given by the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, at which one of the delegates, Mrs. Slawa Stetko, held a speech in French which was most enthusiastically received. After visiting the magnificent spa buildings and gardens, the delegates then inspected the Military Academy, where trainees gave a military display in honour of the guests.

Before the delegates left Dalat, the Governor of the province gave a banquet in their honour at his villa, to which all the prominent personalities in Dalat were invited.

The Eclipse of Communist Forces

The following declaration was issued by the Asian People's Anti-Communist League at the end of its Third Conference in Saigon, April 1, 1957.

I.

Delegates of free Asian nations and areas again have gathered in Saigon, capital of the Republic of Vietnam, to hold the Third Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League. We have conducted detailed discussions and made concrete decisions concerning the common problems faced by Asian peoples in carrying on their struggle for freedom and in fighting for the anti-communist cause. Furthermore, we have admitted new members and observers, strengthened the organization of the League Council, established the League's Secretariat, and reached definite understandings regarding the League's important policies and united actions. Some of these decisions can be revealed only as their impact is felt by the enemy in the great struggle to assure liberty for all the world.

We take special pride and pleasure in admitting as new members the peoples of Australia, Burma, Malaya, Pakistan, Singapore, and Turkey; and in admitting as observers the peoples of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, the Czech-Sudeten German Federal Committee, Greece, Republic of Indonesia, and Union of Russian Solidarists. This expansion gives promise of a much stronger organization and a worldwide crusade against Communism.

All member and observer nations and groups join in paying their deep respects to President Ngo Dinh Diem of the Republic of Vietnam for his outstanding leadership and to the Vietnamese people for their strong determination to resist Communist aggression and their contributions to the anti-Communist cause. At the same time we wish to reiterate unanimously our unshakable faith in the ultimate success of the anti-Communist struggle and our firm resolve to make all possible efforts to exterminate the Communist imperialists' aggressive forces. **Our final objective is to save all enslaved peoples in Asia and other parts of the world so that they may regain their freedom and help to build a lasting peace.**

II.

It was exactly one year ago that the Second Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League was held in Manila. The past year was one during which the Communist bloc launched its fiercest peace offensive against the Free World, and also a year during which the severe internal conflicts within the Communist bloc and the repeated anti-Communist revolts staged by the peoples behind the Iron Curtain fully exposed the crisis of collapse confronting the Communists. In this connection, it must be pointed out that as the collapse of the Communist bloc approaches, the Reds can be expected to expand their peace offensive still further, and at the same time to carry out aggressions against the non-Communist countries with ever-greater violence and desperation. During this past year, the Communists have intensified not only their preparations for global war by perfecting nuclear weapons, building up their armaments industries, and laying the groundwork for aggression in the Middle East, but also have directed their agents to infiltrate and subvert the Asian countries. The gigantic communist military build-up has progressed to the point of grave danger. Communists have been doing their utmost to hasten the completion of two railways in Red China to link the Chinese mainland with the trans-Siberian railroad and the Turkestan-Siberia railroad. At the same time, the Yingtan-Amoy railroad on the Chinese coast opposite Taiwan has been completed as part of the Communists' preparations for a desperate attack on the main bastion of the Republic of China.

In Korea and Vietnam, the Communists have violated armistice regulations to build large

illegal military forces that threaten the two countries and their allies. All of this evidence demonstrates the urgency of warning the Free World that the Communists are planning a last desperate bid for total conquest, and that in this effort, they will use both the weapons of conspiracy and deception, and the weapons of war.

III.

Six Committees of the Third Conference met and reported resolutions which were unanimously adopted by the plenary session. In summary, the recommendations are as follows:

Policy Toward Ex-Communists. — The Free World must remain vigilant to the danger of Communist infiltration, but also should make all efforts to help those who renounce Communism and join with the forces of freedom.



The Vietnamese Delegation. In centre: Dr. Bui Tuong Chieu, Chairman of the Conference.

Information and Propaganda Media. — The League should establish an anti-communist press federation, organize an international radio communications system, exchange information on Communist tactics and methods, encourage production and distribution of anti-Communist materials, and determine a coordinated policy on League information activities.

Labor and Agriculture. — Free countries of Asia should encourage the formation of free labor unions, protect rights of workers, support land reform programs, and promote better education in order to secure a higher standard of living for workers and the farm population.

Education. — The League should endeavour to abolish illiteracy; encourage expansion of technical and vocational training; base education on the respect for religious beliefs, national traditions, cultures, and free inquiry; and to promote the exchange of professors, students, and goodwill missions.

Economic Affairs. — Free Asian countries should cooperate to prevent Communist economic subversion, take common measures to promote economic well-being of the people, and to encourage exchange of economic information and mutual economic assistance programs.

Ideologies. — The League should reaffirm the primacy of the spiritual in order to destroy Communist materialist ideology and disapprove extremes of chauvinism in favor of a system of cooperation that will promote the well-being of nations and the free, harmonious, and complete development of the human person.

IV.

We the peoples of Asia seek to unite more closely all the supporters of democracy and freedom in the world so that we may jointly undertake the task of combating oppression, launch concerted attacks on the aggressive Communists, and destroy the common enemy of mankind. In view of the growing strength

which has developed in our anti-Communist struggle, and on the basis of the actual conditions we are facing in Asia in carrying out this struggle, we unanimously set forth the following proposals which we hope may serve to guide the joint efforts to be made by ourselves and other free peoples:

1. We firmly believe that communist imperialism is threatening human freedom, disturbing world peace, and undermining the ideals embodied in the United Nations Charter.

A — We therefore propose that the procedures of the United Nations should be so revised as to prevent the U.S.S.R. from using the United Nations as a platform from which to spread Communist ideas and obstruct the United Nations. We also reiterate our strong endorsement for the admission of the Repu-

blic of Korea and the Republic of Vietnam to the United Nations, and our determined opposition to the granting of United Nations seats to the Chinese Communist puppet regime in Peiping, which has been branded as an aggressor by the United Nations, and of Outer Mongolia, which is a puppet of the Soviet imperialists.

2. We firmly believe that there is absolutely no possibility of coexistence between freedom and slavery. For this reason, we not only urge the Free World to heighten its alertness against division and schism, but also urge those nations which have cooperated with the Communists — or are on the verge of doing so to realign themselves with the forces of freedom.

B — Additionally, we must refuse to recognize the aggressive gains of Communist imperialism.

3. We firmly believe that the strengthening and expansion of the Asian peoples' anti-Communist movement mark the beginning of the eclipse of Communist forces in Asia. For this reason, we seek the further expansion of this movement. We not only welcome the people of anti-Communist countries to our ranks, but urge the people of neutralist nations and the people caught up behind the Iron Curtain to make common cause with us, in so far as they possibly can. We wish not only to consolidate all the anti-Communist forces of the Asian peoples, but also to cooperate with all the freedom-loving peoples of the world.

4. We firmly believe that material as well as moral help should be given to freedom fighters behind the Communist lines, as well as to those of the Free World. This can be one of the most effective ways of destroying Communism quickly.

5. We firmly believe in the absolute necessity of an Asian anti-Communist alliance and of a Free World crusade to destroy Communism and lay the foundations for peace, prosperity, and democracy for all peoples and nations.

The ABN-Delegation visits Free China

Through the kindness of His Excellency Ku Cheng-kang, the President of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, Republic of China, a personal invitation to visit Formosa was issued to a number of delegates of the Third Asian Conference in Saigon, namely to the Turkish, Indonesian, Pakistan and Sudeten-German delegations and to the ABN delegates, General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak and Mrs. Slawa Stetzko. The visitors were given a most cordial welcome on their arrival at Taipei airport, and during their stay in Formosa took part in a number of tours of inspection, lectures, press conferences and excursions which had been specially arranged for their benefit. Two functions, in particular, which should be mentioned in this connection were an audience given by *President Marshal Chiang Kai-shek* and an audience given by *Madame Chiang Kai-shek*. On this occasion General Farkas presented the head of the government of Formosa with a copy of his book on his campaigns on the Tatar Pass. Marshal Chiang Kai-shek was particularly interested in the problems of the subjugated peoples, in the present situation in Hungary and in the Hungarian fight against Communism, and expressed the hope that he would be able to invite General Farkas to visit the liberated Chinese mainland in the not too distant future. In addition to the above functions, the visitors also received invitations from various high authorities and prominent political persons, and on these occasions they had a chance to discuss vital questions pertaining to the liberation of the world from the Bolshevik menace. Additional invitations were received from the following: General Wang Po-wen, Professor Lin Tsiu-sen, who by his literary works has done his native country an excellent service. Dr. Pao Hua-kuo, Secretary-General of the APACL, Prof. Pu, Prof Pao Tsen-peng, Director of the National Museum. Cheng Chieng-chung, Sections of the Kuomintang VI, the mayors of Tainan, Taichung, and Wu-sei, and from Major-General Chiang We-go, second son of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek and Acting Minister of Defence, who very kindly invited the visitors to inspect various military training centres and institutions.

The various functions arranged for the benefit of the visitors can be seen from the following

TENTATIVE RECEPTION PROGRAM FOR THE DELEGATES TO APACL THIRD CONFERENCE DURING THEIR WELCOME VISIT TO FREE CHINA

- April 6 (Saturday)
- 11.15 Arrive at Shun-shan airport; take rest at Grand Hotel
 - 12.00 Lunch at hotel
 - 16.00 Call on *Dr. Chu Chia-Hua*, Chairman of the Chinese Association for the United Nations
 - 18.00 Call on *General Poi*, Chairman of the Islamic Federation of China (For Mrs. Stetzko, a tea party will be given in her honour by the Chinese Women's Anti-Aggression League)
 - 19.00 Dinner given by Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, Republic of China
- April 7 (Sunday)
- 10.00 Excursion to Grass Mountain
 - 12.00 Dinner given by *Director Chow*, Grass Mountain District Administration
 - 16.00 Visit the National Museum of History and Arts (For Pakistani visitors, a tea party will be given in their honour by the Islamic Federation of China)
 - 19.30 Dinner at hotel
- April 8 (Monday)
- 9.00 Call on *His Excellency Mr. Chang Tuo-fan*, President of the Legislative Yuan
 - 10.00 Call on *His Excellency Mr. Yu Yu-jen*, President of the Control Yuan (Program for Dr. Hilf: Call on Mr. Shen, Director of Government Information Office)
 - 11.00 Call on *Minister Yeh*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
 - 12.30 Lunch at hotel
 - 15.00 Leave for Taoyuan to inspect the land reform and rural reconstruction programs and to visit farmers' homes

- 19.30 Dinner given by the Islamic Federation of China
- April 9 (Tuesday)
- 9.00 Visit Chinese Women's Anti-Aggression League
 - 10.00 Reception given by APACL, China Chapter
 - 12.30 Lunch at hotel
 - 15.00 Visit National Taiwan University
 - 16.00 Call on *His Excellency Mr. O. K. Yui*, President of the Executive Yuan
 - 17.00 Call on *His Excellency Mr. Chen Cheng*, Vice-President of the Republic of China
 - 19.30 Dinner given by *His Excellency Mr. O. K. Yui*, President of the Executive Yuan



Mrs. Stetzko presents Madame Chiang Kai-shek with her husband's book, "Taiwan, the Island of Freedom and Hope".

- April 10 (Wednesday)
- 7.30 Leave Taipei for Tainan (by plane)
 - 9.30 Visit Taiwan Air Base
 - 10.30 Proceed to Kaohsiung
 - 11.30 Visit the Oil Refinery
 - 12.30 Dinner given by the Oil Refinery
 - 14.00 Visit Naval Base
 - 16.30 Visit Aluminum Factory and Alkali Factory
 - 18.00 Dinner-guests of *Mr. Hsieh*, Mayor of Kaohsiung
 - RON Aluminium Factory and Alkali Factory hostels (Program for Pakistani visitors: Return to Taipei by night express)
- April 11 (Thursday)
- 9.00 Proceed to Taichung (by diesel coach)
 - 12.00 Lunch-guests of *Mr. Lin*, Mayor of Taichung
 - 13.00 Leave Taichung for Sun-Moon Lake
 - 17.00 Excursion
 - 19.30 Dinner at Evergreen Hotel
 - RON Evergreen Hotel
 - Program for Pakistani visitors:
 - 9.00 Visit Armed Forces Nursery
 - 10.00 Visit Shun-shan Asylum
 - 15.00 Visit the Laborers' Insurance Department
 - 16.00 Tea party given by the Islamic Federation of Taiwan
 - 17.30 Meet the press
- April 12 (Friday)
- 8.00 Leave Sun-Moon Lake for Wu-sei to visit the Wu-sei Electric Plants and Reservoirs
 - 12.00 Lunch at Wu-sei
 - 13.00 Leave Wu-sei for Taichung
 - 16.40 Leave for Taipei (by diesel express)
 - 19.30 Dinner at hotel
- April 13 (Saturday)
- Forenoon Open
 - 12.00 Lunch at hotel
 - 15.00 Forum and Lecture Meetings
 - 19.30 Dinner given by Chinese National Foreign Relations Association
 - Program for Indonesian visitors:
 - 9.00 Call on *Mr. Cheng*
 - 10.00 Attend forum
 - 13.00 Dinner given by *Mr. Cheng*

In few countries does one find such a sincere and generous hospitality as in Taiwan. And in this respect we should like to mention *Mr. Funeng Soong*, who for two whole weeks accompanied the ABN delegation and did all the necessary translating and interpreting into Chinese. *Mr. Hwang You* and in particular *Mr. Tam*, the Secretary of the APACL, did extremely valuable work as regards arranging and carrying out the programme drawn up for the benefit of the visitors.

An excellent impression was gained of Free China's military institutions in the course of the various tours of inspection that were arranged. *Kuan Shien-chieh*, Admiral of the National Chinese

Naval Forces, conducted the visitors on a tour of inspection of the Naval Academy and made it possible for them to attend military exercises carried out by fine young officers and Academy trainees. The influence of an excellent leadership was apparent in the discipline, order, untiring work and broadmindedness manifested everywhere. Everyone devotes himself wholeheartedly to the sacred duty of liberating the Chinese mainland.

Major-General *Chiang We-go* accompanied the members of the ABN delegation on a visit to South Vietnam, where they had an opportunity to watch artillery exercises and bombing exercises carried out by jet fighter planes. These exercises were carried out with considerably more skill than is usually displayed by foreign or even by American troops. On the return flight to Taipei, the visitors unexpectedly had an opportunity to watch paratroop exercises which happened to be in progress as *Chiang We-go's* plane passed over.

The delegates also visited the island of Quemoy (Kinmen) by plane. Quemoy, which lies to the west of Formosa, is ten kilometres away from the Chinese mainland and only two kilometres away from one of the islands which is in the hands of the Red Chinese. The island of Quemoy, which is a strongly guarded fortress, is in the fighting zone and is frequently shelled by Red Chinese artillery. Firing could be heard in the distance when the delegates visited Quemoy, and next day the Reds shelled the island for four hours, from 1 a. m. to 5 a. m. They ceased fire, however, when the artillery on Quemoy went into action.

In 1949 the Reds attacked Quemoy, but were repulsed and forced to retreat after fierce fighting had ensued. 18,000 soldiers of the Red army were forced to surrender, and the number of Red Chinese soldiers who were killed in action on this occasion is estimated at approximately 20,000. The films shown to the visitors of the big parade in 1956 and of landing exercises and exercises carried out by a paratroop division were excellent, and were definitely very reassuring from the military and also from the political point of view. All this

Hungarian Fight for Freedom

Speech held by General F. Farkas de Kisbarnak, President of the Hungarian Liberation Movement, at the Conference in Saigon

Delegates and Guests,
Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen!

The President's warm words of welcome as well as all the sympathy shown for my Hungarian nation have moved me deeply. I should like to express my very special thanks for the honour of being invited to take part in this Congress. This journey has been a great event for me, and it is a real pleasure for me to be able to speak to you here about my sorely tried country. Above all, however, I feel it my duty to express, in the name of the **Hungarian Liberation Movement (MSZM)**, my heartfelt gratitude for all that the various nations represented here have so spontaneously done for the Hungarian cause. All my fellow-countrymen, scattered as they are in various parts of the world, are fully conscious of the importance of this Congress for our common cause — freedom — and are here with us in spirit.

Hungary was once a prosperous country and, owing to its natural frontiers, its love of freedom and the loyalty of its people to the State, occupied a key position on the European continent.

As early as 1919, when our country and people, badly mutilated by the injustice of the Treaty of Trianon, lay ruined, world Communism directed by Moscow made its first attack on Hungary, but even at that time our people of their own strength and with unparalleled courage after a short time shook off Bela Kuhn's red dictatorship.

Hardly a quarter of a century later, our country, together with several other Central European nations, was handed over to the Soviets at the Yalta Conference. Our heroic struggle carried on for years on the eastern front to protect our national existence, and the four months' defence of our capital Budapest against a hundredfold superior force were in vain and proved a forlorn hope. Thus, the fate of the thousand-year-old Hungarian kingdom was decided after the latter was incorporated in the Russian Bolshevik sphere of influence and turned into a prison, in which everything is done under the shadow of the bayonets of the Russian army of occupation and by the Communist puppet governments.

All that has happened in Hungary under Russian Communist rule during the past twelve years and, above all, the events in our time have proved to the whole world that it is possible for Hungary to be mown down by the Russian steam-roller, that it is possible for the best patriots to be butchered or deported, but that it is not possible to turn the Hungarian nation from its course and to change it morally and spiritually. This steadfastness on the part of our people, who in the course of their thousand-year-old history have never tolerated any form of dictatorship, arises in the first place out of their profound belief in God and their great love of freedom.

And when the unequal fight for freedom broke out recently and swept our country, our people's sole desire was freedom. They wanted "to live in freedom or die", and it was this watchword which inspired them to attack the Russian tanks with their bare hands and put hundreds of them out of action.

I am sure that you will agree that the Hungarian fight for freedom is of universal significance at the present time. It has revealed the only possible way out of the present world political crisis and has moreover destroyed the nimbus of alleged superior power and "invincibility" which surrounded Soviet Russian despotism. The moving force of this glorious victory was the youth of Hungary, above all the young workers and the young farmers, whom Communism has for a decade been trying to transform into a Communist elite by means of atheistic ideologies and has been endeavouring to misuse as a vanguard

for its sinister plans. We are proud of these young people who fought as champions of the immortal cause of freedom and as a result of their bravery and courageous faith have once again made history.

In addition, the Hungarian fight for freedom has also revealed the **weak spots and the internal tension** in the Soviet Union and its sphere of influence, as well as the **bankruptcy** of the Russian Bolshevik regime.

The question at issue in the Hungarian national revolt is a **historical development** which is not yet complete. Not only because guerilla combats are still flaring up here and there, because the workers are still striking and because the **economic loss**, which is making itself felt in the entire East bloc, is already resulting in serious crises, but, above all, because the blood shed and the fires of Budapest have kindled a conflagration of the urge for freedom which cannot be extinguished.

Throughout the entire Soviet Russian sphere of influence anti-Moscow feeling is asserting itself in various regions to an ever-increasing degree. Cases of unrest in Ukrainian university towns such as Kyiv and Charkiv or amongst the academic youth of the Baltic peoples, as for instance in Riga, Kaunas and Tallinn, clearly show a revolutionary tendency and have forced the regime to deport students and, in some cases, to close the universities. In Poland the kolkhos system is falling apart and the effects of the opposition on the part of the kolkhos farmers are making themselves felt as far as Albania. In Roumania and Bulgaria mass deportations and arrests, together with a long series of appeasement measures of an economic, social and political nature which still continue, have proved necessary in order to keep the simmering rebellion in check. In several places in the Soviet occupied Zone of Germany demonstrations openly in sympathy with the Hungarian revolt

due to them. In view of the unequal fight which they are waging in their resistance, one may well ask: what has happened to the **right of self-determination of the nations**, for which two World Wars have already been conducted, and what about the **Atlantic Charter**?

What is the point of the Organization of the United Nations if it is not able to intervene in such cases like Hungary?

The Hungarian fight for freedom has meanwhile made the whole world realize what **Russian imperialism** in the sign of world Communism means. And surely the world should now realize that there can be neither a compromise nor a reconciliation with Russian imperialism and that every form of so-called coexistence can only mean the slow downfall of the free world. With the massacre of Hungary Moscow has been unmasked and it is hardly likely that Soviet propaganda will in future succeed in winning over supporters for its ideological training system and in stirring up the working masses and leading them astray. The days of pretending at the so-called **de-Stalinization and peaceful coexistence** are over for good.

The weakness of the Soviet system is particularly apparent in the military sector. The armies of the subjugated peoples are no longer trustworthy, a fact which has led to the disarming of Roumanian and Bulgarian troops and to the reinforcement of the Russian occupation contingents. As many as 80 tank and infantry divisions of the Red Army can now be regarded as written off.

The numerous cases of desertion from the Soviet Army which occurred during the fighting in Hungary are an interesting sign, the true significance of which can be seen from the fact that the deserters were for the most part Ukrainian and White Ruthenian units who went over to the side of the Hungarian fighters for freedom and joined forces with



General Farkas de Kisbarnak presents Marshal Chiang Kai-shek with a dedicatory scroll from the Hungarian fighters for freedom.

and also anti-Russian demonstrations have recently been held.

After the events in Hungary, when the people openly opposed the regime, and Bolshevik alien rule was forced to assert itself by resorting to genocide, many hitherto misguided elements in the West, as for instance certain "progressive" intellectual and working class circles, turned from Communism, a fact which has considerably weakened the latter's **fifth column**.

The martyred peoples have roused themselves and are now demanding the vital right

them in the fight against their common Russian subjugator.

And this is precisely the vulnerable spot of Soviet Russian power and also the obvious reason why the Kremlin at present does not fear the Western world, which is prepared to make compromises, as much as it does the enslaved peoples, who under certain preconditions might well rise up in revolt one after another and shake off their fetters. And this fear on the part of the Kremlin can be regarded as the reason which prompted a command issued recently by the Soviet Minister of War, in which all the political organs of the Red Army were

exhorted "to watch the feeling among the troops with extreme vigilance and to crush all bourgeois tendencies and foreign influence".

*

As regards events in Hungary the West missed a big opportunity to give proof of its solidarity with the subjugated peoples. As a result there is now a feeling of discontent and distrust on our part towards the free world.

The West justifies its conduct with the excuse of the danger of an atomic war and the responsibility connected with such an eventuality. It certainly strikes one as strange that the West did not have these same misgivings as regards its military intervention in Suez. On the other hand, we are unfortunately obliged to ascertain that the danger of an atomic war only holds good for the decisions of the Western world, but is not able to deter the Soviet Union from carrying out new acts of aggression again and again. The attitude of the Western Powers with regard to the development of events in Hungary has, in any case, strengthened the position of the Soviet Union and has given Russian Bolshevik despotism full discretionary power once again in its conduct towards the subjugated peoples.

It is obvious that the danger of the mass destruction of mankind by an atomic war must be avoided. But this does not mean that a peace at any price must be accepted. When the Hungarian people rose up in revolt on October 23rd to fight a life and death struggle against tyranny, they supported one principle which should hold good all over the world. It was the maxim that life is only worth living in freedom.

I am convinced that, had the Hungarian fight for freedom been given active support from without, a chain reaction would inevitably have ensued and all the other subjugated peoples would have risen up in revolt. Had this been the case, the Soviet Russian sphere of influence would probably have collapsed without an atomic war, but this big historical opportunity was unfortunately missed.

*

The United Nations have recently admitted still more Communist ruled states to their organization and have in this way acknowledged the puppet governments of these states as legitimate. The free democratic world is thus in danger of falling a victim to the Communist pest itself, instead of getting rid of it completely. The international order of the world cannot, however, tolerate such compromises, nor can it be set up on half-truths.

When he recently visited Austria, US Vice-President Nixon referred to the Hungarian revolution as "one of the greatest events in the history of mankind" and as the "death-knell of international Communism". It is thus all the more disheartening that the United Nations remained inactive and were not in a position to assert their principles, even though the life of an entire nation was at stake!

*

Countless peoples in Europe and Asia are at present forced to endure a form of life which they have not chosen themselves and which they definitely reject. Indeed, the present political state of affairs is untenable as far as the whole world is concerned. International tension prevents mankind from fulfilling its tasks for the future and the warding off of the acute Bolshevik menace absorbs its entire energy and effort.

Today, the question at issue is no longer the threat to an individual nation or continent, but the fate of mankind as a whole. Measures of a regional character are bound to be ineffective against a power which is striving to conquer the whole world, for this power can only be fought successfully and defeated by a global alliance — in the moral, political and military field — of all peoples of the free world, with our subjugated peoples as the vanguard.

Australian Solidarity with ABN

After the termination of the Third Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League in Saigon, President Jaroslaw Stetzko left for Australia. The Ukrainian paper published in Australia, "Vilna Dumka", of April 16/17, 1957, wrote as follows:

"Mrs. Slawa Stetzko and General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak have left Saigon for Formosa. The President of the ABN, Jaroslaw Stetzko, remained in Saigon in order to conduct certain important discussions. On April 8, he came to Australia via Singapore. On April 11, he arrived in Melbourne from Sydney and was welcomed by Ukrainian groups of the ABN. Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko spent Easter with the Ukrainian emigrants living in Australia... On April 27, he held a lecture at a mass rally in Canberra, and on April 28th he arrived in Sydney, where he was welcomed at the airport by representatives of the ABN and Ukrainian emigrants. Children, dressed in national Ukrainian costume, presented him with bouquets of flowers." Photographs and reports of this occasion were published in the Australian press. On the evening of April 28, Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko held a lecture before an audience of Ukrainian emigrants at the Estonian Club in Sydney. In an article entitled "A Special Guest", the Ukrainian paper in Australia "Vilna Dumka" ("Free Thought"), No. 18, wrote as follows:

"On the 28th at 5 p. m. the hall was packed with Ukrainians from Sydney and environs who had come to listen to an interesting and informative lecture given by Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, the President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. The subject was "Our Policy of Liberation and the International Situation". After the lecture several members of the audience put various questions to the speaker, to which he then replied. At the end of the rally Mr. M. Shegelyn, head of the ABN branch in Australia, read out a resolution which was unanimously accepted. This resolution was a declaration of the solidarity of the national emigrant groups in Australia with the aims and fighting activity of the ABN."

During his stay in Sydney Mr. Stetzko, on May 1, had a long talk with the presidium of the Democratic Labour Party. Leading members of the presidium, headed by the President, H. Allan Manning, and the Secretary-General, J. T. Kane, took part in this discussion. As is already known, the Australian Labour Party recently split into two anti-Communist factions, the Democratic and the Anti-Communist faction. Both are to unite to form a single Labour Party, including

another group headed by Dr. Iwetta. The attitude of the anti-Communist factions towards our ideas is an extremely positive one, as is also their attitude towards cooperation with the new emigrant groups.

On May 1, Mr. Stetzko visited the Lord Mayor of Sydney, Mr. Jackson, who welcomed him most cordially and presented him with a souvenir-album of the city of Sydney, containing a special dedication. The Lord Mayor of Sydney is also a member of the Labour Party. On the same day, Mr. Stetzko, accompanied by the Reverend Dr. Djatschyschyn, called on Cardinal Gilroy. The Cardinal received him most cordially as the representative of the subjugated peoples and said that his special blessings and wishes were with these peoples.

Mr. Stetzko also had a long talk with the leader of the Liberal Opposition, Mr. Morton, and two other members of the Liberal Party. The Liberal Opposition is likewise very well-disposed towards our cause. On this occasion Mr. Stetzko was accompanied by Mr. Myskiw, engineer, Mr. Kravtschuk, engineer, and Mr. Pavutschok.

The Australian press, which also published a number of photos of Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, wrote as follows:

LIBERATION MOVE GROWS

Liberation movements in Russian empire were now strengthening after the Hungarian revolution, Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko said last night.

Mr. Stetzko, former Ukraine Prime Minister, was speaking on his arrival in Sydney.

Now President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Mr. Stetzko is here on an Australian lecture tour.

Mr. Stetzko, who was greeted by a small crowd of Sydney Ukrainians with the children dressed in national costume, will tour all capital cities during his week's stay in Australia.

"DOWNFALL"

Mr. Stetzko said the mighty processes in progress behind the Curtain were proof of the systematic downfall of the Communist regime.

"In an attempt to rescue what can no longer be rescued, the Kremlin rulers have thought up a story about de-Stalinisation, so as to cast all the blame on Stalin", he said.

"But the measure has proved futile. As early as July, 1955, a large-scale strike started in the concentration camps in Vorkuta, and was only broken by the brutal force of the Muscovite army." ("Truth", Sydney, Sunday edition, April 28, 1957).

ABN Delegation visits Free China

(Continued from Page 8)

proves that Formosa is a base, a fortress and an island of hope not only for Asia, but also for the entire free world.

At present, Taiwan possesses the second strongest and best equipped army with the most modern air force, and is considerably stronger than India. It is by no means correct that this army is behind the times. It is commanded by young generals, and the entire officers' corps consists of young men.

In addition to the army, the youth of the country also deserves especial praise. The Boy Scout and other youth organizations are admirably doing their share towards the realization of the national aims and their training is in every respect exemplary. The cultural and educational level of the university and of the secondary and primary schools on Taiwan is excellent; and the youth of the country is inspired by patriotism and by the firm will to recapture the lost mainland again.

At a meeting held in the League House of the APACL, Mrs. Slawa Stetzko and General Farkas each gave an informative talk on the general problems of the ABN, the present political situation and the measures to be adopted in order to overcome the Bolshevik world menace. A similar lecture was also held by the well-known Hungarian commander, General Farkas, before an audience of invited guests in the Town Hall.

It is an eloquent sign of the political open-mindedness of the anti-Communist Asian peoples that the wave of indignation expressed in the Far East as a result of the tragic events in Hungary, has still not abated. And it was extremely gratifying to General Farkas to ascertain this fact from the sincere sympathy and eager interest in Hungarian questions which he encountered everywhere. In their interviews on the situation in general in the countries subjugated by Moscow, the press and the radio brought up these questions again and again and concentrated their attention on them. Considerable regret was also expressed at the fact that the Hungarian fight for freedom had not been given the support which the rest of the subjugated peoples had so earnestly hoped for, in order to enable them, too, to shake off the fetters of Bolshevik slavery and terrorism.

Taiwan is at present waging a psychological war on Red China and is conducting an uncompromising fight against Communism and Soviet imperialism. The same thing is also happening in Vietnam and Korea, etc., and justifies one in hoping that the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League together with the ABN and the Latin-American Anti-Communist will, by their joint world organization, eventually destroy the Bolshevik imperium and Communism.

The Asian peoples are with us wholeheartedly and cooperate with us in our striving for freedom and independence.

Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky

President of the Slovak Liberation Committee

Slovakia Interested In A United Europe

The short-sighted and egoistic policy of the European Major Powers is reflected in the fate of Slovakia and of many of the peoples enslaved behind the Iron Curtain. These Powers were not interested in the assertion of the right and the self-determination of the European peoples living in subjugation, but only in their own aims to attain political power. Up to a short time ago, the policy pursued by the Major Powers did not aim to establish some form of cooperation, but sought to expand and strengthen the existent opposing blocs and to create a balance of power. And in this respect the Major Powers even sought to curry favour with the Soviet Union, the greatest enemy of all the principles which represent the common possession of Europe.

Despite the fact that the Major Powers frequently tried to achieve definitely immoral aims, they nevertheless continued to talk about right, freedom, peace, democracy and self-determination. In this way they wanted to present their aims, which were solely concerned with increasing their own power and were to be achieved at the expense of other peoples and, in fact, even forced on the latter, to the public in a more acceptable form. The will and the vital interests of the nations on whose fate decisions were reached, were of less importance to the Major Powers than question of prestige and their own egoistic, economic and political interests. Thus, ruthless decisions were reached on the fate of many peoples. And behind the facade of right, freedom, and democracy, sheer egoism triumphed.

As a result of this competition two world wars ensued. And as a result of these two wars the powers of Europe were weakened to such an extent that in 1945 Europe as a political individuality ceased to exist. The Major Powers fought each other for so long and each of them tried for so long to gain the upper hand in Europe that in the end the Soviet tyrants in Moscow were able to decide the fate of the major part of Europe. The tragic fate of millions of persons in Europe was sealed by the agreements reached at Yalta. And as a result of the short-sightedness and egoism of the European Major Powers, Europe crashed headlong from its former heights.

In the framework of this suicidal policy there was no room for the independence of the Slovak people. No one was concerned about the latter's rights and freedom. Regardless of the right of self-determination, the Slovaks after World War I were incorporated in Czecho-Slovakia, in order to enable the Czechs to set up a dam in Central Europe to prevent German expansion towards the southeast. In any case, who would have been able to oppose the will of the victor powers and successfully champion the rights of the Slovak people? Intrigues and propaganda lies made up for the unlawful nature of this state structure. Since the main pillar and support of the Little Entente was to be Prague, this arrangement was simply forced on the people. When the recognized leader of the Slovak people, Andrej Hlinka, demanded at the Paris Peace Conference that a plebiscite should be held in Slovakia, he was accused of being an agent of the defeated powers. And after being evicted from Paris, he was arrested on his return to Slovakia.

Once Czecho-Slovakia had been created, no one paid any attention at all to the fact that the Slovaks had been incorporated in this artificial state structure without being asked; and the fact that the majority of elected parliamentary delegates were constantly in opposition to the state and its government, was likewise disregarded. The fact that the Slovaks were constantly doing their utmost to bring about the realization of the right of self-determination, was concealed from the world. No one in the world was prepared to look into these matters and to draw logical political conclusions from them. No democrat, humanist or champion of freedom and justice was prepared to do so, since reasoning such as this would have caused the entire artificial structure of power in Central Europe to collapse.

And it was in keeping with such hypocrisy that

the Major Powers even went so far as to maintain that the unanimous decision of the representatives of the Slovak people, of March 14, 1939, was coercion. As if there could be such a thing in the world as a nationally conscious people who had to be forced to accept freedom and independence! As the acme of irony and malevolence, a decision was reached according to which all the champions of the freedom and independence of the Slovak people were decried as enemies of democracy and freedom and were ruthlessly persecuted after the war. On the other hand, however, those persons who were responsible for the enslavement of the peoples of Central Europe and who played an active part in enforcing the present system of tyranny on the countries behind the Iron Curtain, were described as exemplary democrats. Indeed, the attitude seemed to be that short-sightedness was the same as democracy and foresight the same as totalitarianism. It is no secret that all this fuss was made in order to drown the voice of the peoples who had been intentionally surrendered to Moscow's despotism and thus strengthen the Soviet Union to such an extent that it would be able to preserve a balance of power against Germany.

I do not mention these errors on the part of the Major Powers in order to reproach anyone for mistakes committed in the past. Past actions cannot be undone. But I am obliged to mention this question since not only the fate of the Slovak people, but also the fate of millions of persons behind the Iron Curtain and even the fate of those nations which are at present still free depends on this policy; the most important point is whether public opinion all over the world is aware of the nature of these errors and whether the free world will at last decide to take the necessary steps to rectify these errors. The matter in question is that the results of these errors should not be regarded as part of the present policy of the Major Powers. And the question at issue is whether the decisions reached at Yalta only constitute an error or whether they are to be assessed as part of the treachery which was committed against millions of Europeans.

We Slovaks and undoubtedly all the peoples enslaved behind the Iron Curtain watch with considerable interest and sympathy all the efforts which are made to intensify and increase the cooperation of the free peoples of Europe. We hope that the free peoples, instead of fighting each other, instead of setting up barriers against each other and instead of adhering to the out-of-date tactics of the balance of power, will at long last decide in favour of an organic cooperation. It is with considerable gratification and pleasure that we have learnt of the cooperation which exists between Germany and France, since this is a precondition for the union of Europe. Only by following this course will the peoples of Europe be able to create the basis on which Europe can assume that function in the world which is its mission. We are definitely convinced that it would be incompatible with Europe's mission for a major part of this continent to continue to remain under the despotic rule of Moscow. The power of attraction of a united Europe, however small it might be, on the enslaved peoples would be so far-reaching that even now the Kremlin despots are alarmed as to the consequences which further progress as regards the cooperation of the free European peoples might have on the existence of the Soviet imperium. It is not only in the interests of the free peoples of Europe, but also in the interests of the Slovaks and all the enslaved peoples that the cooperation between Germany and France should be intensified and should be a lasting and sincere one. Rivalry between Germany and France ruined Europe; and we therefore hope that this cooperation between these two peoples will ensure Europe's new rise to prosperity.

On the strength of this cooperation, we Slovaks trust that we shall at long last be regarded as individuals with equal rights and as a people of Europe with equal rights, and not merely as the object of an anti-German policy of power. All the peoples enslaved behind the Iron Curtain are

anxious to see the logical conclusions drawn from the change in European policy, as far as the attitude of the West towards the Soviet Union is concerned. We expect the West to cease to regard the Soviet imperium as a decisive factor of the policy of the balance of power in Europe against Germany and as a factor to which the enslaved peoples must resign themselves, and, in place of this attitude, to support the realization of the right of self-determination of the peoples enslaved behind the Iron Curtain. In addition, the fact must also be borne in mind that a precondition for Europe's rise to prosperity is that other peoples still enslaved by Moscow must also join the existing nucleus so that the latter may thus attain the necessary weight.

Masaryk's and Benes' idea of Czech policy, which was based on the differences between Germany and France and the resultant bloc and power policy, is exactly the opposite of the policy of European cooperation. This chauvinistic power policy, which never missed an opportunity to use the differences which existed between Germany and France for its own political aims and even went so far as to try and aggravate this animosity between the two countries, in order to justify Czech rule over Slovakia and the territories to which it was not entitled, has no place in the second half of the twentieth century and is diametrically opposed to the principles of democracy and of the equal rights of all peoples.

If the free peoples of Western Europe are really anxious to effect a cooperation instead of a continuation of the out-of-date and tragic rivalry between Germany and France, then no one should have the least objection to a free Slovak state existing side by side with a free Czech, free Polish and free Hungarian state, etc., as a member of the European community of nations with equal rights.

Events after the first World War clearly proved that one cannot create political stability on the basis of a power policy in Central Europe, the product of which was Czecho-Slovakia, but only the preconditions for constant tension. The German and French idea of a reconciliation provides the psychological possibilities for cooperation between the peoples of Central Europe. And this would be a step which would help on Europe's rise to prosperity and would speed up the foundations for a lasting peace in the world.

Although all this is perfectly logical and clear and although the cooperation of the nations and France's reconciliation with Germany is constantly mentioned, the Western powers are in reality far from drawing the political conclusions one would expect them to draw from all these facts. It is true that they no longer talk about a bloc and balance of power policy, but actually they still continue to practice such a policy.

In this respect their attitude towards the enslaved peoples is still, even today, prompted by the consideration of whether they fit in with the conception of the power policy pursued in Europe after the first World War, or not. Those who do are privileged and receive help; but the peoples relegated to the second category meet with no sympathy on the part of the Western powers and are even boycotted consistently.

It is a well-known fact that Prague is the most loyal satellite and Moscow's most faithful and successful servant. Prague supplies all those countries in which the Kremlin despots need riots with arms. And typical examples of this are to be seen in recent events in the Near East and in North Africa. Prague plays an important part in the economic and propagandist offensive of the Soviets in Asia, Africa and South America. Moscow's agents for Africa and Asia are trained in Prague. Prague's so-called diplomatic missions in the free world are the centres of Soviet espionage. In the Communist sphere of influence, too, Prague renders Moscow extremely valuable services. Prague is doing its utmost to consolidate the position of the Pankov government. Prague played the leading part amongst the satellites in the offensive con-

Walter Banaitis

Lithuania in Moscow's Game of Intrigue

February 16th was the thirty-ninth anniversary of the day on which the Republic of Lithuania proclaimed its independence. The Lithuanians living abroad and their friends all over the world held celebrations to mark the anniversary of this day. In Lithuania, however, no celebrations of any kind were held to mark this occasion.

A curtain of silence has descended on Lithuania. Indeed, for some time now, all the Baltic countries have been a region of silence of the first order in the Soviet sphere of influence.

From 1914 to 1919 Lithuania was engaged in an open war against Russia's military power. A fierce guerilla war was waged — as is the case in Hungary at present. Not only had the Soviets to crush organized revolts, but they also had hard work to deal with the personal resistance which the individual Lithuanian put up.

Moreover, the Soviets are now obliged to admit that cases of unrest occurred in Lithuania during the Hungarian crisis. But a burnt child fears fire, and the dreadful years 1914/19 were not repeated. Lithuania, however, has provided Moscow with an example in its own sphere of influence of how little a true urge to freedom can be suppressed by political terrorism. The startling thing about the riots in Lithuania is the fact that they were organized by the Communist students, who have been politically screened on numerous occasions in the past, and not by any so-called "reactionaries", "enemy radio transmitters", etc. These young people asked themselves how "Greater Russia" imperialists come to misuse the doctrine of Communism as an excuse for chauvinism.

The scanty news which has reached us from Lithuania reveals the following picture of conditions there:

As early as autumn 1955, the senate of the University of Vilna drew certain conclusions from the condemnatory judgment passed on Stalin after his death, and consequently demanded that lectures should no longer be held in Russian at a Lithuanian university and that less ideological training courses should be held. By way of answer, the popular Rector of the University and Professor of physics, Zemaitis, was dismissed. Professor Janulaitis, a well-known socialist history research scholar, refused to recognize the Bolshevik methods of historical research and was also dismissed. The students openly objected, whereupon Moscow replied with further reprisals. One thing, however, became plain to every Communist, namely that Moscow did not care a straw about ideology, but was only interested in expanding its imperium. And this impression was intensified still more by the introduction of Russification measures. Russian, for instance, became a compulsory subject in the primary schools. And consequently, anti-Russian feeling began to smoulder in Lithuania a year before the Hungarian fight for freedom broke out.

After Khrushchev's speech the course suddenly changed. Was this speech the manifestation of an ideological cult, or was it a political necessity? Perhaps Khrushchev was obliged to condemn Stalin, the soul of Communist doctrine, in order to preserve the body, Moscow's imperium?! In Lithuania the new course assumed the following aspects:

Moscow's Political Seesaw

Russian "Ministers" disappeared from public life one after another. Propaganda now adopted a patriotic tone. Somewhere in Russia a huge number of archives, documents, historical monuments, and the weapons and regimental flags of the insurgents who fought against the Tsar in former times were suddenly discovered and brought to Lithuania. The result was a wave of patriotism there. But what Moscow's aim was in doing this, was another matter.

The line of Moscow's policy now became more evident: a systematic attempt was made to detach Lithuania from her alliance with the other Baltic republics. Her "affinity" with Byelorussia and Poland was stressed, and Lithuanian minorities were suddenly discovered there, schools were founded and organizations were formed there, which soon numbered thousands of members.

It gradually became obvious that Moscow had

been obliged to kill Stalin once more, for Communism was beginning to prejudice the interests of the imperium. An attempt was made to find a new ideology, but since none could be found, Moscow was forced to resort to conventional methods.

At the same time, Lithuania's geographical position as the northern hinge of the door to the East and the West once again became of vital importance to Moscow. This is, indeed, the curse of this sorely tried country and also the reason which has given it more significance and importance than its own size and strength. Soviet measures now therefore aim to arouse a kind of pro-Russian chauvinism via a tame "patriotism". During the Hungarian crisis and in connection with events in Poland it was quite obvious that the Lithuanians were in sympathy with the Hungarians and even with their sworn enemies, the Poles. In fact, reports in the newspaper and radio programmes at that time showed that the Soviet controllers were

completely at a loss as to how to deal with this situation in Lithuania. It was evident to everyone that the Soviets did not know what to do, for any steps they might have taken, might have proved false. And this opportunity was used by the students.

A warning campaign now started in the press. And strange to say, various Communist writers now came to the conclusion that the era of the "bourgeois dictatorship", that is to say the period during which the country was an independent state, was not so bad after all. On the contrary it had, so they affirmed, had "very many" positive points. It was further maintained that the purged Party would now return to the principles of federal state sovereignty and — amazing though it may seem — would actually fight "Greater Russia chauvinism". And, incidentally, it was not just anybody who made this statement, but Professor Navickis, lec-

(Continued on Page 14)

Slovakia Interested In A United Europe

(Continued from Page 11)

ducted by the Kremlin against Tito from 1918 onwards. Prague is trying its utmost to undermine Gomulka's position. During the Hungarian revolt Prague constantly urged Moscow to resort to the most drastic military measures in order to put down the successful revolution. In Slovakia Prague introduced additional military measures, not only to ensure that no riots broke out there, but also to enable the Soviet troops to pass through the country unhindered. Prague even sent some of its own troops to certain districts of Hungary to fight the insurgents there. Since the Kadar government was forced on Hungary by Moscow, by means of military measures, Prague has been doing its utmost to consolidate the position of this government, both internally and internationally. Together with the Communists behind the Iron Curtain and those in the free world, Prague uses every opportunity to strengthen the position of the Kremlin despots and to increase Moscow's prestige in the world.

One would accordingly expect the free world to try and undermine this pillar and support of Moscow — namely Prague's position. This would easily be possible by supporting Slovakia's independence aims. But, unfortunately, the opposite is the case.

Moscow continues to undermine the freedom of the peoples of the free world and does its utmost to threaten their independence. By means of propaganda, subversive measures, intrigues, money, agents, arms and organizing guerilla wars, Moscow is attempting to enslave still more territories of Asia and Africa. In the free world one talks about the fight against Communism, and it is a well-known fact there that the peoples of the satellite countries were only incorporated in the Soviet sphere of influence by force. But despite this, the West tries to make out that these peoples like living in the Soviet sphere of influence and have adjusted themselves to Communism. By introducing Titoism the free world would like to create the false impression that such satellites are already free and democratic states. By every means available Moscow propagates the idea of the independence of all Asian and African countries. But in vain does one demand of the free world that it should support the fight for freedom of the Ukrainians, Georgians, Byelorussians, Turkestanians, etc., that is to say of those peoples whose independence Moscow has in theory recognized.

Why these contradictions? Why this apparently illogical attitude? Because the policy of the Western powers regards the Soviet imperium as a factor of the balance of power policy against Germany. The Iron Curtain should continue to exist and millions of Europeans should continue to live in misery and slavery, merely so that Moscow will be strong enough to fulfil this function successfully.

This policy is not merely short-sighted; without exaggerating, one can even go so far as to say that it is definitely bad. For the simple reason that, even taking into account the amazing indu-

striousness and ability of the German people, it would be quite impossible for Germany to pursue any plans at all for her domination of Europe or the world, in view of the present distribution of power in the world and the technical progress of mankind, on the one hand, and in view of the small territory and the inadequate sources of raw materials which Germany now possesses, on the other hand.

There is only one grave danger for the free world, and that is Moscow. It is in the interests of the whole of mankind that Moscow's power and position should be undermined. And the free peoples must reach a decision: either they give up all their spheres of influence in Asia and Africa and then lose their independence, or they abandon their present game and wholeheartedly support the enslaved peoples in their fight for freedom and independence. If there is any possibility at all of preventing a third world war and laying the foundations for a permanent peace, then the essential precondition in this respect is the internal disintegration of the vast Soviet colonial empire. It is vitally important for the European peoples, above all, to activate the fight for freedom of the enslaved peoples and to support this fight at least as effectively as the independence aims of other European and American peoples were supported in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. The revolution in Hungary has proved that this theory does not come under the category of wishful thinking, but is a logical result of a realistic policy that sees things as they are.

The solution of Slovakia's problems and the realization of Slovakia's independence are closely connected with the fate of the other enslaved peoples. Either we coordinate our fight and, in fact, conduct a common fight, or else we perish one after another. And it is for this reason that we are determined to intensify our cooperation with the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

Our aims are just and moral. All we demand is that the rights which God has given us should be respected, that we should be allowed to decide our own life in freedom and that, as a people and a nation with equal rights, we should be accorded a fitting place in the European community of nations and in the organization of the United Nations. And we are determined to fight for these just aims even if they should continue to be opposed by immoral considerations of a policy of power. During the past ten years more than 600 million persons of the peoples of Asia and Africa have attained their independence. We, as Europeans with a tradition which is over a thousand years old, are convinced that not only are we, too, entitled to this right, but also that we shall have the sympathy and support of all sincere and honest-thinking peoples of the free world on our side in our just fight. And we are firmly convinced that this fight will end with our victory.

Formosa, the Bulwark of Southeast Asia

By Ernst Majonica, MDB

The delegate of the German Bundestag, Ernst MAJONICA, recently gave an account of his visit to Formosa which was relayed by the Southwest German Broadcasting Corporation. By kind permission of the author we are herewith publishing the following extract of this account. — The Editor.

During my four weeks' visit to Formosa — also known as Taiwan — I was obliged to rectify some of my ideas.

Formosa has had a very varied history. Originally a Netherlands possession, the island was ceded by China to Japan in 1895, but was returned to China in 1945 after the victory of Chiang Kai-shek. When the Communists captured the mainland, Formosa became the seat of the National Chinese government. Together with the Pescadores Islands, five islands off the coast of the mainland, it now represents Marshal Chiang Kai-shek's sphere of dominion. The island has profited enormously by this fact, for the government has transformed Formosa into a progressive economic region.

Economic Preconditions

The fact that Taiwan has the cheapest power in the world, apart from Norway, proved an important precondition for the economic progress of the island. In order to improve this power supply still more, the National government has worked out a large-scale programme. The highest weir dam in the world is at present being constructed in the mountains of Formosa, and over half this project has already been completed. This dam is to be constructed not only for the purpose of generating power, but also to regulate the water supply and thus open up new land for agriculture; indeed, this project is similar to the one carried out by the Americans in the Tennessee Valley.

The land reform introduced three years ago has undoubtedly helped to stabilize conditions in the country. The agrarian problem is, in my opinion, in any case the key problem of the Far East. And this part of the world will only be immune against Communism when there is a definite class of small-holding peasants everywhere. In addition to many other reasons, the fact that the land reform was not introduced in China no doubt led to the conquest of the mainland by Communism. And in this connection a further conclusion to be drawn is that Mao Tse-tung, the ruler of Red China, still has to face the test as regards his actual political power in his own country. It is true that he introduced a very ruthless so-called land reform to begin with, but in order to consolidate his power and his position he needs the whole-hearted support of the small farmers who long to possess land of their own. Instead of taking this fact into consideration, however, Mao Tse-tung is now robbing them of their land again and is setting up kolchoses. Whether this step will not result in big upheavals, is another matter, for no social class shows so strongly developed an attitude and relationship to private property as does the farming class everywhere in the world.

The introduction of cooperative societies in Formosa, of which there are now 317, went hand in hand with the successful land reform there. In these cooperative societies the farmers can buy in chemical fertilizers at cheap prices, and can also obtain any advice they need. Their children attend the schools run by the cooperative societies, where they are taught up-to-date methods of farming. The farmers can hire modern machines through the cooperative societies and can also sell their rice here.

The success of all these efforts can be seen from the steady upward trend in the rate of production. The production of rice, for instance, the most important basic food in Asia, has increased by about 400,000 tons per year. And the same also applies to other agricultural products. All this is by no means in keeping with the distorted conception which many people in the West have of the National government of China. And I must say, I had to revise many of the opinions that I had held prior to my visit to Formosa.

It was the same as regards my conception of the army. The best impression to be gained in this respect is at the front, and I put the word in

inverted commas. For on the Red islands, too, which are situated off the coast of the mainland, there is no war in the sense in which we have experienced it. The attitude there is simply one of expectation.

Proof of the Will to Self-assertion

During a tour of inspection our plane flew low over the water for the last few miles so as not to get into the radar system of the Reds. Suddenly, we sighted Quemoy, only 6 kilometres from the mainland, but 100 kilometres from the base of Formosa. The commanding general welcomed us at the airport. After occupying the mainland, the Communists tried to seize this island, too. But it was here that the National Chinese for the first time gave proof of their will to self-assertion, and in the course of fierce fighting the Reds were repulsed.

Quemoy is situated opposite to the big Chinese port of Amoy which consequently is completely blocked. The general who had welcomed us at the airport drew our attention to the fact that a shell might explode on the island any minute. Only a few months previously two Americans were killed on the island by artillery fire from the mainland.

How does this island, which is so far away from the base of Formosa, come to be still in the hands of Chiang Kai-shek? The answer is simple: Quemoy is probably the most strongly fortified spot in the whole world. About 80,000 soldiers are stationed here and on the neighbouring island of Matsu. In the course of a tour of inspection round the gun positions, radar stations and billets, I was able to convince myself of the excellent equipment and exemplary standard of training of these troops. I was assured again and again that this was due to the German military advisers, who, as a result, enjoy an almost legendary prestige.

OBITUARY

Dr. med. Gregor Alshibaja

On April 17, the well-known Georgian politician and doctor, Gregor Alshibaja, died at the age of 77, in Quincy (Illinois, USA). He was one of the founders of the National Democratic Party in his native country.

When he was still a student in Kyiv (Ukraine), he was arrested in 1901 on account of revolutionary activity and was then forced to serve in the army in the lowest rank, as punishment, for one and a half years.

After serving this sentence he went to Germany and in 1907 completed his studies in Berlin. He then became a well-known and highly esteemed doctor in Georgia.

He took an active part in the political and public life of his country. During the first World War Georgia set its hopes on Russia's collapse and its national policy was orientated accordingly. When, in 1916, the representative of the Georgian Liberation Committee came to Georgia illegally on a submarine, a secret conference of Georgia's national politicians was held in the home of the deceased. Gregor Alshibaja thus risked his life, for at that time he had already been called up for military service and he would have been executed on the spot, had his participation in the secret conference been discovered.

During the period of Georgia's independence he was in the diplomatic service as an ambassador. He tried his utmost to carry out the Georgian policy of the founding of a confederation of the Caucasian peoples and succeeded in achieving the first step in this direction; Georgia and Azerbaijan formed a close alliance. But the Caucasian peoples were the first victims of Soviet Russia's imperialistic aggression, and in 1921 Dr. Alshibaja left his native country.

Dr. Alshibaja, who was a member of the French Legion of Honour and of various British and Polish orders, belonged to the Georgian National Organization represented in the ABN, and his son, Michael Alshibaja, is one of our co-fighters.

By the death of Gregor Alshibaja the Georgians have lost a noble and loyal fellow-countryman. May his memory be honoured and respected!

As our plane took off again at dusk, I realized that a barrier has been set up here which aggressive Communism will not find easy to surmount. I had the same favourable impression of the national Chinese troops when I inspected a number of military institutions on Formosa itself. Chiang We-kuo, the youngest son of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, acted as my guide on this tour of inspection. He is a major-general and the deputy head of the operations section of the general staff. Together with Chiang We-kuo, I inspected a number of regiments, air bases and naval bases, and everywhere I had the same favorable impression that I had of the troops on Quemoy. The air force is equipped with the most up-to-date jet fighter planes, and the Chinese are excellent pilots.

Formosa a Cardinal Point for the Fate of the World

People now often ask me whether Chiang Kai-shek will be able to return to the mainland. This question is not so easy to answer. It depends not only on his power, but also on the entire development of events. Will Communism in China be successful in the long run or not? It is true that at present the system rules there in all its ruthless brutality. Whilst visiting Formosa I talked to German missionaries there who gave me terrible accounts of the atrocities committed by the Communists and who had themselves been tortured and tormented. Millions of Chinese have been murdered by their Communist fellow-countrymen. But in spite of all this, Communism, in my opinion, still has to face the test in China. Will the peasants — and China has one million villages — put up with the kolchos system or not? This is the question on which the fate of the Communists may depend. Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, however, with the economic progress he has helped to bring about and the strong army he has organized, already fulfils an important function. And the protection of Southeast Asia against Communism definitely depends on his position. A glance at the map shows that this is the focal point, the bolt in the line Okinawa — Formosa — Saigon.

Should Formosa fall, then I am firmly convinced that Southeast Asia, too, will fall.

And in that case, perhaps the fate of the world would be decided.

But Chiang Kai-shek does not only fulfil this function in the strategic sphere. There are about 12 million overseas Chinese. When I visited Manila, Saigon and Bangkok I realized that the majority of them are national Chinese in their attitude. Pictures of Chiang Kai-shek as well as the flag of Free China hung in all the rooms in their administrative buildings. And in the many talks I had with their leading personalities my impression in this respect was confirmed still more. These Chinese are in charge of most of the trade and industry. If Formosa were to fall, they would be obliged to orientate themselves to Peking. This would increase the political instability of this territory still more, — a political instability of which we were made drastically aware when the revolt on Sumatra occurred. The most decisive point, however, would be that other nations which have so far been allied with the West would be obliged to adapt themselves to Communism, if Formosa's political power were to come to an end.

It is undoubtedly in our greatest interests that these young nations should remain free and independent. At the moment, however, their freedom depends on Formosa. And in this respect America's policy is not — as is frequently affirmed — dictated purely by sentiment. It is not merely America's rejection of Red China which prompts her to support Formosa, but her firm intention not to surrender Asia to Bolshevism.

When at the end of my four weeks' visit to Formosa, I called on Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, who in spite of the fact that he is seventy years old is still amazingly energetic and fit, he wished me the speedy unification of my native country, peace and freedom.

It is extremely gratifying to us that the above remarks by an objective and unbiased observer tally entirely with all that we have constantly said about Formosa in our columns and it is indeed a pleasing sign that the West is gradually beginning to realize the truth about Asia. — The Editor.

Conference Against Soviet Intervention in Latin America

Under the above designation the Third Congress of the Inter-American Confederation for the Defence of the Western World was held in Lima, the capital of Peru, from April 10th to 14th, 1957. Admiral K. Penna Botto of Brazil, the President of the Brazil Anti-Communist Crusaders' Movement, presided over the Congress. More than twenty states of America, Europe and Asia, including Brazil, Paraguay, the Republic of Salvador, Mexico, Argentina, Uruguay, Bolivia, Peru, Free China and many others, took part in the Congress.

The Conference set itself the task of working out a joint defence system against Soviet infiltration in Latin America, and in this connection a resolution was passed in which the governments of the states concerned were recommended to dissolve the Communist parties in their countries — following Argentina's example — and to put into practice the resolutions of the previous conference as regards cooperation in fighting Communism, the exchange of experiences gained with relation to Communist activity in various states and the measures adopted to combat this activity.

The Secretary-General of the Congress, Chorge P. Laurent, described Communist activity in the states of Latin America as follows: — The Communists are rigidly, disciplined, hold and unwavering in pursuing their aims, even though they are insignificant as far as their numbers are concerned and are unpopular among the masses. But as we are not united, we cannot curb them. The Communists do not officially belong to the Communist parties, but they hold key positions in the administration, in particular in cultural institutions, and pass on information to the Communist parties. The investigations carried out by the Confederation have revealed that the Communists carry on their pernicious activity mainly among the intelligentsia and less among the workers. Brazil, where more than 500,000 Communists are registered and 40 Communist papers are published, is threatened most by Communism. Communism likewise is a serious menace in Argentina and Chile, both of which countries have approximately 100,000 Communists each.

In our opinion the Conference should pass a resolution to eject all Soviet consulates and diplomatic missions from the states of Latin America, since these consulates and missions alone are responsible for the treacherous activity of the native

Communists in these countries and afford a means by which considerable sums of money are brought into the states of Latin America for the Communist agents. It is, therefore, not surprising that Communism in Latin America has gained a hold on the mercenary-minded intelligentsia.

URGENT ACTION DEMANDED

Resolutions

taken at the Assembly of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, on the 10th of February 1957, in Montreal (Canada).

- I. We will evermore endure in our profound and thankful reverence to the memory of the Hungarian heroes and martyrs, men and women, boys and girls who gave their lives for freedom.
- II. We follow with horror and indignation the brutal repression exercised by the Soviet rulers against the Hungarian people struggling for their freedom, independence and for true democracy.
- III. We express the hope that all governments of the free world will not be content with mere protests, but will take all necessary measures for a) the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet forces and police elements from Hungary so as to b) allow the holding of free elections.
- IV. We ask for assurance of the same conditions in the interests of the freedom of the other nations suffering behind the Iron Curtain.
- V. We have the conviction that the good offices of the UN and of the diplomacy of Western Powers must and can bring a solution not only in the Suez-affair, but in the Eastern-European problem.
- VI. We cannot believe that the civilized world should forget so much heroism. We cannot believe that the responsables should expose the free world to the growth of the barbarian Soviet menace. We request urgent and efficient actions!

**FREEDOM FOR HUNGARY!
FREEDOM FOR ALL SUBJUGATED
NATIONS!**

ABN Mission in Free China

In accordance with the Agreement between the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, Republic of China (APACLROC), which was signed in Taipei by the President of the Central Committee of the ABN, Jaroslaw Stetzko, and the President of the APACLROC, Ku Cheng-kang, the ABN mission departed for Taipei, the capital of Free China, on January 14, 1957 and arrived there on March 30, 1957.

It is the task of the ABN mission to help to foster the cooperation between the subjugated peoples of Europe and Asia and, by joint efforts, to bring about the downfall of Bolshevism and the restoration of the sovereign states of the European peoples subjugated by Moscow, of the Chinese people and of other Asian peoples.

One of the main tasks of the ABN mission is to set up a broadcasting station from which programmes in the languages of the peoples represented in the ABN are to be relayed to the population of Siberia, to the prisoners in the Soviet concentration camps, to the soldiers of the Red Army in the Far East and to numerous Soviet missions on the Chinese mainland.

The Central Committee of the ABN would like to stress the fact that it is mainly thanks to the self-sacrifice of the Ukrainian emigrants in England that the sending of an ABN mission to Free China, in accordance with the terms of the Agreement between ABN and APACLROC, has been made possible.

Senator Joseph McCarthy Dies

As in his political life, the sudden death Friday, May 3, of Joseph McCarthy, Junior Senator from the State of Wisconsin, created controversial opinion throughout the entire world.

In England the newspapers referred to him as the "witch-hunter". Austria reported the death of "Snooper" McCarthy, while Spain mourned the loss of a great friend and an American patriot. Seldom has there been a man who provoked such a variety of feelings not only among nations but even among the average man in the street. To many his passing was a welcome relief, to others it meant the loss of a hero, a man courageous enough to stand up against Communism despite all attempts to smear, defame and discredit him.

Regardless of any arguments for or against Mr. McCarthy, he will always hold a special place in the hearts of millions of people as the one who first brought to the attention of the American people the fact that there were government officials and representatives actively engaged in Communist work. Never having really been touched by war with all its associated horrors of espionage, treachery, and betrayal, the American people had blind faith in the honor of those trusted with the power to guide their nation. There were some who knew this faith was illguided, but it was Joseph McCarthy who had the courage, despite all odds, to bring out into the open the Red infiltration within the ranks of top officials. His investigations were broadcast, printed and televised; and also brought political "death" to his career. Undoubtedly, Joseph McCarthy knew the price he would have to pay before even beginning his public trials but, like any soldier, his beliefs, love of his country, his people, and those who shared his abhorrence for Communism overpowered any thought of self-importance or political security.

With Senator McCarthy gone, anti-Communism has lost a great friend and fighter.

M. TIEWS

Lithuania in Moscow's Game of Intrigue (Continued from Page 12)

turer for Marxism and Leninism at the University of Vilna. There was, however, one snag to all this; The moral strain with regard to Moscow was too great.

When Molotov in 1940 speeded up the Sovietization of Lithuania with the aid of the Red Army, he imagined that he was the executor of the will of Peter the "Great". Although there was not the least reason for occupying and sovietizing Lithuania, the risk of a breach of contract and the danger of forfeiting the confidence of the Western world, which had been won at great pains, was boldly ignored, merely in order to carry out in practice, to correct and to improve the long worked-out model plans for the Sovietization of "capitalistic countries". And it was for this reason that the highest men in power at that time and many "apprentices", who later on had a chance to show what they had learnt, took part in the Sovietization of the Baltic countries. It was a transition from theory to practice.

Lithuania as the Needle on the Scales

When Ribbentrop and Molotov in 1939 divided up the European territories between their two countries, Lithuania, to begin with, remained in the German sphere of interest. Ribbentrop tried his utmost to induce Lithuania to declare war on Poland. But this effort failed in spite of the Vilna question, which not only gave Lithuania the moral but also the vested right to recover her capital.

As far as Lithuania herself was concerned, there was no question of her having done the Soviets a favour with this policy. The Soviets, however, made out that this had been the case and gave back

the capital of Vilna to Lithuania, in order to create the impression of a good bargain.

A glance at the map shows what would have happened if Lithuania had attacked Poland "according to plan" — and undoubtedly successfully. She would simultaneously have become Germany's ally. This would have meant that the initial base of the German troops advancing towards Leningrad would have been situated about 200 kilometres further to the north, whilst that of the German troops advancing towards Moscow would have been situated more than 300 kilometres further north-eastwards. In addition, German troops would have cut far into the north flank of the Red Army in the newly occupied Byelorussian and West Ukrainian territories. Might this not have affected the issue of Hitler's Russian campaign and perhaps have decided it quite differently? In view of such an unfavourable situation for Moscow, would there still be a Soviet imperium today?

In view of the development in Poland and the ineffectiveness of the Communist ideological poison, Russia is now endeavouring to use the old national differences between the peoples to her own advantage and play one off against the other. A situation thus inevitably arises in which an exaggeration of power, characterized by a Caesarean mania, is beginning to meet with its punishment.

The time will surely come when the national problem, as the vulnerable spot of the Soviet Union, will prove fatal for the Kremlin as regards the Baltic countries, too. And in the firm conviction that this day is not far off, the Lithuanians all over the world celebrated the thirty-ninth anniversary of their independence on February 16, 1957.

A "Citizens' Committee For Foreign Policy" has recently been founded by a group of prominent Americans in Washington. The Committee has set itself the task of severing diplomatic relations between America and the Communist countries and supporting a "democratic upheaval" behind the Iron Curtain.

PROGRAMME

of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) on the possibilities of Western policy and the tasks of the political emigrant organizations in conjunction with recent events in Hungary

I. The Situation in General

Since freedom was suppressed in Hungary and genocide legalized, public opinion all over the world seems to have become reconciled to the idea of the permanent martyrdom of the Hungarian people. Under the obvious pressure of Soviet Russian threats a so-called "National Communist" government was installed in Poland, and the West hastened to give this regime its support. In all the countries under Russian Bolshevik rule measures of repression or appeasement are frenziedly being introduced in order to suppress all signs of insurrection and revolt.

Moscow is obviously trying to remedy the critical economic and political situation in its sphere of influence by fostering trade relations with the West, and the West, in the interests of the "easing of political tension" which it hopes to see, is prepared to embark on such relations. Communist propaganda is meanwhile increasing its aggressiveness and is even going so far as to make it appear that the free world is the party to be accused.

The West, on the other hand, remains inactive and, in the face of brutal Bolshevik genocide of every kind, actually professes its complete powerlessness.

Recently, the argument which has been used to explain the hesitancy of the free world has been the "evolutionary process" which has begun in the East and the further development of which must not be "disturbed", that is to say Moscow must under no circumstances be "provoked"!

In the meantime, however, the so-called "de-Stalinization" has proved to be nothing but a deceptive manoeuvre which promises every chance of bringing Moscow the success it is hoping for. The hesitant and passive attitude of the Western world in this decisive stage is making it possible for the Bolshevik world conspirators to have a free hand in controlling the "beneficial evolution", which the West is waiting for, with an iron fist and in stifling this evolution by ruthless bloodshed whenever true freedom threatens to assert itself.

The undisturbed continuation of this practice for an indefinite length of time, however, may cause the subjugated peoples to adopt an attitude of resignation, a fact which would lead to the free world being deprived of its most trustworthy allies in the struggle to prevent the further expansion of Bolshevik rule.

The attitude of the Western powers as regards the Hungarian liberation revolution is equivalent to recognizing anew the Bolshevik sphere of influence and the inviolability of Moscow's "supreme rights" over all the peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

At the same time, the official policy of the West aims to keep the urge for freedom,

manifested by the enslaved peoples, within "National Communist" bounds, and thus in principle gives credit to the Communist system.

The reason which is given as an excuse for this course is that an atomic war would otherwise be inevitable. This attitude on the part of the free world, which is confirmed again and again, creates a psychological situation which is most advantageous to Moscow as far as perpetuating its domination is concerned. As long as the West, because of the danger of an

atomic war, respects the regime of despotism in the Soviet Russian sphere of influence as inviolable, the Soviet Union need have no fears as regards this atomic danger, but, in view of the powerlessness of the West, can apply all its methods of genocide wherever these may prove to be necessary in the course of the "evolutionary process".

The West is thus about to miss a most important opportunity, arising out of recent developments in the East and opened up by the Hungarian revolution, and this omission on the part of the West may well prove fatal for it.

II. The Moral to be drawn from Hungary

The Hungarian liberation revolution has, above all, revealed the following facts:

1) The statements and prognostications made by the West regarding the alleged finality and unalterableness of the social and political system introduced in the East bloc countries (statements and prognostications of this kind were even made by George KENNAN) were cast aside;

2) The erroneous belief that a mass insurrection and the assertion of the people's will to freedom are not possible under Bolshevik rule was completely refuted;

3) The assumption that National Communism would prove a tenable alternative and satisfy the masses was likewise convincingly refuted;

4) The potent force of the national idea, which inspired the Hungarian people in the moment of their supreme sacrifice, has been convincingly proved to the whole world.

And it is precisely from this latter fact that unlimited conclusions can be drawn. For the national idea as a dynamic factor of insurrection against the Bolshevik system is to be found not only in the Soviet satellite states. The heterogeneous national character of the so-called "Soviet Union" itself likewise provides the West with an immeasurable opportunity at the present time, for the Soviet state is actually based on the rule of the allegedly superior Russian people over countless foreign peoples. The proportion is 47 per cent Russians to 53 per cent non-Russians, and, in addition, the 88 million persons in the Soviet satellite states who have been deprived of their national sovereignty must also be taken into account in this respect.

Whereas Moscow itself always talks about the "peoples" of the Soviet Union and even concedes them independent "Soviet Socialist Republics", though of course only on paper, the statesmen of the West continue to talk about only one "Russian people" and actually expect an insurrection on the part of this people, too, in the course of the "evolutionary process" in the East! But if it is precisely the national component which is the deciding factor in the latent and acute revolutionary processes in the Soviet Russian sphere of influence — as we saw in the case of Hungary —, then the question presents itself as to which foreign yoke the Russians would revolt against, an eventuality which is forecast again and again by false prophets who have failed to realize even the most elementary facts. The world must realize at last that national, revolutionary mass insurrections in the Soviet Union are to be expected and, in fact, are possible not amongst the Russians, but amongst the subjugated peoples, — amongst the Ukrainians, Turkestanians, White Ruthenians, Georgians and all the other peoples and also amongst the contingents of these peoples in the Soviet Army.

Proof of the significance of the nationalities question in the Soviet Union, that is to say proof of the extent to which Moscow is anxi-

ously endeavouring to preserve the entirety of the so-called "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" and is trying to suppress and appease the non-Russian peoples' urge for freedom and independence, an urge which is asserting itself again and again, can be seen from two significant events which have occurred recently: a short time ago, the Supreme Soviet saw itself obliged to concede more legislative power to various non-Russian republics and has now actually permitted the North Caucasians and the Kalmucks, who after World War II were either exterminated en masse or were resettled to Siberia, to return to their desolated native countries and has even recognized their so-called "national autonomy" once more.

In connection with future developments a further conclusion must meanwhile be drawn from events in Hungary. Since the West, even after the complete victory of the liberation revolution, passively looked on whilst a new Bolshevik war of aggression was started, it has become obvious that the repetition of a similar national revolt in some other Bolshevik ruled country would be a futile sacrifice. The only prospect of destroying Bolshevik despotism from within is the simultaneous outbreak of national revolutions in the entire Soviet Russian sphere of influence. Only if this were the case, could an atomic war be avoided and there would then be no need for open military intervention on the part of the West.

The German question, too, can only be considered and dealt with from this aspect. To expect the voluntary cession of the Eastern Zone of Germany by the Soviet Union "through the medium of negotiations", is nothing but an irresponsible illusion. Such an attitude on the part of Germany's politicians and the carrying on of discussions regarding the so-called "reunification" of Germany as a partial problem, detached from the complex whole of the present crisis in world politics, only serves to aid Moscow's game, the aim of which is to split up the forces in the West, to create confusion in the political situation in the Federal Republic of Germany and to bring about the severance of the latter from the NATO. The German question can only be solved in the framework of a global and effective liberation policy on the part of the Western world.

The attitude of the free world and, in particular, of official circles there towards the political emigrants from the East is incomprehensible and, at times, disastrous. Sometimes, the West even goes so far as to adopt the phrases used by Communist propaganda and simply brands those emigrant circles and personalities who were and still are the champions and representatives of the true democracy and liberal and just social order of their countries, as "bourgeois reactionaries" or "monarchist Fascists". Even martyrs for the cause of freedom and religious faith like Cardinal MINDSZENTY are sometimes

Autonomy for the Caucasians

Moscow (dpa) — The members of various Caucasian tribes and the Kalmucks of the Volga region, who were deported at the end of World War II because of their alleged collaboration with the German army, are to be allowed to return to their native countries. In addition, the Kremlin has decided to rehabilitate the Karachai, Chechen, Ingush, Balkar and Kalmuck peoples, whose Autonomous Republics and territories were dissolved in 1913 and 1944 and who were deported to Siberia and Central Asia, and to restore their national autonomy of which they were deprived at that time. The newly created Autonomous Republic and autonomous territories of these peoples are to be incorporated in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (R.S.F.S.R.), the largest of the fifteen Soviet Republics.

decried by superficial public opinion in the West and are disparaged by Western "anti-Fascist" propaganda in the Communist style. "National Communists" and notorious collaborators of criminal and despotic "Popular Front governments", on the other hand, are readily accepted and supported in every way by the West.

This gullibility on the part of the free world which is so much in evidence in its attitude

III. A Change of Course in Western Policy

The fundamental task of Western policy is to bring about a radical change in the psychological situation which has prevailed so far, and this change might be effected in the following manner:

Instead of the tolerance shown so far and the assurances of peaceable non-violence which have been made, the course of Western policy must assume an offensive character and must be an ultimate warning to Bolshevism to desist from a repetition of wars of aggression like the one in Hungary.

The atomic danger, which at present only holds good onesidedly for the West, shall in future become an effective means of prevention as far as all Moscow's actions are concerned, too.

Not disarmament, but the absolute and constant military superiority of the free world must be regarded as imperative.

The U.S.S.R. and its satellites must be isolated by means of a systematically organized boycott in the political, economic and moral sphere. In the diplomatic sphere they must not be trusted, and distrust of all they do and say must be openly manifested. Moreover, the U.S.S.R. must be excluded from the UN.

The admission of the enforced Communist puppet governments to the United Nations must be revoked. Above all, the delegation of the Kadar government must be excluded and in its place a representative of the Hungarian exiles, as a representative of the genuine will of the people of Hungary, must be admitted to the United Nations.

Economic aid to Moscow must be withheld and all furtherance of the exchange of goods, which is what Moscow is seeking in Bonn and Warsaw in Washington in order to establish a sound economic system in their countries, in order to stabilize the Communist system

IV. The ABN and the Asian Peoples

In Asia Communism asserts itself with watchwords of national and social liberation. Actually, the prompting factor behind these watchwords is a new Russian colonialism which, by means of the totalitarian Bolshevik system, intends to enslave mankind so that the Russian imperium can be expanded to cover the whole world.

It is precisely in Asia that the unmasking of world Communism as a camouflage for insidious Russian colonialism is of decisive importance. And our peoples and their liberation organizations, who have already experienced Bolshevik rule, seem to be best fitted to fulfil this task. A campaign carried out in our name amongst the peoples of Asia who are threatened would be most likely to gain the latter's confidence.

The contrast between the Russian imperialist conception of a Communist character, which Lenin harmlessly formulated as the "World Federation of the Soviet Socialist Republics", on the one hand, and the idea of freedom, based on the principle of an organically founded national state order, on the other hand, is particularly evident in Asia.

In order to prevent the Asiatic continent from being completely infected by the Communist pest, the Western powers should abandon their colonial rule in Asia, and, by cooperating with the newly created and still to be created national states there, on the basis of recognition of their sovereignty and complete equality of rights, should actively support these states in order to bring about the improvement of conditions for the peasants and the workers and the setting up of a progressive social order.

towards emigrant circles, is most alarming and, incidentally, extremely advantageous to Moscow.

In any case, it is significant that, whereas the desperate appeal of the Hungarian freedom fighters to the UN went unheeded, representatives of KADAR's government of hangmen are now even allowed to protest in this assembly against any discussion of the Hungarian question by the UN.

and, undoubtedly, to increase their war potential still further, must cease.

The Communist parties throughout the entire free world must be dissolved, and membership of the Communist Party must be declared by law to be high treason and treason.

The agreements with Russia which have led to the subjugation of entire peoples must be rescinded since they have been violated by Russia; and the demand for free elections under UN supervision in all countries subjugated by Moscow, must be set up as the fundamental condition for negotiations and relations with Moscow.

The fundamental right of all peoples to state independence must be proclaimed by a Great Charter of the National States as the initial basis for all further regional or continental integration. A measure such as this would undermine the foundations of the Soviet Union and would definitely further the national revolutionary processes.

The idea of a United Europe as a bulwark against Russian expansion and also as a centre of gravitation for the peoples in Eastern Europe who at present are not yet free, should be realized as soon as possible.

There must be a change in the present attitude of the free world towards the political emigrants from the East. All pro-Communist and pro-Russian elements should be removed from the various committees set up for the purpose of cooperation with the emigrants, and should be replaced by persons who are uncompromising, ideological opponents of Communism and Russian imperialism. The political quarantine imposed on national emigrants from certain Soviet satellite countries, which in the last World War could not express their national self-assertion against Bolshevism by going over to the side of the Allies, must cease.

The SEATO must be strengthened to a very considerable extent and National China, National Korea and National Vietnam, as well as the other bulwarks of freedom in Asia must be supported in every way possible.

The peoples of Asia and of Europe must join forces in fighting Communism and Russian colonialism and must set up a common world front on the basis of state independence for all nations. Their common aims must be: the destruction of the world Communist bloc, the destruction of Russian imperialism and the liberation of the enslaved peoples of Europe and Asia. After their liberation, these peoples are to be given a chance to establish their own independent states in their own ethnographical territory.

The watchword of "Freedom for Nations and Freedom for Individuals" shall be the common watchword not only of the Asian and European peoples, but also of the entire civilized world. The "All Roads Lead To Freedom" movement initiated by the APACROC shall extend to all continents and shall be supported in every way possible. The ABN has promised full support on a reciprocal basis to the Asian nations and, in particular, to the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League in their fight for independence against Communism and Russian imperialism.

Siberia is a critical zone of the Russian Bolshevik imperium. The major part of the Soviet army stationed there consists of contingents of non-Russian nationality. Millions of deportees and prisoners are languishing in Siberia. Were a determined liberation campaign to begin at this vital point, then it is extremely likely that the process of destroying

the Bolshevik imperium could be initiated here with the cooperation of our peoples.

The national liberation revolution is and remains the only alternative to atomic war. And this applies to both Asia and to the European continent. The problem of the Bolshevik menace is a global one, and accordingly the problem of liberation and the methods to be adopted is likewise indivisible.

V. The Role of the Emigrants

The following concrete means exist at present for carrying out an effective liberation policy and allowing the emigrants to fulfil the role which befits them:

The setting up of a large-scale political and military planning organization in the West in order to further, prepare and co-ordinate the national revolutionary processes in all countries in the Bolshevik sphere of influence, including those within the frontiers of the U.S.S.R. itself. An integral revolution shall only be started under conditions which guarantee that a chain reaction will follow.

A precondition for the success of such action is the active participation of the Western powers in planning and carrying it out. A co-ordination of the revolutionary processes can be effected more easily from the West.

An equally important precondition is the participation of those emigrant forces or political centres and liberation organizations which, on the one hand, are acquainted with the mentality of their own peoples and with the practices of Russian Bolshevik rule, and, on the other hand, enjoy the trust and confidence of their fellow-countrymen at home as ideological opponents of every form of Communism and as representatives of the national desire for freedom from the Russian yoke.

The strategy, tactics and watchwords of such action must conform to temporal and regional circumstances and must be in keeping with the individual psychological attitude of each of the peoples concerned. And in this respect the national emigrants from the Bolshevik ruled countries must be allowed to play a decisive part in such action.

Broadcast programmes should be relayed as the independent initiative of the emigrants, who should be allowed to cooperate with the broadcasting company in question in drawing up these programmes. The aim of such programmes should be to expose Russian imperialism and Communist propaganda, to show up government measures for what they are worth, to undermine the Communist regime and the united Communist front, and to mobilize the national revolutionary forces; and this should be done by means of daily transmissions.

Voluntary units should be set up in the free world and the latter should threaten to use such units in all cases similar to that of Hungary, whenever the Soviet Union attempts to carry out another armed aggression. February 1957.

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

ABN CORRESPONDENCE
Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

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

Munich, Zepplinstr. 67

Editorial Staff: Board of Editors

Editor responsible: Slawa Stetzko.

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

It is not our practice to pay for contributions. Reproduction permitted but only with indication of source (A.B.N.-Corr.).

Annual subscription DM 4.— in Germany, 2 Dollars in U.S.A., 12 shillings in Great Britain and Australia, and the equivalent of 2 Dollars in all other countries.

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

Erscheinungsort: München

Herausgeber: Presse-Büro des Antibolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen (ABN), München 8, Zepplinstrasse 67/0, Telefon 410 69

Schriftleitung: Redaktionskollegium

Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Slawa Stetzko.

We request all our subscribers and readers to kindly remit payments from America to Mr. Jaroslaw Shevchuk, 2465 W. 11th Street, Cleveland, Ohio.

A B N CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Vol. VIII. No. 7/8. July/August 1957

• Published in English and German •

Price: 1 s; 40 c

De-Stalinisation as a Means to Stalinisation

(A Commentary on Recent Events in Moscow)

Amongst the various reasons for the liquidation of the Stalin-cult there were two main reasons: in the first place, it was necessary to make some sort of concessions to the national, revolutionary liberation movements and to the anti-Communist opposition of the masses, and thus deceive the free world, namely by a fictitious new era of peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition between two systems, etc. Stalin alone—not his co-workers—was to bear all the blame for the crimes which had been committed. The second reason lay in the fact that Khrushchev, in order to pave his own way to power, was obliged to build up some sort of a legend regarding his own person: namely, that it was precisely he and none other who had unmasked Stalin. And in this connection one should always bear in mind the fact—a fact which is constantly overlooked by the free world—that it is the aim of the Russian people to have one idol, a "Father of the people," an absolute ruler, a tyrant, but only one and not ten. The Russians have never known the meaning of freedom. What they need is one ruler and master, and he must be stern. Khrushchev is paving his way to despotic absolute rule by getting rid of his rivals as fast as he can. In the eyes of the Russians, despotic autocracy is justified by the fact that the Russian peoples' prison could so far only be preserved intact by means of ruthless terrorism. Every form of collective leadership leads to the weakening of terrorism, to a split in the centralized authority, to the impotence of the regime. The Russians are endeavouring to introduce a new despotic autocracy, such as has existed again and again in the history of Russia. Khrushchev talks about collective leadership, but in reality he is consolidating his own absolute rule; in unmasking the cult of the absolute ruler, Stalin, he is building up the cult of his own person.

The fact that five leading men have been expelled from the Praesidium, men who had their own opinions and knew how to rule, —quite apart from the question of whether they might have supported the former terrorist regime of Yezov or Beria, or not—is al-

ready becoming the starting-point for a new Stalinist epic.

It is most erroneous to imagine that the expulsion of these five men might strengthen the peace trend externally and further a "democratization" in Russia. That is hardly likely, since the question at issue is the centralization of the Communist Party, the absolute rule of one of two of the most powerful tyrants—Khrushchev or, possibly, Zhukov. Why should the Communist Party of the Soviet Union become weaker if its internal party disputes cease? Why should things look brighter for the West if Khrushchev no longer has any rivals in the Praesidium? It is a sheer lie to affirm that the "hangmen of the war" have been thrown out and that Khrushchev is a peacemaker. Actually, they are all tarred with the same brush. Strange to say, the fact is overlooked that Malenkov was "relieved of his duties" for the very reason that he wanted to expand the consumption goods industry at the expense of the heavy industry; but it was Khrushchev, who had set his hopes on the heavy industry, who then won the game.

It is not a question of whether certain persons might be "hangmen of the war" and others not, or of what their attitude in public is towards Stalinism. In principle, all of them without exception are Stalinists, for they are all Russian Communists. Is there a single one amongst them who would like to liquidate the Bolshevik system or would not aim to bring about and prepare a Communist world revolution or an aggressive war of conquest? The whole situation is quite different: it is a case of who is to become the absolute ruler, in keeping with the laws of Russian history and the wishes of the Russian people, who need one single idol instead of ten.

The question at issue is how to preserve the Russian imperium and how to crush the national resistance movement—whether by a frontal attack (according to Molotov and Kaganovich) or by the roundabout method of fictitious concessions (according to Khrushchev and Mikoyan). Khrushchev affirms that the structure of the imperium has not been loosened by the "de-Stalinisation" process—that would only be a result and not a cause—and that the imperium can be saved by cunning and terrorism; the others say the opposite, namely by terrorism and cunning. In principle they all revert to Lenin's so-called "New Economic Policy," for all his successors and descendants have learnt a lesson from him for all time, namely that there are situations in which one should make a temporary retreat in order to attack with more force later on.—"one step backward and then two steps forward."

In any case, however, there can be no denying the fact that, amongst the various reasons for the zigzag policy pursued by Khrushchev, there is one reason which at least plays an extremely important part, and that is the indomitable fight of the peoples enslaved by Russia for their national liberation. Whether it was Hungary, Poznan or the Ukrainian riots in the concentration camps, Khrushchev always endeavoured to postpone the decisive battle until later by introducing partial concessions. And, incidentally, the concessions referred exclus-

For A Strong Stand

Extract from the speech delivered by Senator McManus in the Australian Senate on May 9, 1957

I regret that it has been said if Britain had not acted in the Middle East, the Russians might have stayed out of Hungary. I have spoken to many Hungarians who have come to this country, and honorable senators will not find one of them who will accept that point of view. When the rebellion first broke out in Hungary, I was interviewed by two young Hungarians who sought assistance to obtain passports and other facilities because they wanted to get back to their own country to fight. They were prepared to pay their own air fares to get there. I said to them, "Are you wise? You have set yourselves up in Australia. It will cost all your savings to return to Hungary. There is a report in the press that the Russians are moving out." They assured me with the utmost sincerity that, having known the Russians before they escaped from Hungary, they knew definitely that the Russians were not leaving their country.

I have spoken to Hungarians and they have informed me that the reason for the apparent Russian retreat was this: When the rebellion broke out, the Russian troops were scattered in a number of areas and it was necessary for them to be drawn back in order to be regrouped. But one of the main reasons pointed out was this: A considerable number of the Russian troops in Hungary consisted of Ukrainians, and for years there has been, and still is, a strong Ukrainian freedom movement—a movement among the Ukrainian people who believe that their country should be free and independent of Russia. Those Hungarians to whom I have referred have told me that, when the rebellion broke out, in quite a number of instances the Ukrainian troops fired on the secret police who were attempting to put down the rebellion, and that a number of those troops joined the Hungarian rebellion. Then the Russian high command withdrew a large number of Ukrainian regiments as being politically unreliable and replaced them with Mongolian troops, who eventually drowned the rebellion in blood.

Turning now to Southern Asia and South-East Asia, I mention that the Minister for External Affairs, in his statement, made a brave attempt to suggest that there had been an improvement in the position of the democracies in that area. I regret that I am entirely unable to accept his statement. I believe that the position of the democracies in that area is still one of grave weakness and that in certain areas, notably Indonesia, it has deteriorated considerably. A number of small nations such as Thailand and South Viet Nam are looking to the future, and in many instances their peoples will determine their future conduct according to what they believe will be the attitude of the democracies. If they believe that we will be strong, they will try to put up a fight; but if they believe that we will be weak—and they think that we were weak in the Middle East—the tendency will be for them to accept a Communist thrust southwards as being inevitable, and to give way to it. Therefore, if we want to hold any sort of line at all in South-East Asia, it is necessary for us to stand firm, to resist appeasement, and to hold the line.

From the Contents

Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky	Page
The National Question in Communist Theory and Practice	3
Niko Nakashidze	
The Nationalities Problems of East Europe and Various Camouflaged Forms of Bolshevik Imperialism	5
General Ferenc Farkas de Kiebarnek	
The Hungarian Fight for Freedom in the Light of World Politics	5
A. Bedrey (American Friends of A.B.N.)	
On the Threshold of a New Historical Era	8
Intensified Cooperation with Free China	11
President Veli Kajum Khan in the Near East	13

I believe that one of the first things that are necessary in order to hold the line is to refuse recognition to red China.

If we recognize red China, we will concede the leadership of Asia to that country and will give a hint that will be interpreted by the nations which we hope will line up with us against the march of communism that the day of Chinese or Communist domination is coming and that the best thing they can do is to make terms with their future rulers. I say, therefore, that we should not recognize red China.

The question of trade has been raised. There is now a great drive which suggests that we should, indeed that we must, undertake big trading negotiations with the Chinese Government. Surely everybody realizes that we are already trading with red China. Surely no one is going to suggest that the immense volume of goods which is now going to Hong Kong is being used entirely by the people of Hong Kong! Everybody knows that vast quantities of trading goods are being sent through Hong Kong into China, and that by that means we are trading with that country to a very considerable extent.

As for the suggestion that we should establish all sorts of cultural relations with and have visits to red China, I can only say that my attitude is the same as it is in relation to the question of establishing relations with the present Soviet Government and of exchanging cultural relations with and paying trade union visits to that country. For obvious reasons, I would not be prepared to pay such a visit; but even if those obvious reasons did not exist, I would be ashamed to be entertained in such countries knowing as I do that their concentration camps are filled with thousands of people whose only crime was that they stood up for liberty, that they wished to practise their religion, or even that

they wanted to establish free trade unions. Until those countries are prepared to concede ordinary and elementary human rights, we should refuse to accept their invitations or to be present at their entertainments.

Regarding the future and what we are to do, I say this: We should support the Colombo plan strongly and, as far as we can, extend it, because it is desirable that we should do everything that we can to establish friendly relations with and to help along those nations which are on the democratic side of the curtain. I believe that we should support Seato, and that to attempt to undermine it is national sabotage. I believe, too, that we should encourage good relations with all the democratic nations, particularly those of South-East Asia and the Pacific area, and that we should stand alongside the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States of America, because our future security, freedom and defence depend upon them. We should strengthen our defences and do all we can to put strength and power into the United Nations.

I have no confidence at all in the suggestion that the way to peace in the future is to adopt what I describe as the pernicious doctrine of co-existence. What does co-existence mean? It means that we concede to international communism the control of millions of people who want to be free, the right to retain the slave camps, and to repress freedom wherever it has its hold. There can be no co-existence with people who have the aims that are set out by the leaders of international communism in the books which they use as text-books in their schools and their military, naval and air academies. There will continue to be invitations to dine with Bulganin, Khrushchev, and the other red leaders. They will continue to make soothing offers, but at the same time they will keep insisting

to their own people that there can never be co-existence or peace with what they call the capitalist nations, that war is inevitable, that Communist domination will win and that it is inevitable. There is no possibility, I say, of co-existence succeeding under those conditions.

I would propose, instead of co-existence, that we should place our faith in liberation. We should encourage the freedom-loving people, who are at present dominated by international communism, to look forward to the day when eventually they may be able to break into pieces this system that controls them. We should announce at once that we support the right to independence of the Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, and all those sections of Russia which contain people who are opposed to the Russian imperialistic system which has held them for many years. We should say that we support their claims to independence. We should get behind us the millions of people who are existing at the present time in countries outside the iron curtain. If we were to do that, those people who are at the present time under the domination of the Soviet Union would be encouraged to free themselves of the shackles that bind them.

In this country, in the United States, and in every other country where people are free, organizations of people from countries now under Soviet control, tell us that those in the countries outside Russia itself, on the fringe in the satellite nations like the Ukraine, are not willing slaves of their Communist masters, and that if they thought the democracies were sincerely anxious to help them they would take their own measures. They have their own undergrounds. They have communication with their undergrounds. They would take their own measures to prepare for the day when they could make a move for independence as the Hungarian people did. My own frank opinion is that we are only fooling with the question when we talk about co-existence, because to have a bargain for peace there must be people on both sides who wish for peace. I say, therefore, that the only alternatives are an atomic war, which we do not want, or the backing of the legitimate demands for independence of the people under Soviet rule at the present time, who are not the willing slaves that the Soviet would like us to believe them to be. The Communists get delegations from the democracies to visit their countries and parade them in front of people in the Ukraine, where there is a strong movement for independence, so that the Ukrainians will be made to think that it is hopeless to expect help from outside.

Therefore, I say that we should take a strong stand on this matter. We should say that we will establish a firm line, beyond which we will not allow Soviet aggression to proceed, and we should proclaim that we support the right for independence of all subject peoples of the Soviet. That would be a more logical approach than the one we are now adopting. It would be in accordance with the principles of true freedom, and it would not involve lying down with people whose record in the world to-day is one of repression, murder and tyranny.

In conclusion, I simply say that I believe that foreign affairs is the most important issue that we have to debate in our Parliaments at the present time. Unfortunately, that fact is too little recognized. In foreign relations—I do not refer to Australia particularly but to the democracies generally—in recent years there has been a slight tendency towards too much appeasement. I hope that that policy will be dropped, because I do not believe that appeasement will be any more successful to-day than it was in earlier years. I hope that our foreign policy will be a strong one, that we will line up with all our natural allies, and that we will also adopt the practice of giving support to those peoples who are to-day under Soviet domination and who, I believe, if we give them hope and encouragement, will be prepared to put up the same sort of fight against it as the Hungarian people did.

De-Stalinisation as a Means to Stalinisation (Continued from page 1)

ively to Communists (or to Communists who were dead and were to be rehabilitated), since Khrushchev hoped to have at least the Communists on his side, if the peoples concerned were prepared to settle up with the system itself. Khrushchev in no way intends to change the system; on the contrary, he is endeavouring to preserve it by advocating illusory changes. The system is threatened by the peoples enslaved by Russia, but not by any means by Khrushchev's alleged de-Stalinisation. Postyshev, who was recently rehabilitated by Khrushchev, as well as Khrushchev himself, Molotov and Kaganovich, were at various periods in their career Stalin's satraps in Ukraine and always sought to strengthen the Bolshevik terrorist regime there. The same thing also happened in other "national Soviet republics" of the U.S.S.R. Why should the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union cherish any illusions if one of these tyrants liquidates his rivals in the Kremlin?

The fact that the alleged "anti-Party group" are accused of having sabotaged the strengthening of the "friendship between the Soviet peoples" and of having opposed "the extension of the economic, cultural and legislative rights of the Soviet Republics," proves that Khrushchev's clique greatly fear the national liberation movements and, indeed, are even trying to curry favour with the latter. That it is only a case of trying to curry favour with them and nothing more, can be seen from the national composition of the new Praesidium, in which, of 15 members, only three are non-Russians, namely Mikoyan, Kyrytschenko and Kuusinen. Of the "candidates" for the Praesidium, on the other hand, the majority are non-Russians,—proof of the fact that Khrushchev's clique in this way want to show their sympathy for the non-Russians, but are determined that the actual power shall remain in Russian hands, as usual. And, incidentally, the non-Russians amongst the "candidates" are vile traitors and yes-men, who have nothing in common with their fellow-countrymen. It is immaterial how many of them there are. Those chosen as "candidates" are men who have already

betrayed their people or else they are Russians in disguise with non-Russian names.

The same alleged "anti-Party group" is likewise reproached with having opposed the abolition of compulsory deliveries by collective farmers of part of the produce grown on their private plots. But who was it, who, under Stalin's rule, thought out the much-propagated project of the so-called "agro-towns," a project which in principle was to do away with all private plots? It was Khrushchev himself, who would now like to make sure of the support of the farmers, by resorting to the ever-prevalent custom in Russia of trying to cast his own blame onto persons who have already been liquidated. He is quite right in assuming that the national problem and the agrarian problem are the two greatest dangers which confront the Kremlin; indeed, recent events in Poznan and Hungary and even in the Soviet concentration camps were determined by the anti-Moscow cooperation of the workers and the youth, including the youth of the farming class.

But the struggle of the rivals in the Kremlin is not yet over. It remains to be seen whether Khrushchev will really become a Red tsar, or whether this privilege will be snatched from him at the last moment by Zhukov, who is held in such high esteem by the Red chauvinists. It would not make much difference, for Zhukov would in this case not appear in the capacity of "Soviet Marshal" nor as a representative of "the Army" as such (for there is no such clearly defined conception in the Soviet Union), but as a Communist in uniform, that is to say as a Party man supported by the Communist military administration.

But Zhukov's position, too, seems to be somewhat precarious, for it very much resembles the position of Marshal Tushatchevsky in Stalin's day; and it is not yet clear who in the end will "bite the dust." But someone or other will be obliged to do so, for such is the law of Russian history.

And the victors, whatever clique they belong to, will inevitably end up as the victims of the indomitable urge to freedom of the peoples subjugated by Russia. Z. K.

Conference of the Eichendorff Guild and ABN in Hannover

In conjunction with the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), the Eichendorff Guild, Hannover, recently held a Congress, which had as its main theme "A New Order in Central and East Europe". The high cultural level of the Congress, which was extremely well-attended, was stressed in particular in the press reports published on this occasion. After the President of the International Exchange Centre in Paris, Georges Greciano, had held an address, various leading personalities of the ABN gave lectures before an extremely interested German audience. We publish extracts of the lectures in the following columns.

We also give an account of the activity of the Eichendorff Guild (The Editor).

The Eichendorff Guild, Hannover, whose president is Mr. Josef Mosler, was founded as the leading group of the Cardinal Bertram Endowment in 1952, on the occasion of the First Silesian Catholic Congress. Its sphere of activity, which originally consisted in enlightening the population of the Federal Republic of Germany as to the

value and significance of the eastern territories of Germany, expanded very considerably when Mr. Mosler, on the strength of his connection with the Academy for East European Studies in Königstein, Taunus, established contact with the East European emigrants and in 1956 affiliated the "East Europe Study Group". The aims of this organization are:

- 1) to circulate information about East Europe here in the West;
- 2) to give Germans and East European emigrants an opportunity to exchange ideas and opinions;
- 3) to stress the decisive importance of a new order in the territory of East Europe.

By means of monthly conferences on these questions, literary publications and public meetings, the Eichendorff Guild has developed a lively activity which is not limited by any one-sided denominational ties. We give an account in this issue of a Congress which was recently held by the Guild and which, incidentally, so impressed a Catholic priest (The Very Reverend Father Szotowski) who attended it that he wrote: "I consider

that the great value of these conferences also lies in the fact that the speakers most certainly have the feeling that they have aroused the interest and sympathy of their audience... For these men — even if things turn out differently — will still play an important part... They will still be our friends in the future, too."

The Eichendorff Guild thus deserves considerable credit for its untiring efforts in paving the way for the future cooperation of all the peoples of Europe.

chauvinistic policy. The Kremlin has systematically used the independence aims of Slovakia as a means of pressure against the Czechs, so as to force Prague in this way to make concessions in favour of the Soviets.

The fate of the Sudeten-Germans has likewise been looked upon by the Communists merely as a tool in their political game. Their attitude in this respect has changed several times, according to what point of view seemed to them to be most opportune. Prior to and during the Munich crisis, Moscow was on the side of the Czechs and against the Sudeten-Germans. Later on, however, it recognized the incorporation of the Sudetenland in the Reich. But when the war broke out between Germany and the Soviet Union, Moscow declared itself in favour of the continuity of Czecho-Slovakia within the frontiers stipulated by the Treaty of Versailles.

During World War II Benes tried to persuade the Major Powers to consent to the expulsion of the Sudeten-Germans, but at first his plan met with opposition on the part of Moscow. To begin with, the Kremlin despots refused to take on any obligations in this respect, since they were not sure whether they would not make a separate peace treaty with Berlin. It was not until Benes cited the consent of the Americans and the English as a precedent that the Kremlin gave its consent to the expulsion of the Sudeten-Germans.

Now that Czecho-Slovakia has been degraded to the status of a Russian colony, the Soviet Union in its own interests is opposed to the return of the Sudeten-Germans. It is no secret that their return would virtually mean the repulse of Moscow's influence towards the East, a fact to which the Kremlin naturally does not agree.

By Partition to the Sovietization of the Whole of Germany

Opportunism was, of course, the decisive factor as regards the attitude of the Kremlin towards the problem of Germany as a whole. It is a well-known fact that Lenin had high hopes of furthering Communist plans regarding a world revolution very considerably and decisively, by the revolutionization of such a highly developed industrial country as Germany. Since the men of the Kremlin were forced to realize that the Germans could not be won over to Communism by means of propaganda, Stalin, at the end of World War II, decided in favour of and advocated the policy of the partition of Germany, the detachment of large German territories and the expulsion of the inhabitants there, in order to profit by the desperate position of the Germans and create the preconditions for the Sovietization of Germany. And the Kremlin despots are firmly determined to retain the occupied part of Germany as a Communist Piedmont, for the purpose of Soviet infiltration into the Federal Republic of Germany, too. The leading men in Moscow are convinced that, in view of the large number of Communist Party supporters in Italy and France, the Sovietization of the rest of Europe would follow automatically, once the whole of Germany were under Soviet control. It is therefore hardly likely that the Soviets will relinquish their present positions and will agree to the reunification of Germany.

Since the free world cannot consent to the immediate or future Sovietization of Germany, the only way to effect a reunification is by a policy of power. In order to avoid any misunderstanding, however, I should like to stress that I am not thinking of a war at all. On the contrary, what I am referring to, is the application of those same principles of the right of self-determination in

Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky

The National Question in Communist Theory and Practice

The national question and the right of self-determination belong to those problems with which a dishonest and false game has frequently been played. The wide gulf which exists in this respect between Communist theory and practice cannot be bridged. And, incidentally, the Communists make no secret of the fact that they regard the national question not as an aim in itself, but merely as a means to a world revolution. Since, according to their point of view, everything that serves Communist aims is morally permissible, they regard this abuse of an otherwise inviolable idea entirely as a matter of course. And this fact is most in evidence in the countries behind the Iron Curtain.

The Right of Self-determination

The motives which prompted the Communists to deal with the right of self-determination most thoroughly in their ideologies were certainly not based on their determination to support the independence aims of the peoples, but on their intention to exploit the latter for their own plans. Both Lenin and Stalin on various occasions stressed the right of the nations to political self-determination, state independence and the formation of a national state of their own. In practice, however, they encumbered the realization of the right of self-determination with so many conditions that, in reality, they denied its existence.

The Communists regard the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a matter of primary importance, and hold that everything else must be subordinated to the achievement of this aim. It is thus comprehensible that, from the point of view of the Communists, the realization of the right of self-determination depends on the extent to which this realization is likely to further the introduction and preservation of Communist world despotism.

When the Communists usurped power in Russia, Stalin was extremely consternated at the fact that the right of self-determination of the nations was interpreted as the "right of the national bourgeoisie of the border territories" to take matters in their own hands and to use the February Revolution for the purpose of "forming a national state of their own". These national governments, of course, did not want to have anything to do with a Communist revolution.

And it was this fact which provided Moscow with a reason for branding the independence declarations of these peoples as a counter-revolution, for occupying their territories with troops and for forcibly incorporating them in the framework of the Soviet Union. The right of self-determination was reduced to "autonomy". And Stalin does not

leave us in any doubt as to how this term is to be understood, when he says: "Autonomy is a form. The entire problem depends on the kind of class contents with which this form is filled... An autonomy of this kind will be an autonomy based on Soviet principles."

Nowadays in the U.S.S.R., according to "Soviet principles", only the decisions reached by the presidium of the Central Committee can be put into practice. And since this body consists, with but a few exceptions, of Russians and of persons who loyally serve Russian imperialism, it is perfectly obvious that Russia's interests exclusively will be of decisive importance to it.

The Czecho-Slovakian and Sudeten-German Question

An outstanding example in this respect is the Czecho-Slovakian question. At the 5th Congress of the Comintern the following points were stressed in particular:

"The Congress establishes that there is no uniform Czecho-Slovakian nation in Czecho-Slovakia and that the Czecho-Slovakian state, in addition to the Czech nationality, consists of the following nationalities: Slovaks, Germans, Hungarians, Ukrainians and Poles. The Congress deems it necessary that the Czech Communist Party, in view of the national minorities, should proclaim and realize the watchword of the right of self-determination of the peoples, including the right of severance."

"The watchword of autonomy which has been proclaimed by the bourgeois and nationalist parties is directed towards the enslavement of the working population of all nationalities in Czecho-Slovakia by their own bourgeoisie, with the aid of the Czech bourgeoisie."

When, in 1935, E. Benes signed a treaty with the Kremlin, however, the Soviet Union veered in its point of view by 180 degrees. Since then it has advocated the consolidation and preservation of a centralized Czecho-Slovakia.

Moscow's constantly changing attitude as regards the Slovak question is a typical example of the fact that the Kremlin despots are not in the least concerned with respecting the right of self-determination, but are merely interested in the favourable opportunities which might be gained by adopting a certain point of view. As long as Prague pursued a policy which was not dependent on the Kremlin, Moscow supported the idea of the independence of Slovakia. When Prague, however, signified its willingness to be a tool in the hands of the Soviets, Moscow, completely disregarding the rights of Slovakia, supported the aims of the Czech

B. Osinsky

The Avoidance of an Atomic War by National Liberation Revolutions

An extremely grave phenomenon of the present times is the fact that the most important problem of our historical era is ignored by the majority of Western statesmen as completely as if it were non-existent, — namely, the national principle, for the validity and recognition of which a huge number of peoples are fighting, grimly and heroically. The national liberation struggle has extended to all corners of the earth and is being fought in Asia, Africa, Europe, on the Philippines, in Indonesia, India, Persia, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Indo-China, and Korea.

In the U.S.S.R. this process is about to destroy the peoples' prison from within. The insurgent forces such as the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) or the "Basmatdien" in Turkestan are known all over the world as national liberation organizations. In this respect we should also like to mention the riots in the Russian concentration camps, where about 15 million persons, who are forced to endure the tortures of slave labour, have now at last overcome all feeling of fear and have begun to conduct an active fight against Russian tyranny.

Sovereign, indivisible states which are dependent on no one are the aim of the present fight

And yet, certain circles in the West refuse to acknowledge this fact and obstinately continue to pursue the phantom of the preservation of empires, and actually go so far as to support the contradictory idea that the Russian imperium, which is the most barbaric imperium with the worst form of tyranny, should be an exception. No person with any common sense at all can ignore the obvious facts, which would provide several positive starting-points.

Even according to the point of view of the greatest Western reactionary, all the Baltic States and all the satellite countries should become independent again, since the second World War was conducted against Germany for them, too. Ukraine and Byelorussia have been formally admitted to the UN. It is thus obviously assumed that they are to become independent again. Nowhere else in

favour of the peoples enslaved behind the Iron Curtain, which Moscow applies in the case of the peoples of Asia and Africa. Only by mobilizing the forces of the nations enslaved by Moscow, within the framework of a large-scale policy of liberation, will it be possible to create the political preconditions for the reunification of Germany.

The Communist Conception of Equality of Rights

The peoples who, after World War II, were incorporated in Moscow's sphere of power know the true meaning of the Communist conception of equality of rights. Although, theoretically, these countries are not dependent on Moscow, they have in practice been degraded to the status of Russian colonies. And for this reason alone, they are forced to comply with all Moscow's wishes. The fate of the former head of the Hungarian government, Imre Nagy, who was installed by the Communists, is typical of the fate of every Party member who would like to be a partner of the Kremlin tyrants with equal rights. The Warsaw Pact, too, was created by the Kremlin in the first place as an instrument by which to secure its own supremacy over the peoples of Central and Southeast Europe and in order to preserve the Communist dictatorship there.

Under the protectorate of Russian imperialism, the imperialisms of other peoples, as for instance the Czechs, Chinese, and Serbs, etc., flourish and prosper. They are approved by Moscow for the sole reason that they serve its purposes and interests. And in this respect the right of self-determination of the incarcerated peoples is violated to such an extent that even the Chinese Communists have felt it necessary to censure these subsidiary forms of imperialism.

the world — apart from the U.S.S.R. — does the curious fact exist that a member of the UN has no right to self-determination. And the above-mentioned countries will some day be represented in the UN by independent and not by colonial governments.

The Caucasian states are a bloc whose independence was always regarded as a matter of course by the West. And the same holds good as far as the state of Turkestan is concerned. The Cossacks attained their independence in 1918 and so, too, did the Turco-Tatars of the Idel-Ural. The independence of Siberia was supported by certain American circles in the year 1918, but was not realized because of Japanese opposition.

A new order is at present being called into being in the East, which the major powers of this world, however, refuse to acknowledge. Sooner or later, however, they will be forced to do so, for herein lies the essence and significance of our age.

In this respect the Hungarian fight for freedom last year taught us a valuable lesson. Events in Hungary proved that a national revolution is possible and can even be carried out under the conditions of Russian Communist terrorism. The weapon of Marx and Lenin in the fight against capitalism — a general strike — in the hands of the workers became the most dangerous weapon against Marxism and Leninism as a form of modern Russian imperialism. The younger generation, the hope of Communism, became the champion of the national anti-Communist and anti-Russian fight for freedom. The complete bankruptcy of materialistic training and of the Marxist and Leninist doctrines was thus established. The treacherous cunning of "peaceful" coexistence was exposed as a tactical manoeuvre of those in power in the Kremlin, who are just as out-and-out imperialists and mass murderers as their teachers and masters, Lenin and Stalin, were. The fact that there were countless "deserters" who directed the fire of the Soviet tanks not against the Hungarian insurgents, but against the latter's enemies, clearly proves that the idea of a war waged against national revolutions is extremely unpopular in the Soviet Army, too. Furthermore, the fact that about 15,000 Ukrainian soldiers of the Soviet Army went

Since not only the feelings of the enslaved peoples, but also their vital interests have been affected by Moscow's subjugation measures, it is natural that their opposition should have increased. And since the incorporation of Southeast and Central Europe in the sphere of power of the Soviet Union, this opposition has naturally extended to these territories, too.

Titoism is a natural reaction of national consciousness to the measures of Russian colonialism, and its fundamental principles are based on the natural striving of the peoples for independence.

There can, of course, be no doubt about the fact that Tito is a convinced Communist. He, too, is most anxious that the dictatorship of the proletariat should be extended, but he regards the application of Russian imperialist methods as an obstacle in this respect.

Russia, on the other hand, is doing her utmost to keep the subjugated peoples in a permanent state of terrible slavery. Khrushchev himself corroborated this fact when he told the representatives of the "New York Times" in Moscow, on May 10, that if the release of the East European countries and the reunification of Germany were put to the Soviets as conditions, then "it might be 200 years" before they would be prepared to negotiate on these questions.

But all the same, we hope that the time will come when, after all the disappointments we have suffered, we shall find sympathy and understanding in the world for the fight for freedom of our peoples. And we sincerely hope that this will really be the case, for all the free peoples will be threatened by the despots of Moscow as long as the Soviet imperium continues to exist.

over to the side of the Hungarian freedom fighters shows that the U.S.S.R. is not to be regarded as a monolithic unit.

And in this connection we should like to stress that 53 per cent of the soldiers of the Soviet Army are non-Russians, who will join forces with the national liberation revolutions. And this is where the Western statesmen could intervene by proclaiming the *Great Charter of the State Independence of the Nations*, in order to speed up the process of freeing the world from the Bolshevik menace. This Charter should be addressed in particular to the peoples subjugated by Russia and by Communism, and the disintegration of the Russian imperium into sovereign national states according to the ethnographical principle, de-collectivization and de-proletarianization, the general preservation and protection of private property, and the return of all deported persons to their native country should be explicitly proclaimed as watchwords of the free world.

In this connection it is of the utmost importance that active support should be given to the authorized spokesmen of the subjugated peoples, who stand up for the latter's independence and advocate the co-ordination of the anti-Bolshevik fight for freedom of the world with them, since they alone are in a position to restore the subjugated nations' dwindling confidence in the Western world.

The policy of the Russian Communists is obviously based on the hope that the peaceable West, because of its dread of an atomic war, will allow the present conquests of Soviet Russia to become a permanency and will let Bolshevik subversive activity on this side of the Iron Curtain continue uncurbed. And, what is more, — Moscow even aims to force the West to tolerate new Soviet aggressions. The world is thus led to believe that it is faced by the alternative of "atomic war or coexistence", that is to say capitulation before the Bolshevik claim to power, at Moscow's will. To accept Moscow's coexistence formula would not be to prevent an atomic war, but only to postpone it to a later date, by which time the Bolsheviks would be superior in strength not only as regards conventional weapons, but also as far as hydrogen weapons are concerned.

The Way out of the Political Maze

The possibility of saving the world from the inevitable devastation caused by an atomic war or from being destroyed under Bolshevik world domination lies in the starting of national revolutions and wars of liberation by the subjugated peoples within the Bolshevik imperium itself. The deeply rooted ferments of a revolutionary process of this kind, however, require an impetus, but such an impetus will be supplied as soon as the West decides to help the inexhaustible urge to freedom of the peoples subjugated by Moscow — in the Soviet Union itself, as in the satellite states, too, — to break through, by wholeheartedly supporting the national liberation movements. And in this connection the fundamental precondition is that the Western major powers should explicitly and unreservedly acknowledge the inalienable right of these peoples to their own national states and independence. There can be no better way for the West to safeguard its own freedom and security than to make accessible the inexhaustible potential of the scores of nations with their 200 million inhabitants who are longing for freedom and who must be mobilized in the present world struggle against Bolshevism. For the idea of freedom carries more weight than all nuclear weapons.

And herein lies the cardinal point for the policy of the West towards our peoples. In order to take the right course, the West must above all understand the mental attitude and the spiritual nature of the subjugated peoples. The West must penetrate the depths of the psychic experiences of these peoples, in order to be able to evolve its plan of support. There is no reason to fear Russia, provided that one adopts the right political and military attitude.

The key to the solution of the present world crisis thus lies not in an armaments race, but solely in the idea of equal rights and freedoms for all.

The dilemma of our times is therefore not "coexistence policy or atomic war", but "atomic war or liberation policy". An active and offensive policy of liberation, such as we have been advocating for years, would, in view of the active spirit of self-sacrifice of our subjugated peoples, mobilize

Niko Nakashidze

The Nationalities Problems of East Europe and Various Camouflaged Forms of Bolshevist Imperialism

The problem of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union is closely connected with that of the satellite countries and of Germany and can only be solved as a complex whole. In the conflict between the two worlds—the free world and the Communist world—an attempt is being made to win over the Russians as allies. But this is an erroneous speculation, for the Soviet realm is a Russian imperium and its collapse means the disintegration of this peoples' empire. Because of their national, political and social consciousness, the Russians are not likely to go over to the side of the West.

Bolshevism is of purely Russian origin; and it was only in Russia that it succeeded in usurping power. The non-Russian peoples of the imperium severed their connections with Russia and re-established their states as democratic republics, which were recognized by other powers and even by Russia. Later on, however, they were at various times overrun and conquered by Russia's military superiority.

From the point of view of constitutional law, these countries nowadays, too, are sovereign states, who have allegedly joined the Soviet Union "voluntarily". This fact has also been recognized according to international law, inasmuch as Ukraine and Byelorussia have been admitted to the UNO as members.

The non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union have never resigned themselves to their subjugation and continue to fight incessantly against Russian tyranny and the Communist terrorist regime.

The non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union have never enjoyed Moscow's confidence. Terrorist measures were constantly enforced in their countries and countless political purges were carried out; and even native Communists were liquidated.

The percentage of Party members in these countries is very low. In Moscow alone, for instance, there are five times as many Communists as in the whole of Georgia. And, incidentally, the percentage of Party members in these countries is composed not only of natives, but also of foreigners. The press of these countries constantly reports cases of deviationism in national life, and writes about the friendship of the Soviet peoples and tries

unexpected forces, a fact which would make it possible to destroy the Soviet imperium from within and would bring about the realization of that integral peace and security for which the whole of mankind at present so earnestly longs. For this reason we wholeheartedly approve of that trend in American policy which advocates the liberation and the national independence of the peoples enslaved by Moscow and opposes the pernicious principle of coexistence. If this trend in American policy were to retain the upper hand, then relations between the Western world, at present represented on the world political stage by the leading world power, America, and the national revolutionary forces of Eastern Europe would immediately turn out for the best, a fact which would increase the chances of victory of the West to an immeasurable degree. Moreover, if the West were to support the national liberation movements, it is extremely doubtful whether Russia would be able to use atomic weapons in those of its territories which it occupies, since it would then be using these weapons against itself.

The present worldwide historical conflict shall lead to a lasting and untroubled peace, — not to a peace of violence, tears and misery, but to a just peace. And in this way mankind shall be liberated from fear, suffering, injustice, national subjugation and social exploitation.

This is the deeper meaning of our anti-Bolshevist fight, which has nothing to do with political hatred.

to show how advantageous this union with Russia has proved, and affirms that the future of these countries can be guaranteed only by Russia's protection. The opposition of these peoples is evident in every sphere of life. Men of learning put up a fierce resistance, both openly and secretly. The youth of these countries rebels and refuses to allow itself to be intimidated. Both in the Soviet press and radio as well as at the conferences held by pro-Muscovite writers, scientists and men of learning, etc., the speakers inveigh against the emigrant politicians, a fact which proves that the latter are popular amongst the people, otherwise no mention at all would be made of them.

Russia is trying to decimate the non-Russian peoples in their countries by resettlement measures and by settling Russians in their territories. Deportations of persons from these countries, in particular of young people, to Siberia continue unabated. **And the governments of these countries are nothing but administrative organs of Moscow.**

The nationalist spirit is also making itself felt amongst the soldiers of the Soviet Army, in particular in the military commands in Ukraine, Byelorussia and Caucasia.

Events in these countries and the attitude of the peoples are of historical significance in another respect, too. It is here that Marxism and Leninism has suffered a complete defeat, for the people who are fighting against Russian Communist despotism and against the Marxist-Leninist state are workers, peasants and their children, that is to say, proletarians.

General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak

The Hungarian Fight for Freedom in the Light of World Politics

The Hungarian fight for freedom aroused the interest of the whole world. Not only the press and the radio, but also all the peoples of the world expressed their sympathy with the Hungarian people in countless demonstrations and rallies.

Behind the Iron Curtain, however, scores of enslaved nations watched the further development of events with tense vigilance, for the Hungarian watchword, "Better to die in freedom than to live in slavery", had called forth a thousandfold response in their hearts. These nations, who, with unheard-of self-sacrifice and contempt of death, have been fighting desperately for decades for their state independence and have conducted this fight without arms and only with the aid of their moral strength, were prepared to join forces with their fellow-sufferers in Hungary in destroying the Russian Bolshevist dungeons and driving the hirelings of the Muscovite slave-holders with fire-brands out of their countries.

The usurpers in the Kremlin would hardly have been able to hold their own against this onslaught of fanatical patriotism and self-sacrifice. The strength of those who thirst after freedom, the sacred wrath of those who have been robbed of their highest human rights by breach of faith, treachery and violation, are more powerful than tanks and cannon can ever be. So far the soulless machine has always been forced to capitulate before the power of the spirit, — a spirit which has long since infiltrated into the offices of the state authorities and of the Party and even into the units of the Red Army, as a transcendental Fifth Column. It is the spirit of opposition to Communist cunning and phraseology, to the brutal Caesarean mania of the parvenu slave-drivers who hail from low dens.

The problem of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union represents an integral part of the entire world problem. Russia will never, in any part of the world, renounce her possessions and relinquish her positions.

The satellite countries are Moscow's colonies in Europe. In former times Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Georgia and Turkestan were also "Satellites" who were later incorporated in Russia, and, like our peoples, they will also become "minorities" of the Muscovite imperium.

The same fate likewise threatens the occupied territories of Germany. Russia is not likely to withdraw from these territories, for it has always been her aim to curb the so-called "German menace" and to gain a firm footing in the West, in order to effect a breakthrough from the blocked Black Sea to the Mediterranean.

As Marxists and Leninists, the Russians are firmly convinced of the inevitability of a clash between the capitalistic and the Communist world and are standing by in readiness for this eventuality.

All the countries subjugated and ruled by Russia are united by a common fate. For this reason there can only be one united fight and the liberation of all the subjugated peoples. And these problems can only be solved as a complex whole. In this fight Germany has a special task and binding obligations as an Occidental Christian nation. Now is the time and the chance for Germany to win over millions of persons and many peoples.

What strengthens this phenomenon, which is more and more in evidence, and lends it persistence and initiative, is the awareness of the subjugated peoples that there are men here in the free world — emigrants — who are on guard and who, as the champions of the will to freedom of these peoples, will stir the conscience of the world until, one day, the hour of liberation from slavery and subjugation tolls, until the Western statesmen join this union of steadfast loyalty.

And this was what the nations incarcerated in the Russian peoples' prison expected in connection with the Hungarian revolution. Why, they asked themselves, did certain Western radio stations for years exhort the Hungarians to tear down the Iron Curtain and to oppose Communist terrorism, why did they openly stress that the Hungarian question was a world problem, if they were not prepared to let deeds follow their words and thus preserve their own prestige!

The Big Disappointment

The Western governments, however, did nothing of the kind, despite the fact that such a step on their part would have met with a response unparalleled since the end of the last World War; Cuba, Pakistan and Free China indicated the political course by means of which the desperate fight of the Hungarian people could have been supported. 583 organizations in Asia held mass rallies, sent appeals to the UNO and the USA, and founded a committee to support the liberation movements of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain. The former Governor of Sao Paulo sent a personal telegram to the heads of the governments of all the South American states, appealing to them to oppose Soviet terrorist aggression and in this way

R. Persing

The Way to a United Europe

An attempt to correct certain erroneous conceptions of frontiers — No unity without freedom for all

The desire for a united and organically joined Europe was already evident during the years between the two world wars, when Count Coudenhove-Kalergi (1894-1958) brought up the Pan-Europe idea for discussion. National peculiarities and diverging economic interests, however, seemed to be almost insurmountable obstacles to this aim. But now that Europe is confronted by the question of how to evade the danger of being crushed between two millstones, it is absolutely imperative that a serious attempt should be made to find a positive solution to this problem.

The preconditions for such a solution are to be sought in the knowledge that Europe is not exclusively a geographical, but, in the first place, a cultural and ethical conception, based on the Roman, Greek and Germanic circle of culture and civilization, which since time immemorial has included the peoples of both East and West Europe. Indeed, it was precisely the peoples of East Europe who, by defying countless dangers, helped to preserve Christian thought and culture with its essential values and principles of human worth, freedom of individuals, voluntary social solidarity, its strongly developed sense of honour and its heroic attitude to life under the all-embracing binding law of the Divine Will. For this reason it is wrong to limit the frontiers of Europe to the Vistula or to the Oder-Neisse Line.

Europe is wherever European cultural and spiritual values hold good, and therefore also includes Tiflis, Kyiv, and Minsk, etc.

A Mutilated Remnant of Europe

If we base our arguments on the above-mentioned cultural and spiritual factors, then we are bound to reach the logical conclusion that Russia, from the cultural and ethical point of view, can by no means be part of Europe. She has never in the course of her history revealed those characteristic values which would have made her a member of the family of European peoples. A resigned fatalism, stoic indifference, an almost slavish servility, submissiveness to every form of despotism, and self-humiliation are the chief traits of the Russian character. Whether they were subjugated by "Father" Tsar or by "Father" Lenin or "Father" Stalin, etc., did not worry the Russians and, in fact, because of their innate apathy, was all the same to them, in spite of all the atrocities committed by these tyrants.

Those who are prepared to include Russia in Europe are misled by the deceptions which

the Muscovite regime has practised since time immemorial and by means of which it has succeeded in subjugating various peoples, either by warlike aggression, breach of treaty or faith, and forcing them to become part of the Russian sphere of power, despite the fact that these peoples were by nature genuinely European. In this connection we should merely like to refer to the treacherous pseudo-treaty of Pereyaslav with Ukraine (1654) and the treaty with Georgia in 1783, by means of which Russia turned these free and independent states into Russian colonies. Thus the Russian tsarist empire was established by means of the annexation of foreign countries and the subjugation of ancient, foreign, civilized peoples, whose independent states, as part of Europe, had already existed for several hundred years, namely long before the Russian nation was formed or the Russian state founded.

Indeed, if the wrong course is pursued and if these conditions continue to exist, then things might come to such a pass that possibly, in the near future, even East Germany, together with Saxony, Thuringia and East Prussia, might no longer be counted as part of Europa. Or if, for instance, the Russians should ever advance as far as the Rhine, then Europe would perhaps only consist of England and France. For this reason the conception of Europe must be determined and defined according to content, that is to say according to spiritual and cultural factors, and not according to the opportunist considerations of the Russian occupation forces. It would be ridiculous to be taken in by Russia's moves and, in this way, to allow her to determine and fix the frontiers of Europe, for, as we have already pointed out, she has nothing in common with Europe. Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Roumania, Croatia, and Slovakia, etc., are just as much a part of Europe as Germany and England are.

What we today call Europe, are merely the remnants of the former entire union which have escaped Russian Bolshevik cunning.

Preconditions for a European Unification

All these factors must be clearly defined if a firm basis is to be established for a European unification or integration. And the main precondition, as regards both the regional and the universal aspect of this unification, is the complete independence and sovereignty of each of the peoples concerned. The cardinal error of every form of

regional integration is a union directed against some other party, since this involves the danger of inter-state complications, whereas a universal integration on the basis of equality of rights and independence for all the states in the framework of the United Nations is the guarantee for peace. A preliminary condition is, of course, the abolishment of the right of veto in the UNO, which so far in all individual cases has been used as a convenient tool by the Bolsheviks, for the purpose of carrying on their diversion manoeuvres, acts of sabotage to disturb the peace, and intrigues.

The aim of the unification trend is the avoidance of wars and the cooperation and harmonious union of the peoples. It is not the independence of the nations which is the cause of wars in the world, but the various forms of imperialism, which have always hurled the burning torch that brings destruction upon the peoples. The question to be borne in mind, therefore, is not the restriction of the peoples' rights to independence, but the elimination of imperialism. The problems to be considered in this respect are therefore: what common interests have the nations, and what benefit will they derive from mutual cooperation? The East European peoples, for example, can only be won over for wholehearted cooperation if their freedom of action, of which they have been deprived, is restored to them. Incidentally, it is a contradiction in adjecto to talk about the restriction of sovereignty and about its privileges at one and the same time, as is so often the case nowadays; for the furtherance of the sovereign rights of all partners is an essential and fundamental condition, if one wishes to achieve positive and advantageous results for all parties.

This brings us to the essential point of all the questions on this subject and, at the same time, to the question of the definitely destructive ferment in the all-European cooperation:

The vampire of Russian imperialism holds in its rapacious claws precisely those forces which are most valuable for the construction and the preservation of what we call Europe. And in this respect all Russians, whether at home or abroad, who are adherents of Russian imperialism are agreed in their opinion that this permanent state of coercion must be maintained, with the express intention of preventing these nations from enjoying the credit of being Europeans and from taking part in those tasks which are as vitally important to them as to Europe.

Freedom of Decision Demanded for All Peoples

For this reason, no European integration can be formed until the Russian imperium has been disintegrated and its place taken by national independent states in their ethnographical areas, with the guarantee of freedom of decision for the elected parliaments of these peoples. Those who advocate the idea of a united Europe must, in the first place, help to eliminate the Russian imperium in order to establish the same preconditions for the liberated nations as regards freedom to reach independent decisions. In no case can and may decisions be forced on these peoples by foreign powers. Freedom and the restoration of all their sovereign rights are imperative demands, for how could those nations who have been deprived of their natural rights of existence otherwise be expected to renounce any of their natural claims at all to the advantage of some supra-national structure or other! Moreover, the idea of any confederation or union in East Europe is most compromising. The "Union of the Soviet Republics" is such a warning example that the peoples there no longer want to hear this word, which has been abused to such an extent by the Russians and with the aid of which they have turned Ukraine

prove the sincerity of their freedom-loving attitude.

The world held its breath and waited for the final solution of the smouldering world crisis, for — and there can be no doubt about this — had Hungary's attempt to attain freedom and independence succeeded with the help of the West, this fact would have filled the 200 million persons of the subjugated states with the greatest enthusiasm, nation after nation would have risen up in revolt against the Bolshevik monster, and, in a veritable deluge, would have swept away predatory Russian imperialism and would have destroyed the temple of genocide, mass murder and godlessness. The Hungarian fight for freedom would then — as US Vice-President Nixon said — have become the death-knell, in the truest sense, of international Communism.

By its dilatoriness and anxiety to win Moscow's perfidious favour, the West has once again not only missed an opportunity of worldwide and historical significance, but has also shaken the confidence of the enslaved nations in itself, when these nations could be its most valuable allies in the fight against the world menace, Bolshevism.

Videant Consules!

Contrary to expectation, certain UNO states resorted to armed force in the Suez Canal Zone, namely against mercantile interests, without

however, realizing that a firm attitude of this kind on their part would have been of far greater service to Hungarian idealism.

And the fact cannot be emphasized often enough that the subjugated peoples are now undergoing a vital process of awakening. Like the Hungarians, they are demanding their natural right of existence. They are insisting that the principles laid down in the Atlantic Charter should be fulfilled.

Fear of Moscow's boastful rattling of swords, which, incidentally, could easily be counteracted by cooperation with the enslaved nations, must not lead to the betrayal of one's own convictions nor to the tacit toleration of all Bolshevik crimes. Such an attitude would only result in the isolation of the West, which is what the Soviets so cunningly plan, to the disintegration of the West and to the first stage in the decline of the West, which was already prophesied by Oswald Spengler at the beginning of this century.

The most serious aspect of the whole question, however, is the fact that the unfortunate attitude of the Western world in the Hungarian liberation war has helped to strengthen the already tottering position of the Soviets in the satellite states very considerably and, as recent events show, has increased their arrogance and insolence.

The free world has thus so far been cherishing a snake in its bosom. Let it be on its guard lest it perish by its venom!

For Disintegration of the Russian Imperium

Declaration of Solidarity with the ABN, resolved at a mass rally of the Ukrainians in Sydney, Australia, on April 28, 1957

The Mass Rally of the Ukrainians in Sydney

hereby expresses its admiration for the fight of the Ukrainian prisoners and prisoners of other nationalities in the Bolshevist concentration camps of Vorkuta, Norylsk, Kingiri and Mordovia, and bows down in reverence before the heroic martyrdom, unparalleled in history, of the five hundred women in the concentration camp in Kingiri, who sacrificed

perialistic groups and continue to support the principle of impartiality are thus undermining the anti-Bolshevist fight and are acting in such a way as to alienate the subjugated nations from the free world, a fact which is of advantage to Bolshevism. A division of the fronts during a centralized attack by the Kremlin is solely an advantage for Moscow. All attempts to leave the peoples subjugated by Moscow in a new form of Muscovite peoples' prison after the collapse

For this reason the White Russian imperialists try to lessen their guilt in the eyes of the free world by posing as the representatives of the non-Russian liberation movements. The fact that the NTS has adopted as its party symbol the national Ukrainian symbol, the trident, which for centuries has been the symbol of the fight against Russia, is ample proof of the moral value of these supporters of Bolshevist deception.

THE MASS RALLY of the Ukrainians, which wholeheartedly supports and approves of the far-reaching politically significant campaign of the ABN in Asia, hereby declares that it is unreservedly prepared to afford the mission of the ABN in Free China every possible material and moral assistance and will do its utmost to help to strengthen and extend the campaign and the missions of the ABN in the Asian countries. Proud in the knowledge that the campaign of the ABN — as compared to that of the White Russian imperialists, who enjoy the moral, material and political support of the mighty powers of this world — is based exclusively on the financial means donated by its own members and in particular by the Ukrainian emigrants, the mass rally regards the founding and expansion of the missions of the ABN in Asia as a question of its national honour. All the more so since it is convinced that the Communist menace can only be destroyed by dividing up the Muscovite imperium into independent states and not merely by a change of regime.

We appeal to the Ukrainian and to the national emigrant groups of other countries in Australia, the USA and Canada, to take an active share in the universal and, in particular, in the material support of the campaign of the ABN in Asia, in order to help expand the ABN missions in Asia;

We appeal to the charitable institution founded by the Ukrainian Patriotic Community in Great Britain and Australia, to help to expand the ABN mission in China.

We address the following appeal to the free world:

(a) To discontinue all negotiations with the Communist tyrants, whose hands are stained with the blood of millions of victims, and to abandon the idea of reaching an agreement with them at the expense of the subjugated nations.

(b) To give active support, by political and technical means, to the fight for freedom beyond the Iron Curtain, in order to destroy Communist tyranny from within.

(c) To proclaim the Great Charter of Freedom for the nations behind the Iron Curtain, which would express the ideas and principles for which the nations behind the Iron Curtain are fighting, namely those of national independence, personal freedom and social justice in keeping with the noble doctrines of religion and national solidarity.

(d) To promote the armament of the free world in every way and to abandon all false hopes of peace, which does not exist and never will exist as long as the Communist regime of tyranny and the Russian empire continue to exist in some form or other.

(e) To make the utmost endeavour to bring about the realization of the Western European Defensive Alliance, the Atlantic Pact, SEATO and all other military alliances of the free nations, as soon as possible.

(f) To bring about, as quickly as possible, a co-ordination, in every respect, of the plans of action of the Western factors with the national liberation movements and organizations, which take an independent national stand and have never served Communism or Russian imperialism in any way nor have ever collaborated with either of them.

(g) To disband the Communist parties and their affiliated organizations in the entire free world, to fight all Fifth Columns as



The house of the Anti-Communist exhibition in Saigon

their lives and allowed themselves to be mown down by Russian tanks in order to protect their fellow-prisoners;

it hereby expresses its admiration for the heroic revolutionary fight of the Hungarian people and bows down in reverence before their martyrdom;

it hereby expresses its complete solidarity with the uncompromising fight of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) against Communism and Russian imperialism, which aims to subjugate the whole world and "unite" it as a Russian colonial empire;

it hereby supports wholeheartedly the fight of the ABN for the disintegration of the Russian imperium into independent, democratic states within the ethnographical territories of the subjugated peoples, and corroborates the fact that the activity of the ABN and of the Ukrainian delegation in the ABN is carried on in the interests of a universal national liberation;

it regards the principle of the ABN — to overthrow the Russian Bolshevist imperium from within by means of national liberation revolutions — as the only real alternative to an atomic war; the policy of coexistence must be rejected once for all and the policy of the liberation of the subjugated nations must be furthered;

it demands active and wholehearted support on the part of the free world for the national, revolutionary liberation fight of Ukraine and of other nations subjugated by Moscow and Communism, who by sacrificing their lives are doing their utmost to curb Moscow's urge to conquer the whole world. By helping the nations subjugated by Bolshevism the free world will also help its own cause;

the rally hereby declares that the Western powers who support the White Russian im-

perialism will meet with the determined resistance of these nations, for they are not fighting for a change of the yoke enforced on them, but to get rid of this yoke for good;

the rally holds the opinion that the Muscovite colonial world imperium, the principle of the world union of Soviet Socialist Republics, should be opposed by the idea of the national state, that the peoples' prison should be destroyed from within and that it should be divided up into national states belonging to the individual peoples;

the rally supports the setting up of a global anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations on the basis of independent states for all nations of the world, as has been stipulated in the Agreement between the ABN and the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (Republic of China), APACLROC;

the rally wholeheartedly welcomes the co-operation between the ABN and the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League and considers it fitting that these two international organizations should begin to found a global anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations;

the rally most definitely opposes the provocative attempts of the White Russian imperialists to pose as representatives of the Ukrainian liberation movement and of the liberation movements of other subjugated peoples in the Soviet Union, and regards this machination as a provocation of service to Bolshevism, in order to mislead the free world as to the true nature of the leading anti-Bolshevist forces behind the Iron Curtain. These forces and not the Russian people represent the national, revolutionary liberation movements of the non-Russian peoples. It is a fact that Bolshevism was established with the help of the Russians and continues to be supported and spread by the Russians.

A. Bedrey (*American Friends of ABN*)

On the Threshold of a New Historical Era

Recent developments in the Russian sphere of influence have convinced us that the liberation movements are not only still existent and have not been exterminated, but, on the contrary, are active, are increasing in size and strength, and are more of a danger than ever to the Kremlin despots. We are at present witnessing the development of renewed national revolutionary activity, and the idea of the liberation of all the enslaved peoples is slowly but inevitably becoming the most powerful idea and aim in the whole world.

In the following survey we shall discuss the reality and truth of the principles advocated by the A.B.N., the lesson to be learnt from certain events in history, and the present situation in world politics.

In order to fully understand present events, it is necessary to have a clear and accurate conception of Russia. In this respect Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkestan and Georgia have probably had most experience from the historical point of view. But much of what these nations learned during centuries of struggle, other nations unfortunately will not accept on faith. It seems they must learn the hard way. In the first place, we must bear in mind the fact that it is not only Communism, but Russia in particular which is subjugating nations. Secondly, an anti-regime struggle is not enough; until recently many persons regarded this as the most effective way to counteract the enslavement of nations; but this can only be done by means of a total war on the part of the subjugated and free nations against Russian imperialism and Communism. Thirdly, the countries conquered are not partially occupied and made Communist, but undergo complete subjugation, Russification, and extermination as separate nationalities. Fourthly, the most consequential truth about Russia as far as any liberation policy is concerned is that Russian imperialism, wherever it appears in the world and in all its aspects and forms, whether Communist or non-Communist, Stalinist or Khrushchevite, Tsarist or Kerenyist, must be destroyed. Those who refuse to recognize this fact will never win the fight against Russia. Russian imperialism is the root of all evil as regards Russia's policy towards the rest of the world. Finally, we should like to stress the fact that it is vital to her existence that she should constantly expand her imperium, otherwise it promptly begins to crumble and disintegrate. And thus all the nations are realizing or will realize in the near future that they are threatened by Russia. Consequently, the time is bound to come when the world will be divided into two distinct, organized fronts: one front represented by Russia and her supporters, the other, a united (and I stress the word united) front of the freedom-loving nations.

Let us now consider the above statements in the light of events in history.

The first World War. Immediately after the disintegration of the Russian and Austrian empires all the peoples in these territories set about the task of re-establishing their national states. But with the signing of the Treaty of Versailles serious mistakes were committed, and it almost appeared as if the statesmen of the U.S.A., Great Britain and France at that time regarded the territories east of Germany as being at the end of the world. President Wilson's "Fourteen Points", whilst being excellent as principles in themselves, were nevertheless applied most discriminatively to the territories east of Germany. The Communist Russians were allowed to conquer the newly established Ukrainian, Byelorussian and Caucasian states. The West aided the Russian reactionary imperialists, but did not consider it worth-while supporting

agencies of the enemy in the free world and as traitors to their own countries, and to try the leaders of the Communist parties and of their secret organizations on a charge of high treason.

(b) To take the offensive, in every respect, against Russia, since Russia, as history teaches us, has never relinquished its positions voluntarily, but has only yielded to threats and power.

Ukraine, Byelorussia and the other nations in the East. By the treaty of Brest-Litovsk Russia was forced, under pressure, to recognize the freed countries, but the latter did not receive any support from their neighbours. Although Poland, for instance, suffered a Russian invasion, she contented herself with concluding a peace with Russia in Riga, and thus betrayed her alliance with Ukraine.

Few objections were raised in East and West Europe when the treaty of Rapallo was concluded between Germany and Russia, a treaty which represented a big step forward in Russian expansionism and which, in fact, paved the way for the present situation in Central Europe. Indeed, the tragedy of the Central European peoples begins with the treaty of Rapallo. Until 1939, and even until 1956, Poland, for example, refused to realize that Russian imperialism was a threat to her security, since she has taken no part in trying to destroy Russia and is convinced that she can be independent even if Ukraine, Byelorussia, Caucasia, and Turkestan, etc., are not independent.

Up to the end of the first half of the 20th century, the Western powers were obsessed by the idea of restoring the unrestorable so-called "balance of power" in Europe. We do not wish to examine the history of such a fateful policy at this point, but we should, however, like to draw attention to its culmination in the Munich and Yalta agreements. In both cases Central and Eastern Europe were left to the mercy of the two biggest imperialists. And the Western allies could have inferred, as did the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in its historic Declaration at the end of World War II, that a power-vacuum would appear in Europe east of Great Britain and west of the United States after the destruction of Germany and Japan, and that this power-vacuum would inevitably be filled by Russia by reason of her geopolitical position and because the Western powers were willing to tolerate Russia's existence as an empire. Thus as early as 1944 the logical consequences could already have been foreseen: a change of fronts, a coup in Germany, a change in the friendly attitude towards Russia, and refusal to give support to the 200,000 strong Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), to the Hungarian army, to the Slovak state, and to the Croatian and other forces of the subjugated peoples in the Soviet Union. All the national liberation movements have at some time or other been decried as fascist.

The so-called cold war policy of the Western powers can, in general terms, be analysed as follows: first, there was a period of appeasement which lasted until about the time of the unofficial invasion of Greece by Russian fifth columnists. Then followed a period of containment which ended with the Geneva Conference in 1955, and since then, the period of forming a neutral zone between Russia and the United States, and the period of "passive coexistence". It seems that a new era is dawning, which, in President Eisenhower's words, looks as though it will be an era of "active coexistence" and should be differentiated from the preceding period as meaning mutual offensive moves. So far, on the whole, Russia has taken the initiative in this respect. But now, the anti-Russian forces might well take the initiative against Russia. Just as Russia is undermining and weakening the free nations and thereby gaining influence in Asia and Africa, so the free nations now should and might try to undermine and dismember the Russian empire.

We consider ourselves justified in saying that the principles advocated and supported by the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations have never been more timely and more essential than they are at present. Nations or national groups which so far refused to recognize these principles or did so with certain reservations, should now be prepared to embrace them, if they regard the liberation of their respective nations as the foremost and highest goal to be attained.

The A.B.N. maintains that the closest possible unity of all the enslaved nations is the essential precondition for their liberation. And recent events within the Russian empire corroborate this statement. The enslaved nations should be united in the

interpretation they put on all Russian activities in the field of ideology, art, history, science, language, and religion, etc.

Unitedly, the enslaved nations should organize their respective underground movements.

Unitedly they should stage strikes, demonstrations against forced labour, and demonstrations for religious freedom; there should be unity in the manner and method of their ideological anti-Communist propaganda, their subversive activity, their insurrections, military preparations and propaganda warfare. And they should, above all, be united in formulating and following a uniform and co-ordinated policy. The issue of the Hungarian revolt, for instance, would probably have been very different if similar insurrections had taken place simultaneously in Turkestan, Caucasia, Siberia, and in the Baltic States, etc. And it is on facts such as these that the vital struggle of the subjugated nations for freedom against enslavement must be based.

These same principles must be recognized and supported in Europe as well as in Asia. And all the enslaved nations should be united not only in word, but also in deed and action.

The same attitude towards the Russian people should be adopted by all the enslaved nations; those who support imperialism must be regarded as enemies, those who support the cause of all the enslaved nations and join forces with them must be treated as allies of these nations.

Some explanation is needed as regards the question of methods and strategy. A.B.N. maintains that the first front against Russia is bound to be composed of the extremely fanatical, patriotic, organized masses of the entire enslaved nations. War is the correct term for the entire enslaved nations. War is the correct term for the relation which exists between the imperialists and the enslaved. But it is war not in terms of divisions, regiments or battalions, but in terms of national revolutions. And every square mile of the whole empire is the front line, whether it is Russian, Ukrainian, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Estonian, Turkestanian or Siberian soil. The fight between Communism and traditionalism, between atheism and religion, between traitors and patriots, between idealists and materialists, between the principles of imperial domination of one nation by another and the principles of equality for all nations on the basis of national sovereignty, must be fought in the mountains and steppes, in forests and fields, in towns and villages, in factories and mines, on railroads and in prisons, and even in communities and families.

Furthermore, A.B.N. affirms that Russia is not invincible. If certain prerequisites are taken into consideration, she can, in fact, be more easily destroyed from within than from without. Historical events substantiate the idea that the Soviet army can be defeated by ideas and division on nationality lines. The prisoners of the concentration camps constitute a formidable force against Russia, as events of 1953-54 proved. The irregular guerilla forces of all the enslaved peoples could easily unite in joint action, as events of 1943-44 proved, when soldiers of the various nationalities of the Soviet Union were organized in military units by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and were later sent to their native countries. Operations by raiding guerillas are also possible, as incidents during the years 1943-45 proved, when guerilla detachments stationed in the Pripet region carried out raids into Byelorussia and Lithuania, and, on more than one occasion, units consisting of several hundred men raided the region extending from the Carpathian Mountains to Lower Caucasia and marched about 2,000 kilometres. That effective communication can exist despite the rigid application of the "Iron Curtain" principle to the Soviet territories, is proved by the fact that communication still exists even today between the Ukrainian underground and the groups in exile. Napoleon and Hitler were defeated in Russia not by the Russians, but rather, by their own wrong policy, wrong strategy and blindness to the reality of nationality questions. Wilhelmian Germany partly realized which was the vulnerable spot of the Russian empire.

Continued on page 10

World Front Against Communism Advances

After attending the Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League in Saigon (Vietnam), the President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), *Jaroslav Stetzko*, arrived in Australia on April 28. On his arrival at the airport in Sydney he was welcomed by a large group of Ukrainian emigrants. Children attired in national costume presented him with bouquets of flowers, whilst reporters from the Australian press got busy with their cameras and took one picture after another of this noteworthy occasion.

And to consider the most important points beforehand: during his extensive two-months' tour of Australia, President Stetzko had an opportunity to make the acquaintance of many important politicians, to whom he explained the various new possibilities of effectively combating Communism and Russian imperialism. How successful these



The Australian Delegation in Saigon

discussions were, can be seen from the fact that the activity of the anti-Communist fight in Australia has increased very considerably since then. Thanks to the many speeches held by Mr. Stetzko at mass rallies of the emigrants from the states subjugated by Moscow who are at present living in Australia — rallies which were also attended by a large number of Australians — and thanks to similar rallies held by the Australians themselves, the anti-Communist campaign and activity has become the daily programme in the Australian press.

An Effective Appeal to the Public

To mention only a few of the events during Mr. Stetzko's tour of Australia which met with a whole-hearted response on the part of the public:

On the evening of April 28, Mr. Stetzko held a lecture, in the Estonian Club in Sydney, on the activity of the A.B.N. in connection with the international situation and the fight for freedom of the subjugated peoples. Commenting on his remarks, which served as an introduction to the entire series of lectures in which he dealt with various themes, the paper, "Truth", published a large photo of President Stetzko and wrote: "Liberation movements in the Russian empire were now strengthening after the Hungarian revolution", Mr. Stetzko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine, said yesterday after his arrival in Sydney . . . "The processes at present in progress behind the Iron Curtain are proof of the systematic downfall of the Communist regime . . ."

On May 4, President Stetzko spoke at a meeting of the Ukrainians in Canberra, the capital of Australia.

Immediately afterwards he left by plane for Melbourne, where he was welcomed at the airport by over 200 Ukrainians, who, as soon as they caught sight of him, began to sing the Ukrainian national anthem. A big rally was then held in Melbourne with Mr. Stetzko, who was given a cordial welcome by Australian politicians and representatives of the Ukrainian organizations, as the speaker. *Senator McManus*, secretary-general of the Anti-Communist Labour Party and Mr. Skully, M. P., attended the rally as guests of honour.

On May 10, Mr. Stetzko travelled by plane via Adelaide to Perth, the capital of Western Australia. On his arrival at the airport there he was welcomed by about 200 Ukrainians, by members of the Australian parliament, representatives of the Democratic Labour Party and of the press, and by the Rev. Father *Ivanchko*. A number of children

presented him with bouquets of flowers. Many of those present were wearing the uniform of the Ukrainian Youth Movement in Western Australia, and some of the grown-ups and children were attired in the Ukrainian national costume. In addition, representatives of the Ukrainian political groups which actively support the campaign of the A.B.N. in Perth, the chairman of the local A.B.N. delegation, Mr. *Zshelichovskyy*, the secretary, Mr. *Schtornyk*, the head of the foreign relations section, Mr. *Kania*, as well as Mr. *Hutej*, Mr. *Petrovskyy* and many other persons were also present on this occasion.

On the following day, Mr. Stetzko was cordially welcomed at a Ukrainian rally by numerous representatives of the various Ukrainian organizations, including the president of the Ukrainian community, Dr. *Meuzinskyj*, and the president of the Ukrainian Women's Union, Mrs. *Meuzinska*.

This impressive mass rally was followed by discussions lasting two hours. On Sunday, May 12, Mrs. *Meuzinska* celebrated Mother's Day with Ukrainian children; to mark this occasion, children, attired in national Ukrainian costume, performed dances, sang and recited and also gave a play, all of which they did with a truly nationally conscious attitude and spirit.

The Series of Lectures Continues

On May 11, President Stetzko was the guest of the Australian War Veterans Organization. Those present on this occasion included the Danish Consul, countless officers of the army, veterans, representatives of the press and other prominent personalities, and numbered more than 150 persons. After the stirring speech given by Mr. Stetzko, one Member (Liberal) of the Federal Parliament expressed the thanks and the appreciation of all those present for Mr. Stetzko's speech, which he said was outstanding for its train of thought.

Whilst in Perth, President Stetzko also spoke at a rally held by the Australians and other nationalities. On this occasion speeches were also made by representatives of the Liberal Party and of the Anti-Communist Labour Party and by representatives of the peoples subjugated by Moscow. The paper, "The West Australian", reporting on this event, published a picture of Mr. Stetzko with a group of Ukrainians and some little girls in the foreground, and wrote as follows: ". . . The aim of his visit is to strengthen the anti-Communist feelings of the Australian people and to give moral support to the members of the nations behind the Iron Curtain . . . Mr. Stetzko said that Australia was faced by the real danger of a Communist aggression from the North. 'Australia at present holds a key position in the Pacific', he stated, 'and will be able to ward off the Communist danger if it becomes a member of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League. We intend to give the anti-Communist peoples of Asia our most active political support'."

On May 13, an international rally was held in Adelaide, at which Mr. Stetzko and Mr. *Baylon Ryan*, the Secretary of State of the Democratic Labour Party, were the speakers. Mr. *J. D. O'Sullivan* presided.

Australian,
Chinese, Dutch,
Hungarian,
Croatian,
Slovakian
and
Ukrainian
guests at
the ABN
banquet
in Sydney.



Reporting on a further international rally held in Melbourne, the paper, "The Sun", used the following headline: "Five Hundred Refugees From Behind The Iron Curtain Meet In Order To Speak In Freedom". After President Stetzko's speech, *Senator J. G. Gorton*, the head of the Committee for Foreign Affairs of the Commonwealth Government, in corroboration of the remarks made by the President of the Central Committee of the ABN, said that Communism was a political threat to Australia both at home and abroad.

There was loud applause when the Hungarian freedom fighter, Dr. *Christoph Bela*, said, "The Western powers must never again let my fellow-countrymen face the Russian tanks alone. The Hungarians must have help in future revolts." Other speakers on this occasion were *Senator Gorton*, *Senator McManus* in his capacity as secretary-general of the Anti-Communist Labour Party and leader of the rally, and representatives of the Slovaks, Croats, Poles, Cossacks and other peoples. Mr. *Jaskevych* read an appeal addressed to the free world, which was accepted by acclamation. We publish the text of this appeal in this issue.

Successful Contact Established with Prominent Political and Ecclesiastical Personalities

The Australian press was interested in the views expressed by the leading representative of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN). The "Adelaide Advertiser", for instance, had a headline "The Champion of Ukraine Is Here", whilst a headline in "The Sun" read: "Our Guest Fights The Soviets, The Nazis and Escapes From The Assassins". These and similar captions accompanied President Stetzko during his two-months' stay in Australia, where he visited most of the larger towns and was received with great cordiality everywhere. He had long talks with the mayors of the towns he visited and with senators, representatives of the governments of the various states of Australia, and high ecclesiastical dignitaries. To mention but a few examples:

On May 1, Mr. Stetzko had a long talk with the presidium of the Australian Democratic Labour Party. The members of the presidium, headed by the President, *H. Alan Manning*, and the Secretary-General, *J. T. Kane*, took part in this discussion.

On the same day, Mr. Stetzko called on the Lord Mayor of Sydney, Mr. *F. Jackson*, who welcomed him most cordially and presented him with a souvenir-album of the city of Sydney, containing a special dedication to the former head of the government of Ukraine. Later in the day, Mr. Stetzko, accompanied by the Very Reverend Dr. *Diatschyschyn*, also called on Cardinal *Gilroy*, who received him most cordially.

Next day, the President of the Central Committee of the ABN, accompanied by two members of the ABN delegation, had a talk with the acting head of the government of the State of New South Wales.

On the evening of May 3, a banquet was held at the Sheridan Hotel, which was attended by the deputy-president of the Liberal Party in Sydney, the president of the coordination centre of the Hungarian organizations in Australia, the presidents of the Slovak, Croat and Roumanian central

Continued on Page 10

Paving the Way to a New Europe

The 6th International Congress of the European Documentation and Information Centre

The impressive halls of the Escorial near Madrid, about which we published a report in this paper last year, were once again the scene of a genuine striving to found a united Europe. From June 15 to June 20, the European Documentation and Information Centre again held its annual Congress there, which was attended by delegations from the following countries: Germany, England, Austria, Belgium, Spain, U.S.A., France, Greece, Holland, Switzerland, Sweden and Portugal. The subjugated peoples were represented by *Mrs. Slawa Stetzko* and *Mr. Wolodymyr Pastuschuk* (Ukraine), and by the Ambassador of Free Hungary to Spain, *Mr. Francisco de Marochi*. *Archduke Otto of Habsburg* opened the Congress, the main theme of which was the crisis in the Atlantic world. This problem was discussed under the following hearings:

- 1) "Misunderstandings between the U.S.A. and Europe",
- 2) "The International European Organizations",
- 3) "The Mission of United Europe in the Atlantic World".

The entire procedure of the Congress was in keeping with the aims of the European Documentation and Information Centre which consist in restoring a United Europe on a Christian basis, and in stressing and reverting to the highest ideal values in our atomic age. It is a further aim of the

European Documentation and Information Centre that the cultural and political organizations of the individual peoples shall be subordinated to a supra-

We should like to express our sincere congratulations to the head of the Croat State,

Dr. Ante Pawelic,

on being restored to health, after an attempt was made to assassinate him by a Communist criminal and he managed to escape being killed thanks to his presence of mind and his courage. The A.B.N. has always supported the independence aims of Croatia and will continue to do so.

national organization and that contacts between the nations of Europe shall be strengthened by conferences and congresses, to be held at regular intervals.

Thus, the 6th Congress of the European Documentation and Information Centre has contributed a valuable share towards bringing about an understanding amongst the peoples of Europe.



A picture of the plenary Session in Escorial

From left to right: Mr. Rodgers, M. P. (Great Britain), Mr. L. Einstein (U.S.A.), Mr. R. Hill (Great Britain), Mrs. Slawa Stetzko (Ukraine), Mr. P. C. R. Pinto (Portugal)

World Front Against Communism Advances (Continued from page 9)

organizations, and a Dutch representative. Special mention must be made of the fact that the Chinese Consul in Sydney was also present on this occasion and, like the other gentlemen, had a long talk with Mr. Stetzko.

During his stay in Canberra, Mr. Stetzko, accompanied by Mr. L. Lytvyn and Mr. Pavutschok, had a talk with the Australian Federal Minister for Immigration.

Next day, May 8, President Stetzko was received by Senator Gorton in the House of Representatives. (The Senator was the head of the Australian delegation at the Conference in Saigon.) On the same day, Mr. Gorton the Chairman of the Senate Committee for Foreign Affairs, gave a dinner at Parliament House in honour of Mr. Stetzko. Mr. W. Wentworth, member of the Liberal Party in the Federal Parliament and the expert of the government party on questions pertaining to the anti-Communist fight, as well as Senator McManus and Senator Cole, both leaders of the Anti-Communist Labour Party, were also present on this occasion. After the dinner a two-hour discussion took place, during which vital questions of the anti-Communist fight were dealt with. Subsequently, Mr. Stetzko and the two gentlemen who accompanied him, Mr. Lytvyn and Mr. Pavutschok, were invited to attend the debates in the Federal Parliament as guests.

On May 9, Mr. Stetzko had a talk with the Japanese Ambassador to Canberra, His Excellency Suzuki.

Conferences Conclude Successful Tour

Accompanied by ABN representatives, President Stetzko had a long political discussion with the

head of the government of Western Australia, Mr. Hawke, the Prime Minister of Victoria, Mr. Bolte, and the Lord Mayor of Melbourne, Sir Frank Selleck. Senator Vincent in Perth called on Mr. Stetzko at his hotel.

Together with the Very Reverend Dr. J. Praszko, Mr. Mysko and Mr. Jashevych, Mr. Stetzko was received in audience by the Archbishop of Melbourne, His Excellency Mannix with whom he had a talk lasting one and a half hours.

The necessity of putting a stop to the advance of Communism was the subject of long and lively discussions in the Federal Parliament, and on numerous occasions during the debates, delegates took the same point of view against Communism which has been expressed for so long by the representatives of the peoples subjugated by Communism.

Press conferences in Perth, Adelaide, Sydney and Melbourne, etc., rounded off the whole tour as regards its purpose as an enlightenment campaign.

On May 26, President Stetzko placed a wreath on the Unknown Soldier's Grave. This ceremony was relayed on television on the same day. On the previous day, the radio stations of Canberra and Sydney relayed a statement made by Mr. Stetzko to the Australian press in Canberra.

The big significance of this far-reaching and successful "Crusade against Communism, and Russian imperialism", as Mr. Stetzko's Far East tour is described, lies in the fact that Australia not only represents a new point of crystallization in the union of the anti-Communist peoples, but, as the wide open window looking onto the Western world, attracts the gaze of all civilized nations.

On the Threshold of a New Historical Era

(Continued from page 8)

Turning from history and ideological principles to recent events, we should like to stress the following points.

If any one of the subjugated countries pursues the policy of breaking away from the Soviet yoke alone, without the other nations being liberated and without the Russian imperium itself being destroyed, it will find that such a policy is false and, in fact, cannot be realized.

From the point of view of long-term interests of any nation, the achievement of liberal conditions of relative freedom of a temporary nature or even of independence with no guarantee that it would be permanent, would, in our opinion, be politically unwise and, in fact, futile.

This brings us to two other points. In the first place, Asia and Europe as far as the enslaved nations are concerned must be regarded as a whole, for what is going on in Afghanistan, Iraq and Burma will vitally affect our peoples, too. Thus, as we see it, both continents are gradually drawing closer, to become one front. And for this reason, the agreement reached between the A.B.N. and the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, in particular with nationalist Free China, is of the utmost importance to all subjugated European nations. Secondly, we should all realize that the moral and declaratory support given by the Western powers to some nations, particularly those of Central Europe, is no substantial achievement over nations like Ukraine, Byelorussia and Turkestan, which do not as yet enjoy such a privilege.

Certain important conclusions must be drawn with regard to recent events in Hungary. The Hungarian revolution has once again corroborated the following facts: ten years are not enough in order to achieve the successful and effective Sovietization of a subjugated nation. And the same also applies in the case of those countries which have been held in enslavement for twenty or thirty years. National solidarity, not class solidarity or class discrimination, is the outstanding feature of the social order in these countries. Many Western theoreticians have now been provided with a new argument for changing their views on the Soviet Union: the nations of this monolithic state have lost neither their national individuality nor their national aspirations for freedom. Furthermore, it has been proved that armed insurrections are possible even under Communism and might be successful under certain conditions. It has likewise been proved that a people cannot be effectively suppressed to such an extent that effective resistance would be impossible to organize.

But the most important conclusion which must be drawn by all the enslaved peoples is, that if they had all staged similar insurrections at the time of the Hungarian revolution, the ultimate result would most probably have been very different. And it is extremely likely that this would have meant the beginning of the final downfall of the Russian empire. The tragedy of Hungary lies in the fact that her efforts were not closely coordinated with the efforts of all the other enslaved nations. This is the same mistake which was made by the Poles in Poznan, by the East Germans in 1953, by the North Vietnamese recently, by the Tibetans last summer, and by the Ukrainians in Norylsk and Kingiri, etc. It is a well-known fact that after the Hungarians revolted, the Ukrainian underground carried out supporting operations in the Carpathian region in order to disrupt Russian reinforcements on their way to Hungary. It is regrettable that the Western press concentrates solely on the sensational aspect, instead of concerning itself with the wider field of political reality, but in this respect it mainly reflects the attitude of its governments.

It is therefore our duty to draw the attention of the Western public and governments to the actual conclusions to be deduced from the events which are happening under the Russian yoke. We now have a better opportunity to present the true, ideological and international approach of the A.B.N. to this question. We are in a position to assess recent events for what they are worth, and to put political proposals to those people who should sympathize with the enslaved nations, so that they will in the future correct and change their policy accordingly.

Finally, now is the time to expand and consolidate the front of the enslaved nations and of all freedom-loving men.

Intensified Cooperation with Free China

After his successful two-months' tour of Australia, the President of the Central Committee of the A.B.N., Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, on June 21, 1957, arrived in Taipei, the capital of Free China.

Mr. Stetzko was welcomed at Taipei airport by Excellency Ku, the members of the A.B.N. mission in Free China, by General Chang and leading personalities of the APACLROC. Other prominent persons who were at the airport to welcome Mr. Stetzko included Mr. Chen Chien-chung (head of Department VI of the Kuomintang), Dr. Pao Hua-kuo, Mr. Tan Yeh-ming, Prof. Pao, Prof. Liu, Mr. Hwang Yu, Mr. Funeng Soong, Prof. Lin Chie-shan, Mrs. Tsai (of the Women's Anti-Communist League), and over twenty representatives of various Chinese organizations. A little Chinese girl presented Mr. Stetzko with a bouquet of roses on his arrival.

Before leaving the airport, Mr. Stetzko gave the numerous journalists present a detailed interview, of which the Chinese daily paper, "China News", June 22, 1957, wrote as follows: . . . "Mr. Stetzko exhorted the free world to give active support to the anti-Communist movements behind the Iron Curtain, since it is only in this way that a third world war can be avoided." The same paper also said that Mr. Stetzko warned the Western nations of the dangers of an imminent atomic war in the near future, if the ideas of Free China as regards the anti-Communist fight were not given support. These ideas were expressed by President

A Letter to the Editorial Department Tito's Army Will Collapse

It is a known fact that Tito's intended visit to the USA naturally caused considerable surprise and a wave of opposition both in the entire free world as well as in the USA itself, where senators and congressmen of both parties, all the Catholic societies and the American public, too, voiced their indignation at Tito's intention.

And this is perfectly understandable, for Tito is a Communist. And no fine phrases about a so-called "socialist" form of government can conceal this fact. There is no such thing as "national Communism", just as there is no "Yugoslav nation". The present so-called "Yugoslavia" is a Communist state structure which has no right to exist, since it is a violation of the right of self-determination of the nations. And it is precisely this right of self-determination which is the fundamental principle of American policy in the framework of the United Nations.

Croatians and Macedonians, Serbs and Slovenes, are being held in subjection in this unnatural state structure by means of ruthless violence and by a government which refuses to recognize all the rights of these highly civilized ancient peoples which have been guaranteed by the United Nations.

In the event of an armed conflict will Tito fight against Russia, that is to say against Communism and against himself? Never! For the simple reason that, the moment Russian Communism in U.S.S.R. collapses, Tito and his despotism would likewise be swept out of existence.

And, incidentally, the Croatians and Macedonians, etc., would never be willing to fight for Tito and his party-associates, who are holding entire nations in slavery. Just as in World War II the much better equipped and trained army of the kingdom of Yugoslavia collapsed within six days, during the first offensive, because the Croatians refused to obey orders and were not willing to fight and die for their subjugators, so, too, will Tito's army likewise collapse. And the national units of this army will then fight against Bolshevism for their freedom and their right of self-determination, as defined by the Charter of the United Nations.

General S

Chiang Kai-shek in his book, "Soviet Russia In China", which was published recently in the U.S.A. President Chiang-Kai-shek is convinced that co-existence is bound to lead to an atomic war and that such a war can only be prevented by national revolutions and by the policy of the disintegration of the Soviet imperium.

On the day of Mr. Stetzko's arrival in Taipei, the APACLROC held a reception in his honour, at which the members of the A.B.N. mission were also present.

On the following morning, June 22, Mr. Stetzko, accompanied by the members of the A.B.N. mission, placed a wreath on the cenotaph commemorating the Chinese freedom fighters who have been killed in action. Subsequently, he and the members of the A.B.N. mission called on the president of the Chinese National Foreign Relations Association, Mr. Huang Kuo-shu, who "exchanged ideas with Mr. Stetzko on the strengthening of the friendly cooperation between the anti-Communist nations of Europe and Free China" ("China Post", June 23, 1957).

On the same day, Mr. Stetzko and the members of the A.B.N. mission visited the director of the Government Information Bureau, Mr. Sampson-Shen, and discussed the activity of the A.B.N. in Europe, Australia and other countries with him. In the afternoon, Mr. Stetzko and the A.B.N. mission had a talk with the Acting Foreign Minister, Shen Chang-huan, on the possibility of bringing up the question of the subjugated peoples in the forum of the United Nations.

On Monday, June 24, 1957, Mr. Stetzko had a talk with Prof. Pu, the director of the Institute for Relations with Foreign Countries and an authority on East European questions, and discussed various problems pertaining to the subjugated peoples in the U.S.S.R. with him. Subsequently, Mr. Stetzko visited the highest scientific institution in Free China, the "Academia Sinica". He was accompanied on this occasion by the president of this Academy and chairman of the Chinese Association for the United Nations, Dr. Chu Chia-hua, who gave a dinner in honour of Mr. Stetzko, which was attended by Mr. Ku Cheng-kang, the members of the A.B.N. mission and various other prominent persons. Afterwards, Mr. Stetzko discussed various questions pertaining to the cooperation between the A.B.N. Press Service and the Chinese press with Prof. Pao, the head of the press agency.

On June 25, 1957, Mr. Stetzko presented the Secretary-General of the Chinese Defense Council, General Chou-Chi-jou, who is also the president of the Chinese Sport Federation of Amateurs, with the so-called "Ukrainian Cup of Freedom". Prior to the presentation of the cup, the "China News" wrote as follows: "Jaroslaw Stetzko, the former head of the government of Ukraine and President of the Central Committee of the A.B.N., will present the Chinese athletes with a silver cup as a token of the friendship of the Ukrainian fighters for freedom". The presentation ceremony itself was described by the entire Chinese press, which published numerous photographs of the occasion.

On the same day, Mr. Stetzko and the A.B.N. mission were received by the Vice-President, Chen Cheng, and the head of the Government, O. K. Yui. A tea-party was given in honour of the guests by the Vice-President.

The President of the Chinese National Organization for Foreign Relations, who is also the Vice-President of the Parliament, gave a dinner in Mr. Stetzko's honour.

On Wednesday, June 26, the APACLROC gave a tea-party in Taipei town hall, which, according to reports in the Chinese press, was attended by over 60 Legislators and professors. Mr. Stetzko held an interesting lecture on "The Prospects of the National Revolutions and the Situation behind the Iron Curtain", before this distinguished audience. In the evening, Mr. Stetzko had a talk with the head of Department VI of the Kuomintang, Mr. Chen Chien-chung. This discussion was followed by a dinner, which was given in honour of Mr. Stetzko and the A.B.N. mission and was also attended by various other leading men of the Kuomintang.

Next day, June 27, Mr. Stetzko was received in audience by President Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. In the course of this audience "the President of the Central Committee of the A.B.N. discussed the methods and means of fighting Russian imperialism" ("China News", June 27, 1957).

After this audience Mr. Stetzko had a talk with the son of the Generalissimo, General Chiang Ching-kuo. The Generalissimo's second son, Major-General Chiang We-go, invited Mr. Stetzko to a luncheon at the International Rotary Club, which was attended by representatives of twelve different nations (U.S.A., France, England, Japan, Turkey, China, Korea, Vietnam, the Philippines, etc.) as well as by members of the diplomatic service in Free China. As the guest of honour, Mr. Stetzko spoke on the subject, "The Peoples Subjugated by Russia and the Free World". On the following day, Mr. Stetzko spoke before an audience of refugees from Red China, who had recently fled from Red China via Hongkong to Taipei by ship, after having overpowered the crew. The guests of honour present on this occasion, when the new refugees were officially welcomed, included the Minister of the Interior, Excellency Wang Teh-pu, an American representative, Mr. Ku Cheng-kang, and various other prominent persons. The ceremony was relayed by radio to the Chinese mainland.

At the invitation of the Chinese Association for the United Nations, Mr. Stetzko gave a lecture on "The International Position of Ukraine and of other Nations Subjugated by Bolshevism".

On Sunday, June 30, Mr. Stetzko received a visit from the president of the "Academia Sinica", Dr. Chu Chia-hua, the former Minister of Education and present adviser of President Chiang Kai-shek, at the house of the A.B.N. mission. Questions pertaining to the cooperation between Chinese and Ukrainian scholars and the leading academic institutions were discussed on this occasion.

In the afternoon, Mr. Stetzko and the members of the A.B.N. mission called on Prof. Lin. In the evening, Mr. Stetzko opened the first championship matches between the two best basketball teams for the "Ukrainian Cup of Freedom", at the Army Stadium. In the presence of the Mayor of Taipei, the generals of the general staff of the Chinese army, the President of the APACLROC, Mr. Ku Cheng-kang, and a huge crowd of spectators, Mr. Stetzko held a short address before the games began. The acting general staff chief of the Political Department of the Ministry of National Defence, General Yi, presented President Stetzko with three flags, — from the Chief of the Political Department of the Ministry of National Defence, from the general staff and from the Chinese Youth Corps. This ceremony, which was carried out to the accompaniment of a march, was photographed by numerous photographers and reporters, and next day all the papers published pictures of the occasion along with the results of the championship matches.

On July 2, Mr. Stetzko presented Madame Chiang Kai-shek with a gift from the Ukrainian women in Australia, and was received by her at the house of the Chinese Women's Anti-Aggression League.

On the same day, Mr. Stetzko and the members of the A.B.N. mission were invited to a luncheon by the Chief of the Political Department of the Ministry of National Defence, General Chiang Chien-jen. The various possibilities of cooperation in the field of psychological warfare were discussed on this occasion.

In the evening, Prof. Pu gave a reception in Mr. Stetzko's honour, to which Mr. Ku Cheng-kang, Dr. Pao Hua-kuo, Prof. Lin, the head of Department I of the Kuomintang, Mr. Tang Tsung, Mr. Chen Chien-chung, General Chang and the members of the A.B.N. mission were also invited.

During his stay in Free China Mr. Stetzko had a number of lengthy talks with the leaders of the APACLROC, in the course of which various questions pertaining to the cooperation between the A.B.N. and the APACLROC were discussed in detail. In addition, Mr. Stetzko and the members of the A.B.N. mission also had long talks with the ambassadors of the U.S.A. and France in Taipei.

The ABN Mission in Free China at Work

As is known, an agreement between the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, Republic of China (APACLROC) was concluded and signed by the President of the Central Committee of the A.B.N., *Jaroslav Stetzko*, and the President of the APACLROC, *Ku Cheng-kang*, on October 24, 1955, in Taipei (Formosa). According to Paragraph 4, Section 3 of this Agreement, it was agreed that a mission of the A.B.N. should be sent to Formosa.

Subsequent to the ratification of the Agreement on November 10 and December 29 and the exchange of the documents of ratification by the Vice-President of the A.B.N., *Christo Stetteff*, former Minister of Bulgaria, and the authorized representative of the APACLROC, *Dr. Yü Tsunehi*, on April 30, 1956, in Rome, the A.B.N. mission arrived in Taipei, the capital of Free China, on February 25, 1957.

On the day of their arrival there, the members of the mission gave an interview for the "Central News Agency". The entire National Chinese press published reports of their arrival and the tasks they were about to undertake. On February 26, 1957, the President of the APACLROC, *Mr. Ku Cheng-kang*, called on the A.B.N. mission and gave a banquet in its honour at the City Hall. On the following day, the A.B.N. mission visited the central radio station "Free China", where it gained an insight into the Chinese methods of psychological warfare against the Communist regime on the mainland.

As a result of the observations they made and the experience they gained in this respect, the members of the A.B.N. mission came to the conclusion that — as compared to the erroneous, vague and chaotic anti-Communist propaganda campaign conducted by various other countries, which is hardly likely to have the desired success — the leading authorities on Formosa are carrying on a propaganda campaign which not only pursues definite aims, but is also precise and excellently planned.

Tendering of Credentials

The actual work of the A.B.N. mission began on March 16, 1957, when the members of the mission tendered their credentials to the Chinese representative of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist

Mr. Stetzko spoke to the Chinese people and to the peoples subjugated by Communism and Red Russia, over three different radio stations. His speeches were made in Ukrainian and synchronized in Chinese.

On July 6, the President of the Central Committee of the A.B.N. inaugurated the radio station of the A.B.N. mission. Its programmes are to be relayed to the population of Siberia, to the prisoners in the Soviet concentration camps and to the Soviet "missions" on the Chinese mainland.

The official organ of the Kuomintang, on July 1, published a long article entitled "40 Years of the National Fight of Ukraine for Freedom and Independence against Soviet Russian Tyranny", which was based on data received from the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine.

Before leaving Taipei, Mr. Stetzko, on July 6, held a press conference, which lasted over an hour and was attended by representatives of the entire Chinese press. After a statement for the press about the purge in Moscow, the fight for freedom of the subjugated peoples, the impressions gained by Mr. Stetzko in Taiwan, and the latest book by President Chiang Kai-shek, which has recently been published in Chinese and English, Mr. Stetzko answered numerous questions put to him by the press.

On Sunday, July 7, Mr. Stetzko left Taipei for Hongkong. He was seen off at the airport by *Mr. Ku Cheng-kang*, the President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, *Prof. Dr. Chu*, the director of Department VI of the Kuomintang, the director of the Institute for Foreign Relations in the East, the Secretary-General of the APACLROC, *Dr. Pao*, the members of the A.B.N. mission, and many other prominent Chinese political and military personalities.

The A.B.N. Mission in Free China.

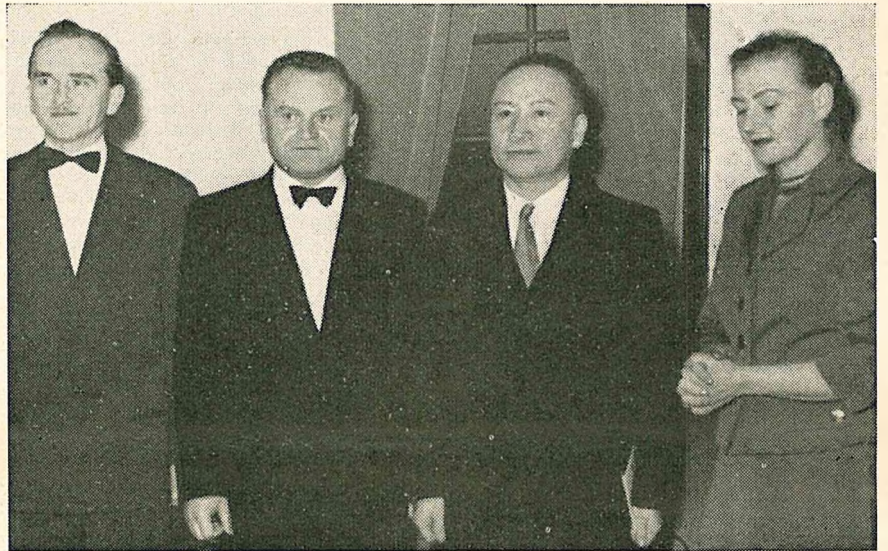
League, *Mr. Ku Cheng-kang*, at the headquarters of the APACLROC, in the presence of leading functionaries of this organization and of the Institute of International Relations of Free China. By these documents the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) accredited *Mr. Julian Zablockyj* as the head of the mission and *Mr. Volodymyr Kosyk* as the latter's secretary and authorized mandatary for mutual relations.

The ceremony of tendering the credentials took place at the town hall of Taipei. After the official part of the ceremony was over, a reception was held in honour of the mission; about forty leading personalities attended the reception, including the President of the APACL and member of the Standing Committee of the Kuomintang, *Mr. Ku Cheng-kang*, the Secretary-General of the Chinese-German Cultural Society and Professor at the Chengchi University, *Professor Lin Tsiu-sen*, the head of the Institute for International Relations, *Prof. Pu*, the Secretary-General of the APACLROC and member of the Legislative Yuan, *Dr. Pao Hua-kuo*, the

strengthen the cooperation between the peoples of Europe and Asia who are subjugated by Bolshevism, in order to gain an ultimate victory over Bolshevism and bring about the restoration of sovereign states of those peoples of Europe at present enslaved by Communist Moscow, of the Chinese people and of other peoples of Asia.

An extremely important task of the A.B.N. mission in Free China will consist in relaying radio programmes in the languages of the peoples of the A.B.N. These programmes will stress the common aim of the fight and will throw light on the political situation in the free West as compared to that in the Russian peoples' prison. They will be relayed specially for the population of Siberia, the prisoners of the Soviet Army in the Far East and the Soviet "missions" in the Far East.

In addition, it is the aim of the A.B.N. mission to make the masses of the peoples represented in the APACL acquainted with the history, the cultural development, the national problems and the present fight of the peoples subjugated by Moscow.



President
Ku Cheng-
kang with the
ABN Mission

representative of the Youth Organization of China and member of the Yuan, *Mr. Lin Peng-chin*, the parliamentary delegate, *Mr. Yu-cheng*, the deputy Secretary-General of the APACLROC, *Mr. Tan Ye-ming*, the acting Director of the State Information Bureau, *Mr. Chu Sing-min*, the Secretary of the Institute for International Relations, *Mr. Lin Chuan-chan*, the executive head of the Chinese Women's Anti-Communist and Anti-Aggression League, *Mrs. Tsai*, *Mr. Huang You* of the Ministry of the Interior, the head of the department for European affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Mr. Funeng Soong*, the liaison mandatary between the A.B.N. mission and the League, and many other representatives of parties, organizations, press and radio.

President Ku Cheng-kang welcomed the members of the mission and assured them that he personally and the Chinese Chapter of the League (APACLROC), which includes amongst its members various social and political organizations, would do their utmost to aid the mission in its work. In addition, he stressed the fact that the cooperation of the APACLROC and the A.B.N. was not merely a cooperation of two anti-Communist centres in the fight against international Communism and Russian imperialism, but the cooperation of the Chinese people with the subjugated peoples of Eastern Europe.

Publications in Chinese on the A.B.N. and the fight of the subjugated peoples against Communism and Russian imperialism were handed to the guests present at the reception. The A.B.N. mission placed an interview giving an account of the development and activity of the A.B.N. and the liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain at the disposal of the broadcasting company.

Tasks and Aims of the A.B.N. Mission

Thus, on March 16, 1957, the joint fight of the two anti-Communist centres, the A.B.N. and the APACLROC, entered on a new phase.

It is the task of the A.B.N. mission to help to

On Saturday, July 6, the A.B.N. Radio Station was opened by the President of the Central Committee of the A.B.N., *Jaroslav Stetzko*. The founding of this radio station and the sending of the A.B.N. mission to Free China represent another huge step forward in the interests of not only the subjugated peoples, but also of the free world, which is thus to a very considerable extent supported in its attempt to ward off the Bolshevik menace.

Noteworthy Declaration of Freedom by US Secretary of State

In his speech at the annual congress of the "Associated Press" which was held recently in New York, the US Secretary of State, *John Foster Dulles*, stressed that the United States must give the Soviets to understand that they condemn the latter's imperialism and oppose it. It was the aim of the United States to help to bring about the liberation of the captive peoples, he added. As long as these peoples were not liberated and the nations which had been partitioned were not reunited, peace and freedom were merely empty phrases ... *Mr. Dulles* said that the Soviet leaders, who call themselves realists, must be asked how long they intend to go on opposing the historical forces which are striving for national freedom and are bound to be victorious in the end!

This new corroboration of the policy of liberation towards Eastern Europe was published as headline news not only by the American press, but also by the press of the rest of the world. The fact was stressed that *Mr. Dulles'* speech had been previously read and approved by President Eisenhower. (EPD).

News in Brief

Political Conference of the American Friends of ABN

On Sunday, June 16, a political conference of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was held at the "Hotel Victoria" in New York. More than seventy representatives of various nationalities took part in the Conference, including the representatives of the Byelorussians, Bulgarians, Estonians, Cossacks, Lithuanians, Latvians, Hungarians, North Caucasians, Slovaks, Slovenes, Turkestanians, Ukrainians, and Croats, and the secretary of the Korean Embassy in Washington, Mr. Luk Hien Yun.

In keeping with the programme of the Conference, which was opened by the Hungarian representative, Mr. Carlo Andrijansky, the following persons gave a lecture: Dr. Stephan Halamaï on "Fundamental Principles of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and the Strengthening of the Anti-Communist Forces in the World"; Mr. Luk Hien Yun on "The Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League"; Mr. Carlo Andrijansky on "Eight Months after the Hungarian Revolution"; and Mr. Luzil Raidiezer on "Titoism". The memorandum of the Hungarian emigrants to the UN was read by Mr. Antal Takæz, who took part in the Hungarian fight for freedom.

After the lectures a general discussion was held on the subjects dealt with in the lec-

tures. Mr. Luk Hien Yun stressed in particular the necessity of the union of all the anti-Communist forces in the world and their co-ordination in a universal anti-Communist liberation centre. This idea is supported by the leaders of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League.

As a result of the discussions, the Conference passed a resolution to the effect that it supports and appreciates the initiative and efforts of the headquarters of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League in Saigon (Vietnam) to set up an anti-Communist world centre. The resolution also expressed the hope that the cooperation between the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League and the ABN would become even closer in the future and that the united front of the fighters for freedom would be supported by the free Western world.

The Conference was presided over by Mr. J. Bilynskyj. After the Conference was ended, a social gathering was held, in the course of which all those present had an opportunity to exchange ideas on the problems common to all the peoples subjugated by Moscow.

Representatives of the American news agency, "Associated Press", and press representatives of various nationalities were present at the Conference.

Announcement by the European Section of the Hungarian Liberation Committee

On June 18th and 19th, the European Section of the Hungarian Liberation Committee held a meeting in Munich. Member-organizations present were the Hungarian Liberation Movement, the Union of Hungarian War Veterans, the Hungarian Mindszenty Movement, supported by the Hungarian-German Cultural Society, the Union of Hungarian Tradesmen, Merchants and Entrepreneurs, and the St. Ladislaus Union.

The representatives of the Union of Hungarian Freedom Fighters and of the Union of Politically Persecuted Persons were present at this meeting for the first time.

The audience listened with considerable interest to the report given by General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak, who had recently returned from the Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League in Saigon (Vietnam), after having been the guest of the China Chapter of the League in Formosa for a couple of days.

Questions pertaining to the cooperation between old and new emigrants and various new problems were discussed at the meeting.

The meeting passed a resolution to the effect that it would continue its fight for the liberation of Hungary, and stated that its programme in the immediate future would consist in the setting up of a joint platform of the anti-Bolshevik organizations of various countries and parts of the world.

President Veli Kajum Khan Activating the Near East

At the invitation of the Turkestanians, the President of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee, Veli Kajum Khan, is at present undertaking a tour of Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Egypt and other countries of the Near East, for the purpose of discussing with the representatives of all the Islamic countries both the national problems of Turkestan and other nations subjugated by Bolshevism, as well as the activity and fundamental principles of the ABN.

Since millions of Turkestanian emigrants wholeheartedly support the National Turkestanian Unity Committee and unanimously advocate the absolute freedom and independence not only of Turkestan but also of all the other countries subjugated by Russian Communist imperialism, Veli Kajum Khan's tour of the Near East is to be regarded as being of considerable significance for the anti-Communist fight.

ABN Press Service Announcement

The Bulgarian representative in the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), Dr. Dimiter Waltschreff, has resigned from his office as Chief of the ABN Press Service on account of other duties.

ABN PRESS SERVICE.

The Way to a United Europe (Continued from page 6)

and other countries into Russian colonies. If the West wants to be the loser in the struggle with Russia, then it only needs to propagate the idea of a federation in the East. During the last World War there was some talk of European unity, and in the name of this same unity peoples and countries were violated. Napoleon, too, wanted to "unite" Europe in the same way. Fichte, however, saw through and exposed this hypocritical pretext. The present conception of European unity must therefore avoid all the negative ideas of the past and must seek to win over the peoples of East Europe for a European unification by taking into consideration their national, state and political wishes and demands.

The best guarantee of peace and security

for all peoples is membership of the United Nations on the basis — and we should like to stress this once more — of complete equality of rights, according to which no one powerful state has a chance in the course of time to force the others into an alliance and to exploit regional factors for the purpose of carrying on a war of aggression.

But before there can be any serious discussion on these problems of the future, the idea of the inevitability of the dissolution of the Russian imperium must be accepted, and to this end all European and non-European peoples must cooperate in joint effort.

If this is the case, then all the other obstacles to the Pan-Europe idea, which still existed in Coudenhove-Kalergi's day, will automatically be surmounted.

The Creed of Caucasian Freedom

To commemorate the declaration of independence of the Caucasian Republics thirty-nine years ago, an impressive anniversary celebration was held on June 9, 1957, at the Hotel "Bayerischer Hof" in Munich.

The room in which the rally was held had been tastefully decorated. The national flags of the Caucasian peoples had been set up on the platform. Prof. Dr. Achmetelli presided over the meeting which was attended by many prominent personalities.

After the opening address had been given by Prof. Dr. Achmetelli, a lecture was delivered by Prof. Magoma. Tracing the will to freedom of the Caucasian peoples throughout the course of history, he proved that it was necessary, from the historical and geopolitical point of view, for Caucasia to become a united state.

Dr. Friedrich Priller, who was welcomed by a burst of applause, deputizing for the Bavarian Minister Walter Stain, was the next speaker. He stressed the fact that Germany had always shown great sympathy with the fight of the Caucasian peoples for their independence, and added that the young Caucasian states thirty-nine years ago had been characterized by their efficient state structure and social justice.

After referring to the fundamental traits of Soviet policy towards the world and Germany, the speaker mentioned events in Hungary. He said that a conversation which he had had with a high-ranking Soviet officer, who had gone over to the side of the freedom fighters during the Hungarian revolution, would remain unforgettable in his memory. The fact that the youth of Hungary, which since 1945 had been both encouraged and deceived by the Communists, had played a leading part in the Hungarian revolution, had caused a shock reaction behind the Iron Curtain which the West, unfortunately, had failed to use to advantage.

After referring to the failure of Sovietism in social policy, Dr. Priller expressed his admiration of the untiring efforts of the emigrants for the cause of freedom and human rights.

The tenor of the speech held by Dr. Dimiter Waltschreff, who on behalf of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) conveyed a message of greeting to all those present, was as follows:

Commemoration of the declaration of national independence by the peoples now subjugated in the Russian imperium should be a reminder to the free world of the danger which threatens its own future.

The public in the West does not show enough interest in the political emigrants from the East and on the whole regards us as undesirable intruders. The so-called "spirit of Geneva" still lurks in world political conferences and misleads Western politicians into being willing to make concessions and even into trusting Moscow. One is concerned again and again about the so-called "security need" of the Muscovite realm of despotism and is even prepared to sacrifice the freedom of our peoples for the status quo.

We are not warmongers, nor are we in favour of an atomic war. But we do hold that the development of events has now reached a limit where freedom has really become indivisible and where no problem of the present political crisis — not even the problem of the so-called German reunification — can be solved alone as a partial problem, but only within the framework of a global liberation policy. And the first precondition for such a policy would be a concentrated moral offensive of the free world, based on the greatest possible material superiority, against Soviet Russian tyranny. Only a moral stranglehold applied by the peoples of the whole world and the complete isolation of Soviet Russia could force Moscow to relinquish its despotic rule and to release the subjugated peoples, including those of Caucasia and all the other non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, from its tyrannical yoke.

May the day come when our comrades in misfortune, the Georgians, North Caucasians, Azerbaijanians and Armenians, regain their freedom and independence once more.

*

It was with a feeling of relief that world history has not lost all meaning and that one day all the nations of the world will regain their natural rights, that those present left the rally when it closed.

From Behind the Iron Curtain



MASS DEPORTATION OF YOUNG PERSONS TO THE U.S.S.R.

In an announcement published recently in all the papers of the country, the Central Committee of the Bulgarian National Youth Union exhorted the members of this organization to volunteer for work in the U.S.S.R. for a period of three years.

In addition to all members of the Dimitroff National Youth Organization, of both sexes and between the age of 18 and 30, former members of the organization who are over this age can also volunteer for work in the Soviet Union, provided that they are fit and have done their military service. The labour brigades are to be employed in Soviet mines, on building sites and state farms. The first lot of groups which have already left Bulgaria are being sent to the Turkestan countries, Uzbekistan and Kazakstan.

This measure on the part of the Bulgarian government has a twofold purpose; on the one hand, the government hopes to remedy the serious unemployment in the country; and, on the other hand, this measure presents an opportunity of ridding the country of a vast army of dissatisfied unemployed, who might form a potential vanguard for possible revolutionary outbreaks in the future. Furthermore, this campaign provides a means of removing politically untrustworthy and active elements of the younger generation from the country, under the pretext of "voluntary industrial conscription for the U.S.S.R.", in order to save the Bulgarian government the financial and moral burden of setting up concentration camps.

TRADE UNIONS AS TOOL OF THE PARTY

The part which the trade unions play and their importance in Moscow's satellite countries was very apparent from the *Congress of the Bulgarian Trade Unions* which was held recently in Sofia. The official Party reports published in connection with this Congress and the resolutions passed on this occasion clearly show that in Bulgaria in particular there can no longer be any talk of the professional interests of the working classes being represented by the trade unions or of the latter enjoying any independence as organizations. On the contrary, the Congress has proved that the Bulgarian trade unions are under the direct control of the Party and the government and have been degraded to the status of a mere tool of the Party's policy.

The programme and resolutions of the Congress were, incidentally, determined beforehand by a message of greeting from the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party to the Congress delegates, which contained the following instructions:

It is the duty of the organs of the trade unions to organize the socialist competition of labour so efficiently that the achievement of the following aims is guaranteed: fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the production plans in all branches of industry, popularization of the experiences and achievements of record workers, development of the internal production reserves of the industrial enterprises, increase of labour productivity, lowering of production costs and improvement of quality.

Only by achieving these aims — the Party message added — will it be possible to raise the standard of living of the working classes. Faults in the production process, bureaucratic methods in the management of industrial enterprises and violations of socialist laws could easily be remedied by criticism and self-criticism at the factory meetings. This latter remark in the Party message obviously implies a definite refusal to consider demands which, according to reliable information, have recently been voiced by the Bulgarian trade unions and workers, namely that workers' councils should be introduced.

In conclusion, the Congress submitted a report of its activity to the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, in which it was pointed

out that the Congress in its work had been guided by the decisions of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party in this respect and by its instructions. The report stated that the Congress had resolved to adopt measures to remedy the faults which had rightly been censured by the Party leaders. The trade unions, it added, promised to speed up the socialist labour competition, to increase productivity, to lower the costs of production and to improve the quality of products. In conclusion, the report stressed that the leaders of the trade unions would most definitely oppose all attempts to disintegrate the international workers' movement and to revise Marxism.

BULGARIA FORCED TO READJUST AGRICULTURAL SYSTEM

During the last visit of a Bulgarian government and Party delegation to Moscow it was already agreed that a new long-term planning system should be introduced in Bulgaria's agriculture, according to which Bulgaria was to expand fruit and vegetable growing and viticulture to such an extent by 1970 that she would be able to cover the needs of other East bloc countries. At the time, this plan met with a negative response in Bulgaria, since it was feared that the excessive expansion of the said cultures would be carried out at the expense of the acreage used for the cultivation of grain and other profitable agrarian products, a fact which would lead to the general yield of home agricultural production decreasing and to the country being obliged to depend on imports from abroad. In order to silence the opposition against the planned reform, the planning chief and acting Prime Minister at that time, Georgi Tschankoff, was obliged to make a reassuring statement in an interview with the government organ, to the effect that only fallow land was to be used for the increased cultivation of fruit, vegetables and vines so that the present production level for wheat and other profitable crops would in no way suffer.

The fears of the agricultural circles in question in Bulgaria have, however, meanwhile been corroborated. At a conference held in Sofia at the end of April, which was attended by the leading representatives of the agricultural and trade departments of the U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic, a resolution was passed to the effect that the Moscow plan for the aforesaid readjustment of Bulgarian agriculture was to be introduced. In the near future, definite delivery agreements are to be signed between Bulgaria and the above-mentioned three countries, and according to these agreements, Bulgaria will undertake to deliver definite and exorbitantly large quantities of fruit, vines and vegetables — as preserves, too, — by 1970. At the same time, however, the skeleton agreement signed in Sofia contains a clause which explicitly stipulates that the Bulgarian exports are to be compensated by reciprocal deliveries of wheat, cotton and other agricultural products from the Soviet Union. Since Bulgaria, especially as regards wheat, was always a country that exported its own produce, however, it is obvious that the structural readjustment of its agriculture, as decreed by Moscow, will be effected at the expense of home crop-growing, a fact which will make Bulgaria dependent on foreign countries or on the U.S.S.R. as regards supplying its own population.



FAMINE AN ATTENDANT PHENOMENON OF COMMUNISM

The Chinese Communist press and Peiping Radio Station have admitted that there is a serious famine in many parts of China, a fact which has led to considerable unrests.

*

There is a serious famine in those parts of China which are occupied by the Communists. National Chinese planes have dropped 40,000 kilogrammes of rice, as well as 30,000 garments for the needy population, and millions of propaganda leaflets over the provinces of Kwangtung and Chekiang, which are most badly hit by the famine.

THE DALAI LAMA TAKEN PRISONER BY RED CHINA

Refugees from Tibet report that the Dalai Lama, the ecclesiastical and spiritual head of the Tibetans, has been abducted and taken to Red China by Chinese Communists. The Dalai Lama is at present in Peiping, where he is under house arrest.

RED CHINESE SELL CHILDREN AS SLAVES

The slave-trade, which has long since been abolished by the civilized peoples of the world, is at present flourishing anew in Red China. It is reported from Hongkong that the military police recently arrested a band of smugglers in the English colony there, who were smuggling little girls from Red China as slaves. The unfortunate children were to be sold to the highest bidders, in order to work as slaves for 16 to 17 hours a day, or to low-down places of "entertainment", that is to say brothels.

Statistics show that the "People's Republic" of China obtains an annual income of several milliard marks from the contraband trade in opiates and children. It is a well-known fact in Hongkong that the Peiping government has given private entrepreneurs the concession to carry on a contraband trade in opiates and children, in return for a certain yearly forfeit-sum.

And, incidentally, the smugglers are extremely cunning, brutal and unscrupulous. If they think they are being pursued or likely to be caught, they simply throw the dead and the living cargo of their junks overboard into the sea, and the poor children drown.

CZECHIA

COMINFORM AGAIN, AFTER ALL?

According to information received from Warsaw, the government of the Soviet Union recently approached all the Communist parties with the suggestion that the activity of the Cominform, which was suspended after the 20th Party Congress, should be resumed again. The Chinese, Italian and Polish Communist parties turned down this suggestion. The opinion of the Yugoslav Communist Party on this question was not ascertained.

When it became known that a number of satellite Communist Party organizations were opposed to the activity of the Cominform being resumed, the Russian Communist Party suggested that at least a resolution should be passed to the effect that an international Communist journal, on the lines of the Cominform paper, "For A Lasting Peace and People's Democracy", should be published.

It is assumed in Warsaw that the editorial department and the seat of the new Cominform, should it be founded, will be set up in Prague, since well-informed circles regard this city as trustworthy as far as the satellite aspect is concerned.

In January this year, a Czechoslovakian delegation signed an agreement with the Soviet Union, according to which the economy of both states was linked together. As a result of this agreement, Czechoslovakia has virtually been transformed into a republic of the U.S.S.R.

ESTHONIA

Events in Hungary and Poland have called forth a considerable response in the entire Soviet bloc and have fostered revolutionary feelings. This is particularly noticeable in the Baltic countries, where the "Russian governors" and the native quislings are at present tormented with nervousness, uneasiness and fears. An interesting insight into this situation in Esthonia can be gained from the "appeal" made by the Esthonian Prime Minister, Mirizep, in which he uttered a "warning", to the effect that what had happened in Hungary might also happen in Esthonia. For this reason he exhorted the people of Esthonia to be "vigilant" and careful. He mentioned "certain elements" who, he said, were trying to bring about the downfall of the Soviet system, and were being aided by the West and were being sent to Esthonia as spies and agents to commit acts of sabotage, by the West. In this connection the Russian occupation forces in the capital of Esthonia and, in particular, the MVD units stationed there have been reinforced.

The Esthonian newspaper, "Esthonian Communist", recently published a report about the

present state of unrest in Estonia and sharply criticized the attitude of the ex-prisoners-of-war and deportees who were sent back home again by Moscow after Stalin's death. The organ of the Communist Party reproaches them with being ungrateful, even though the U.S.S.R. forgave them their misdeeds, and affirms that they are only waiting for a "bourgeois order". The paper also reproaches Estonian tourists with having accustomed themselves to the "bourgeois frippery and tinsel" in foreign countries, and adds that this fact is now the reason why the political loyalty of the population is being "undermined".

No comments are needed in this case!

In addition to the tense situation in Estonia, internal differences, in the form of disputes between the "Stalinists" and the so-called intelligentsia, are also making themselves felt in the Estonian Communist Party. The members of the intelligentsia are demanding that the de-Stalinization process should be speeded up, whereas the leading men of the Party, most of whom are Russians, are objecting to this demand. The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party, Ivan Kehin, is strongly supported by the leading men of the Party; he can, in fact, be compared with the Hungarian, Ger.

HUNGARY

TERRORISM AGAINST CULTURE

According to a report from Paris, the political police in Hungary have arrested a number of prominent stage and film personalities and authors in Budapest on account of "conspiring against the regime". The most famous among these persons are the film star, *Agi Meszaros*, the producer, *Ivan Darvas*, and Prof. *Laszlo Kardos*. A patriotic play by the writer, *Laszlo Nemeth*, who was likewise interrogated by the police, has been struck off the programme of the Madach Theatre in Budapest.

COMMUNIST HATRED

It was ascertained at a secret session of the UNO Commission, which was formed for the special purpose of investigating conditions in Hungary during and after the revolution, that the Russian Communist occupants have deported 35,000 persons from Hungary to Russia. During the same period of time 2,000 death sentences have been pronounced and 2 concentration camps have been set up.

Another report from London states that at present there are 10,000 persons interned in concentration camps in Hungary and that there are 3,000 to 4,000 persons in prison.

THE RATS DESERT THE DOOMED SHIP

According to an official statement, the Communist Party of Hungary has dwindled down to 300,000 members. In October last year, that is to say prior to the revolution, the Party still numbered 900,000 members. Hungarian refugees maintain that the only persons left in the Party are opportunists out to make a career, who are not in the least concerned with the Communist ideology.

BASE INGRATITUDE OF MOSCOW'S HIRELING, KADAR

Kadar's puppet government in Hungary has decided to send the 2,500 tons of potatoes donated by Dutch welfare organizations for the starving population of Hungary back to Holland.

With true Communist effrontery, Kadar gave as the reason for his decision the fact that the potatoes in question were "infected with a plant disease".

LATVIA

PERSECUTION OF RELIGION IN OCCUPIED LATVIA

Complete religious freedom existed in Latvia before the Russian invasion in 1940. The churches were autonomous, but received small state subsidies.

Soon after the occupation of Latvia by the Russian armed forces, the property of the church was confiscated under nationalisation decrees. The use of church premises was subject to exorbitant

rents. Altar paintings, cult vessels, candlesticks, bells and even bibles were nationalised. Religious services themselves were subject to taxation on the same basis as night clubs and public houses. During the years of Soviet regime, churchgoers have been struggling hard to save their only consolation — their Church, in spite of their own impoverished state bordering on starvation. Many places of worship have been turned into warehouses or cinemas, like the Church of Our Lord the Saviour in Riga and St. Franciskus Monastery at Vilaka.

The clergy were ruthlessly persecuted.

On the other hand, anti-religious propaganda is fully supported by the communist party and its numerous agencies. The freedom of religious worship, guaranteed by the Soviet constitution, exists on paper only.

In spite of persecution and terror, the churches still open are well attended and often overcrowded. Recent escapees from Latvia testify that a revised version of the communist slogan, viz., "the struggle for the Church is the struggle against communism", has been adopted by the people.

POLAND

"NOMEN EST OMEN"

On May 20, anti-Soviet demonstrations were again held in Olstin (Poland).

The demonstrators, the majority of whom were young persons and students, assembled on the "Square of the Soviet Heroes" and demanded that the square should be renamed. They then proceeded to remove the signs with the old name on them and put up new ones with the words, "Square of the Hungarian Revolutionaries", on them.

Despite the fact that the police promptly removed the new signs, they were replaced with others again and again.

RUMANIA

Behind the deceptively glittering facade of Bucharest, poverty, corruption and mistrust prevail. Bread is rationed throughout the whole country, with the exception of Bucharest. Woollen materials cost 300 lei a metre. And, incidentally, most people do not earn more than 300 to 500 lei a month. A secretary, for instance, cannot even buy a pair of shoes out of her month's salary.

One Roumanian Communist said, "Our country needed socialism . . . but the practices of Communism are making us despair . . . the state will be obliged to withhold indefinitely about four-fifths of the wage due to the workers and peasants.

What good are cheap books to the people, if they cannot even get flour? What good is his talent to a peasant boy if he has not the 10,000 lei needed to bribe the authorities to let him study? — such was the admission made by a Communist trained in the Soviet Union!

The government forces the people to resort to stealing, for no one can manage to live for a month on 300 lei, which is approximately equal to the purchasing power of 12 Am. Dollars.

SLOVAKIA

In a number of engine works more than 50 directors and 50 head engineers were dismissed and transferred . . . There was not a single engineer at the works in Prakovce, for five whole years. And this, despite the fact that it is extremely difficult for students who have completed their course at the technical college to find a job. Constant changes in the production programme is one of the reasons why the quotas of the engineering plan are never fulfilled in Slovakia.

Forty copies of the "Pravda", the central organ of the Communist Party in Slovakia, are supplied for sale every day to the 1800 members of a students' hostel in Bratislava, but the woman who delivers them has complained to the paper that no one buys them. The Slovak students are obviously not interested in the Communist press.

There are certain Party members who are prepared to allow various bourgeois ideologies to find expression in the newspapers, by means of discussions and similar methods, who are prepared to deny the existence of the class conflict and to darken the atmosphere in which we are building

up socialism, with liberalist, anarchist views on "democracy" and "freedom" in a bourgeois form, etc.

("Pravda", Bratislava, of May 5, 1957)

UKRAINE

In order to increase the output of Ukrainian coal for the purpose of expanding Soviet industry, plans have been drawn up for 70 new pits to be opened up in the Donbas region in 1957. According to a decision reached by the Komsomol, 35 of these pits are to be worked by young Ukrainians who have come to this region "voluntarily". The paper, "Radjanska Ukraina", of January 11, 1957, states that "thousands of young persons have already arrived in the Donbas region and, under difficult conditions, have begun work on the opening up of the pits". The pits are to be called after the districts from which these young persons hail, as for instance "Schytomirska", "Ternopilska", "Rowenska", and "Drohobetska", etc. When high officials from Kyiv recently paid a visit to the pits, the young "volunteers" complained that the communication system between the pits was very bad, that there were not enough tools available, that conditions were unbearable, that the food was not fit to eat, and that sanitary conditions and medical welfare left much to be desired.

TEAR-GAS AS PROTECTION AGAINST THE "PEOPLE'S LOVE"

The Warsaw paper, "Standar Mlodych", reports that anti-Communist demonstrations were recently held in Jaroslaw (Ukraine). The demonstrators attacked the police station. It was only after they had resorted to the use of tear-gas and had fired several shots that the soldiers who had hastened to the scene managed to disperse the irate crowds.

As a rule the Communist press keeps quiet about such disturbances, since they are typical of the sentiments of the people, who are always ready to revolt against the Communist regime which they hate.

In the Polish prisons there are at present about 300 political internees of Ukrainian nationality, who have been sentenced to imprisonment for life. Half of these persons have been sentenced on a charge of having collaborated with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

The Ukrainian political internees are forced to endure the most inhuman conditions in the Polish prisons. As they have no relatives in Poland, they cannot receive any material or moral assistance. Many of them have been obliged to endure dreadful tortures whilst in prison and, consequently, their state of health has become serious.

VIETNAM

COMMUNIST VIET MINH COMPEL STUDENTS TO WORK IN LABOR CAMPS

Saigon (VP), June 19

On June 10, 1957, at 6:30 p. m. the Red-controlled Radio Hanoi disclosed that, under the pretext of saving time, the communist Viet-Minh have compelled the students "regrouped" in the North to work in the labor camps during the summer vacations.

Although the Viet-Minh have carefully concealed their schemes of exploiting the students' physical force under deceitful slogans such as "Let the Students keep themselves Acquainted with Laborers' Life", the students' parents were not duped and strongly opposed their children's departure for the labor camps. However, they could do nothing but watch them go away, since the boys were escorted by armed communist cadres. (L)

COMMUNIST VIET MINH ARMS SEIZED

Pleiku (VP), May 14

1 Russian rifle, 3 MAS 36 rifles and 1 Sten sub-machine gun were seized by the Pleiku Garrison's units at a Viet-Minh arm cache discovered on Konkrang Mount, 25 kms North-West of Pleiku province.

The action was the result of a close co-operation between local people and the army in the framework of the provincial anti-communist campaign. (L)

PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP IN NORTH VIET-NAM HAS PRODUCED ONLY COOLIES AND SERFS

The tactics of communism in the Viet-Minh zone is a local adaptation of Stalinism. The result of this policy is the present moral failure of the Hanoi regime. In fact, the system of its application was camouflaged. Even inside the party, only the high ranking leaders were aware of its synthesis. The lesser Viet-Minh officials and members only acted under orders from the top, which, nevertheless, weighed heavily on the people. Since in the Viet-Minh zone all that is important is adorned with a name of lofty opportunism, this policy was termed "People's Movement". This title is but a mask and as long as it is not taken off from the Viet-Minh face, one might believe, in the Free World, that this movement is concerned only with the land reform. The truth is quite different. The movement has eight purposes which are little known or poorly understood. That is why we deem it useful to specify them.

The people's movement aims at:

Purging party members; ensuring the control, in an energetic way, of the whole central machinery of the party; flouting all the capitalists and wiping them out; isolating big and middle businessmen and putting an end to all their activities; limiting, then neutralizing the influence of petty businessmen; denigrating and purging all foreign land owners; isolating and eliminating the influence

of rich farmers; neutralizing and limiting the influence of middle-class farmers.

AMERICAN SENATORS IN FAVOUR OF LITHUANIA'S LIBERATION

Twenty-two senators of the United States have unanimously declared themselves in favour of the liberation of Lithuania. The main trend of all the speeches made on the occasion in question was expressed in the remarks made by Senator Douglas (Illinois): "In the hearts of the free people hope springs anew that the Lithuanian people will soon be free and independent once more. There are certain important reasons for this hope" . . . And Senator Knowland pointed out as follows: "There are moral principles which, if they are made the subject of compromises, are bound to lead to serious consequences for those who make such compromises. If the Soviets desire peace, then there is an honourable suggestion which could be put to the Soviet government: withdraw all your military forces from Lithuania, Poland, Albania, Latvia, Estonia and the other countries.

After the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, the United Nations must guarantee the neutrality of these countries and the holding of free elections . . . We as a great and free republic cannot make any compromise which disregards the fundamental rights of mankind. We must never offer any justification for the subjugation of millions of people behind the Iron Curtain."

And Ku Cheng-kang, the President of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, Republic of China, likewise wrote in a letter to the author, "I have received your book on Taiwan in German and have read it with deep admiration" and referred to it as a "valuable work".

This book is not only valuable for the Far East, but also for everyone who wishes to inform himself on the subject of the significance of Formosa in the worldwide fight against the Bolshevik menace and would like to increase his knowledge in this respect and get to the bottom of certain intentional misinterpretations.

Moreover, every political problem of importance is carefully thought out and interpreted and a solution offered in this book, despite its limited space. The culminating point towards which all the author's research and analysis converge is the convincing argument of the necessity of a firm and solidary union between the uncompromising anti-Communist forces of Europe and of Asia, as the foundation-stone for an anti-Bolshevik world bloc.

The division of the pamphlet into two parts, namely studies, observations, lectures and discussions with prominent persons of Free China, on the one hand, and ethnographically impressive accounts of the country and the people of this "Island of Freedom and Hope", on the other hand, can be regarded as a particularly happy choice.

The words of Foreign Minister Shen Chang-huan, a statesman hardened in heavy fighting, to the effect that this work is an achievement as regards the defeat of the Bolshevik menace to the world, serve to remind us once more of the situation in which we now find ourselves and of the fact that we people of the West have every reason to devote all our efforts more than ever to casting out the evil spirit which hovers over us.

And this is, indeed, the real and deeper purpose of the book: to act as a warning and an admonition and, at the same time, to offer the prospect of the possible ways to salvation, — a service for which the author deserves special credit and thanks. R. P.

garian revolution to break down the terrorist power of the Soviets in the states of Eastern Europe. It is pointed out in this report that a unique opportunity had thus been missed.

The special Executive Committee, consisting of five delegates, explicitly states that no one expected the USA to resort to military intervention in Hungary, but that Washington had allowed extremely valuable days to elapse before it brought up this question before the United Nations. Consequently, the morale of the freedom fighters had been weakened and the Soviet Union had been encouraged to carry out its attack.

A.B.N. RADIO PROGRAMMES IN FREE CHINA

On July 6, 1957, the A.B.N. mission in Free China began to relay its programmes. The programmes are relayed by the radio station, "The Voice of Justice", in Free China, at the following times and on the following wave-lengths:

Wednesdays and Saturdays, Greenwich mean time: 13.00-13.10, 15.00-15.10, 16.50-17.00, 22.50-23.00.

Wave-lengths: 202.7 m (1480 kcs.), 50.04 m (5995 kcs.), 41.1 m (7300 kcs.).

At 15.00-15.10 and at 16.50-17.00 these programmes are also relayed on wave-lengths: 365.9 m (820 kcs.), and 236.2 m (1270 kcs.).

The programmes on the short wave-length 41.1 m can be picked up in Australia, Europe, U.S.A. and Canada.

The A.B.N. mission in Free China requests listeners to send information about the programmes picked up to the A.B.N. mission at the address given below. The programmes are relayed in the languages of the peoples represented in the A.B.N.

A.B.N. Mission, Wen Chuan Rd. 102-6, Sin-pei-tou, TAIPEI, Taiwan (Formosa), Free China.

"REHABILITATION" OF EXTERMINATED PEOPLES

Khrushchev was obliged to admit at the 20th Party Congress in Moscow that the expulsion and mass extermination of entire peoples was carried out in the Soviet Union during the Stalinist era. At the same time, he announced the "rehabilitation" of the expelled and gave the Chetchen, Ingush, Kalmuck and other peoples permission to return to their native countries. So far, however, no further steps whatsoever have been taken in this respect.

Furthermore, it is as yet not known whether the Tatars, the majority of whom have been exterminated, will be allowed to return to the Crimea and the Volga region. They were accused at the time of having collaborated with the Germans. Thereupon, the Muscovite administrative authorities began to exterminate the Tatar people. The remainder were deported to Central Asia, and since then the Tatars have not been mentioned any more. It looks as though they have vanished out of the mosaic of the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism.

BOOK-REVIEWS

P. Trach: "The Cherkessens", a monograph in Russian, own publication, Munich, 1956.

The author himself is a Cherkessen; he belongs to the younger generation and has been an emigrant since World War II.

Since ancient times the Cherkessens and the Georgians have been the original inhabitants of Caucasia. They belong to the Caucasian race in the narrower sense and their languages belong to the Ibero-Caucasian group.

The Cherkessens are a people with an ancient civilization and culture and a folklore which abounds in sagas. They were renowned as a people of particularly fine physique and of distinguished manners and traditions, — a proud freedom-loving and warlike people.

Since the earliest days of historiography they are mentioned in the chronicles of all the ancient historians and geographers. Up to the 14th century they were Christians, but then adopted Mohammedanism.

This monograph gives a brief but informative survey of the ancient history of the Cherkessens. The author emphasizes in particular Cherkessen-Russian relations and Russia's invasion of North Caucasia in the 19th century. He gives a detailed account — substantiated by historical facts and documents — of the sufferings and the tragedy of this people under the rule of Tsarist Russia and later under that of Soviet Russia. He then deals with the culture, literature and folklore, etc., of the Cherkessens. The appended bibliography forms a most useful supplement to this excellent monograph, even though certain foreign works are not mentioned. But despite this small omission, the book is an excellent guide through the history of the Cherkessen people.

And now a few remarks in connection with the book. In our opinion the emigration of thousands of Cherkessens to Turkey after their country had been invaded by Russia was a fateful step, inasmuch as it was an unpremeditated action on the part of these people who were filled with a fanatical hatred of the Russians. In this connection the former Russian general, M. Kunduchov, an Ossetian, was mainly to blame, since he provoked the Cherkessens to take this step. Thousands of persons perished on the way. But what was even more fatal for the whole of Caucasia was the fact that the Russians resettled foreigners in the depopulated country which had always belonged to the Cherkessens. The author describes this event as proof of the hatred of the Cherkessens towards the Russians and refrains from expressing an opinion on this question from the national and political point of view.

It is incomprehensible why such an excellent monograph should have been published in Russian, and certainly most regrettable. It would be most essential to make this book accessible to the West European reader and to publish it in a language which would make this possible. Surely, that should not be a difficult problem! The book can, incidentally, be obtained from the book can, incidentally, be obtained from the author himself, whose address is Munich, Mährische Straße 10. N. Ekhadieli

JAROSLAW STETZKO:

"Taiwan, the Island of Freedom and Hope". Published by the Ukrainian Information Service, Munich 8, Zeppelinstraße 67/0, pp. 70. Price: 2 \$.

As this pamphlet, which, incidentally, is most artistically got up and contains countless illustrations, is a monograph on Free China, we feel that any opinion on its merit which we might give would not be as fitting as the opinions expressed by some of the leading men of Chiang Kai-shek's group. The Foreign Minister of Free China, Shen Chang-huan, for instance, wrote in a letter which the author received a few days ago, that he had read the pamphlet with great interest and added, "I very much appreciate what you have done for our common cause (the anti-Bolshevik fight — The Editor)."

Erratum

We beg to draw the attention of our readers to the fact that in No. 5/6, 1957, of the "ABN Correspondence" the last sentence in column 2 of page 10 should read: "Both are to unite to form a single Labour Party excluding another group headed by Dr. Evatt."

ABN Press Service Announcement

In connection with the Agreement between the ABN and APACROC it is announced that the National Turkestanian Unity Committee, represented in the ABN by its President, Veli Kajum Khan, has not joined this Agreement and has no part in the cooperation which exists between these two organizations.

BAVARIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION

News item broadcast at 10¹⁵ p. m. on May 16, 1957

Sharp Criticism of America's Policy towards Hungary

Several members of the Foreign Affairs Executive Committee in the US House of Representatives reproach the Government, in a report, with inaction, and express their regret at the fact that the USA had not made use of the national Hun-

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

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

Munich, Zepelinstr. 67

Editorial Staff: Board of Editors

Editor responsible: Slawa Stetzko.

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

It is not our practice to pay for contributions.

Reproduction permitted but only with indication of source (A.B.N.-Corr.).

Annual subscription DM 4.— in Germany, 2 Dollars in U.S.A., 12 shillings in Great Britain and Australia, and the equivalent of 2 Dollars in all other countries. Remittances to: Post office Transfer account: Munich 58 000 or Süddeutsche Bank, Munich, Filiale Depositenkasse, Neuhauser Straße 6, Account No. 300 188 (A.B.N.)

Erscheinungsort: München

Herausgeber: Presse-Büro des Antibolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen (ABN), München 8, Zepelinstraße 67/0, Telefon 4 10 69

Schriftleitung: Redaktionskollegium

Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Slawa Stetzko.

We request all our subscribers and readers to kindly remit payments from America to Mr. Jaroslaw Shevchuk, 2465 W. 11th Street, Cleveland, Ohio.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Vol. VIII. No. 9/10. September/October 1957

* Published in English and German *

Price: 1s; 40 c

Sheer Force is the Only Argument

From the speech by Admiral Carlos Penna Botto

What happened in Hungary, Poland, and Egypt, in October and November 1956, and what is developing now in Syria, show, in a most convincing way, that in spite of certain drawbacks, those rascals sitting on the dismal walls of the Kremlin are proceeding with their imperialistic policy, are persevering on their main purpose of spreading communism all over the world, and are even tightening their grip on East Germany and the satellite countries, with the exception, for the time being, of Poland.

No doubt the Hungarian revolution shook Soviet prestige and power to an unprecedented degree, both internally, within the U.S.S.R. and outside, among the subjugated peoples

the Soviets; let us quit the shameful appealing mood which has served the Reds so well, right along, and which has brought to us such dire disasters! ... Let us assume the offensive attitude; let us supplement the so-called ideological offensive with drastic material and even military offensive!...

That military offensive, which is to be carried out mostly by the Occidental Powers, the Western Democracies, and by Free China, might lead to a situation "short of war", or even all-out "war", but it remains, none the less, the most effective course of action available.

Summing up, here is what I think should



Admiral Carlos Penna Botto (x) and Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens (xx) are welcomed at Munich airport

and, likewise, among the free nations as well. But it would be reckless, it would be mere "wishful thinking", to jump to the unwise and insane conclusion that the Iron Curtain is crumbling, that the Soviet Government is on the verge of doom and that all we have to do is to sit back, comfortably, on a "watch and see" attitude, hoping for the best, and looking forward, leisurely, to the final downfall of communism! . . . No! That would be dead wrong, that would be suicidal for the democracies and the free nations at large!

I am firmly convinced that the Free World must fight sooner or later for its own sake and for the freedom of all the enslaved peoples. As Abraham Lincoln once said: — a house divided against itself cannot stand; it cannot endure half slavery and half freedom. The sooner that fight comes, the better, so that it may be easier to win the struggle.

Why not take advantage of the severe internal crisis of the Soviet Government? We should exploit that crisis to the fullest extent, for if we do so, it may spell the collapse of Communism itself. But let us exploit the weakness of the enemy using something more than an ideological offensive, even though rich in beautiful words and full of wonderful suggestions.

We should keep in mind that it is a fierce and treacherous enemy who always mocks at us and keeps his ears deaf to any friendly advices . . . Let us put an end to the policy of passivity, weakness and surrender! Let us abandon the defensive attitude towards

be done, concerning the strategy in the fight of the free world against communism.

Do not treat communist governments, whichever they are, as normal national governments, because they are, instead, instruments of international conspiracy. They are, I insist, gangs of criminals, the worst criminals the world has ever seen!

The real problem is not, by any means, to avoid the much dreaded "atomic war", but to avoid the spread of communism all over the world, either by war or by subversion and cold tactics. It is the stupid policy of coexistence, coupled with the cynical and alluring "pax sovietica", which, if adopted, will surely lead the world to an atomic war, because the war-mongers of the Kremlin will then be able, given sufficient time, to provide for a stock of nuclear explosives.

It would be disastrous if the Western nations were to watch, on a side-line, even though with an approving eye, the creation and development of national liberation movements within the subjugated nations. Without outside effective support, insurrections, riots, and all displaying of unrest, inside the enslaved countries, can hardly be expected to gather a winning momentum. On the other hand, all insurgent movements inside countries under the Soviet yoke would be of tremendous value, should the Occidental Democracies be wise enough to launch an offensive, political and military in character, at the slave-drivers sitting on the walls of the Kremlin.

Jorge Prieto Laurens

World Tragedy of Our Day

The Tragedy of Hungary and the Hopes of the Nations subjugated by the Soviets

Before he left Munich, Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens, the Secretary-General of the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent and President of the Anti-Communist Front of Mexico, placed a noteworthy article in Spanish at our disposal. Below we publish an English translation of this article. — The Editor.

When we left New York on the 12th of September, the press of this huge American city published the solemn resolution of the majority of the United Nations — 60 members voted in favour of the resolution, 10 against it, and 10 withheld their vote, — to condemn the criminal conduct of Soviet Russia in its brutal suppression of the national revolt in Budapest. On its front page the "New York Times" published a picture of the ambassadors of the Communist bloc (Russian, Ukrainian, Czech, Polish, etc.), smiling ironically as they left the building of the United Nations, just as the reporter of the "New York Times" was asking them about the resolution or, rather, about the sentence which had been passed in the session of this big international organization. It is obvious that the Russians and their hirelings are bound to laugh at and ridicule the free world, for they know how useless, disadvantageous and futile are the timid efforts made by Western diplomatic circles as far as the actual fact and dreadful truth of the martyrdom of the Hungarian people are concerned.

Here in West Germany, where there are a large number of refugees from all the states subjugated by the Soviet Russians, one is overcome by a feeling of shame and despair on hearing the sad complaints voiced by the leaders of the insurgents in Hungary, Poland, and Ukraine, etc. It has taken almost a year since the events of October and November, 1956, in Budapest for a resolution to be passed by the majority of the United Nations, condemning the conduct of Russia, without, however, any sanction or any demand that Russia should withdraw from Hungary immediately, being stipulated.

But the situation is even graver. Not only the satellite states, such as Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Roumania, Albania and the Baltic countries are the victims of Soviet Russian tyranny, but those countries, too, which have been enslaved since the tsarist regime, such as Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, etc., whose national origin and history clearly show their individuality, are languishing under the grim Soviet dictatorship; and it looks as though the Western world does not intend to take any notice of this terrible tragedy, a tragedy which concerns many millions of people. Indeed, whereas the Russians have succeeded in getting independent states (theoretically, of course) like Ukraine, Byelorussia and others represented in the United Nations, the Western powers have been conducting their political activity as if these nations did not exist, but were merely provinces of the Russian imperium. The Russian despots have dealt with these large countries — countries which have always rebelled against Moscow and demanded their freedom and independence — according to their own methods. The events of World War II clearly proved how intent these countries were on gaining their freedom and independence, — the people of Ukraine and of the other subjugated countries, who constitute an enormous majority in the Soviet imperium. Indeed, there are in the Soviet Union only 80 million Russians as compared to 120 million subjugated peoples. Red terrorism

Continued on page 4

Veli Kajum Khan

Basic Principles of Soviet Russia's Islam Policy

It is an established fact that Soviet Russia, ever since it came into being, pursues two fundamentally different Islam policies, — one with regard to the 40 million Moslems at present living in the U.S.S.R., the other as far as the free Islamic world is concerned. Theory, practice and applied tactics in both cases are fundamentally different, so that many people who do not know what conditions are really like in the U.S.S.R. might be prepared to approve of the watchwords propagated, since they are very tempting. Moscow guarantees all peoples of the Islamic world freedom, equal rights and the inviolability of their sovereignty and their religion, as well as the suppression of colonialism and imperialism. In practice, however, things appear entirely different if one examines the true position of the Moslem peoples in Turkestan, Caucasia, Tartary and the Crimea. Actually, the 40 million Moslems living in these territories are kept down by coercion, their religion is persecuted, and there can be no talk of any sovereignty. Moscow

1923 Stalin added “. . . Turkestan is the most important Soviet Republic from the point of view of the revolutionization of the East . . .”

These principles have been systematically pursued right up to the present time, and the realization of the policy expressed in them leads via Tashkent, and not via Moscow, since the men of the Kremlin are of the opinion that the Soviet Republics of Turkestan are of extremely great interest to the neighbouring peoples. They are convinced that the so-called independent Republics of Turkestan and the achievements of Soviet Russia and of Central Asia are the best propaganda to disseminate amongst the “subjugated” peoples of the Orient.

A closer study of the history of the Soviet Islam policy within the U.S.S.R. reveals the fact that there are four characteristic periods.

The fundamental principles of the first period are based on temporary deference and compliance, since from 1917 onwards the non-Russian peoples

ganda and the union of atheists was formed. In spite of all these measures, the Moslems put up a determined resistance and started insurrections, in which all classes of the people took part, and to a very considerable extent sabotaged the Soviet economic system. But Moscow did not tolerate this state of affairs very long, and in 1937 resorted to drastic measures, inasmuch as it arrested a large number of intellectuals, politicians, teachers, the remainder of the clergy, kolkhoz leaders and Party secretaries and government presidents of the so-called Soviet Republics of Turkestan, Caucasia, Tartary, Bashkir and the Crimea. During the notorious mock trials of 1937/38, at which Vyshinsky acted as prosecutor, these persons were sentenced, executed or sent into exile. And thus, for the second time, the above-mentioned peoples were deprived of their intelligentsia and their leaders.

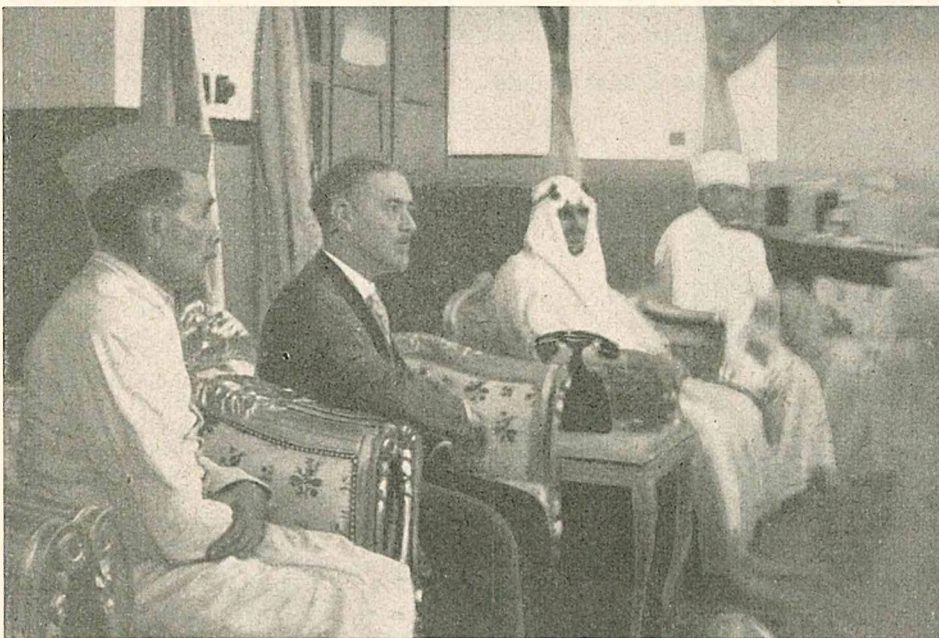
In the years 1939/40 Russia, however, was once more in political difficulties abroad. The resistance of the non-Russian peoples was not yet making itself felt. Soviet Russia was at war with Finland, the German-Russian war was imminent, and the Kremlin was thus anxious to maintain law and order in its imperium. For this reason it suddenly released some of the clergy who had been deported, and allowed them to return home; it also appointed official heads of religion — muftis — for Turkestan, Caucasia and Tartary, and set up religious administrative institutions. The much-dreaded union of atheists was disbanded, and some mosques were reopened. In this way the Kremlin sought, on the one hand, to win over and appease the people, and, on the other hand, to use the Red muftis as a connecting link with the Orient.

But after the war, Soviet Russia once again changed its Islam policy, seeing that it had emerged from the war stronger than it had formerly been; and, in any case, the era of considerateness was over. This is the beginning of the fourth period in Soviet Islam policy. The union of atheists which had been disbanded now came into being again, as the “Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge” with a “Department for the Propaganda of Scientific Atheism”. These two institutions cooperate closely with and receive their instructions from the propaganda department of the Communist Party in the Soviet Republic in question. In 1946, this organization had 815 offices in Kazakhstan and 10,840 lecturing members, who held 30,500 anti-religious lectures. In the same territory, in 1951, 23,000 anti-religious lectures were held. This persecution of religion has been enforced in all the Soviet Republics of Turkestan. In Uzbekistan and Kirgizstan, for instance, 46,000 lectures extolling Communism and condemning the Islamic religion were held in 1950 and 1951. But the attitude of the population in this respect is hostile, as even the Soviet paper “Kasachstan-kaja Pravda”, of March 1, 1952, was forced to admit, and this fact was also confirmed at the end of 1956 by American tourists and by well-known Indonesian ulemas, who gave accounts of their experiences in the Soviet Republics of Turkestan.

Intrigues and Subversive Activity

What are the characteristic features of the Soviets' policy as regards the free Islamic peoples? Here, too, they systematically adhere to the principles laid down forty years ago, with the aim of winning over the peoples of the Orient, asserting their influence and stirring up these peoples against the Western powers. The initial starting-point for this policy was provided when Lenin and Stalin in December, 1917, exhorted the peoples of the Islamic world: “Drive the predatory colonial powers out of your countries! Predatory Europe has been robbing you of your possessions, your freedom and your home for centuries. We support your fight! . . .”

In 1921 the Soviets convened an Islamic World Congress in Baku, which was attended by over 500 delegates, most of whom returned home disappointed, since they had found it impossible to believe Soviet Russia's watchwords about freedom, once



President Veli Kajum Khan as the guest of King Ibn Saud, in Mecca, on July 10, 1957

has isolated these countries from the outside world, but, at the same time, it also uses them as an initial base for its policy in the free Islamic countries.

It has chosen Turkestan as its main base in this respect, since Turkestan is the most compact and greatest Islamic nation within the U.S.S.R. and has common frontiers with a number of Islamic states, as for instance Afghanistan, Persia and Pakistan. Furthermore, ancient religious and cultural ties have existed between Turkestan and all the other Islamic peoples for hundreds of years, since, prior to the Occupation, Turkestan, above all Bokhara and Samarkand, was the centre of the Islamic religion.

As early as 1919 and 1923, Lenin and Stalin not only recognized the strategic importance of Turkestan, but they also stressed the fact that Turkestan must be the “window of the Orient”; and in

set up their own independent, national governments. Lenin's tactics consisted in binding these peoples, who were detaching themselves from Russia, to Russia again and in posing as the friend of the non-Russian peoples. It was for this reason that Lenin and Stalin on November 15, 1917, proclaimed “the end of the colonial era, and the freedom and equality of all peoples”. All they asked in return was that the Russian revolution and their government, which, so they claimed, was the protector of the subjugated peoples, should be supported.

First Flattery, and then the Scourge

But after the stabilization of her power, Russia soon did away with these national governments and introduced the Communist regime. Up to 1923/24, however, religion was not subjected to any large-scale persecution, since the national insurgents in Caucasia and Turkestan were still causing the Russians a lot of trouble and the clergy had a great deal of influence on the people and, moreover, cooperated with the insurgents.

Once Russia had crushed the insurgents, however, she began to change her policy radically, from 1925 onwards. In this second period the Islamic religion was subjected to persecution everywhere; Islamic schools and administrative institutions and also the mosques were closed down. Members of the clergy were arrested, shot or sent into exile, and the Koran was confiscated. Turkestan was transformed into a centre of anti-religious propa-

Sheer Force is the Only Argument

Continued from page 1

We must grasp the initiative, assume the offensive, and leave passiveness behind; — lest we forget the well-known Frederick the Great's slogan praising the offensive.

Let us fight the communists on all fronts; let us fight them politically, ideologically, psychologically, and, last but not least, militarily. Use of sheer force is the only argument he heeds, is the only language he understands.

A Further Stage in the World Crusade Against Bolshevism

In addition to the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), which comprises the national liberation organizations of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain, and the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL), a new international anti-Communist organization, the "Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent", is now in operation in Latin America. So far this organization has convened three congresses, — in Mexico in 1954, in Rio de Janeiro in 1955, and in Lima in 1957. The "Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent" comprises the anti-Communist organizations of the following states: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Salvador, Uruguay, Venezuela.

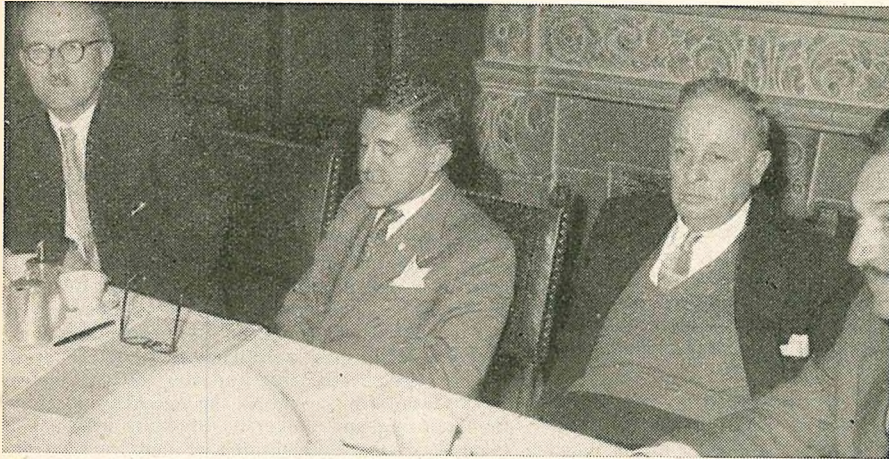
of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), as President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Jaroslaw Stetzko, declare in agreement, after the discussions on September 17 and 18, 1957, between both delegations in Munich, that:

Our common objectives are the destruction of Communism, to disintegrate the Russian Empire and to assist the nations enslaved by Communism and Russian imperialism in Europe and Asia to restore their independent states in their ethnographical areas;

The world front against Communism can be crowned with success if it

a) reaffirms the primacy of the spiritual in order to destroy Communist materialist ideology;

b) is based on the idea of independence of the



Admiral Carlos Penna Botto and Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens during discussions with A.B.N.

Some years ago the ABN already suggested the idea of an anti-Communist world congress and the founding of an anti-Communist world league, and two years ago it again raised this question in Taipei.

At the invitation of the President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), Jaroslaw Stetzko, the President of the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent, Admiral Carlos Penna BOTTO (Brazil), and the Secretary-General, Dr. Jorge Prieto LAURENS (Mexico), from September 18 to September 23, visited the headquarters of the ABN in order to discuss the problems of the common anti-Communist world front and to come to an agreement in this respect. The members of the ABN who took part in these discussions included President Jaroslaw Stetzko, the former Foreign Minister of Slovakia, Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky, General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak, Prince Niko Nakashidze, Mr. Kosmowicz, General Alabanda, Dr. Pokorny, General Zako, representatives of the Hungarian and Ukrainian insurgents, and various other persons.

At the conclusion of the discussions Secretary-General Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens made a statement which was worded as follows:

In the name of the "Anti-Communist Front of Mexico" and as Secretary-General of the "Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent" I hereby declare that I have had the honour and the satisfaction to reach a complete agreement with the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) regarding the convening of the Anti-Communist World Congress, which aims to help to do away with Soviet tyranny and to liberate all nations under the yoke of Russian imperialism, since we recognize identical principles of the right of self-determination and of the independence of the peoples, in favour of the human freedoms and genuinely democratic institutions.

Munich, September 19, 1957.

Jorge Prieto Laurens, Secretary-General.

The discussions culminated in the conclusion of an agreement on cooperation between both partners on 22nd of September, 1957. We publish some of the most important points in this agreement below.

"In the name of the "Anti-Communist Front of Mexico" and as Secretary-General of the "Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent", Jorge Prieto Laurens, and in the name

nations, in particular, the state independence of all the peoples subjugated by Communism and Russian imperialism, on the idea of democracy and social justice;

c) and full support is given by the free world to the national revolutionary fight for freedom; It is in principle wrong to fight Communism by supporting National Communism.

We condemn any praise or favourable references to National Communism, and do not understand how it can be possible to fight Communism without repudiating the false and unscientific theory of historic and dialectical materialism.

Both Parties shall endeavour to strengthen the consolidation of the peoples of the whole world in the fight against Communism and Russian imperialism and to further the setting up of a joint international front on the basis of state independence for all nations."

This agreement represents an important contribution to the common ideology of the free and the subjugated peoples in the fight against the Communist world-enemy, and, at the same time, a firm political basis on which to set up an anti-Communist world front. We shall discuss this event and its great political significance in more detail in our next issue.

In this connection we should like to draw the attention of our readers to the two articles by Admiral Botto and Dr. Laurens in this issue.

Michael Starr, Son of Ukrainian Emigrants, Becomes Minister in Canadian Government

Michael Starr, son of Ukrainian emigrants, has been appointed Minister of Labor in the newly-formed cabinet of Prime Minister John Diefenbaker. He was sworn in together with other members of the Conservative Government by Governor General Vincent Massey.

This is the first time, as pointed out by *The New York Times*, that a son of Ukrainian emigrants has become a minister in the Canadian government.

Minister Starr was born in Copper Cliff, Ontario, on November 10, 1910, son of Matthew and Maria Starchevsky, Ukrainian emigrants who came to Canada before the First World War from the district of Borshchiv, Western Ukraine, then under Austro-Hungary. Both his parents have died since. Finishing his studies in Oshawa, in 1933 he married Anna Zaritsky of Toronto, daughter of Ukrain-

Light from Budapest

Speech by Dr. Laszlo Agh, National Chairman of the Collegial Society of Hungarian Veterans, delivered at the Dedication Ceremonies of the Hall of Presidents, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

Mr. President, Burgess Weaver, people of Gettysburg, honored guests and comrades:

About 500 years ago, Europe was being threatened by godless forces, just as today the entire free world is threatened by Soviet barbarism. When Europe struck the bell of alarm, a handful of Hungarians, on July 22, 1456, under the leadership of John Hunyadi, at Nandor Fehervar, now part of Yugoslavia, struck down these barbaric armies and thereby ensured the continued development and progress of Europe. This enabled Western culture to develop peacefully and one of the results was the discovery of America. In memory of this great Hungarian victory, and as an act of gratitude on behalf of the civilized world, Pope Callixtus III ordered the ringing of the Noon-day bell. Since that time, in Europe and in many places around the wide world, the Noonday bell is rung in honor of these Hungarian heroes.

Now, 500 years later almost to the day, again a handful of Hungarians alone and almost barehanded met face to face the army of tanks as it moved to trample freedom under foot, and thereby again moved forward to save European civilization and culture and defend the freedom of the people.

Just as heroic Americans on both sides died at Gettysburg, so the heroic Hungarian boys died to preserve their historic thousand-year ideal of the Hungarian spirit of freedom. The whole world recognizes, since the October revolution in Hungary, that the Hungarian people do not have imperialist ambitions, but carried on their struggle against the forces that were imperilling or endangering their own freedom.

In this spirit of fighters for freedom, the young men of Gettysburg and Budapest remain as kindred souls, and it is for this reason that we selected this place of pilgrimage to deposit our gift. The painting of the artist, Stephen Juharos, shows the two bells and the two victorious leaders, President Dwight D. Eisenhower and General John Hunyadi. It commemorates the struggle for freedom of the American and Hungarian people, and with its presentation we desire that it attest to our love, co-operation and loyalty to —

the President of the United States
the leaders of the United States
and to the people of the United States.

We feel, that just as in the American Revolution, in which General Michael Kovach fought with his Hungarian Huszarz, and in the war between the states under the leadership of Abraham Lincoln, General Alexander Asboth and his Kossuth-fighters fought and died for the independence and freedom of America, so the Americans will come to the aid of the establishment of the independence and freedom of Hungary.

The glory arising out of the heroes' graves in both Gettysburg and Budapest lights the entire world, and we pray that it will soon bring freedom to the enslaved and suffering people of Hungary.

God bless America and Hungary.

ian emigrants. They have two children: son Bohdan is now in his third year of dental studies, while daughter Ivanka is in high school. For twenty years Minister Starr worked in a metallurgical factory where, through ingenuity, good leadership and intelligence, he rose to managership. In 1915 he was elected to the City Council of Oshawa, and in 1949 became mayor of the same city. In 1951 he ran for the Provincial Parliament of Ontario, but was defeated. But on May 26, 1952, in supplementary elections to the Dominion Parliament, he was elected a deputy, and again re-elected in May of 1953.

In the Dominion Parliament Minister Starr has won popularity and recognition as a labor specialist and a friend of workers. On June 10, 1957 he was re-elected to the Dominion Parliament for the third term, and it was then that he was appointed Minister of Labor by Prime Minister John Diefenbaker.

The Second Congress of the International Institute, "Antonio Rosmini", in Bolzano

An International Academic Congress on Questions pertaining to European Culture, held from August 24-31, 1957.

There can be no doubt about the fact that not material, but spiritual forces are decisive for the fate of mankind. Historical materialism is refuted by the evidence of history, by experience and facts in the general life of mankind and by the latter's constant striving for transcendental values. Although dialectical materialism denies the existence of the spiritual, it nevertheless reaches the sphere of mysticism by deifying matter and by endowing the Marxist Communist movement with pseudo-religious and satanist traits. And it is because the spiritual and the material are in conflict in the world of today, instead of the material serving the spiritual, that mankind has strayed into a blind alley.

This antithesis which has been created between matter and spirit is known, in the spiritual sense, as the East-West conflict. In order to elucidate these problems and to find a way out of the present situation, the International Institute, "Antonio Rosmini", in Bolzano (Italy) chose as the main theme of its Second Congress the subject: "The Problems and Values of European Culture in its Present Relation to East and West".

In the course of the eight lectures which were held, every aspect of these problems was discussed. The following lectures were held: Prof. Gabriel

Marcel, Paris, a member of the "Institut de France", held a lecture on the subject, "Loyalty or Disloyalty to Europe"; Prof. G. Balladore-Palieri, of the Catholic University of Milan, on "The Individual and Society according to Present Conceptions in Europe and Beyond"; Prof. Felix Ponteil, head of the European Academic Centre of the University of Strasbourg, on "The Europe Idea, Nation and Nationalism"; Prof. Jesus F. Fueyo Alvarez on "European Humanism and Marxist Humanism"; Prof. Dr. Jakob Hommes, of the College of Philosophy and Theology in Regensburg, on "The Platonic Eros versus Dialectic Materialism and Existentialism"; Prof. Vincenzo La Via, of the University of Messina, on "Philosophical and Religious Speculation in European Culture of Today"; Prof. Gustav A. Wetter, S. J., of the Papal Oriental Institute, Rome, on "The Latest Trends in Soviet Philosophy"; Prof. Jean Wahl, of the Sorbonne, Paris, on "Culture, Existence and Europe".

The various lectures were followed by extremely interesting discussions. During the lectures the President of the Institute, Prof. Adolfo Munoz-Alonso (Valencia) and a member of the presidium of the Institute in turn acted as chairman. The Congress was arranged by the Secretary-General Prof. Dr. Aldo Penasa and his co-workers, headed by Prof. Carlo B. Zanetti, so admirably that an atmosphere of cordiality and brotherliness prevailed.

The members of the Congress — about 150 university professors and intellectuals — endeavored to elucidate the problems raised more closely in the subsequent discussions. One afternoon was devoted to the East-West problems. On this occasion Prof., G. A. Wetter (Vatican) acted as chairman, and Prof. Dr. Georg Stadtmiller (Munich) held the opening address.

The A.B.N. was represented at the Congress by the former Prime Minister of Ukraine, Jaroslav Stetzko and the former Foreign Minister of Slovakia, Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky. Mr. Stetzko drew the attention of the audience to the fact that the Russian philosophical conception of the individual in society is entirely different from the European conception. Prof. I. Mirchuk of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich also attended the Conference.

In the course of the discussions Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky pointed out that a distinct difference must be made between the despots in the East and the enslaved peoples.

The fact that the Iron Curtain can exist at all and is accepted by civilized mankind is proof of the defensive attitude of the West. Nowadays, Europe spiritually is on the defensive, a fact which is contrary to the principles of Christianity. For this reason it is imperative that there should be a change in the present spiritual attitude.

It is in the interests of mankind that the idea of freedom and of national independence behind the Iron Curtain should be realized. It is an anomaly, to say the least, for Moscow to pose as the champion of the freedom of the peoples of Asia and Africa. Even though the colonies may not have national independence, their subjects nevertheless enjoy all human rights and basic freedoms. The Kremlin, however, enslaves millions of people, and the West does nothing to help them to regain their national independence.

It is wrong to make out that the national idea is no longer a living factor in the world. On the contrary, at the beginning of this century there was only one independent state in Africa, now there are ten; in Asia there were seven independent states at the beginning of the 20th century, now there are twenty-three. It is only in Europe that the national idea has to some extent receded into the background, as a result of Russian imperialism. This is reflected in the dangerous increase in power of Russia. The result of this development is that Europe's political weight is gradually decreasing, and, hence, Europe can no longer hold out and assert itself against Russia without political, economic and military support from America. It is in the interests of mankind that Europe should

once more be able to fulfil its tasks. But this is impossible as long as three-fifths of the territory and two-fifths of the population of our continent are ruled by the Kremlin.

Just as the beginning of the Congress was dominated by the theory of Gabriel Marcel, who described Europe as a "discourse", the end of the Congress was dominated by the formulations of Prof. Adolfo Munoz-Alonso, who in conclusion pointed out that a discourse on the part of the free world with the Kremlin despots was impossible. A positive result of the Congress was a resolution, which was read by Prof. Felix Ponteil (Strasbourg). This resolution, which was unanimously accepted, stresses the spiritual unity of the subjugated peoples of Eastern Europe and the West. It is worded as follows:

"In the certain knowledge that there are more than 200 million people behind the Iron Curtain who as regards their spiritual life and culture belong to Europe and who are suffering great spiritual and material hardships, who have been deprived of the basic freedoms and of all the recognized natural rights to which all peoples are entitled, the Congress of the International Institute, "Antonio Rosmini", has resolved, in the spirit of brotherly solidarity and in keeping with the mission which Europe and its universities have fulfilled in the past centuries, to draw the attention of the governments and the cultural institutions of the free world to the necessity of giving the lecturers and university students of the subjugated nations their support, of enabling scientific work to be carried on, and of protecting the common values of the free and of the subjugated peoples of Europe.

By way of moral protection the universities of the free world shall assume those functions which are the due of academic institutions and which enable philosophical and scientific activity to be carried on absolutely free of any form of dictatorship. In this way and in keeping with the spirit of Christian humanism, the leading class of these countries will be able to experience the latter's rebirth and the regeneration of these countries will be achieved on the basis of those values which are the common possession of all the nations of the free world."

The resolution was unanimously accepted by the Congress. It was further resolved that at the Third Congress next year, three to four days are to be devoted to the problems of the East and the West. This year's Congress in Bolzano was also attended by official representatives of the Italian government, high ecclesiastical dignitaries, the Luxembourg Minister of Education, representatives of the embassies accredited to Rome, and numerous prominent persons in academic and cultural life in West Europe.

There is no doubt about the fact that the present disunion of mankind, as far as a policy of increasing power and the geographical position are concerned, is described as the contrast between the East and the West. But it is also apparent that, without Russian imperialism, materialist Communism would not have the strength required to threaten the freedom, too, of all the peoples who are so far not enslaved. On the other hand, however, there can be no doubt about the fact that Russian imperialism is so dangerous because materialist Communism serves as the instrument for its aims as regards increasing its power.

The present disunion is not a disunion between the subjugated peoples of East Europe and the West, but an internal disunion of mankind which affects all countries and continents. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that the materialist attitude to life is more in evidence amongst the majority of the Western population than amongst the freedom-loving, revolutionary, fighting peoples behind the Iron Curtain. And it is not without reason that the fact is stressed that "materialism is preached in the East, but practised in the West". The question at issue is thus one which concerns all of us, and the Congress in Bolzano has done a great deal towards elucidating this question. F. D.

World Tragedy of Our Day (From page 1)

has only been possible because of the indifferent attitude of the free world.

In the course of the round-table discussions which we have had with the members of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) in the old, historic town of Munich, we — Admiral Penna Botto of Brazil and the undersigned as the representatives of the Inter-American Confederation for the Defence of the Continent, — have learnt about the problems of the more than twenty exile organizations of the Ukrainians, Georgians, Slovaks, Hungarians, Poles and Czechs, etc., which for the most part have their headquarters in Western Europe, but are also constantly in direct contact with the important organizations in America, Asia, Africa and Australia and with their fellow-countrymen behind the Iron Curtain. And we have thus realized how great this world tragedy of our day is.

The Western powers conduct an extensive and incessant propaganda campaign, in particular through the powerful and influential radio stations, "Free Europe", "Liberation" and "The Voice of America", and considerable attention is paid to all these programmes both on this side of and beyond the Iron Curtain. But the promises which are constantly being made to the enslaved peoples fall on stony ground, for these unhappy peoples, who are forced to endure a regime of tyranny and terrorism, know only too well what will happen to them if they follow the example of their fellow-sufferers in Poland and Hungary. Passive resistance and an open fight against Soviet Russian imperialism must not be fostered and incited, if the free world is not prepared to reach a clear and concrete decision.

The danger of a third world war with all the dreadful consequences which would ensue if nuclear weapons were used, can only be avoided if particular attention is paid to this problem, and if effective help and support is accorded to the peoples of all the countries subjugated by Soviet Russian imperialism.

As long as one fails to realize that this colossal bloc is falling apart, and as long as one fails to take into account the vulnerable spot of this bloc, namely that the Chinese mainland is threatened with a complete collapse, thanks to the activity of the patriots of Free China and of the millions of desperate persons living in this vast territory and also in South Korea and Vietnam, the free world will continue to be the laughing-stock of Moscow's diplomats, and the enslaved peoples, who have fought in vain for their freedom and independence, will fall further and further into the abyss.

Munich, September 22, 1957.

Niko Nakashidze

The Fiasco of the West

When Khrushchev at the 20th Party Congress exposed Stalin as in evil and brutal despot and boastfully proclaimed the "de-Stalinization" and "collectivization" of the state and the Party, Western politicians heaved a sigh of relief and began to cherish the hope that a new era was about to commence in the Soviet Union, an illusion which strengthened their coexistence ideas. They expected great upheavals in the U.S.S.R. Western public opinion was supported in this illusion by so-called "experts on Russia", headed by the American journalist, Lippmann. These people overlooked one very obvious fact, however, namely that "collective leadership" is completely incompatible with the nature of dictatorship and that dictatorship does not tolerate any liberalization. As soon as the reins are slackened, man's innate urge for freedom breaks through and dictators are overthrown.

But this fatal illusion was very soon shattered. Terrible tragedies were enacted in the heart of Europe, — the insurrections of the people of Poland and of Hungary and the brutal suppression of the national revolutions. Once again, the peoples' urge for freedom was crushed in bloodshed by the Russian hordes.

It was no longer the evil Stalin who was responsible in this case, but the allegedly "liberal" Khrushchev and other consuls of his collective leadership.

Thus the world was now able to convince itself that the "de-Stalinization" was the biggest bluff ever heard of in the history of the world. Whether Stalin or Khrushchev and Co. are in power, is immaterial, — Marxist-Leninist-Communist despotism and Russian imperialist policy always remain unchanged.

The methods resorted to by the "anti-Stalinist" Khrushchev are the same as Stalin's methods were; how, indeed, could there be any difference! Stalin's decrees and terrorist measures were issued and carried out in the name of the Politbureau or the Central Committee of the Party, just as they are nowadays under Khrushchev. He does as he likes. He liquidates his rivals just as Stalin did. The prominent Stalinist personalities — Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov and Shepilov, were removed from office and eliminated for good. Malenkov was removed from office because he was said to have been in favour of promoting the production of consumption goods instead of the production of the heavy industries. Now, however, Khrushchev has announced that it would surely not be betraying Marxism and Leninism if he were to supplement supplies with "butter and meat" and the standard of living of the working classes were to be raised. He accused Molotov and various other leading Communists of opposing the recognition of equal rights for the satellite states, but he himself intervened in Poland and particularly in Hungary just as brutally as Molotov did, whenever he had an opportunity. He arbitrarily dissolves ministries, transfers many of them to the most remote provincial towns, and under this pretext the mass resettlement of the population is effected.

The Russian Moloch Continues to be Insatiable

In the non-Russian republics of the Soviet Union every indication of national feeling is nipped in the bud. In the Party Central Committees of these republics Russians appointed by Moscow hold the posts of Second Secretary and administer Party control and propaganda.

Mass deportation of the population of these countries to Kazakstan and Siberia, in order to open up hitherto uncultivated regions, continues unabated.

People are deported from the Baltic countries so that — as is alleged — "people with no jobs can be used for other work in other parts of the Soviet Union". — It is a well-known fact that in the Soviet Union everyone is registered and no one is allowed to be without employment. The Russians try to win over the Ukrainians for this kind of labour service by telling them a fairytale: we, the two great Slav nations, must create the

land of new civilization and must fulfil the great historic and cultural mission for which we have been chosen.

The Turkestanians are gradually being pushed back towards the southeast and south.

The non-Russian peoples put up a desperate resistance against all these measures. The Soviet press constantly criticizes the signs of "provincial nationalism" in Ukraine. What is to be understood by this, is obvious. In the Soviet press of Ukraine and at the various congresses of writers, etc., which are held, violent attacks are launched against our friends, the well-known Ukrainian national leaders and revolutionary freedom fighters, Stephan Bandera, Jaroslaw Stetzko and other prominent personalities, now living in exile.

In a similar manner the Slovak and Hungarian Communist press and the radio programmes of these countries constantly attack our fellow-fighters, Prof. Dr. Ferd. Durcansky and General Ferenc Farkas de Kisharnak. The Georgian edition of the Soviet propagandist paper intended for the emigrants publishes the foulest insults about our Georgian fellow-fighters.

All this proves that these freedom-fighters are extremely popular with the people and that something is brewing, since, normally, no mention whatever is made of prominent national, political personalities in exile.

Not only are the non-Russian countries of the Soviet Union being deprived of their population and being resettled by Russians, but attempts are also being made to gradually incorporate parts of these republics in the Russian Republic of the Soviet Union. This has already happened in the case of the Karelo-Finnish S.S.R., since the native population was in the minority and the Russians already formed the majority. An attempt is now being made to separate an integral part of Georgia since time immemorial — Abkhaz on the northern coast of the Black Sea, which has already been made an Autonomous Republic of Georgia — from Georgia and to incorporate it in the Russian Republic like North Caucasia. A Russian alphabet has already been invented for this autonomous republic, and attempts are now being made to impress upon the population that they are a separate people and have been kept down by the Georgians. How heavy pressure must be in this respect can be seen from the fact that even the Georgian Communist, D. Mtschedlishwili, writing in the organ of Georgian writers, "MNATHODI", No. 2, of February 1957, mentions the great and illustrious history of Georgia and then stresses: "We shall not tolerate the unity of our nation and the truth of its historic unity being attacked by certain research experts, under the cloak of learning, and a shadow being cast on the history of our people. This must not be tolerated!"

This is a manifestation of the primeval force of the national spirit.

What the West Should at Last Comprehend

But these facts are not taken into account by the West. The Western world refuses to realize that these non-Russian peoples are the natural allies of the free nations in this conflict between two worlds. The West regards everything that is in the Soviet Union as Russia's sphere of influence. Our peoples have been written off as non-existent by the West. An unfounded considerateness is shown towards the Russians and attempts are made to win their favour. Western politicians fail to realize that this Soviet imperium is the Russian imperium and that the Russians will defend it with all the means at their disposal. After the events in Poland and Hungary and when the struggle for power in the Kremlin ended with the liquidation of Molotov and Co., people in the West prophesied that Khrushchev would find himself in a crisis. It was assumed that Marshal Zhukov would be his successor. People also forecast that Bulganin was done for and that the leading man would in future be Mikoyan. All such conjectures were and are futile. Bulganin is not Khrushchev's rival; he has never had any great ambitions; he is a typical Russian official and is quite content with having reached the highest position he will ever reach.

Mikoyan, who is an Armenian, was the humblest of Stalin's servants. Old sins weigh heavily on him, and as an Armenian he is not popular with the Russians. He will never have a chance to oust Khrushchev.

Zhukov, though now a marshal and in charge of the Soviet army, was only Stalin's corporal. And his mentality is accordingly and he will never be capable of Bonapartism. Nor has he any ambitions in this respect, since he is accustomed to serve.

Thus, at the moment Khrushchev has no rival; he is popular with the masses, from whom he himself originates. They like his common proletarian face; they look upon him as their brother. His next co-workers will by no means hail from the old guard, but will most certainly be genuine Russians with Russian imperialist views, genuine Stalinists and people who have emerged from the Molotov clique, types like Gromyko, for instance. Russian imperialist policy will continue to be conducted unwaveringly, ruthlessly and powerfully.

Moscow will refuse to yield one jot in the satellite countries, for it has had bitter experiences in this respect, and those who once disappoint the Kremlin rulers, can never hope to win their favour or their confidence again. Under no circumstances will the Kremlin withdraw its troops from Poland; it knows only too well that if it did so, then it would lose Poland and Gomulka would promptly be overthrown. It knows how much the Poles hate the Russians and also that Gomulka and his government are hated by the people. On the other hand, Gomulka, too, is not deceived in this respect and it is therefore in his own interests that the Russian troops should remain in the country.

The situation is even worse in Hungary, for there it was perfectly obvious what the Hungarian people are longing for. Moscow will never release its hold on Hungary. Even the Communists in these countries no longer enjoy Moscow's confidence, for wherever there is a tendency to refuse to be Moscow's servile hireling, the Kremlin rulers withhold their confidence and their favour, for good.

A Glimpse Behind the Scenes

There are plenty of examples in this respect. The movement which in the West is erroneously described as "Titoism", that it to say the desire to be one's own master in one's own country and only the ally but not the subject of Moscow, is of very old origin in the non-Russian Republics of the Soviet Union. After the national revolt in Georgia in 1924 and the Party opposition, which in those days was branded as "national deviationism", the systematic extermination of native Communists, the last of whom were shot in 1937, began.

The same thing happened in Ukraine, where all the old Communists were shot at the orders of Khrushchev and Kaganovich on account of "national deviationism". Since then these "purges" have been carried out periodically and systematically in the non-Russian Republics.

The situation in Bulgaria is no better, and this definitely freedom-loving peasant people put up an obstinate, silent resistance. Bitter feeling among the people has increased very considerably since the deportation of thousands of persons from Bulgaria for slave-labour in the Soviet Union. The Russians, however, need Roumania and Bulgaria in order to advance to the Mediterranean, and for this reason they will refuse to release their hold on these countries.

Unlike many others, the Czech Communists are Moscow's most loyal hirelings, for they are only too well aware of the attitude of the Slovak people, who have been forcibly incorporated in the state of Czecho-Slovakia and who long to attain individual and national freedom. Hence, "purges" are constantly being carried out in the Party in Slovakia and people are removed from office. On the other hand, however, the Czechs themselves are opposed to Communism and would no doubt attack the Communist regime were a favourable opportunity to present itself. But for strategic reasons the Russians must retain Czecho-Slovakia in their bloc, for the purpose of a flank attack in the event

Continued on page 1

Dmytro Donzov

Is Russia Invincible?

Politicians who only regard events superficially look upon Russia — since they are scared by its size and area — as an invincible giant. As proof of this fact they mention not only the size of Russia, but, of course, also quote historical facts: the failure of Napoleon's campaign, of the campaign of Charles of Sweden prior to that date and of the later campaigns of Wilhelm II. and Hitler.

It is true that facts are facts, but one must be able to interpret them in the right way.

In the first place, I should like to define my theory, which I shall endeavour to prove or at least show to be provable in the course of this short article. This theory is as follows: *the causes of the success with which Muscovy so far managed to get rid of every conqueror were not of a military and strategic but of a political nature.*

Let us consider the campaign of Charles XII against Peter I. Contrary to the assertions made by Russian historians and by those Ukrainian historians who are influenced by the former, the campaign of Charles XII might just as well have ended in a victory for Sweden as in her defeat. In his excellent work on the "Great Nordic War" (published prior to 1914 by the Russian "Imperial War History Society") General Yunakov proves that Charles' invasion brought Muscovy to the verge of ruin. The author of the "Oxford History of the European East" affirms that the alliance of the Swedish King with Mazeppa was his only real political combination. And yet it failed. Why? Because the short-sighted policy of the European states impeded it: Denmark and Poland joined forces with Peter against Sweden. And this proved too much for Sweden to tackle on her own . . .

Two years after the battle of Poltava, Hetman Pylyp Orlyk, thanks to his diplomatic astuteness, succeeded in enlisting the aid of Turkey in the war against Tsar Peter. In the steppes of the Pruth the Tsar's army, together with Peter himself, was encircled by the Turkish forces, and under normal circumstances, the Tsar would have had no other alternative but to capitulate and to become the captive of the Sublime Porte. One can well imagine what consequences such an ignominious end to Peter's career would have had for the future fate of Russia.

But actually things turned out quite different: Dazzled by the jewels and charms of the Tsarina Catherine I — she had been in the Russian camp together with the Tsar and, incidentally, she was as lacking in chastity as Catherine II — the Vizier accepted a ransom and set the Tsar and his army free in a situation which would certainly have proved catastrophic, after he had forced Peter to accept a peace treaty which was ignominious for Moscow and, among other things, guaranteed the independence of Ukraine, which, of course, Peter later on never dreamt of observing. Neither in 1709 nor in 1711 was Muscovy saved from destruction by strategic impracticability, but only by the unfortunate policy of the statesmen of the West and of Turkey.

Meanwhile Russia had been growing in size — since the so-called "chaotic times" (from the death of Ivan the Terrible until 1613) — likewise thanks to the political indecision of the West: even during the reign of Ivan the Terrible there had already been certain far-sighted Western politicians — but unfortunately only few in number — who had uttered words of warning regarding the danger of Muscovy increasing in size and strength. As early as 1571 the famous Duke of Alba advised the German imperial states not to supply the Muscovites with any artillery or modern weapons since, as he affirmed, "if the Muscovite Tsar adopts all the new technical ideas in warfare, he will become the most powerful opponent, dangerous not only for Germany, but also for the entire West." But the West was more interested in carrying on trade at the moment than in thinking about the dangers of the morrow. There were in those days likewise a number of West Europeans who, after they had served in the Tsar's "Special Guards" (the "Opri-china") — some of them for a considerable time —, submitted detailed plans of how to attack the Mus-

covite empire from the White Sea, in order to destroy the despotic rule of the Tsar, that "ancient enemy of the whole of Christianity and cruel tyrant". The author of one of these invasion plans even gave advice as to how a certain army was to be formed against Muscovy: just as the Bolsheviks have done in our day on various occasions (in Spain and Greece, for instance), an international force was to be set up which was to consist of homeless soldiers who, as a result of the wars of those times, were roaming about West Europe in large numbers. But neither these plans nor the Duke of Alba's warnings succeeded in establishing the idea in Europe that the danger of a Muscovite invasion must be fought: nor did the warnings and the diplomatic action of the exiled Hetman Pylyp Orlyk have any considerable influence on Europe's policy towards Russia.

Napoleon's campaign failed, but certain Western historians maintain that this was not due to strategic reasons. The Emperor's plan was to advance as far as the Dvina and Dnieper, to move into defensive positions there, strengthen the front lines, set up big supply depots there, and then advance on Moscow in the spring of 1813. The impetuosity of the Corsican and the fact that he was firmly convinced that he had a lucky star, as well as the advice he was given by certain over-hasty marshals caused his plan to fail and brought disaster upon the "great army" in the early winter, a disaster which could well have been avoided. And the fact that his troops were not sufficiently prepared and equipped to carry on a winter campaign did the rest. Certain writers maintain that if the invasion had been better prepared, Napoleon's retreat from Moscow would not even have been a defeat, since the French in the course of their retreat could have confronted the Russians at Vilna with an army which was twice as strong as the Russian army.

The cause of failure — so it is affirmed by these writers — lay not so much in the faultiness of the invasion plan, but, rather, in the mistakes which were made when the plan was realized. The main cause, however, was a political one. After Napoleon's army had occupied the whole of Poland, Byelorussia (White Ruthenia) and parts of the Muscovite territories and had begun to advance towards the frontiers of Ukraine, demoralization and defeatism began to make themselves felt to an ever-increasing degree amongst the population of Russia and even in the Russian army. Russian memoirs written in those days clearly show how great the demoralization caused by the surrender of Moscow was. The Russian army which had been defeated at Borodino (or rather in the battle of Moskova) and passed through Moscow in the course of its retreat was received with jeers and insults by the population. In the army itself the spirit of resistance was already becoming weaker.

Cases are known to have existed of priests in Byelorussia administering the oath of allegiance to the Emperor Napoleon to the people; it is also a known fact that a marshal and member of the nobility of Ukraine, a certain Lukasevych, proposed a toast to the health of Napoleon at a banquet. Of course, this may merely have been a piece of daring on the part of one individual; but nevertheless, the fact that this was possible in a country which was still occupied by the Russian army and administration, shows what a serious blow Russian prestige had suffered. And what was even more serious, — the peasants began to revolt. Rumours were circulated to the effect that Napoleon was a son of the Tsarina Catherine II and had come to free the peasants from serfdom; the peasants began to rebel against their feudal lords. Napoleon was advised to issue a manifesto on the liberation of the peasants . . . Such a manifesto might well have proved a spark whose flames would have devoured the Russian army (which consisted of peasants who were serfs) and would have destroyed the defensive strength of the Russian state and the position of the Tsar himself. — But Napoleon refused to take this step; on the contrary, in certain cases he even ordered his own troops to put down peasants' revolts against the big landowners; he did not want to kindle the "natural force of a people's rebel-

lion". And thereupon the people's rebellion was directed against him.

Later on, he regretted having missed this opportunity, as can be seen in the memoirs of his adjutant, Colaincourt, with whom he travelled the whole of the weary journey by sledge from Moscow back to Paris in the winter of 1812. Still later, he showed considerable interest for Kotliarevsky's Ukrainian "Aeneid" and ordered his court historian, Lesueur, to write a history of the Ukrainians and Don Cossacks, — whom he obviously regarded as the elements which in the course of history had always put up a resistance against the expansion of power of the Muscovite empire. But it was too late . . .

It is thus apparent that in this large-scale campaign, too, the West was afraid to resort to those weapons which Moscow has always used against the West, — in the past in the form of political agitation against the governmental authority of the Cossacks in Ukraine, against the nobility in Poland, against the Turkish "Beys" in the Balkans, and nowadays against the "bourgeoisie" everywhere. The main point, however, was that the West disregarded the national factor, — the many differentiated national components of the vast Russian imperium, the national dividing-lines, into which a wedge could easily have been driven in order to split up Russia. And what held good for the past, now holds good for the present in exactly the same way. Not strategic causes, but wrong policies are to blame for the failure of the attacks which have been carried out against Moscow in the course of history.

In the Crimean War (after Russia seized Roumania) — fortunately for Europe and mankind — farsighted statesmen were in charge of Europe's policy. Great Britain formed an anti-Russian coalition together with Turkey, France under Napoleon III, and Sardinia. This coalition drove the Russians out of Roumania and the Balkans, annihilated the armies of the Tsar in the Crimea, captured Sevastopol, sank the Russian fleet, resulted in the death of Nicholas I and in the new Tsar being forced to beg for peace at terms which were ignominious for him: Russia was forbidden to have a navy and military bases in the Black Sea territory.

Thus, when European policy was at the height of its tasks, the attempts to overthrow Russia were successful. Of course, it was only a partial success, but politics were to blame for this fact. The Western allies constantly urged Austria-Hungary to join the coalition. At that time — that is to say before Germany was united by Prussia — the Habsburg monarchy was the strongest military power in Europe (except France); and its participation in the war would have caused Russia considerable anxiety and would have undermined the latter's imperial position to a far greater extent. But Austria remained neutral and contented itself with an armed demonstration at the frontiers . . . It was not until 22 years after the Treaty of Paris, which ended the Crimean War, that Russia, taking advantage of France's downfall in 1870-71, succeeded in invading the Balkans once more. In 1878 the armies of the Tsar advanced practically as far as Constantinople and were prepared to seize the Turkish capital . . . Considerable pressure on the part of Great Britain and the concentration of the British fleet in the Dardanelles forced the Tsar to retreat and to surrender not only Constantinople but, soon afterwards, the entire Balkans, too.

In 1905, that is to say during the Russo-Japanese war, it was only thanks to the kindly disposition of the West that Russia's defeat was not a greater catastrophe. Russia at that time decided to accept a peace treaty not so much because of the defeats which she had suffered at the hands of the Japanese, but in view of the imminent danger of a revolution, which actually did break out in the autumn of 1905. This revolution was by no means insignificant, and it was with considerable difficulty that the Tsarist regime managed to put it down and direct it into the channels of a lawful parliamentary opposition. Had Russia at that time been defeated in the East, paralysed internally by a revolution, and exposed to an attack from the

West on the part of Germany and Austria-Hungary, then the imperium would most surely have fallen to pieces. Who knows whether the states of West Europe would have hastened to help Russia, already defeated so decisively in the Far East, if she had been in the throes of an internal revolution and had also suffered a defeat on the Western frontiers at the hands of new enemies; and help from America would have been both strategically and psychologically impossible in the year 1905. But Germany failed to take the necessary steps; on the contrary, Wilhelm II assured the Tsar of his friendly attitude. And for this neutrality Russia expressed her gratitude to her Western neighbours by carrying out an invasion in 1914.

If we consider present events, we come to the same conclusion: the Allies have won the war against Germany, but have lost the peace. The fact that Russia is now threatening the whole world is not the result of her military power, but the result of the pro-Russian policy of the West. The reason for Russia's power lies in the fact that the West — most unnecessarily — handed over Manchuria to her, contrary to the agreement with Free China, that in deference to Stalin's and Roosevelt's wishes it did not start an offensive in the Balkans, that it handed over Czecho-Slovakia, which it would have done better to have kept for itself, to the Muscovites, and that it surrendered the Balkans and Germany on the east side of the Elbe to Moscow, which was likewise by no means necessary. The West itself has destroyed all the barriers which impeded Russian expansion in Europe and in the Far East, without, however, intending setting up any barriers of its own in their stead.

The West definitely refuses to regard the vast Russian imperium as a patchwork of various nations and to approve of the programme of a partition of Russia; it refuses to use the only effective weapon which would destroy the Russian imperium and put a stop to its imperialism. No wonder that Russia continues to expand and grow! The alleged futility of an attack on Russia from the West or from the East has nothing whatsoever to do with this fact, just as the vast imperial territory, too, has nothing to do with it. The reason for the ever-increasing Russian menace is to be sought in the indolence of Western political thinking.

Similarly, the cause of the failure of the German invasion of 1918 lay not in the military power of Russia, which had already been decisively defeated and as regards armed strength was no longer existent, but in the policy of the Western allies who would not permit the collapse of the Russian imperium, — just as in 1905 they prevented the collapse of the Tsarist empire. These same causes also played a part in the years 1941-45, — in particular, the indolent policy of German National Socialism, which, above all in Ukraine, Poland and the Baltic countries, set its hopes not on the liberation of the subjugated peoples, but on a "new White Russia" with General Vlasov at its head . . . And this is precisely what those politicians are now doing, who ignore Ukraine and the other freedom-loving nations and set their hopes on an all-Russian political corpse, namely on Kerensky. It is time the legend — a very pleasant legend as far as the Muscovites are concerned — of the impossibility of conquering Russia was discarded, for it is, after all, only a legend. The lack of will-power on the part of the West to destroy the Muscovite monster is a subject that can be discussed, the impossibility of achieving this — never!

Is this a reason why we should despair? No, — however regrettable this fact may be, it gives us no right to capitulate or lose courage. In view of this indifference or ignorance on the part of the West, we can only repeat what the Ukrainian monthly journal "Visnyk", published in Lviv (Lemberg), wrote in its last edition (shortly before the outbreak of the war in 1939). "The Ukrainian problem as a problem of international significance grew and increased even under most unfavourable conditions. Neither the age of the biggest expansion of power of Tsarism, the age of its alliance with the two largest democracies of West Europe, nor the era in which these two democracies supported the Russian counter-revolution in Ukraine, nor the era of Rapallo (of German and Soviet friendship in the 1920's), nor the era in which France sought to curry favour with the U.S.S.R., — have liquidated this problem. Nor will any action on the part of Hitler or Stalin succeed in doing so". And elsewhere in the same article: "There can be no talk of the Ukrainian problem being liquidated

Dr. Ludwig Liptay

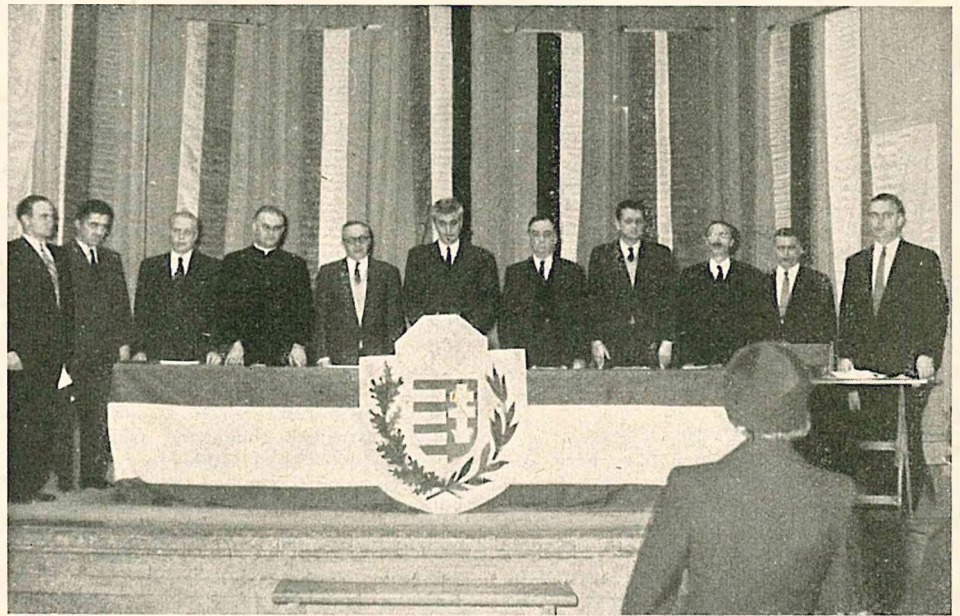
Vice-President of the Hungarian Liberation Movement

Questions of Fateful Significance

It is an established fact that the full assembly of the U.N.O in a resolution confirmed all the assertions made by the Five Members Commission on the Hungarian question and accordingly condemned the Kremlin rulers and the Hungarian Kádár government.

Neither the resolution nor this decision came as a surprise. Those who are acquainted with political conditions in the world at present, could hardly have expected anything else. A certain significance can be attached to the fact that the resolution of the U.N.O. was passed with a large majority, which thus gives it a certain moral authority and weight.

entire Communist system not only in the satellite countries and in the U.S.S.R. itself, but also in Asia and, in particular, in China. In that case Russia would have been forced to withdraw her troops from Hungary. Inevitably, the question obtrudes itself: did the free world merely fail to help the Hungarian people because it was badly informed or not informed at all on conditions in these countries or on the true strength of the subjugated peoples, who are so inspired by a sacred will that they would have been capable of gaining their freedom? Or had the free nations no intention of taking action? Not only was a



The A.B.N. Presidium of a rally in Montreal to commemorate the tragedy of Hungary

But what value do the Communists attach to such moral weight? If there really was anyone who still believed that the Soviet Russians had any sense of morals at all, then such persons must by now have realized how mistaken they were, for after Russia had crushed the Hungarian revolt the U.N.O. twice asked her in vain to withdraw her troops from Hungary.

Or are there really people in certain circles in the free nations who assume that the worthy Prince Wan might be able to score a success with the Russians, that the Prince of Thailand might be able to convince them of the value of moral principles? It is true that in politics one sometimes even has to try the impossible, provided that one has a good reason for doing so, — and there can certainly be various reasons in this respect.

It is a well-known fact that the U.N.O. in October, 1956, wasted the most favourable opportunity it could have had to act, and that the Secretary-General of the U.N.O., Dag Hammarskjöld, as the authorized representative of the U.N.O. in November, 1956, refused to travel to Hungary without the permission of the Kádár government, though it was absurd to wait for such permission. And the most important fact is that the free world failed to help the Hungarian people at a time when there was a possibility of overthrowing the

unique opportunity missed, but the subjugated peoples were also deeply disappointed.

Such things can lead to fatal consequences.

Could it be possible that a world war was to be started if the West had been prepared to take action?

No! — No one, least of all the small peoples and nations are prepared to regard a world war as a desirable solution, since it would bring with it their complete annihilation.

The free nations have various very effective means at their disposal — political, economic or otherwise — with which they can force the Russians to yield. But the main thing is to support the subjugated peoples with all possible means in the fight against Russian domination. These peoples are the main factor in this conflict between two worlds. And it is only by overthrowing the Russian Communist imperium from within, with the active, universal help of the free world, that a third world war can be prevented.

If all these opportunities are missed again, then the consequence will be that sooner or later the U.N.O. will collapse, as happened in the case of the League of Nations for similar reasons. Is such a possibility to be conjured up? — Most certainly not, since in that case a world war would be inevitable.

If the free world wants to avoid this danger, it must, should further attempts fail, act without any further delay.

Will the Western powers decide to take such a step? Or will they — as they have done so far — leave the subjugated peoples to their bitter fate? Will they, instead of taking action, continue to allow themselves to be misled by tactical methods and deceptive coexistence watchwords?

These are, indeed, questions of fateful significance!

as a result of some temporary favourable international situation or other . . . Ukraine alone must produce men who will set up this problem in keeping with its importance, — men and not puppets".

These remarks can be repeated in our day, too, — especially as far as the last sentence is concerned.

Dr. Arin Engin

Member of the Turkish Historical Society (Turkish Academy)

A Brief Survey of Russian Colonialism in Turkestan

The important geo-political position of Turkestan, the motherland of the Turkish race and a country with a total area of 5.5 million square kilometres, has always attracted Russian colonialists — both Tsarist and Bolshevik. It was, however, not only the geo-political importance of Turkestan, but also her wealth of natural resources that prompted the Russians to try and conquer this vast country. They knew that all along the Rivers Seyhan and Jeyhan and in the Tarim Basin there were extensive areas where "white gold" cotton, wheat and barley were cultivated and where the harvest was excellent, both as regards quality and quantity. The Russians subjected the Turks to their ruthless colonization system in order to ensure that they themselves should profit by all the economic advantages which this country had to offer. They prohibited the cultivation of wheat and barley in order to increase the cultivation of "white gold" cotton for their own industries and in order to deprive the people of their basic food supply and force them to become the slaves of Moscow. Turkestan, incidentally, is not only rich as regards grain and cotton, but also possesses considerable natural resources — coal, oil, gold and silver —, whilst in former times the number of cattle amounted to several millions, namely almost one head of cattle per person.

Those Russians who censure the Western system of colonization themselves apply the worst kind of colonization system ever heard of in the history of mankind, as can be seen from the example of Turkestan.

Artificial Division of the Turks

The Turks living in Turkestan have been artificially divided up by the Russians into Uzbek, Kirghiz, Turkman, Kazak, Oguz and Uigur peoples. In reality, however, there is no difference between them, except a slight variation of dialect. They all belong to the same Turkish race, with the same language, religion and cultural traditions and the same historical background throughout the ages. The Russians are now also dividing them up according to different alphabets and dialects and are encouraging variations of the tribal ways of living. In fact, they are conducting a huge Russification campaign. Is this human justice, and peoples' democratic rights, which they boastfully claim to respect?

A Brief Survey of Russo-Turkish Conflicts

From the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards, the Russians began to infiltrate into Turkestan by means of most effective and atrocious methods, until they finally conquered the country in 1864 and resorted to the most ruthless measures imaginable.

Actually, the Russian invasion of Turkestan began when Vasil the Third (1505-1563) "peacefully" settled Russian emigrants there. This system of "settling emigrants" is Russia's unscrupulous method of invading Turkestan, a method applied throughout the ages and, in fact, still being applied at the present time in Kazakhstan. At one time they tried to settle Ukrainian "volunteers" there, but later replaced them by Russian settlers. The Russian settlers in the Urals began to attack the regions beyond the Urals, and in 1547 Ivan the Terrible embarked upon a period of external conquest and invaded these territories by "blood and fire". The Kushan Khan, the ruler of the Kirghiz Turks, was taken prisoner in Siber, the capital of the country, and Tobolsk was founded as a fortified city for Russian emigrants. The ruler of the Western Kazak Khanate, Ebulhayr, was defeated at the end of the 16th century.

At the beginning of the 18th century, the Russians started a civil war among the Kazaks, with terrible results, to the advantage of the Russians. Their other method of infiltration was the "divide and rule" method.

The Khan of the Bashkir Turks, whose territory bordered on the Urals, Kychym Khan, was defeated at Chat in 1598, but he exhorted his sons and descendants to fight the Russians to the utmost for their national independence.

The Kalmuck Invasion

The invasion carried out by the Kalmucks (Mongols) from the East, in the 17th century, was another terrible disaster for the Kazak Turks in Turkestan, since these new intruders were the allies of the Russians in the latter's plan to conquer the Kazak and the Kirghiz Turks in their native country. In 1673, the Kalmuck Khan Ayuk, and, a little later, Barak Khan, accepted the Russian subjugation of the Turkish territories. About a century later, in 1788, Uvali Khan also recognized Russian rule.

The original inhabitants of the country, the Turks themselves, were powerless in the face of this double conspiracy on the part of the Russians, on the one hand, and of the Mongols (Kalmucks) on the other hand.

The Abolition of the Kazak Khanates

Eventually, the Russians abolished the Kazak Khanates completely in the year 1819. They established a "Divan" system of administration, according to which an "Aga Sultan" was to be elected every three years, but only nominally. This, of course, caused considerable animosity among the people, a fact which was advantageous to the Russians. On October 12, 1868, the "Divan" system of administration was abolished, and a nominal "democracy", with "assistant" Russian administrative offices, was set up. Finally, in 1883, when this system too was abolished, a direct Russian hegemony was established.

The Turkish poets and writers, like Abay for instance, who ventured to object openly against all the atrocities committed against our nation, were liquidated most ruthlessly. And all those who made no secret of the fact that they were national-minded were sent to Siberia where they perished.

The second step in the Russians' plan to invade and conquer Turkestan was directed towards the hinterland of Turkestan, — Bokhara, Khiva, the Kokand Khanates, and the Turkmen tribes of Kharez, bordering on the Aral Sea. In 1661 the emigrant city of Irkutsk was founded in the hinterland of Turkestan. Peter I invented a slogan of "free trade" with Turkestan, and in order to guarantee this and also to "civilize" the "backward border hordes", Russia established friendly relations with religious fanatics and backward political Khans, devoid of national spirit, and thus stirred up quarrels among the Khans themselves.

In 1714, a Russian army under Bekovich Cherkassky, was sent to the interior of Turkestan, allegedly for the purpose of prospecting for gold. A fortress was established at Mengishlak, near the Aral Sea, and the river beds were diverted in order to create a famine in the country. But the Khiva Khanate attacked this Russian army of 4,000 men and succeeded in defeating it and putting it to rout near Lake Para-Kilmaz, 250 kilometres northwest of the city of Khiva. Incidentally, there is a proverb in the Russian language, "disappeared like Bekovich", which dates back to this disastrous Russian defeat. Some time later, however, the Russians stirred up an artificial revolt among the Kirghiz Turks and started a civil war, in order to further their own invasion plans.

The third step in these plans was the choice of Orenburg as the centre of all these invasion movements.

In 1803, Russia kindled a revolt in Mangishlak against the Khiva Khanate. Some time afterwards, the Bokhara Khanate, in a spirit of revenge, began to attack Russian trade caravans entering Turkestan. In 1832, Hekim Kushbeyi, the prime minister of Bokhara, discussed the Russian invasion problem with the British delegate, Burns. In 1839, the British delegate, Stoddart, suggested to the Emir of Bokhara that he should accept help from Britain. But, unfortunately, thanks to Russian intrigues, the Emir foolishly treated the British delegate very badly. In 1840, this same Emir completely fell into the clutches of a Russian delegate named Butenev, who thereupon proceeded to terrorize the whole country for 34 years.

At the same time, namely in 1834, Perovsky, the governor of Orenburg, asked Tsar Nicholas to send

a fully equipped army and proceeded to set up fortresses all along the inner Turkestan frontiers. The army was sent, but at Akbulak it encountered Turkish opposition and was attacked, and this fact, together with the severity of the winter, led to its being completely put to rout.

In 1842, Ala Kuli, the Khiva Khan, unfortunately signed a treaty with Perovsky, to the effect that Russia was to have a free hand in erecting fortresses along the frontiers. As a reaction to this, the Kokand Khanate attacked the Russians. But Perovsky, using this as a pretext, captured Akmesjit, one of the most important strategic towns in Turkestan (1858). Later on, Ali Ata, Hazrat and Chinkent were also captured, and indescribable atrocities were committed.

The British government was extremely perturbed at all these Russian infiltration movements. For this reason, Prince Gorchakov on November 21, 1864, sent a memorandum to the European Major Powers in which it was affirmed that all these infiltration movements were being carried out in order to guarantee "free trade" and "civilize" the border "hordes".

In 1864, General Chernyayev attacked Tashkent, the most important city of Turkestan; after a long fight against the defenceless population, he finally succeeded in capturing the city. Thereupon, the inhabitants were subjected to indescribable cruelty and terrorization.

After this national tragedy, a united crusade was conducted under the leadership of the Emir of Bokhara. But the Russians, once again taking this as an excuse for their action, in 1866 captured the whole beautiful Valley of the Zarafshan with an army of 40,000 under the command of Romanovsky. Shortly afterwards, Abramov fought against 45,000 Turkish defenders, and eventually a general, called Kauffmann, was appointed governor-general of Turkestan.

In 1868 Samarkand was captured by the Russians. Nero's cruelty was nothing compared to the acts of cruelty and destruction committed by the Russians there. After the tragic fall of Bokhara, the Khiva and Kokand Khanates were also captured by the Russians in 1873 and 1876 respectively. The Turks of Kokand under Ishan Mehmet Ali revolted against the Russians and put up a heroic fight, but, in the end, they were defeated by the enemy, since the latter was superior in military strength.

In 1879, General Lakamin attacked Turkmen, but was defeated at Dingiltepe by the civil defence.

In 1880, Alexander II constructed a railway between Uzunada and Molla Kari, and a large army was sent there, under General Skobelev. The atrocities perpetrated by the Russians at Göktepe were indescribable. 10,000 civilians, including women and children, were massacred in 1881.

In 1910, a political police was established in Bokhara and began to interfere with the few privileges still left to the Emir. The new Emir, Alim Khan, was not a good ruler. He granted the Russians concessions for "Botanical Investigations Committees" which were a further means of political infiltration.

National Reforms

On the other hand, however, the Turks, under this foreign oppression, introduced new social and educational reforms which were influenced by the great reformer, Ismail Gaspirali (a Crimean). The Russians, it is true, closed all the newly founded schools in 1913 and 1914, but national consciousness had been awakened, and this was the most important factor in national life. "Unity in language, in thought and in work" was the slogan of all the Turks, a slogan created by Gaspirali. Cyrebay in Turkestan, Gökalp in Turkey, and Ali Huseyinoglu in Azerbaijan were the intellectual representatives of this great national awakening, which was Russia's most dreaded and most powerful enemy.

This new movement was fighting against two enemies; on the one hand, the Russians, and on the other hand, the fanatical religious reactionaries. The Russians, incidentally, prohibited all new nationalist publications and also prevented

The Far East and our Fight for Freedom

Asia is capable of fighting for its freedom

Nowadays some of our opponents accuse us of concentrating our attention, too much on the Far East and thus depreciating the European or American bloc; our campaign in Asia, so they affirm, is diverting the attention of the world from the more important factors for our liberation movements, — from the U.S.A. and other major powers of the Western world. We consider such reproaches unjustified.

In the first place there is no alternative — Europe, America or Asia; there is only one line of direction in our campaign, and that is the uncompromising fight against Communism and Russian imperialism. And our foremost task all over the world is to mobilize all forces for this fight. Our front is set up in any part of the world where there is any reason to fight Bolshevism. And, incidentally, the anti-Communist campaign in Asia is a campaign of revolutionary significance. The anti-Communist peoples of Asia, as for example those of Korea, Vietnam and Free China, represent a revolutionary bloc in the fight against the Commune and the Muscovite imperium.

Lenin emphasized the theory that the way to Europe leads via Peking and Delhi. Thus the world must oppose the Bolshevik offensive in Asia no less than in Europe. Furthermore, we have reason to affirm that the free peoples of Europe, on the whole, are inclined to regard their own well-being (the American "prosperity", the German "economic wonder", for instance) as more important than anything else, whereas the free peoples in Asia long, above all, for social justice and a new international order and have a revolutionary attitude to life. In these countries the peoples are prepared to defend or obtain their independence and their integrity with their very blood, which obviously cannot be said of all the free peoples of Europe.

Yes, Free China, Free Korea and Free Vietnam are prepared to resort to armed force in order to reunite their territories which have been torn asunder by hostile acts of violence and by the false policy of the West. The President of the Republic of Vietnam, Ngo Dinh Diem, courageously affirms that the attitude of Free Vietnam to Communism is uncompromising and will always remain so, and that Free Vietnam does not need to ingratiate itself with the major powers of the free world. For the freedom-loving anti-Communist peoples of Asia are united in one compact bloc and will pursue their own policy against the enemy of all mankind, as sovereign nations and not as a "supplement" to the major powers of the West. This, too, was always the principle and the motto of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) in its two-front war against Nazi and Bolshevik totalitarianism!

But no Coexistence with Moscow!

But Russophil Nasser and Moscow's leading satellite in the Near East, — Syria, which has placed the leadership of her army in the hands of the Communists, — talk and act according to a different principle. To excuse Syria's or Egypt's pro-Soviet policy by maintaining that America's or Britain's false policy has driven them into Moscow's arms, would be to disparage the noble efforts of statesmen like President Ngo Dinh Diem, President Chiang Kai-shek and President Syngman Rhee, and of the Pakistan anti-Communists, who mobilize all their own forces for their fight, regardless of whether they are

likely to receive any help from America and Britain, or not. To justify Nasser's policy or that of the Syrian Sovietophiles is almost on a level with supporting the infamous suggestion made by Nehru, namely that the case of Hungary should not be discussed in the United Nations.

Sincere anti-Bolsheviks and revolutionary nationalists will never consider anybody's pro-Soviet policy justifiable, quite apart from the question of whether the Western major powers have acted wrongly in view of all the steps taken by Egypt and Syria. If it were otherwise, one might just as well justify Benes' cooperation with Moscow against Germany or, for instance, Roosevelt's and Churchill's cooperation with Moscow, among others also against Ukraine.

How wrong it is to try to justify Nasser's policy or that of his Syrian associate, el-Kuwatli, is revealed most plainly by the following news item published by "United Press": "Kurd tribes in North Syria have decided to protect the overthrown chief of the Syrian general staff, Nizam ed-Din, and to start an armed fight against the pro-Soviet generals. Clashes between Communist and anti-Communist partisans have already occurred in Aleppo..."

And this certainly proves that independent anti-Communist forces, who are not prepared to play the part of America's satellites or Moscow's duped adherents, are gradually getting active in the Near East. We unreservedly condemn Egypt's and Syria's political orientation towards Moscow. We have always sympathized with the freedom fighters in these countries, but from the moment that these fighters begin to regard Moscow as their guardian, they cease to be freedom fighters in our conception of the expression, irrespective of whether their collaboration with Moscow only represents their provisional orientation and tactics as regards foreign policy. They are dangerous public enemies, since they regard the enemy of all mankind as their friend and bring about a consolidation of his world positions, even if only on the ethical or political level. All those who, like Syria, help to consolidate Moscow's bases in the richest oil region of the world, will encounter the radical resistance of the entire anti-Communist front. American or British failures do not give any state the right to commit suicide. In our opinion, there is no motive whatever which can justify any cooperation with Moscow.

It is an entirely different matter to criticize an erroneous policy on the part of America or Britain or France which might be of advantage to a pro-Moscow orientation of the peoples of the East, or to justify the said pro-Moscow orientation. Neither America nor Britain can be held responsible for the fact that in some countries of the Near East, for instance, a perfectly legal slave trade, prospers and flourishes.

Whereas the Near East — with the exception of the members of the Baghdad Pact — is sinking lower and lower in the dirt of a pro-Soviet orientation, the Far East is seeing its way clearly again in a powerful anti-Bolshevik attitude. And it is precisely to the Far East that we must turn our attention.

Universal Conceptions and Integral Action

The conceptions of Free China, Free Korea and Free Vietnam as a revolutionary bloc tally with the guiding principles of our own liberation movement, and undoubtedly all

the partners concerned will in the near future co-ordinate their revolutionary initiative; a revolutionary, national war of liberation will break out in the countries recently subjugated by Communism, simultaneously with a corresponding revolutionary, national campaign within the Russian imperium. Free China regards a local war against Red China as necessary, and is of the opinion that it should be started as soon as possible so that by its transformation into a national revolution of the entire enslaved world an atomic world war may be prevented. The extension of such a local war of liberation to Vietnam and Korea would obviously lead to success. "This war — so the President of Free China, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, stresses — will have as its aim to safeguard the freedom of mankind, to liberate all subjugated nations and peoples and to introduce world peace and world security. This war is to be conducted by military and also political tactics, and shall by no means be based solely on modern weapons. It is to include and consolidate the military forces of all the anti-Communist nations, since a psychological war — however important it may be — is not a substitute for military action... A total war is the only successful strategy to adopt against the type of world war which the Muscovite Communists conduct; and I am convinced — so Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek adds — that the free world must accept this conception."

Such political ideas in Asia prove that our conceptions are no longer isolated, but are gaining ground in world politics. And the revolutionary campaign of the anti-Communist bloc in the Far East — Korea, Free China and Vietnam — has all the more significance since it partly even directly concerns the bloc of Siberian countries, too; for Korea borders on the so-called coastal region between the River Ussuri, the upper reaches of the River Amur and the Sea of Japan, a region in which there are countless Ukrainian settlements. The Soviet armies in East Siberia are, to a very large extent, composed of non-Russians, and there are several million non-Russian deportees interned in the Siberian concentration camps who, on numerous occasions have ventured to start armed insurrections. From the technical point of view, it would nowadays by no means be impossible to supply the partisan troops, formed by insurgent internees, with weapons, political propaganda material and wireless sets, etc., by plane (indeed, Dr. Scholmer, who was a prisoner in a concentration camp for many years, also mentioned this possibility in his well-known book about Vorkuta); in any case, Soviet tanks and planes would not be much use in these vast and sparsely populated regions. Intensive propaganda broadcast from there to the entire population of the U.S.S.R. might, by such watchwords as, say, "All land for the farmers, all factories for the factory-workers!", and by the proclamation of the national state independence of the Soviet Far East, of Turkestan, the Caucasian and Baltic countries, Byelorussia and Ukraine, etc., create a situation similar to national revolutions within the entire Soviet Union, and thus guarantee an ultimate victory over the Muscovite imperium and also eliminate the danger of a third world war, — an atomic war.

And, incidentally, by taking part in international conferences in Asia, we are also to some extent influencing the Western major powers, who send their delegates to all these

Rostyslav Yendyk

The Diversion of Public Opinion Into a Side-Track

The journeys undertaken by Jaroslaw Stetzko to the countries of East Asia are to be regarded as the setting up of an anti-Bolshevist world front of the two blocs of peoples for the common fight against Moscow. Naturally, such an aim is bound to be welcomed by all sincere opponents of Bolshevism in those countries of the world which are not yet subjugated but are still free, for it represents an attempt to find a new form of defence for these countries against the destructive and incessant aims of the Bolsheviks and their hirelings.

But meanwhile, something entirely unexpected has happened, which we are bound to regard as the diversion of public opinion into a side-track. We are referring to the statements made by the former British de-Nazification officer in Austria, Stephen Dattner, in his two letters which were published in the "Australian Jewish News". In our opinion, there is a connection between these statements and similar ones which were made in Canada about the leader of the Ukrainian Nationalist Solidarists, Colonel Melnyk, when he visited that country in spring this year. In both cases an implacable opponent of Bolshevism — and in his person the entire Ukrainian people — was attacked on account of his alleged anti-Semitism. The attack launched in Canada, which had been planned on a large scale, came to nothing and failed right at the beginning; the attack carried out in Australia has, at the time of writing this article, not yet reached its final stage.

What are the Ukrainians reproached with by this British employee who possesses the identity card of the de-Nazification campaign in Austria, a document which is surely not sufficient proof that the person in question has an intimate knowledge of Ukrainian affairs and of Ukrainian history? Stephen Dattner reproaches the Ukrainian government which was set up in Lemberg, in the year 1941, with having "fought the partisan movement, organized the deportation of workers from East Europe to Germany and having exterminated the Jews in Ukraine". For this reason Dattner accuses this government of having made slaves of six million people and of having murdered 80,000 Jews in Kiev alone.

The reproaches voiced by Dattner are sheer defamation, for there is no evidence to prove them. Historic facts reveal the opposite. The Ukrainian government of Lemberg was set up on June 30, 1941, and twelve days later its leading men were arrested by the Nazis and put into concentration camps. Thus, they obviously had no time either to send millions of East European workers to Germany or to murder thousands of Jews. And, incidentally, at that time Kiev was still completely in the hands of the Bolsheviks. As regards fighting the partisan movement, this is in keeping with the truth, but it was not the government that was "responsible" in this respect, but the entire people. But the date mentioned by Dattner is not correct, for this fight did not begin until the year 1942, and not in 1941. In 1942 the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) was founded and fought at the same time against both occupation forces — the Nazis and the Bolsheviks, in order to regain the freedom of the Ukrainian people and to restore Ukraine as an independent state. In its fight against the Bolsheviks the U.P.A. was true to tradition, for the Ukrainian people had almost incessantly since 1918 fought the Bolsheviks regardless of any international situation or trend. Dattner does not

conferences; our campaign in Asia cannot be separated from the campaigns in America and Europe. The path to our liberation is to be regarded as integral and universal, since it is the course of an uncompromising and universal fight against the enemy of all mankind, — against Russia. For this reason, we should be present and active in every corner of the world where this fight flares up, and, in particular, in those countries where this fight assumes the aspect of a national revolution. And we are firmly determined to fulfil our tasks and our duties in this respect.

Z. Karbowych.

mention the fact that these partisans were Russian Reds, but he usurps the right to determine the liberation policy of foreign peoples.

Dattner's defamatory statements have not only evoked violent protests on the part of Ukrainians all over the world, but have also prompted the Australian Senator, J. G. Gorton, to write two letters, — one to the editor of the "Australian Jewish News", the other to the secretary-general of the "Jewish Council to Combat Fascism and Anti-Semitism". These two letters are a noble defence of the good name of the Ukrainian people by a noble-minded and honest-thinking foreigner. The text of the first letter is as follows:

"Dear Sir,

My attention has been drawn to a letter in your newspaper relative to a Mr. Stetzko, President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, in whose company I recently spoke to a meeting of Ukrainians in Melbourne.

The writer of this letter, a Mr. Dattner, who describes himself as a former Denazification officer in Austria, assumes Mr. Stetzko was a puppet Prime Minister of the Nazis in Ukraine and, on that assumption accuses Mr. Stetzko of responsibility for the atrocities of the Nazis' Government perpetrated on Jews and Ukrainians.

In fact, Mr. Stetzko, for a couple of weeks, headed a short-lived independent Government of Ukraine which he and other Ukrainian patriots attempted to establish in interregnum between the fall of Communist Tyranny and the installation of the Nazi Tyranny over that country.

When the Nazis established themselves in 1941 he was sent to a concentration camp where he remained for three and half years.

It is a pity that Mr. Dattner did not check his facts more thoroughly before launching an attack on a man whose object is to free his people from that Communism which has taken the place of Fascism as a threat to the rights of all peoples, including the new Jewish homeland and Jews throughout the world."

In reply to these two letters of June 24, another attack against the Ukrainians was published by Dattner, who this time found another name for himself. This man signs himself as "Ex-Resident of Ukraine", without giving his own name. This anonymity characterizes not only him and the editor, but also the weight of his proof.

In his second letter Dattner refers to the Nuremberg Trials, during which Erwin Stolze, a former member of the Defence Command of the German Supreme Command, gave evidence that he personally had given the leaders of the Ukrainian Nationalists instructions after the German army's attack on the U.S.S.R., to the effect that they should start demonstrations in Ukraine in order to cause confusion in the hinterland of the Soviet army and thus create the impression in the world that the U.S.S.R. was on the brink of collapse. Shortly after the capture of Lemberg, so Dattner states, the Nazis set up the quisling government in Lemberg, with Stetzko as its head, after having conducted negotiations already prior to the war with his colleagues, Bandera and Melnyk. In the interval between the collapse of the Bolshevik regime and the setting up of the above-mentioned government, there was no interregnum. All the occupied territories were completely under the control of the Germans, and thus it is obvious that their administration was either directly German or quislingite. The "Manchester Guardian" of November 19, 1946, so Dattner continues, corroborates the fact that this administration was known for its terrorization of the Polish minority and its extermination of the Jews. Gerald Reitlinger in his book, "The SS-Alibi of a Nation 1922-1945", writes — so Dattner adds — that during the occupation of Lemberg these Ukrainian leaders collaborated with Heydrich's groups and helped them to organize the pogroms known as the "Petlura Campaign". Stetzko, so Dattner affirms, is not the only person to travel about in the world. His old colleague, Colonel Melnyk, who was exposed as a pogromist at the Nuremberg Trials, caused a storm of protest in Canada amongst those people who have a longer memory and have learnt by bitter experience.

In his other letter Dattner refers to Senator Gorton's letter and affirms that the two Ukrainian leaders, Bandera and Stetzko, formed the quisling government, whose first activity was to carry out pogroms directed against the Jews in every town in West Ukraine, in fact, everywhere where there were any Jews at all.

All Ukrainians and also all fair-minded foreigners who have occupied themselves with these matters know that the Ukrainian government of 1941 was set up without the consent of the Nazis and, indeed, against their will. For this reason it only existed for a very brief period and had no time to develop its activity. All the plans it made were never carried out, but remained on paper, — a fact which thus refutes all the accusations made by Dattner. Under Nazi administration, Ukraine was represented by the Ukrainian Central Committee (U.Z.K.), headed by Prof. Dr. Wolodymyr Kubijowycz. This Committee had similar tasks and rights to the parallel organizations of the Poles and the Jews, that is to say no rights whatever. Why it should be branded as a quisling administration, remains a mystery! In 1943 the Ukrainian Central Committee sent a memorandum to the Governor-General Frank, in which it protested against Nazi terrorism. This document was filed in the records of the procurator and thus not only incriminated Frank very considerably at the Nuremberg Trials, but also exonerated the Ukrainians from the accusation of having collaborated with the Nazis. The most concrete proof in this respect is the fact that the Ukrainian "quisling", Prof. Dr. Kubijowycz, was arrested in 1945 but was released again a few weeks later. The Allies could discover no crimes of which to accuse either him or his employees. As regards the other leading personalities of Ukrainian public life, we should on this occasion like to mention the outstanding figure of the Lemberg Metropolitan, Count A. Sheptytsky, who, as the only ecclesiastical dignitary in the territory of the former Polish state, protested against the murder of the Jews and the use of Ukrainian militia when conveying the Jews to the places where they were to be executed. And, incidentally, this Ukrainian militia, like the Polish police, was far more leniently disposed towards the Jewish population than was the Jewish police. It is not true that pogroms were carried out in every town immediately after the occupation of West Ukraine. In reality there was only one pogrom and that was in Lemberg, within 24 hours of the town having been occupied. On this occasion, persons who had been arrested by the N.K.V.D. were found murdered in the prisons of Lemberg. As the Nazis conducted their fight against Bolshevism because it was an "invention of the Jews", it is easy to guess who it was who stirred up the rabble of Lemberg against the Jews. None other than the Nazi agents! The Ukrainian people and their political leaders regarded Bolshevism as a modern form of Russian imperialism and, therefore, could not be accused of having murdered the Jews. On the other hand, however, the Ukrainian Nationalists knew, on the strength of the information which they received from their couriers during the years from 1939 to 1941, that relations were very strained between the Jews of West Ukraine and the Bolshevik regime. And, finally, at that time Lemberg was still very much a Polish town, and the majority of the rabble who started the pogrom was Polish, a fact with which, however, we should not like to reproach either the Polish people or their political leaders. Every rabble is responsible for its deeds itself.

Having refuted the said accusations, we should like to ask why the anti-Bolshevist fighters are defamed? Dattner has betrayed himself. He accuses the Ukrainians of having fought against the Bolsheviks years ago, which indicates that he holds the latter in high esteem. With his letters he would like to prevent this anti-Bolshevist fight from assuming global proportions, and so he diverts public opinion in the free world into a side-track and starts a discussion about anti-Semitism, which either never existed in Ukraine or for which neither the Ukrainian people nor Jaroslaw Stetzko can be held responsible. It is obvious to everybody that only the Bolsheviks can profit by all this!

A. Mykulyn

The Aggression of Russian Imperialism Against China

Based on Russian documents and historical sources

The paper "Posev" ("The Seed"), which is published in West Germany and is the official organ of the organization of Russian emigrant solidarists (the so-called "National And Work Union", known as the N.T.S.), contains an article entitled "The Chinese Rival" in its issue of February 24, 1957 (No. 8,563, p. 10), which expresses the following opinion:

"There is a big new star in the ascendant — Communist China and its leaders. This is a powerful factor as far as the Russian anti-Communist movement is concerned. And it must not be ignored. China has already intervened in the internal affairs of the countries of the 'People's Democracy' (Moscow's satellite states — A.M.). Chinese troops did not appear in Hungary because they were not needed there. Mao Tse-tung threatened to send 200,000 Chinese volunteers to Egypt. It is to be expected that . . . the Russian anti-Communist movement will also have to deal with Chinese volunteers in Russia . . . It may so happen that the vital question at issue is not a struggle between factions, but the complete collapse of Communism in Russia. In that case a clash between the Russian anti-Bolshevist movement and the Chinese volunteers will be inevitable."

It is obvious from the above statements that the Russian emigrant solidarists of the N.T.S. openly advise the Russian people to adopt an attitude of extreme hostility towards the many millions of the Chinese population. And it is typical of the said Russian emigrant organization that the opinions expressed above show no tendency to differentiate between the Chinese people and the present Communist leadership in China. In the opinion of the Russian imperialists and supporters of the "unionism and indivisibility" principle, there is no longer any other China save the "Communist" China and "its leaders". In quoting Mao Tse-tung's intervention in the internal affairs of Moscow's satellite states, as an example, the said Russian emigrant organization has, however, not the least intention of stressing the fact that the countless millions of the Chinese population did not authorize Mao Tse-tung to do so; on the contrary, it emphasizes that *China is intervening* in these affairs and not Mao Tse-tung.

Doubtlessly, what the Russian solidarists of the N.T.S. mean by the Chinese volunteers is the entire Chinese people, who in the event of a collapse of Communism in Russia would, by means of military force, set it up again and would support it. Such assertions on the part of the solidarists of the N.T.S. obviously belong to the characteristic logic of Russian imperialism, which, as the history of Russia proves, in the course of its expansion in East Asia, on several occasions aimed to seize and subjugate the Chinese state, and, in fact, even prior to the founding of the Russian empire by Peter I.

The beginning of the expansion of Russian imperialism towards the East, beyond the Ural Mountains, towards Siberia and as far as the frontiers of the Chinese state was already planned in the days of the Muscovite Tsar Ivan IV, called "the Terrible", namely in the latter half of the 16th century. "The Tatars of the territory of Kazan (on the upper reaches of the Volga) and the peoples whom they ruled, — so a well-known Russian historian writes, — would not let the Muscovite frontier regions alone and blocked the course of Russian colonization towards the East, to Siberia. The defeat of this Tatar kingdom was for Muscovy a great and important event. In this way the route via the Ural Mountains became accessible and, in addition, European Russia was able to achieve a victory over uncivilized Asia" (S. F. Platonov, "Uchebnik russkoy istorii", Buenos Aires, 1945, p. 122-123).

The same author also writes as follows: "Under the tsarist rule of Ivan the Terrible a most important event occurred — the conquest of the Tatar kingdom Siberia in the year 1582" (ibid., p. 129). The Russians themselves thus do not conceal the fact in their own historiography that Russian imperialist expansion towards the East, towards Asia, already began before 1582. In his book,

"Istoriya narodnogo khoziaystva S.S.S.R." ("History of the National Economy of the U.S.S.R."), P. I. Liashchenko writes even more candidly about Russian expansion towards Asia: "At the time of the rule of the first Tsar of the Romanov dynasty, the lower reaches of the River Yenisei were conquered in the year 1628, and during the next 30 to 50 years practically the whole of East Siberia, including the basin of the River Lena, was conquered . . . By the end of the 17th century the borders of the Russian empire extended as far as the Pacific Ocean. Thereupon, the Russian conquerors began thinking about conquering the empire of "Apon" (Japan) and China, as well as the "big country where unknown people dwell", that is to say Alaska and North America. But the Russian conquerors encountered strong, organized resistance in Dauria, at the Chinese frontier, namely along the lower reaches of the River Amur, where the local tribes (the Duche-rians and the Daurians) were in vassalage to China. The military expedition of the Russians which was organized in 1652 intended carrying out an advance along the River Amur, and penetrating beyond the frontier of China, but in 1689 the Russian empire concluded the treaty of Nerchinsk with China, according to which the River Amur was for the time being to remain in the possession of China" (p. 326-327). Elsewhere in his book, P. I. Liashchenko writes: "Russian expansion in the direction of China was carried out across and via the realms of Bokhara and Khiva (Turkmen, Uzbekistan and Kazakstan). Under the rule of Tsar Alexander II, Russia began to prepare for a war against China in order to capture the large Amur region from that country" (p. 331-335). — Russia, however, succeeded in taking not only the Amur region but, by means of diplomatic negotiations and threats of armed force, also the Ussuri region from China and incorporated both these regions in the Russian empire. In this way, the path was paved for Russian colonization on both banks of the Amur . . . At the same time, Russian troops advanced through Siberia and across the River Ural, and also from the West — from the Caspian Sea — as far as the Persian, Afghanistan and Chinese frontiers. This fact alarmed the British government so much that it sent a note to Russia, containing various demands. Russia started preparing for a war and planned to advance across Lake Balkash and the present Alma Ata (in Kazakstan) as far as China. But a war did not break out" (P. I. Liashchenko, ibid., p. 345-346).

In spite of the fact that Russian imperialism in the second half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century possessed a fairly broad internal colonial front, since it subjugated and exploited the non-Russian states which it had seized by armed force, such as Ukraine and Georgia, and also other Caucasian states, Turkestan and others, its colonial greed and rapacity as regards new countries extended far beyond the borders of the Russian imperium. As far as its economic aims were concerned, Russian imperialism planned to penetrate into Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and China. But, in addition to England, Japan had meanwhile become Russia's chief rival in the Far East.

At the end of the 19th century, the imperialist states, including Russia, started a conflict, the object of which was the dividing up of China amongst themselves. In 1900, the troops of the Tsar took part in a military expedition carried out by several European major powers and Japan, in the course of which a national insurrection in China, which aimed to liberate the Chinese state from foreign dominion, was ruthlessly crushed. The atrocities committed in particular by the Russians on this occasion are even mentioned in the 1953 edition of a Soviet encyclopedia, where it is stated that Russian gendarmes and officers had the Chinese population shot en masse, looted farms and houses, killed little children and raped women.

Prior to this date, the government of the Tsar had forced China, by threatening to go to war against her, to cede the Liaotung peninsula and

the naval base of Port Arthur to Russia. Russia also forced China to concede the construction of Russian railways in Chinese territory. The East Chinese railway was built in North Manchuria, and, in order to protect it, Russian troops were stationed in Chinese territory. These same troops then occupied North Manchuria. The purpose of this railway was to bring about a gradual Russian colonization of the Chinese state.

Russia was at that time already aiming to seize Korea and talked enthusiastically about setting up a so-called "Yellow Russia" in Asia (Liashchenko, ibid., p. 347). The industrious and peace-loving Chinese people, a people who are highly civilized, were contemptuously referred to by the Russians as the "yellow devils". This contemptuous epithet alone proves how arrogant was the attitude of the Russians to the Chinese. The Russian imperialists only spoke of the Chinese population in disparaging terms. This fact is even mentioned in the Soviet Russian "History of the Communist Party (of the Bolsheviks) of the Soviet Union" (page 52 of the 1953 Moscow edition).

In 1904 war broke out between Russia and Japan for the possession of Korea and Manchuria and for the "influence" on China. As P. I. Liashchenko writes, "in this war Russian troops committed countless atrocities and shot innocent Chinese, after accusing them of espionage" (ibid., p. 572). Such accusations were obviously in most cases false, but the Russian imperialists hated everything that was not Russian, including all the non-Russian peoples, too. During the reign of Tsar Peter I, Russian imperialists exterminated the Ukrainian population en masse, by deporting them and using them for forced labour in Leningrad (formerly Petersburg); during the reign of the Empress Catherine II, the Ukrainian population was decimated by slave-labour, digging canals round Lake Ladoga. In the present era of the Soviet Communist regime in the U.S.S.R. thousands of Ukrainians have been abducted and put into concentration camps by the Russian imperialists. When the author of this article was sent to a concentration camp in Vorkuta, where he remained from 1936 to 1940, he met hundreds of Chinese there, who had been falsely accused of espionage and deported. Most of them were former workers and employees of the East Chinese railway.

Though they did not succeed in gaining any victories in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904, the Russian imperialists, intentionally and fanatically, exterminated the so-called "yellow race". And even after the defeats it suffered in this war, imperialist Russia refused to let Asia alone. Prior to the Russo-Japanese War, Russia, under the pretext of "scientific expeditions", had already annexed the Pamir region in Central Asia and had penetrated into Tibet. In 1907, a treaty was concluded by Russia and England regarding the joint settling of their interests in Tibet; Russia was forced by England to recognize Chinese suzerainty in Tibet, a fact which, naturally, displeased the Russians very considerably; and new intrigues which the Russians had started in Mongolia after the Russo-Japanese War did not turn out very favourably for them. Meanwhile, however, Russia was gradually preparing for the Great War. This war brought with it a revival of the revolutionary liberation movements of the non-Russian peoples subjugated by Russia. At the end of February, 1917, the Russian Tsar was forced to abdicate, and the Russian empire began to disintegrate into separate independent, national states, which detached themselves from Russia. In addition to Ukraine, Byelorussia (White Ruthenia), the Caucasian and Kozak states, and Turkestan, Siberia also detached itself in effect from (Muscovite) Russia proper after the Bolshevik October Revolution; and it was here that the tsarist Russian imperialists, headed by Admiral Kolchak, who was supported by the Western allies, for a time (1918-1919) had the upper hand. It is open to doubt whether Kolchak — in the event of the Bolshevik regime asserting itself in (Muscovite) Russia proper — also thought of proclaiming Siberia an independent "new Russian" state and of "rounding off" the latter territorially by the annexation of neighbouring Manchurian and other east territories; in any case, several of his seconds-in-command and his rivals — partly, after he had been overthrown — tried to establish independent states, with a Russian upper class, in Siberia and the neighbouring countries at the expense of the native

Conditions in Titoslavia

A Serbian student who fled from Yugoslavia sent us the following report.

"On August 12th, alighting from a comfortable French plane, I had my first glimpse of West Berlin, an island of freedom amidst enslaved surroundings.

I was obliged to interrupt my studies and flee from Yugoslavia to avoid being shot or thrown into prison. All this is a nightmare to me, but my fellow-countrymen at home are still obliged to endure Communist terrorism.

I still shudder when I think of all that we were obliged to suffer during the past years of the Communist regime, or rather, of the Communist occupation.

In Yugoslavia there are more than ten million

persons still suffering this fate, and their yearning and longing accompanies me in the free world. Let us begin with the greatest of all the ironies inflicted on them.

Every year some elections or other — so-called "free elections" — are held, at which the Communists put up two candidates, and the people are obliged to go and vote for these candidates as there are no others. Incidentally, the people have no other alternative but to go and vote, since they are watched and checked by the UDBA. The UDBA, in fact, determines the life of every individual. This is how the Communists came into power and this is how they have been able to retain their power up to the present time.

A further sore point is the political economy

of the present government. The Communists avoid the import of foreign goods and products, but lag behind as regards home production of consumption goods and other products. And the quality of the home-produced goods is always inferior to that of the imported goods. Even when the price of the imported finished products includes duty to the amount of 75 per cent of their value, they come cheaper than home-produced goods, and are of better quality, too. The people demand high-quality goods, but the Communists supply them with sub-standard products at exorbitant prices!

To give an example of conditions in Yugoslavia, I should like to mention the wages of the workers and lower civil servants and compare them with prices.

An ordinary worker earns about 8,000 to 9,000 dinars a month, which is equal to 101 German marks according to the official Yugoslav rate of exchange; but this rate of exchange is not the correct standard by which to measure the purchasing power of the dinar. If one takes the foreign and actual rate of exchange of the dinar as a basis, then the above-mentioned monthly wage only amounts to about 27 to 30 German marks. And this is the monthly wage which workers engaged in heavy work earn. Retired civil servants receive 4,000 to 6,000 dinars a month, according to rank and the number of years of service. Teachers, doctors and engineers start with an initial salary which is less than a worker's wage, namely with about 7,500 to 8,000 dinars, that is to say 25 to 27 German marks a month.

A man's suit costs 25,000 to 35,000 dinars, however, and an engineer, a teacher, a civil servant or a worker is thus obliged to sacrifice his whole salary for six months before he is in a position to buy a suit. It is obvious that this is quite impossible, and so the only alternative is to run up debts, but this is not as simple in Yugoslavia as in the free countries where there are such things as instalment systems, etc.

The above few examples suffice to illustrate the standard of living in Yugoslavia. Despite all this, however, the financial level of the Communist functionaries in Yugoslavia is much higher than the average financial level of this class in other European countries.

The most eloquent proof of this fact is furnished by the former Communist leader, Djilas, who writes: "The wives of the Communist leaders are often miserable and depressed as a result of the monotonous life they lead: always having to drive in the same limousine, always having to sit in the same box at the opera, always having to travel to the same resorts in the summer and having to live at the same villa. . . The lower Communist officials who have posts in the Yugoslav provinces have to content themselves with older models of cars, whilst their colleagues in the large towns drive limousines of the very latest type. . . etc."

A foreign woman-journalist recently interviewed Tito's wife whilst Tito was away. In answer to the journalist's question as to how Tito came to have more villas and castles than even the King of Serbia possessed, Madame Broz replied, "Yes, but after we die all that will go to the people!" (Which is equivalent to saying that the next big Party "noise" will then seize possession of these villas and castles.)

Higher officials and officers are too superior to be paid an ordinary salary. They receive "cheques" with which they can buy everything they "need". Some of them need cars, luxury furniture and elegant clothes, etc. and in order to enable them to obtain all such things they are given cheques.

The big difference between prices and wages is nothing short of robbery, with the people as the victims. And an even greater irony is the deceptive rate of exchange of the dinar, and it is truly amazing that the Western powers tolerate this state of affairs.

Some persons will no doubt ask how Tito, in view of all this, has managed to retain power for more than ten years. The answer is very simple: only as a result of the help he has received from the Western powers, in particular from the USA, which has made it possible for the exorbitant sums

A Brief Survey of Russian Colonialism in Turkestan (Continued from page 8)

literary works of this kind being brought into the country from Turkey.

On July 11, 1916, a big revolt, under the leadership of the famous Turk, Mynevver Kari, broke out in Tashkent, but it was ruthlessly crushed by the Russians, who hanged 35 leaders of the revolt and killed countless civilians by bombs. The most primitive principle of family guilt and responsibility was adopted and, consequently, many families were deported to Siberia where they perished. On July 22, a big massacre was carried out in Chizak, Kokand and Dörtgöl.

The Reds and the Republic of Turkestan

Some time later, the Communist revolution broke out in Russia. Thereupon, on December 10, 1917, a National Assembly was convened in Kokand, under Mustafa Chokay, and the Republic of Turkestan was proclaimed. On February 11, 1918, the Reds shelled Kokand and massacred hundreds of persons. But a revolutionary movement, known as the "Basmajilik", spread throughout Turkestan, and the reactionary Khan of Khiva, Isfenduar, was killed.

The Red Russians, however, continued to wage war on the Turks and all the national reform movements, and eventually succeeded in establishing Soviet Republics.

Diversification of Language and Alphabet

One of the Russification methods of the Bolsheviks, in addition to the emigrant settlement system, was to russify the Turkish language by introducing many Russian words and grammatical rules. They also tried to diversify the Turkish language which is common to all Turks by encouraging regional dialects, so that Turks from different regions would not be able to understand each other, a fact which, the Russians hoped, would undermine their strongest cultural ties. In addition, the Russian Bolshevik imperialists also introduced the Cyrillic Russian alphabet in Turkestan and enforced its application most rigidly. At the same time, however, they also introduced variations in this alphabet, creating a different alphabet for each region, so that one region should not be able to understand the language and publications of another region. The previously used Latin alphabet had enabled the people of Turkestan to read publications brought into the country from Turkey, but this was now no longer to be the case.

In 1936, a general Turkish Language Congress convened in Turkestan, and on this occasion all the Turkish national language advocates were obliged to face Russian opposition. These nationalists were afterwards sent to Siberia, where they were tortured to death and perished under terrible conditions. Such are the Russian methods of colonialism.

Liquidation of the Nationalists and Russification of the People

One of the destructive methods applied by the Russian Communists was to give the nationalists some authoritative positions in the first place and then later to accuse them of some alleged offence and send them to the Siberian death camps.

There were, of course, various Turkish underground organizations fighting this Russian terrorism, but they were faced with tremendous diffi-

culties and obstacles. Western statesmen still do not realize the importance of these national liberation movements, and prefer to cooperate with Russian Communist criminals by believing malicious lies about a "peaceful coexistence". No co-existence is possible unless the nations behind the Iron Curtain are granted their national rights of free self-determination and are allowed contact, in complete freedom, with the rest of the world.

General Enver of Turkey in Turkestan

After the establishment of the National Republic of Turkestan in 1917-18, many prominent Turks from Turkey, such as General Jemal, General Halil, and Sami Bey, for instance, went to Turkestan to help the new sister-republic. But the British government at that time either did not fully realize the advantages of this new Turkish Independent State, or else resented the previous mistakes made by some Emirs or generals from Turkey, and therefore did not in the slightest way assist its defence against Moscow. On the contrary, it not only refused its help, but even went so far as to set up all kinds of obstacles to prevent Turkestan from receiving help from other European countries and from Turkey.

Incidentally, the puppet chief of Bokhara, Emir Alim, was completely in the hands of the Russian Communist imperialists.

It was precisely at this crucial moment that the former Minister of War of Turkey and former Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish forces, General Enver, came to Turkestan (December 1921) and organized the entire defence system. He waged a fierce fight against the Russians for several months. But, unfortunately, he was killed in action whilst fighting in the front lines (August 5, 1922); as a result, the defence system was weakened, and, with the reinforcement of the Reds, the nationalists were eventually defeated.

Previously, on August 29, 1920, a Bokhara Nationalist Government was established under the presidency of Feyzullah, and Emir Alim fled from Turkestan to Afghanistan. On September 19, 1921, Osman Hoja was elected president of this new Republic.

The War of Independence in Turkestan lasted from 1918 to 1924, with various phases of fluctuation and many insurmountable internal and external difficulties. General Enver had an army of 70,000. Another Turkish Basmaji army, numbering about 70,000, was also fighting against the Russians in various parts of the country, but was not united with Enver's troops. The Russians, on the other hand, had a fully organized army of 100,000.

Turkestan was now once more completely at the mercy of the Russians. Massacre after massacre and deportations after deportations continued for years on end. The years 1937 and 1938 were the most tragic years in the history of Turkestan. It was then that the intellectual elite of the country was ruthlessly annihilated by the Russians, by a special order issued by Stalin and his co-workers.

Russia today is a cancerous growth in the human organism. It must either be cut out soon, or it will destroy the whole of mankind. And the only solution to this problem is for the Western powers to help the national liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain both actively and effectively.

America's Natural Allies

Mr. Glatz, who has toured Europe as a special investigator among foreign nationality groups of refugees and in this capacity has interviewed many hundreds of persons, including Soviet Army deserters, former partisans and guerilla fighters, as well as many former German and Austrian prisoners-of-war who have been released by the Soviet Union and allowed to return home, in his recent speech, broadcast from Washington Radio Station, helped the Americans to see Soviet Russia in its true colours. He said:

"We people in this country are victims of a gigantic propaganda hoax, and that is that the Soviet empire is one land and one people of different Russian groups. Nothing could be further from the truth. Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Armenians, Georgians, Turkestanians, White Ruthenians and all other minority peoples in the Soviet Union are not Russians and are not communists, nor could they be depended on to fight for the inte-

Khrushchev spoke on the air and asked for the friendship of our American people. I believe that I am speaking for almost all good Americans in saying that we do not want to be friends with bloody butchers and ignorant drunkards from Russia.

Let us analyse the situation for ourselves and learn to accept our own natural allies from the anti-Communist, anti-Russian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Esthonian, Ukrainian, Georgian, Armenian, and other peoples not within the Soviet Union but no less slaves of the Soviet labour racketeers. As for instance, the Polish, Hungarian, Roumanian, Slovene, Slovak, Serbian, Croat and many other peoples. We Americans would like to be friends with these peoples, our natural allies, and not with Russian communists. If we are prepared to accept these non-Russian nationalities as potential allies or at least as friendly partisan forces, we should have an extremely powerful force on our side."



Representatives of the Ukrainian Youth Organization (SUM) and ex-fighters of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) present Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens with an album of the history of the UPA and the SUM.

grity of the Soviet empire any more than could we of the United States expect to be defended by Mexico, Cuba or Venezuela. Our countries in the west most generally find their support in feelings of national pride and patriotism on the part of their own citizens, whereas Soviet Russia on the other hand is supported by treachery and deceit; in other words, through the use of secret police, petty criminal informers, arbitrary arrests with midnight interrogations and the threats of slave labour camps and every other kind of demoralizing and degrading kind of treatment.

... There are underground movements behind the Iron Curtain. The outstanding significance in these groups is not what kind of a punch they might be packing today, but in the fact that in every country and province where they operate they have the complete support of all the local population, to whom these men are bound by blood relationship. Nationality is the most determining factor in making a man fight. Incidentally, if anyone is inclined to be sceptical about reports of resistance and movements behind the Iron Curtain, I should like to draw attention to the fact that these reports are easily cross-checked by other reports of Soviet Army deserters who have served in non-Russian countries on occupation duty. Peter Pirogoff, the former Soviet Air Force man, served for some time in Ukraine. In his book he gives many details of the surprise raids and the sabotage of Soviet military shipments and garrisons all over the country. He also explains some details of the fantastic security precautions that the Russians have to take to keep their men and equipment from being blasted off the map.

Conditions in Titoslavia (From page 12)

to be concealed which Tito and his political leaders squander for their own personal luxuries and for the Communist army, which looks after them and protects them. In addition, the Communists speculate with the financial aid received from abroad, and sell the gift-parcels donated to the people by foreign countries and pocket the exorbitant sums they make out of such transactions themselves. The man in the street is not in a position to buy and pay for these gift-parcels intended for the people.

When America, on the grounds that the harvest had not suffered as a result of drought this year, refused to give Tito the financial aid he had demanded, he threatened to make an economic pact with the Soviet Union. And he thereupon raised the price of bread in Yugoslavia by 100 per cent. One can well imagine what a blow this was for the workers and the lower civil servants.

It is a lie to affirm that the workers in a Communist country are the ruling element. In Yugoslavia a good worker merely gets a "commendation" and, as in Russia, he is given the title of "Shock-worker" for the current year. If his output is less next year, both the "commendation" and the title automatically become invalid. In any case, from the worker's point of view it is more important that he should earn more and have a chance to live decently and be able to support his family.

When Tito realized the weak spots in his Communist leadership, he hit upon the idea of forbidding people to leave Yugoslavia, with but a few exceptions. Incidentally, he also circulates

Protector of Fighting Spirit

The Collegial Society of Hungarian Veterans (M.H.B.K.) is one of the largest and best organized societies of Hungarian emigrants and conducts a great and effective activity in almost all the countries of the free world where Hungarians are to be found.

It was founded in 1948 out of the ranks of the soldiers of the royal Hungarian Honved army, who as a result of events during the war against the Bolsheviks became homeless. Later on, numerous persons who were not soldiers in the world war also joined the M.H.B.K. — The M.H.B.K. was organized by Major-General Andreas von Zákó, who was actively assisted in this task by the members of the royal Hungarian general staff in exile. Since then, Major-General Zákó has on several occasions — the last time being in June, 1957 — been unanimously elected President of the M.H.B.K.

The aims of the M.H.B.K. are as follows:

To fight for the liberation of Communist-subjugated Hungary in every possible way and with all the means available. Active cooperation in all efforts to make the Western world acquainted with the true position of the Hungarian people, to preserve the national spirit and national consciousness amongst the emigrants, to promote the national political aims of Hungary and to solve the problem of Hungary in a European sense. To cultivate the spirit of comradeship and the traditions of the Hungarian soldiers. To provide social assistance for comrades in need or for those who are disabled ex-servicemen. To fight uncompromisingly against Communism and to cooperate in this respect with forces and organizations in the free world which have similar aims.

Every man and woman over 18 years of age can become a member of the M.H.B.K. if they declare that they agree with the aims and principles of the M.H.B.K. The monthly bulletin published by the M.H.B.K. is the "Hadak Utján" ("The Military Highway"). Like the entire activity of the M.H.B.K., it is maintained exclusively by the cooperation and donations of the members of the organization. Thus, the M.H.B.K. is an entirely independent organization as regards the material aspect, too.

At present the organization numbers about 18,000 members; since the October Revolution in Hungary last year, about 3,000 emigrants, most of whom are recent refugees and freedom fighters, have joined the M.H.B.K. The M.H.B.K., which has territorial organizations in twenty-seven countries of the free world, has its headquarters in Munich, West Germany.

During the past ten years the M.H.B.K. has achieved notable successes in the anti-Bolshevist fight. For instance, by its publications (such as the White Book and the Black Book) it has drawn the attention of competent Western authorities to the fact that prisoners-of-war and civilian deportees are still interned in the Soviet Union. These books and the documents on which they are based have been accepted by a special commission of the U.N.O. as authentic proof. The M.H.B.K. is the champion and protector of the self-sacrificing and fighting spirit of the Hungarian emigrants, a spirit which is also manifest in the extensive cooperation of this organization with other national-minded, cultural and collegial organizations and societies.

lying reports about the freedom which exists in other countries and disseminates the idea that the days of the free world are numbered. Today, Yugoslavia conceals her policy under a deceptive mask and endeavours to cover up the true facts. The free world, however, fails to see what is behind this mask.

Yugoslavia's home policy is definitely hostile to the West. One only needs to recall the Trieste question, when the Communists from one hour to the next organized demonstrations and attacked the American and British embassies and punished everybody who borrowed books or newspapers from the American and English libraries.

All that the Communists do in Yugoslavia is done against the will of our people. And the example of Serbia should surely make the entire free world realize what its own fate would be if it were to be overrun by Communism.

M. C., student, Belgrade.

Basic Principles of Soviet Russia's Islam Policy

(Continued from page 2)

they had been in contact with the subjugated non-Russian population. Moscow drew its own consequences in this respect and, accordingly, sealed its frontiers hermetically. It was in those days that Soviet Russia began to send agitators and propagandists to the Islamic countries and to foster the differences between these countries and the Western powers.

During and after World War II, the Soviets resumed their subversive activity to an even greater degree than had hitherto been the case; special propaganda schools were founded in Tashkent and central headquarters were set up in Turkestan for the various Oriental countries.

The Red muftis appointed by the Russians are, above all, employed by the latter as Islamic agents and they frequently address appeals to the Islamic peoples over the radio stations of Tashkent, Ashabad, Duchambe and Baku. For instance, on November 4, 1956, during the Suez crisis, the Red mufti of Turkestan, Eschan Babahan, exhorted all Moslem peoples in and outside the U.S.S.R. to volunteer for service in the fight against imperialism and help Egypt. In another appeal he exhorted all the Islamic peoples to support the Soviet peace policy and to oppose Germany's rearmament and the European union, since they are a grave danger to the freedom of the peoples.

Soviet Russia also sends so-called pilgrims from the Soviet Republics of Turkestan to the annual pilgrimage in Mecca, and it is the task of these pilgrims to establish contact with Moslems all over the world. The muftis visit the Islamic countries for the purpose of establishing contact with prominent ecclesiastical persons and they invite these persons to visit their country. On such occasions some of the mosques in Turkestan and Azerbaijan are open and the people are ordered to attend divine service. Visitors who see all this, return home and give enthusiastic accounts of the freedom of religion in the U.S.S.R. The Syrian mufti, for example, came to Turkestan as a guest and on February 25, 1957, affirmed on the radio: "... the Soviet Union desires peace and friendship with the Arabs. An alleged threat to Islam by Communism is a dirty lie on the part of the Western imperialists. The Soviet Union supports the Arabs without, however, having any desire to convince them of their ideology or to exterminate their religion or to drive them out of their homes, as the British, French and Americans have done...". Such appeals are relayed over the radio in various languages. Moscow transmits talks and news programmes every day from Turkestan and Caucasia in various languages.

Duped Moslem Leaders act as Kremlin's Agents

Agitators and propagandists, who have undergone a thorough training, travel about in the Islamic countries, mingle with the population, either personally or by means of intermediaries, propagate the idea of the alleged freedom of the Moslem peoples in the Republics, and distribute Soviet and anti-Western leaflets and pamphlets in large numbers in the bazaars.

Soviet Russia is becoming more and more active as far as its Islam policy is concerned. Thus, on May 20, 1956, it set up a "Solidarity Committee of the Countries of Asia". Twelve of the twenty members of this Committee and the chairman, Tursunsada, are Turkestanians. Two of the most capable members are the former First Secretary of the Communist Party of Tadzhikistan, Babadschan Gapur, who is also the head of the Institute for Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences in Moscow, and Siyeddin Babahan, the son of the Red mufti of Turkestan, well-known as an agitator and Communist and also as an authority on the Orient. During the Suez crisis in November 1956, this Solidarity Committee went into action and declared, allegedly in the name of one milliard people, that the Soviet Union was on the side of the Moslem peoples. The Committee urged the peoples of the Orient to solidarity against the West. Together with the Union of Indian Writers, the Committee on December 28, 1956, held a congress of Asian writers in Delhi, at which representatives of 17 nations were present. On this occasion, too, the friendship of the Soviet Union with the Asian peoples was stressed.

Congresses of this type are not only held abroad,

New Conditions in Vietnam

During his recent visit to Australia, the President of the Republic of Vietnam, Ngo Dinh Diem, replying to the Australian Prime Minister's welcoming address, said:

"No country of Asia is more eager for peace than Vietnam, none more receptive to democratic principles. Situated in the road of invasions, our people has been able to resist more populated and more powerful neighbours only because of our largely decentralized system of Government. For centuries, Vietnamese social life was based on a federation of villages whose business was conducted by the common people; in such a system there was no room for "personalities" for any length of time.

That system worked smoothly thanks to a strong spiritual unity which was a counterweight to centrifugal tendencies; it also met economic conditions of its time.

These conditions have altered. Moral cohesion which was at the base of that extensive decentralization was strongly shaken by weapons and ideas from the West.

The task confronting our present generation is to re-establish, with permanent values of our

traditions and lessons drawn from the experience of our elders in democracy, the moral unity of our people.

It is on the basis of respect for the individual human being and his responsibility to the community that we have erected our constitution, a strong Government, conforming to our geographic situation, to political realities and to conditions of modern technology, and yet containing within itself a principle of liberty and creation which tends irresistibly towards decentralization.

It is from the consciousness of that task that we draw the strength and the determination demanded by the gigantic struggle which we are waging on all fronts, inside as well as outside our borders, against internal social reaction as well as against international Communist invasion.

I am convinced that our efforts will meet the parallel efforts of peoples devoted to peace and liberty."

President Ngo Dinh Diem also expressed the hope that "the Australian people, whose spirit of sportsmanship and immense sacrifices in favour of all causes of independence and liberty are well known to us, will be called upon to play a still more important role in the concert of nations."

Americans for Independence of the Byelorussian People

Robert B. Meyner, Governor of the State of New Jersey, and Edward J. Patten, Governor of New York, have proclaimed March 25th as Byelorussian Day.

Their proclamation reads as follows:

"On the 25th day of March, 1918, Byelorussia was proclaimed by its democratically elected National Assembly as a free and independent republic.

But its days of democratic freedom were short-lived, for Communist agents soon seized control. But love of liberty still burns bright in the hearts of the White Ruthenian people and gives them the spirit and courage to oppose the godless and tyrannous rule of Communist despots.

Despite the fact that republic fell under the conquest by force of arms of the Russian imperialistic Communists, the resistance of

the Byelorussian people to this foreign communist totalitarian regime never ceased, and millions of Byelorussian patriots are still hoping to regain national independence and democracy for their homeland.

The resistance of the Byelorussian people to Soviet-Russian rule and to the godless communist system is an inspiration to lovers of freedom and democracy everywhere and a constant source of embarrassment to their oppressors, and deserves the sympathy, moral and material support of the entire free world.

As our fellow-Americans of White Ruthenian descent again observe the anniversary of their nation's independence, it is fitting that all of us join with them in honouring the brave people of their homeland who are struggling to enjoy once more their God-given rights to individual liberty and national independence.

but also in Tashkent. In October, 1956, for instance, a Congress of Intellectuals was held, which was attended by 1,200 delegates from the Soviet Union and from foreign countries.

There is a lively exchange of ideas and visits between the Moslem peoples both on this side and beyond the frontiers, and Turkestan is used as a centre in this respect. And it was for this reason that Khrushchev and Bulganin, when they paid a state visit to India, Burma and Afghanistan in 1955, took the Prime Minister of the Soviet Republics of Turkestan along with them in order to prove the so-called independence of these Republics. And it was for the same purpose that Voroshilov took Prime Minister Raschid Oglu of Uzbekistan with him when he flew to Jakarta in May this year.

Faith and Truth assert themselves

According to Soviet opinion, his visit to Jakarta was of vital importance, since an organization which aims to fight Soviet imperialism and colonialism and to liberate Turkestan from Russian subjugation was founded in Indonesia in January, 1957, by the biggest Islamic parties and leading personalities, such as the ex-Prime Minister, parliamentary members and high-ranking ecclesiastical dignitaries. In the name of the organization, "Liberation Movement of Turkestan", these prominent personalities appeal to the Asian and Moslem peoples to help to liberate Turkestan and they quote this country

as an example of how a nation may be subjugated by Communism and Soviet tyranny. Turkestan, they point out, is a warning to all free peoples. Since these personalities have many influential connections, their appeals meet with an enthusiastic response among the Asian peoples.

Raschid was to oppose and denounce these sentiments. After he and Voroshilov had been officially welcomed in Jakarta by Prime Minister Sukarno, they were however received by the Moslem parties and the members of the above-mentioned organization with a hostile demonstration, and the police was obliged to intervene. The demonstrators sent Voroshilov a note demanding, "Give Turkestan its freedom!" The solidarity of the Islamic peoples has thus assumed a concrete form. Similar anti-Communist and anti-Soviet organizations also exist in other parts of Southeast Asia.

Moscow always makes prompt use of every dispute and every opportunity for its own advantage. The governments and leading men of the Orient are well aware of the danger of Communist infiltration. Recently, as we ourselves have seen, anti-Communist campaigns have begun in the Near East and Middle East, in South Asia, and in Indonesia, Pakistan, Transjordan, Afghanistan and Persia, etc. Two forces and two ideologies confront each other. But Islam has so far prevented Communism from gaining a victory in the Orient and has proved to be the strongest factor against Communism.

The Fiasco of the West (Continued from page 5)

of war and on account of the alleged danger which the Federal Republic of Germany represents.

The West staked on Tito. It supported him with every possible means so that he would not change sides and go over to Moscow again. In this case, too, the West was inclined to be of the opinion that a democratization was in progress in Tito's state; the politicians in question failed to realize that Tito is a dictator and a Communist. He himself, incidentally, has never denied this fact. Tito's quarrel with Moscow was not ideological or political in character, but was based on Tito's hatred of Stalin, who refused to recognize him as his equal and treated him accordingly. It was merely Tito's hurt pride that was at the root of the quarrel, and nothing else. Tito could not afford to sever his connections with the Communist states, for this would have meant his ruin. It is in his own interests that Yugoslavia should be surrounded by a chain of Communist states, for a Communist Yugoslavia could not exist all alone. The Croats are waiting for a chance to break away from this state of coercion, and the Serbs, the Slovenes and other peoples, like the Montenegrins for instance, are longing to destroy the Communist regime.

It is no coincidence that the Montenegrin Communist, Djilas, violently accused and attacked Communism and was sent to prison by Tito. This, too, was an outbreak of the famous Montenegrin spirit of freedom.

Tito is thus obliged to support Moscow in every sphere and to advocate the preservation of the East bloc states. This fact is obvious from the communiqué issued on the occasion of the meeting between Khrushchev and Tito on August 3rd, in which it is stated: "It was further stressed that special importance must be attached to the general consolidation of the unity and brotherly cooperation of the Communist parties and workers' parties of the peoples of all socialist countries, of the peace-loving and progressive forces all over the world, and of the union of the international workers' movements."

For this reason Tito supports Red Poland and recognizes the Oder-Neisse Line and the theory that the reunification of Germany is exclusively the concern of the Germans themselves.

Such is the situation, but the West fails to act with judgment. Disarmament negotiations were

conducted for months in London. The Russians adopted their typical tactics of "procrastination", in Russian "wolokita". But the West continued to hope for positive results. It yielded in order to oblige the Russians, but it was no good. As was to be expected, the Russians hurled their hackneyed word "njet" at the weak-willed West.

German-Russian negotiations likewise came to nought. Germany, too, hoped to induce the Russians to yield by making concessions as regards the question of reunification, but Khrushchev maintained that the reunification of Germany was exclusively the concern of the Germans themselves. He affirmed that one could agree to a union of states, to the effect that foreign troops should be withdrawn from Europe. But what would that mean? Ulbricht and his associates will never agree to the "capitalist" economic system being restored in their state, and once the NATO troops were withdrawn, Germany would be entirely dependent on herself and would be surrounded by Communist states (even if the Russian troops were withdrawn), — and that would be equal to joining the East bloc states and surrendering herself.

Such are the cunning tactics of the Russians!

Not only have they advanced in Europe and are maintaining their positions, but they are also in the act of advancing in the Near East.

Western policy has thus once again suffered a fiasco. It has once again lost its game against Moscow as a result of its carelessness and naivety.

When will the West at last realize that one must not make compromises with the Soviet rulers? When will it realize that the Russians will never give up their positions of their own free will, and that the Kremlin is pursuing a typically Russian imperialist policy? It has been fittingly said that the tragedy in Hungary was another Stalingrad for the West. The West contents itself with condemning the Soviet Union morally, even though it is a well-known fact that the Russian rulers attach no value whatever to moral principles. Will the West learn from all these experiences and become wiser? Time alone will tell. But one thing must be pointed out to the West, and that is that the confidence of the subjugated peoples in it has been seriously shaken, a fact which may prove fatal for the West.

The Aggression of Russia Imperialism Against China (Continued from page 11)

non-Russian population; attempts of this kind were, for instance, undertaken by the Ataman Annenskov in East Kazakstan, by the Ataman Semionov in the Armour region, and by General Baron von Ungern-Sternberg in Mongolia.

All such experiments were, however, of short duration and did not succeed in effectively resisting the Bolshevik reconquest campaign. As had always been the case, the struggle between the tsarist, liberal, "democratic", socialist and other anti-Communist "white" Russians, on the one hand, and the Communist "red" Russians, on the other hand, proved to be a struggle for power as such, and not for different conceptions of the state or philosophical views on the world as a whole; and, in any case, both groups agreed on one point, namely that they were both concerned with preserving or rather restoring the "union and indivisibility" of the Russian imperium. The purpose of the struggle was merely to determine who should do this and by what means. In a struggle of this kind the Bolsheviks naturally had every chance of getting the upper hand.

It goes without saying that the Soviet government, too, was by no means willing to renounce the Russian imperialist claims to Mongolia, Manchuria, and Port Arthur, etc.; but its tactics were much more complicated, since, in the first place, it was not in this case acting under its own name, but under the shield of a Communist party of China which had been organized, trained and equipped by the Soviet Russians. But that is another matter.

A captain of the Red Army, of the name of Konstantinov, who during World War II fought for the Soviets, but later became one of the Russian anti-Communist emigrants, said in his book, "I Fought In The Red Army", which was published in the West in 1954, "The future Russian national

army which will be organized for the fight against the Communist regime in the U.S.S.R. will also have to take into account the 'yellow peril', which will obtrude itself on Russia from the East. In the war to preserve Russia's entirety the Russian national army will undoubtedly have to fight for the incorporation of Siberia and also for all the countries which Russia would like to possess in East Asia". — And thus, the opinions expressed by the solidarist "Posev" which we quoted at the beginning of this article, become comprehensible. The so-called non-Bolshevik future Russia would continue to pursue the same colonial policy which Russia has pursued under the tsarist and under the Bolshevik regime, in order to subjugate the non-Russian peoples who, in the opinion of the Russian imperialists, also include the population of China.

Agrarian Laws in Poland

Owing to pressure on the part of the farmers and in the hope of being able to win the confidence of the population once more, the Polish Communists have promulgated new agrarian laws which will allegedly give the farmers certain privileges. In accordance with these laws, which have been passed by the Sjem, farmers can in future own 15 to 20 hectares of land. This, however, only applies to farmers who have a theoretical or practical knowledge of agriculture. It was also decreed that over 760,000 agricultural small holdings with less than 2 hectares of land are to be exempted from compulsory deliveries to the state. In some parts of Poland the delivery quotas have been reduced.

The agricultural situation in Poland, as in other countries "blessed" with Communism, is hopeless.

Lithuanian University of Vilna 375 years old

The University of Vilna, the capital of Lithuania, can look back on a 375-year old tradition.

The 375th anniversary of the founding of the University could not, of course, be passed over in silence by the present Soviet rulers in Lithuania, nor could the interesting historical fact be concealed that this Lithuanian University is the oldest one in the present territory of the Soviet Union. Thus, Lithuania already possessed a university long before there was any similar institution of this kind either in Petersburg, Moscow or elsewhere in Russia.

The University of Vilna has in the course of the years experienced an eventful fate. Founded at a time when Lithuania was still an independent state, the University had in turn to submit to Russian tsarist, Russian Bolshevik, Polish and German rule. But despite this fact, it continued to remain an essential part of Lithuanian culture and its academic influence was felt not only in Lithuania, but also in the countries east, west and south of the Lithuanian border. Nowadays, unfortunately, like every other university in the Soviet sphere of influence, it is subordinated to Moscow's tendentious aims and has been deprived of that academic freedom in instruction and research which is always regarded as the essential foundation of every university.

20,000 Lithuanian Bicycles for India

Soviet Lithuanian industry, like the production of goods in the other satellite countries, is being exploited so that Moscow may be able to carry out its export plans. The Lithuanian bicycle factory in Siauliai alone, for instance, recently exported 20,000 bicycles to India. Smaller quotas were also exported to China and various other countries. Lithuanian bicycles are at present being exported to seventeen different countries, without Lithuania, however, getting any of the actual proceeds. Various other products of Lithuania's industry are likewise being withdrawn from the home market and are being exploited for Moscow's own purposes.

Under False Colours

Many Lithuanians on this side of and beyond the Iron Curtain regard it as a constant snub and insult on the part of the Soviets, that the Soviet sports authorities let Lithuanian champions set up records at home and abroad and then make out that they are Soviet champions and conceal their real nationality.

This trick, incidentally, was also repeated at the Olympic Games in Melbourne, and the Soviets concealed the fact that some of the champions who gained places in the Games were Lithuanians, and maintained that they were Soviet Russians. The Lithuanian, Romualdas Murauskas, for instance, won a bronze medal in Melbourne (semi-light-weight), whilst the Lithuanian light athletics champion, Antanas Mikenas, won a silver medal (for the 200 metres). The Lithuanian basket-ball players, Lauritenas, Stonkus and Petkevicius, also won silver medals (like the Lithuanian basket-ball players, Butautas, Lagunavicius and Petkevicius, did at the Helsinki Games). In all these cases the real nationality of the Lithuanian champions was concealed by the Soviets in order to increase the latter's prestige in the eyes of the world.

The Soviet Slave-trade in Bulgaria and Hungary

In his economic report for the year 1957, the acting Bulgarian Prime Minister, Georgi Tschankoff, was obliged to admit that the situation as regards unemployment in Bulgaria is catastrophic. Budget expenditure on agriculture, incidentally, is to be cut down very considerably. And this, despite the fact that the majority of unemployed in Bulgaria are farmers, who, thanks to the Communists' economic policy, have been turned out of their farms, and have been deprived of the chance to earn a living.

The same problem is also in evidence in Hungary, where the Soviets have taken advantage of the fact that there is a shortage of coal and electricity and have dismissed over 200,000 workers, even though the U.S.S.R., in view of the alleged increase last year of 40 million tons in the coal mined there, would easily be able to remedy the coal shortage in Hungary. By withholding their economic "help" in this suspicious way, the Soviets, as is rightly assumed, are aiming to set up an "industrial reserve army", which is to consist of unemployed who will then be used for slave-labour in Siberia and the Arctic regions.

BOOK-REVIEWS

Carl McIntire: Servants of Apostasy. Christian Beakon Press, Collingswood, N.J., 1955, X, 414 pp.

The author, a prominent champion of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., for many years president of the American Council of Christian Churches founded in 1941, first elected president of the International Council of Christian Churches founded in 1948, and holder of many other high ecclesiastical offices, uses the term "servants of apostasy" — and he exposes and criticizes the latter mercilessly — to include not only the elements of the Protestant Church which make a pact with Communism in the East European satellite states (in particular in Poland, Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia) and in the former three Baltic States, but, above all, the more or less pro-Communist or "neutralist" elements of the Protestant clergy in the U.S.A.; and it is against the latter that his large-scale attack is in the first place directed, inasmuch as he proves by means of an extensive and thorough documentation that they are guilty of maintaining an extreme pacifist, Marxist socialist and sceptic agnostic attitude. In particular, the author attacks the "liberal" policy of the World Council of Churches, which at its Evanston Assembly in 1954 allowed the "Communist clergy from these Communist-controlled churches" fully equal participation: "Evanston maintained the fiction that they (Christian people in the West — V.D.) are in fellowship with the Christians behind the Iron Curtain by receiving and honoring the appointed agents of the Communist government as the spokesmen for the churches" (p. 145).

Naturally, we do not wish to dwell on the actual theological and canonical arguments and polemics used by the author against the World Council of Churches. It is, however, a point of considerable general interest that it was precisely these same "modernist" circles of the Protestant clergy in the U.S.A. who, when the organization of the United Nations was founded, did their utmost to recommend the Soviets as "fit for society" to the Americans and to other nations:

"Dr. O. Frederick Nolde became the secretary of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, a joint Commission formally established in 1948 by the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council. Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk and Dr. Nolde have done more than any other two men to build and advance the interests and defense of the United Nations among the churches of the world. There is a definite sense, as far as the United States is concerned, in which it can be said that the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America was the mother of the United Nations. — For years there was close liaison between the Federal Council of Churches and the State Department, and Alger Hiss, working in the State Department, also served in the Federal Council of Churches (the italics are ours — V.D.). The Commission on a Just and Durable Peace stated the very platform which leaders in the State Department needed, and the Federal Council leaders, through their denominations, helped prepare the minds of the American people for the acceptance of the United Nations in which Russia, atheistic, international bandit that she is, would take her respectful seat alongside freedom-loving nations" (p. 200).

And, naturally, these same ecclesiastical circles still continue to support the fatal coexistence policy of the U.S.A. and of the majority of the United Nations, that is to say they do their share towards all the compromises and concessions in favour of Russian Communist imperialism which the free world has been guilty of making since the end of World War II. The above-mentioned Dr. O. F. Nolde, in his address at Evanston, indicated that he had been operating in his commission on the basis of peaceful coexistence with the Communists. He said: "Our major objective must categorically be peace — a peace to which we give the positive content of justice and responsible freedom. With this decision insistent and irrevocable, I find myself unavoidably driven to accept coexistence as a point of departure. . . . A viable form for 'coexistence' must manifestly reveal the opportunity for a release of the dynamic forces which are known to exist, and for a harmonizing of them to every degree which fundamental principles will permit. The alternative to war can only be found in peaceful competition with a sincere commitment to growing cooperation" (p. 204-205).

It is highly gratifying to learn that this ignominious capitulation before Soviet Russian propaganda is nevertheless rejected by the majority of the Protestant clergy in America and that the author with his firm conviction, that "there are ways, numerous ways, including 'acts of God', by which deliverance could come without necessity of atomic war" (p. 205), is by no means alone. Many of the Protestant clergy in America are gradually revising their ideas for the better and are beginning to realize that "there is surely nothing wrong with free nations co-operating as nations in mutual interests for defense and in association to advance common interests; but with Russia in the U.N., it cannot be such an organization. At the meeting of the American Council of Christian Churches, April 28-30, 1954, in the First Baptist Church, Johnson City, N.Y., the Council unanimously adopted the following resolution*):

Withdrawal from United Nations

The American Council of Christian Churches calls upon the United States of America to withdraw from the United Nations. The confusion created by it is misleading the world and aiding Communist revolution.

1. It involves a basic moral flaw. Liberty cannot be defended, with the arch enemy of freedom joining in its defense.

2. It is unfaithful to its charter. Russia does not honor the charter's provisions, yet she retains her position in it with the consent of all.

*) We are quoting this appeal in full, since, at the time, it was not mentioned at all by the West European press for understandable reasons.

3. It is a misnomer. In no sense is it a United Nations, and, to represent that it is, misleads mankind.

4. It is an instrument for Red prestige and propaganda. It has been demonstrated that Communists have infiltrated its departments to the detriment of the U.S.A.

5. It undermines the integrity of all who support it, for nations and men build upon a corrupt and contradictory foundation.

6. It offers a vain hope. "Peace" cannot be secured when conflicting concepts hide under a vague phraseology.

7. It has failed to work. It is impotent to carry out its pronouncements, and, if such power were granted by the amending of its charter, it would become a world government to which we are morally and scripturally opposed" (p. 218-219).

It is, incidentally, very questionable whether the best thing that the U.S.A. could do as regards the U.N. would be to simply withdraw from it. We prefer to assume that the majority of the states at present members of the U.N. that is, apart from the U.S.S.R. its satellites and its Afro-Asian semi-satellites — for the most part do not know what are the right steps to take against Russian Communist imperialism or do not venture to take such steps because they follow the paralysing example set by the U.S.A. in this respect, and that a sound and determined foreign policy on the part of the U.S.A. would have automatically and radically changed the whole political atmosphere in the U.N. and would have checked the intrigues of the Soviet Union and its followers. — as was the case at least partially and temporarily at the beginning of the Korean War, temporarily because the American government itself could not make up its mind to take any definite steps in this respect.

Although the book in question and, indeed, the entire ecclesiastical and intellectual activity of the author is confined to the sphere of the Protestant churches, and in its fight against Russian Communist imperialism does not appear to offer any positive and universal ideas, its importance must nevertheless not be underestimated. This is no doubt proved most plainly by the successes of the American Council of Christian Churches and its branches in the Far East as far as organization and propaganda are concerned. Whilst, for instance, the "liberal and progressive" president of the International Missionary Council — an organ of the "neutralist" World Council of Churches — Dr. John A. Mackay, openly advocated and championed the recognition of Red China by the United States Government (p. 204) — "in Manila, November 25, 1951, to December 2, 1951, under the leadership of an indigenous and abounding Baptist work, the missionary conference in the Far East assembled in the First Baptist Church. Here was born the Far Eastern Council of Christian Churches. . . . One hundred and ten came from 12 countries, including Australia, Malaya, India, Korea, Japan, Thailand, the Philippines. . . and every recognition was accorded this uncompromising witness for the faith and against Communism" — namely on the part of the government of the Philippines, on the part of President Syngman Rhee of the Republic of Korea and President Chiang Kai-shek of the Republic of China (on Formosa), whose message of greeting we should like to quote as a fitting conclusion to the review of this courageous and candid book:

"Please convey greetings and following message to Conference at Manila. Communism is predicated upon emphatic rejection of God. It constitutes therefore a challenge unprecedented in the annals of Christendom. The hour has come for all Christians and those who cherish freedom to unite as one in the defense of their rights. Let them renew their faith and be prepared to defend it with the same courage and conviction exemplified by the early Christians. It is only thus we may triumph over the evil forces of international communism" (p. 317-318).

President Chiang Kai-shek: Selected Speeches and Messages in 1956. II, 94 pp. (place of publication not mentioned).

Of the twenty-two speeches and messages included in this selection, there is actually only one speech ("at the Overseas Chinese Economic Conference, October 27, 1956") which really contains a complete campaign programme for the subjects of Free China living outside the Chinese territories; but the contents of this speech are so specialized that there would be no point in discussing it in this book-review. The book also contains five "Messages" by the President and an "Easter Meditation" by Madame Chiang Kai-shek (of an ethical and religious nature, as well as the "Testimony on Good Friday" by the President). Since the "Messages" are connected with certain dates in the calendar and in the history of the Chinese national revolution, they naturally contain little that is new; and the President is not a great orator; he usually contents himself with formulating the task of the national fight against the Communist tyranny imported by Moscow, in concise and easily understood terms, and exhorting the people to preserve their national feeling and consciousness and to follow the immortal principles expounded by Sun Yat-sen. The remainder of the book consists of interviews, which obviously offered a more favourable opportunity to discuss many different political and social questions, namely in connection with Chiang Kai-shek's nationalist and social reformatory doctrine, which, as is well-known, is completely in agreement with the principles of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.). But the Western (as well as the Eastern — from the Philippines, Malaya, Iran) interviewers of the President — and they include many well-known names in the world of journalism, as for instance William R. Hearst, Kingsbury Smith, the famous American writer, John C. Caldwell, and Mrs. Freda Utley, the author of the true-life report "Drama China"*) which has been translated into several languages — did not make it exactly easy for the President to express views of a more general nature, since they usually questioned him again and again about a possible Communist attack? And whether Free China would protect the islands of Kinmen and Matsu against a possible Communist attack? And whether Free China would continue to protest against the admission of Outer Mongolia to the U.N.? And whether Free China would resign from the U.N. if the "Chinese People's Republic" were admitted to this organization? — It is truly admi-

nable how calmly and unmovedly President Chiang Kai-shek parries these only partly camouflaged demands to "yield", with his firm and uncompromising, positive answers, and again and again finds an opportunity to express his principles and, above all, to stress the political and ideological dependence of the so-called Chinese People's Republic on Muscovite imperialism:

"The so-called 'collectivization of agriculture' is intended to reduce the hitherto independent or semi-independent farmers to the miserable status of serfs or slave laborers after the pattern of the Soviet collective farms. The so-called 'thought reform' is carried out to turn every Chinese into a willing slave of the Russian imperialists. The so-called 'Romanization of the Chinese language' is calculated to uproot every vestige of the knowledge of Chinese history and culture from the mind of every Chinese and make him accept the enslaving Slav language, which is used by the Russian imperialists as an instrument of world conquest. The so-called 'comprehensive plan' has as its main objective the establishment of a war apparatus on the back of our compatriots on the mainland, with a war industry and communication system under the direct control of Soviet Russia as its mainstays. Thus, the Chinese Communists will be enabled to carry out the duty assigned to them by Moscow to expand eastward toward the Pacific Ocean."

In addition, there are many individual points in these interviews which once again most strikingly illustrate the powerful intellectual superiority of the greatest Chinese of our day as compared to most of the statesmen of Western Europe and America. How rightly, for instance, he assesses the situation in the Suez Canal Zone, as early as August 16, 1956:

"The Western countries, especially Britain and France, must bear in mind that their opponent in the present crisis is not Nasser's government, but the Russian imperialists behind it. They must also pay special attention to the fact that the crux of the Suez problem lies not in Egypt itself, nor in the nationalism of other Arab countries in the Middle East, but in Russia's new colonialism. Russia is out to grab the entire Middle East, to try to command the thoroughfare to the three continents of Europe, Asia and Africa and to control the strategic centre of the Eastern Hemisphere. This is the only cause of the current crisis."

And, finally, his characterization — brilliant in its conciseness — of the Afro-Asian "neutralism" of the Bandung states and others: "The word neutralism has lost its original meaning in the hands of Jawaharlal Nehru, Josip Tito and Gamal Abdel Nasser. It does not mean the kind of neutralism observed for centuries by the Swiss people. The so-called neutralists of today are no different from Soviet satellites, and when they have served their usefulness, they too will become ready targets of Communist aggression."

Regardless of the purely chronological reason which prompted the publication of these political, social and ethical opinions expressed by the President of Free China, this book must undoubtedly be urgently recommended to the attention of all friends of the A.B.N., since it proves that the present ideological and organizational agreement between the A.B.N. and the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (A.P.A.C.L.) is not a fanciful conception, but is really based on firm political principles. V.D.

*) Cf. in this connection, "A.B.N.-Korrespondenz" (German edition), No. 7-8, 1953, p. 16.

A German-Chinese Society has been founded in Bonn under the chairmanship of Ernst Majonica, the CDU delegate of the Bundestag. The Honorary President of this Society, which aims to promote relations with the government and people of Free China on the island of Formosa, is General von Falkenhausen (ret.), who for many years was military adviser to Chiang Kai-shek.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE
Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

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

Munich, Zeppelinstr. 67

Editorial Staff: Board of Editors

Editor responsible: Slawa Stetko.

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

It is not our practice to pay for contributions. Reproduction permitted but only with indication of source (A.B.N.-Corr.).

Annual subscription DM 4.— in Germany, 2 Dollars in U.S.A., 12 shillings in Great Britain and Australia, and the equivalent of 2 Dollars in all other countries.

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

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

Schriftleitung: Redaktionskollegium

Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Slawa Stetko.

*

We request all our subscribers and readers to kindly remit payments from America to Mr. Jaroslaw Shevchuk, 1509 Kenilworth Ave., Cleveland 13, Ohio, U.S.A.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Vol. VIII. No. 11/12. November/December 1957

Price: 1 s; 40 c

Major-General J. F. C. Fuller

The Kremlin is Living on a Volcano

Special Interview for "ABN-Correspondence"

General J. F. C. Fuller, well-known as a military writer and the author of several important books, agreed to our request to answer a few questions dealing with the present situation.

INTERVIEW

Question 1: In what way do you think it would be possible to overthrow the Russian Bolshevik Imperium, if the leading statesmen of the free world are not prepared to give active support to the national liberation revolutions, as was the case in Hungary?

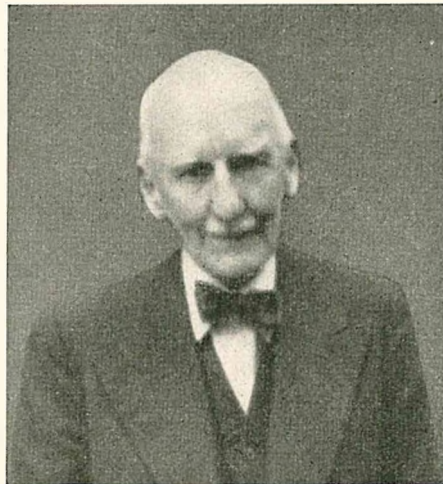
Answer: There is no passive way of overcoming a revolution any more than there is of extinguishing a forest fire. All things are accomplished by either mental or physical activity or a combination of the two. No power the world has ever seen has been more vulnerable to internal attack than the Bolshevik Empire. It is not a national State, but a State of nationalities. As Theodore Mommsen wrote nearly a century back: "The Russian Empire is a dust-bin that is held together by the rusty hoop of Tsardom". Break that hoop and its Imperium is at an end. When last autumn the Hungarians rose against their tormenters, the shock to the Kremlin was so great, I am convinced, had America and Great Britain flown a provisional government into Hungary, which on arrival had forthwith called upon them for military support, that rather than risk a nuclear war the Russians would have evacuated Hungary. The reason should be obvious, it is that the Kremlin is living on a volcano, and it knows that the most explosive force in the world is not to be found in the hydrogen-bomb, but in the hearts of the subjugated peoples crushed under its iron heel.

Question 2: Do you not think that the past attitude of the Western major powers towards the national revolutionary fight for freedom of the peoples subjugated by Russia is helping to hasten on the outbreak of a nuclear war?

Answer: No, because I am convinced that the internal conditions in the U.S.S.R. cause the Krem-

lin to fear any form of physical war: (1) because of the risk of counter-revolution within, and (2) because an advance into Western Europe would reveal to Russia's soldiers a standard of living which, when compared with their own, would undermine their loyalty. Besides, the warfare waged by the Kremlin since 1945, which has consisted of the internal confusion and subversion of their opponents, combined with the growth of external threat, has been so successful that the Kremlin has every right to believe that the final conflict with the West can be consummated without physical war. The lethargy of the West is the vitality of the Soviets; why fight a man whom you can suffocate while asleep?

Question 3: In view of the free world's inferior strength as regards classical weapons, how



could it withstand a war of aggression on the part of Russia with conventional weapons, without being the first to resort to nuclear weapons, if it misses the only opportunity of destroying the Bolshevik imperium from within — namely, by supporting the national liberation revolutions?

Answer: Because both America and Great Britain realize that they cannot hope to rival Russian fighting man power, they have decided to make good their deficiency in it by relying on what they call tactical nuclear weapons; in other words, less powerful nuclear weapons than atomic and hydrogen bombs, which they call strategic nuclear weapons. This is to tackle the problem the wrong way round. The correct solution is not to increase weapon power, but to reduce Russia's superiority in man power, and so indirectly increase Western man power. This can be done by subverting the Russian fighting forces, which are largely recruited from the subjugated peoples within the U.S.S.R. and the satellite countries. Be it remembered that during the first few months of Hitler's invasion of Russia in 1941 well over 2,000,000 prisoners were claimed by the Germans. This is an unbelievable figure until it is realized that the vast majority of these men were deserters — Ukrainians, Bielorrussians, Cossacks, Tartars, Turkestanians, and other subjugated peoples.

Continued on page 2

Admiral Carlos Penna Botto

For Practical Steps

From the speech by Admiral Carlos Penna Botto, in Munich, September, 1957.

Let us fight them (the Bolsheviks) from the inside, but let us fight them also abroad, at large, in all sectors.

At home, in our free countries, let us liquidate the communist agents and the so-called fifth columnists, and stop the covert and overt marxist activities of the Communist Parties. Still at home, let us proceed as follows — demolish the subversive machinery, that is to say, the revolutionary outfit rigged up by communists; protect youth from insidious propaganda; stamp out the communist press, ostensive and underground; enlighten people as to Marxism, theory and practice; disrupt commercial and diplomatic intercourses with the Soviets and satellite nations; and adopt and execute measures and provisions aimed at bettering the standard of living of the masses.

It is not sufficient that NATO should carry out a strong ideological offensive for the West. Display of force and even the resolute use of force, will be necessary. In the meantime, NATO could do as follows, and we should influence to that effect the nations composing it, by means of the "Internationale de la Liberté": —

a) Full exploitation of communism's ordeal, as evidenced lately by the cynical Khrushchev speech downgrading Stalin; by the critical situation inside Russia; by the cruel smashing of Hungary in her heroic struggle for independence; by the recent purges of four outstanding rascals of the Soviet Presidium; and by the false propaganda made inside the Soviet Union to lure the peoples into submission.

b) Exposure of the provocative meddling of the Soviets in Egypt and Syria and the stirring of trouble in Southeast Asia, the Far East and Latin America.

c) Exposure of the new tactics now used by the Soviets, specially in colonial and underdeveloped countries, based on a false understanding of nationalism, and which aims primarily to the isolation of the United States of America, the great anti-communist bulwark in the world, and, secondarily, to the impoverishment of those countries through lack of outside financial, economical and technical help, mostly from the above-mentioned United States of America.

d) Protection of emigrés and denunciation and explaining of the false appeal for repatriation, the so-called redefection campaign.

e) A thorough and active fight for the "human rights" and the principles of democratic freedom, to be staged all over the world, stressing, in particular, the abominable use of "forced labour" by the Soviets and the puppet governments of the subjugated nations, which is a hideous outrage to the twentieth century civilization!

f) Stop diplomatic immunity for the Soviet Government, because it is a cover for sabotage, blackmail, subversion, criminal activities, espionage and so forth.

g) Establish very plainly a clear distinction between the peoples under the communist yoke and the governments subjugating them,

From the Contents

	Page
Alberto Daniel Faleroni	
How Fifth Column Works in Argentina	3
Jaroslaw Stetzko	
Europe and Russia	5
Niko Nakashidze	
The Formation of an Anti-Communist World-Front	7
American Friends of A.B.N.	
For Sacred Rights	7
Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky	
The National Question in Communist Theory and Practice	9
C. Y. C.	
Students in Red China against Communist Regime	10
J. A. Gytis	
The Present Situation in Lithuania	12

The Kremlin is living on a Volcano

Continued from page 1

There can be no doubt that, had Hitler welcomed these droves of deserters as allies, and proclaimed that his policy was to liberate their countries, the Soviet Imperium would have collapsed through lack of fighting man power. Instead he treated them as sub-humans, and thereby lost the war. Though nuclear weapons have their use, more especially as a threat, the surest way of overcoming the man power of Russia is to support the national liberation revolutions, and attack the Soviets on their inner front — in Marshal Pilsudski's words: "that most dangerous of all fronts".

Question 4: *Why does the free world not take part in the fight for freedom of the peoples subjugated by Russia, seeing that Russian Bolshevik colonialism is a grave menace to its existence?*

Answer: There are several reasons for this, of which two are outstanding. The first is, that the free world is the old world, and like old people it wants to be left alone to enjoy in peace its declining years. It has not the energy to strive against opposition, nor the will to live up to its ideals. It believes in freedom in the abstract, yet fears to translate it into the concrete, because this might shatter its repose. Its motto is, "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof", and it hopes against hope that the sword of Damocles suspended over its head will rust away in the fog of wordy conferences and the drizzle of repetitive disarmament platitudes. It lacks faith in itself and fears its cause; unless it renews its vigorous youth it will talk itself to death.

The second reason is, that it does not understand that the revolutionary problem which faces it is at heart a spiritual and not a material problem. It attempts to win allies against Communism by economic aid and military assistance, and completely overlooks the fact that it is fighting, not a hostile thing, but a hostile creed, and that spiritual and not material values govern the hearts of men. It can no more buy immunity against Marxism than it can against the plague. "Men do not die for business but for ideals", so said Hitler — a profound revolutionary psychologist — but so surfeited with their shopkeeperings are the western nations that they are incapable of learning from their enemies. If, as old Marshal Saxe once said, "The human heart is the starting-point in all matters pertaining to war", this is doubly true of revolutions and counter-revolutions.

Question 5: *Is it not true that the only guarantee for a lasting peace and for the security of the whole world lies in the disintegration of the Russian Imperium into independent national states for all the subjugated peoples, all the more so since Russia is the last and most terrible colonial empire in the world? For what reason is the disintegration of the British and French Empires approved of, whereas the idea that the Russian Empire should continue — at least within the frontiers of 1939 — is supported?*

Answer: My answer to the first part of this question is — yes! To the second, that the ignorance of the western peoples, particularly the Americans and British, is so profound that they are blind to what Russia is and always has been. This ignorance is largely due to the fact that Russia has never belonged to Europe; her civilization owes nothing to Latin culture; she never took part in the Crusades, the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Thirty Years War, and was unaffected by the discovery of the New World and the French Revolution. Also it is due to the secrecy in which the Muscovites have always wrapped themselves. In 1823 the Abbé de Pradt, at one time Napoleon I's ambassador at Warsaw, wrote:

For Practical Steps

Continued from page 1

especially in what concerns the Soviet Union itself. And, finally, as the best way to defeat wrong ideas is to have sane ideas to oppose them, let us arm ourselves with a superior concept, which we have, and which is the concept of a real democracy, and let us use it as a bulwark, as a shield, against the enslaving Marxism!!

To put in force the ideas set forth we are planning the calling, as soon as possible, of a World Anti-Communist Conference.

"On the other side of the Vistula falls a curtain behind which it is most difficult to see clearly what is happening within the Russian Empire. In the manner of the Orient, from which it has derived its character, the Russian government is concentrated in the court of the prince: he alone speaks, writes little and publishes nothing. In a country constituted to hide everything from public knowledge, one is more or less limited to guesswork, and this limitation also applies to the Russian army . . . Since the days of Peter the Great, the policy of Russia has never ceased to be one of conquest; one might say that for a whole century her government has consisted in one and the same man, with one and the same idea — methodical aggrandizement". Unfortunately, western statesmen do not read Russian history.

Since the days of Ivan III (1462-1505) Russia has been the most persistent colonizing power in the world, and unlike the British imperial system, the urge of which was mainly commercial, the Russian has always been based on subjugation and terror. These means are so antipathetic to western imperialism that western peoples fail to see them. They look upon Russia as the land of 200,000,000 Russians, whereas actually over half her population consists of non-Russians, the majority of whom are violently opposed to Russian rule. Thus, though in this age in which the self-determination of nations has become a leading

political ideal, the disintegration of the British and French Empires is welcomed by the liberal-minded peoples of the West, their ignorance of Russia and her history like an iron curtain obscures from them the truth that Russia is not only the most extensive colonial empire in the world, but the most brutal since the days of the Assyrians.

Whether the dissolution of this slave empire will guarantee lasting peace is a hypothetical question which the future alone can answer; but that it will set free in all some 200,000,000 European and Asiatic peoples, and allow them to govern themselves is an uncontradictable fact. If the West really believes in freedom, then the Russian Empire must go.

Question 6: *Do you not think that the state independence of Ukraine, Caucasia, White Ruthenia, Turkestan and other peoples forcibly included in the Russian Imperium, as well as the independence of Russia within her ethnographical territory, would liberate the world from fear and danger?*

Answer: It would place an immense slice of the world on the footing of self-determination; but whether the world would be freed from fear and danger will largely depend on the use the liberated peoples make of their rewon freedom.

September, 1957.

J. F. C. Fuller.

On the Anniversary of the Hungarian National War of Liberation

It is a year since the great Hungarian national revolution broke out, a revolution which destroyed the false myth of the Russian October revolution for ever and ushered in the beginning of a new epoch, marked by the blood of the best sons and daughters of a small but illustrious people. When freedom once more shines on the enslaved part of our world, future generations will recall only one big October revolution, — that of the Hungarian people.

At the end of October, 1956, when the Hungarian people spontaneously rose up in revolt against the hated Russian alien rule and the despotic Communist regime, the world witnessed an overwhelming event: a people, numbering barely 10 million, inspired by an undaunted urge to freedom and loyal to their traditions of human and national dignity, with amazing courage revolted against armed Soviet power and, in the spirit of self-sacrifice, alone undertook a fight which even the greatest powers in this world seek to evade.

The Hungarian fight for freedom was, however, not only directed against the Russian alien rule, but just as much against the totalitarian Marxist system. It became obvious that the suppressed and infuriated will of the people was seeking to shake off the yoke of Communism in every form in which it exists — Titoism, National Communism and all other such phenomena — and would only be satisfied with the guarantee of a genuine democracy and with the restoration of the values of Western culture.

The fact that the youth of the country, the workers and the peasants fought side by side with the leading intellectual class of the Hungarian people and were the leaders of the rising, gives the historical significance of this revolution especial weight. It most impressively demonstrated the refusal of the working classes to continue to exist as factory slaves, kolkhoz robots or collective dummies.

It is true that the Hungarian people, deserted by the free world in the hour of their historic revolt, shed their life-blood in self-defence, but their spirit of self-sacrifice created a moral potential in the conscience of the peoples, which now hangs over Russian des-

potism and ruthless Communist tyranny like the sword of Damocles and will one day prove fatal for this despotism and tyranny.

It is true that in Hungary the ruthless execution, imprisonment and exile of freedom fighters still continue unhindered, but their martyrdom will not have been in vain. Though the world at present still calmly looks on in passivity whilst young Hungarian girl-students are executed in Budapest, the day will come when mankind will be ashamed of its indifference in this respect and will recall with humility and reverence the sacrifices of these proud Hungarian freedom fighters, just as the French today recall the sacrifice of their Maid of Orleans.

As sons of our peoples who are likewise enslaved by Russian Bolshevism, we bow in reverence before the amazing spirit of the Hungarian nation which inspired it to its historic action of October, 1956, and before the sacrifices of the countless Hungarian freedom fighters who laid down their lives. They died for the freedom of all peoples, for European culture and civilization and for Christianity.

May the tragic Hungarian October revolution serve as a warning and admonition to the conscience of the world. Its barricades were mown down by Soviet tanks, but the final victory will sooner or later belong to the enslaved peoples, who are inspired by the immortal yearning for freedom and independence.

The sacrifice of the Hungarian people was a huge step forwards on the path which leads to the destruction of the Russian colonial imperium, to the restoration of human and national freedom to our peoples and to the setting up of their independent states.

Eternal fame to the Hungarian fight for freedom!

Long live the Hungarian people!

Long live freedom!

The Central Committee
of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.).
Munich, October 1957.

Alberto Daniel Faleroni

How the Fifth Column Works in Argentina

Written especially for the "A.B.N.-Correspondence" by Mr. Alberto Daniel Faleroni, Argentine Delegate to the Third Congress against Soviet Intervention in Latin America.

The Argentine Communist Party was founded in 1921, but Marxist movements in Argentina already existed much earlier than that and the first so-called Socialist Party was founded on June 29, 1896.

The Communist Party had its origin in a separate Marxist Bolshevik group led by the Soviet agents, Victorio Codovilla and Rodolfo Ghioldi. The latter from 1917 onwards was the editor of "The International", which later became the official organ of the Argentine Communist Party.

For many years the Communist Party existed illegally, but in 1946, when General Peron came into power, it was legalized. At the same time, Argentina resumed its diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union which had been severed since 1920. During the first ten years of its existence (1920-1930), the Argentine Communist Party barely numbered 10,000 members, but from 1930 to 1940 this number increased to 30,000, despite the fact that the Party was illegal. During the elections of 1946, however, the Communists in coalition with the Democratic Progressive Party obtained 80,000 of the 188,731 votes obtained by both these parties together. In 1951 the Communist Party put up its own candidates at the elections and obtained 71,318 votes. In 1954 it did the same and obtained 89,624 votes. During the recent elections on July 28, 1957, the Communist Party, as I foresaw (contrary to the opinions expressed by all the other experts), gained 230,192 votes, which figure represents 164 per cent more than the number of votes gained in the previous elections.

The reasons for this progress of Communism are many and various. The foremost reason is the grave mistake which the present Government policy has made and is still making in the economic sector. Other reasons are the illegality of the Peron Party which resulted in many young persons and workers falling into the hands of the Communist Party, the control exercised by the Government over the workers and syndical groups, the ever-increasing inflation that affects millions of lower class families, and the resumption of the old agricultural policy which tends to favour the big landowners and anonymous societies instead of the producers and farmers, etc.

The Communist Party in Argentina operates by means of its own and secret Communist apparatus. Its affiliated groups number more than 100,000 members, and, including its supporters, as many as 300,000. The Communist Party, because of its control over the intellectual classes, its ideological strength and combative force, its discipline and blind obedience to its Soviet masters, its economic wealth and propagandist power, represents *the gravest danger to Latin America*. Above all, it has infiltrated to a very considerable extent into the liberal bourgeoisie and the intellectual middle class, who are to an ever-increasing degree providing new groups which disseminate Communist propaganda.

The Communist Party — subordinated to Moscow (since there are other parties of Trotskyist orientation and Marxist dissidents) operates by means of the following apparatus: — Central Committee, National Executive Committee, Communist Juvenile Federation, Movement for the Democratization and Independence of Syndicates, Movement of the Party-men of Peace, Union of Argentine Women, Institute of Argentine-U.S.S.R. Relations, The Argentine House of Culture, Argentine Federation of Independent Theatres, Argentine Association of Artists and Sculptors, Argentine Commission on behalf of the Exchange of Latin America Students residing in Argentina, Argentine League of Human Rights, Vernacular Groups, Movements to promote Unity between Agricultural Entrepreneurs and Workers, Pan-Arabic Movement, University Centre of Marxist Sciences, Circle of Child-Painters, Village-Women's

Society, etc. In addition, there are numerous secret Communist organizations, as for example, The People's Theatre, The Independent Theatre, The Mask Theatre, Young Students of the Fine Arts, American Students' Federation, Argentine Association of Chinese Culture, Economic Commission to Promote Argentine-Chinese Trade, Argentine Girls' Organization, Commission for the Abolition of Tortures, Commission for the Defence and Liberty of Political Prisoners, Cultural Centre "M. Anielevich" (which includes various Slavic groups), Patriotic Front of Young People, Sports Commissions (which include about 40 clubs), Maritime Commission to Promote Peace, Union of Spanish Women in Argentina, People of the Theatre, Cinema and TV., the Association "Friends of Guatemala", Argentine Commission for the Prohibition of Atomic Weapons, and many others.

The following periodicals and journals are published by the Communists in Argentina: "Our Word", the official Party organ, "Our Era", the official doctrinary publication, "Our Women", "Our Youth", "Our Country", "Independent Spain", "Syndical Unity", "The Books of Culture", "Chinese Culture", "Tribune", "Argentina and the U.S.S.R.", "Human Rights", etc.

In addition, over 300,000 copies of the Communist weekly publications are circulated every week, which makes about 1,000,000 a month. This figure must be regarded as extremely significant in view of the fact that the population of Argentina only numbers 20,000,000. The so-called "Finance Campaign", organized by the Communist Party this year, brought in more than 13,000,000 pesos. In addition, there are thousands of publications in Spanish that come into Argentina from foreign countries like the Soviet Union and its satellites, and many propaganda publications also come from Red China. Thousands of Argentine Communists and secret Communists receive such journals as "New Times", "Soviet Women", "Czecho-Slovak Cinema" and "Students' World" from Moscow, and other publications which are distributed from Prague, Bucharest and East Berlin, etc.

Nor are the Communist diplomatic representatives in Buenos Aires inactive. The U.S.S.R. Embassy circulates thousands of copies of the propaganda weekly, "News of the Soviet Union", and edits books and pamphlets which are sold so cheaply that the price hardly covers the cost of binding. The Roumanian, Polish Czecho-Slovakian and other diplomatic legations publish and circulate their respective journals and leaflets. The Argentine Commission to Promote Trade publishes an economic trade journal in which the Communist firms advertize their goods.

There is a constant exchange of sports, artistic, cultural and scientific delegations between Argentina and the countries behind the Iron Curtain, far more so, in fact, than during the Peron government. And the leading men of the Argentine Communist Party frequently pay visits to Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Russia and China.

The members of the Soviet Embassy arrange conferences. Many, of them, incidentally, are spies and propagandists, and some of them, like A. Morozov, a naval attaché, have for instance started a campaign in favour of the repatriation of the Slavic ethnical nationalities.

International Communism and its national branches train the Communist leaders and subversion groups in Argentina in *special schools*. And this type of training has already shown positive results in 1954, 1955 and 1956. In 1955 there were already as many as 186 schools and educational groups (central, regional and local) which provided a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary training for 1,215 students (including 420 women). In addition, special higher courses were also held for the same purpose. And this work continues unceasingly, apart from the work done in this respect by the Communist Youth Federation. In 1956, 2,200 group and local leaders were trained at special schools. The Communist Party trains its high-ranking leaders in Buenos Aires, Santa Fe, Mendoza, Entre Rios, Cordoba, Tucuman and elsewhere.

The educational programme drawn up for 1957 is more extensive still, and, in accordance with the new directives, will in the agrarian and anti-imperialist fight concentrate its efforts on the rural rather than on the workers' sector, since the main aim is to increase the number of rural Party groups which, in cooperating with the Party's workers' groups, are to bring about a vast subversive movement that will speed up the conquest of the country by Marxism.

Against Soviet Intervention in Latin America

The Third Congress against Soviet Intervention in Latin America, which was convened by the Inter-American Confederation for Defense of the Continent, was held in Peru from April 10th to 14th, 1957.

It was attended by over 115 delegates, representing twenty Latin American countries, and also by the representatives of the A.P.A.C.L. (Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League), Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, Mr. Michael Tung and Mr. C. M. Chang, and others.

The principal resolutions of this Congress were as follows:

1) To urge the Venezuelan and other Latin American governments to refuse asylum to the ex-dictator Peron on account of his collaboration with the Communists.

2) To urge the Latin American governments to refuse to enter into any kind of relations (diplomatic, commercial, cultural, etc.) with the Soviet Union.

3) To investigate Communist infiltration in the present Bolivian government.

4) Having approved the "Lima Declaration", to exhort all the anti-Communists of the continent to unite and coordinate their forces and tasks.

5) To constitute the Inter-American Organizations of Anti-Communist Periodicals.

6) To include the United States, Canada, Spain and Portugal in the anti-Communist fight of our Continent.

7) To create one anti-Communist edition.

8) To set up permanent commissions for agrarian, social and educational reforms.

9) To set up a commission for the investigation of Communist infiltration in Ecuador, Uruguay and Mexico.

10) To organize the World Anti-Communist Congress.

11) To set up a special technical section for the struggle against Communism in Latin America.

12) To recommend the creation of the Common Military Force of the American Nations dependent on the O.E.A. (Organization of the American States) in order to resist any invasion of Communist origin.

13) To condemn every form of European imperialism in America.

14) To define the Confederation Statutes, etc.

Seventy resolutions in all were approved.

The new Executive Committee which will in future be in charge of the affairs of the Inter-American Confederation for Defense of the Continent consists of the following members: — Admiral Carlos Penna Botto as President, Mr. Pedro Rosello as Vice-President, Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens as First Secretary, Mr. Ernesto de la Fe as Second Secretary, Mr. Arturo Amaya as Treasurer, and Mrs. Christina Guillen in charge of the women's section.

It was also decided at the Congress that the Extraordinary Congress was to be held in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in November 1957, and the Fourth Ordinary Congress in Guatemala.

The Future Belongs to National Independence

In my opinion world politics all centre round the problem of the peoples subjugated by Communism and Russia. These peoples have become the deciding factor of world politics today, whether one is prepared to admit this fact or not. On the one hand, there is the major power, the U.S.A., which sympathizes with the subjugated peoples, does not support colonial imperialism and is only interested in protecting America's economic interests. On the other hand, however, there is the Russian despotic imperium with its totalitarian system which negates human rights and national independence.

The problem of the Chinese mainland must also be regarded as the expression of a foreign system which has been forced on the Chinese way of thinking and living. And in Central Europe, too, the problem of East Germany, which is under the occupation of Russian troops, must obviously be assessed in the same way.

As regards the peoples incarcerated within the framework of the Soviet Union, as for example the peoples of Ukraine, Caucasia, Turkestan, Byelorussia, the Baltic States and of the so-called satellite states such as Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria and other countries, who so far did not have the misfortune to be incorporated in the Soviet Union, the position of these countries is in practice identical with that of the peoples in the Soviet Union.

I should like to remind readers of the fact that the youth of Hungary was trained to believe that the Hungarian people have not sufficiently progressed in their development to becoming a socialist nation, as to accord them the happy lot of already making them a member of the so-called big family of peoples in the U.S.S.R.

The future order of the world was to be created in accordance with the aims of the new Russian colonial lords and in keeping with the Leninist principle, as a world union of the Soviet Socialist Republics under the supreme dominion of Russia. In the language of decent-thinking persons this means a world prison of peoples.

Cultural Individuality Furthers the Development of Mankind

This idea of a world colonial imperium is, however, opposed by another idea of the future, which is, above all, represented by the subjugated peoples behind the Iron Curtain, that is to say, the idea of the independent democratic national state and the harmonious cooperation of all nations on the basis of equal rights and mutual assistance and support.

This multiplicity in the unity of the world corresponds to an organic underground, since the nations are a natural and everlasting phenomenon. This organic partition of the world into independent states is not negated in the attitude adopted by the American people, for it does not oppose the economic interests of America's policy, even though there are certain circles in America, in principle anti-American circles, which are of a different opinion.

But the historic development of the world — a development which cannot be checked — is proceeding precisely in the direction of the differentiation of the nations, the retaining and intensifying of their own cultural and spiritual values. In this way our highest aim on earth can be enriched and fulfilled, that is to say spiritual culture, which elevates the life of man the more each nation contributes its own cultural individuality to the great common treasury of the cultural values of mankind.

Man as an individual can only develop his creative power, however, in his own democratic state, for in the world of today there is no freedom of mankind without national independence and democratic order in one's own state.

The Russian colonial imperium is capable of producing atomic and hydrogen bombs to destroy mankind, solely because it knows how to exploit the economic and human potential of the subjugated peoples. Once it is disintegrated into independent states, none of these states will be in a position to produce atomic bombs on their own. Thus, from the point of view of the progress of mankind, the idea of independent national states for the peoples

behind the Iron Curtain is surely more commendable than Russia's conception of an imperium created by force.

We must bear in mind the fact that in the present world dispute it is not so much the question of the demarcation lines between the empires which is at issue, as was the case in the past, but the question of the ultimate victory of the idea of freedom over slavery, of good over evil, and we must draw the logical conclusions from this fact. Nothing positive can be achieved in this respect by constantly convening conferences which always end unsatisfactorily.

The Imperative Need for an Inspiring Idea

The fight to achieve the highest human ideals is not only a political, but at the same time and, no doubt, even more an ideological, that is to say, to a certain extent, a religious war. And for this reason it is conducted with such fanaticism and such grim determination. We are obliged to ask ourselves which ideas can inspire the masses of the peoples, for this is not so much a war of better weapons, but of a better philosophy of life. The

President Ngo Dinh Diem:

For the Revival of Traditional Values

During his visit to Thailand, President Ngo Dinh Diem urged the South Asian countries to revive and foster their traditional values and at the same time to seek to progress in every realm of human experience. "The experience of the Western countries," he said, "shows us to what extent traditional cohesive values of society tend to disintegrate under the influence of modern technology. Recent writings of the most brilliant and experienced analysts of modern democracies attribute the present crisis in democracy to the spiritual and moral loss which has attended their later years. Their citizens have lost the sense of the philosophy of their forefathers who fashioned their democracies. As a result many have succumbed to confusion or to subversion by forces seeking to destroy democracy and the dignity of man. Religions faith, filial piety, the sanctity of the family, the sense of civic pride and responsibility, patriotism, the inherent value of human personality, the natural law, the right and duty of the individual to perfect himself — all of these have been copiously defined and recommended for practical applications by our annals and scriptures. Only by conserving these values and rebuilding our moral edifice can we, new nations of South Asia in the pangs of politico-socio-economic revolution, preserve our respective societies."

It is to be hoped that these words will be heeded as far as possible, not only in South Asia, but also in the Western free world.

most outstanding sign of our atomic age is indeed the national idea, which does not predominate merely in certain classes of the people, as was the case in the last century, but is beginning to inspire the masses. In keeping with the "Three People's Principles" of the Chinese philosopher and statesman, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the foregoing statement can be taken to include Asia, too.

Man's life would have no higher meaning and would, indeed, be futile, were all the countless sacrifices of both world wars, of the Communist mass murders and of the Nazi gas-chambers, to have been in vain and were some imperium or other to rule the peoples once again at the end of the present worldwide dispute. The question at issue cannot be settled merely by propagating empty watchwords about freedom and the anti-Communist fight; we must determine the tenor of the conception of freedom quite precisely and must show the peoples all the aspects of their future order.

It is hardly possible for "realistic" considerations to play a part in a dispute such as this which is

global and has never before been experienced in the history of the world. Seen in this light, it is entirely incomprehensible why certain circles in the Western world should concede the Yalta agreement for Europe, or the 1939 frontiers of the Russian imperium or the 38th parallel in Korea as a demarcation line determined by coexistence, or why they should talk about the possibility of two governments representing the Chinese people. If it is immoral to murder thirty nations, why should it become moral to subjugate ten nations? Is it not all the same, according to moral law, whether a murderer kills one person or ten persons? I am of the opinion that one can win over certain well-disposed elements among the Russian people, too, for the anti-Communist fight, more quickly and more effectively, if one sets up absolutely valid and binding ideas for all peoples and nations as the ultimate aim in this mighty, decisive fight, just as Dr. Sun Yat-sen did in Asia. Without such generally valid and higher aims it is hard to imagine why the Russian people should be willing to content themselves with a smaller imperium, if there are Russian missions in Peking. It is by no means a coincidence that the Communists are convinced that they have the final decisive means at their disposal in their international affairs. This fact creates the impression that in our atomic age wars are to be regarded as national revolutions. But every revolution needs, in the first place, an idea to inspire the masses, an idea such as Chiang Kai-shek has given his people as a watchword.

The Dawn of a New Era

We must not overlook the fact that the British, hitherto used to thinking in terms of empires, are now changing their empire into a Commonwealth of free and independent nations. Is this not a sign that a historical epoch has come to an end and that a new era of free, independent states is dawning!

From this point of view and on the strength of the corresponding historic development, we Ukrainian freedom fighters and representatives of the national revolutionary organizations which belong to the A.B.N. regard the international situation objectively as favourable for our fight for freedom; for we are fighting against the very source of evil, against the birthplace of Communism, against Russian Bolshevist imperialism.

I should like to quote what the Russian Christian philosopher, Berdyaev, says about the Russian revolution on page 87 of his book, "The New Middle Ages", — "Our disastrous and unpleasant revolution must be recognized as national".

In conclusion, however, he affirms: "As far as the Russian intelligentsia is concerned Bolshevism is a substitute for tsarism and carries out the latter's functions."

Not only Ukraine's but also Europe's misfortune began with the 18th century. After one of the "seven decisive battles" — to use the expression coined by a British military theoretician, after the defeat of the head of the Ukrainian state, together with the army of Charles XII of Sweden, by the Russian Tsar, Peter I (euphemistically called "the Great"), at Poltava in 1709, Russia in the same century also gained access to the Black Sea and, thus, to the gateway to the South.

The fight for the Dardanelles, a fight which has now already extended as far as Suez, began, not only as a result of Russia's aim to establish her position on the southern seas, but also and, no doubt, above all, in keeping with her insatiable policy of expansion. The geopolitical situation has thus shifted considerably, namely to Russia's advantage, and it is high time to put a stop to this last of aggression, if Russian Bolshevist world-conquest plans are not to be indirectly furthered and supported by compromises and by indecision.

The peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism are standing on guard for the freedom of Europe and for the common good of the whole world. It only needs the right help on the part of the West to give a sudden turn to the lever of history in the best sense. Why is it taking such a long time for this infallible method to materialize. B. O.

Jaroslaw Stetzko

Europe and Russia

Some Thoughts on the Analysis of the Character of Two Irreconcilable Worlds

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

II. Corinthians, VI, 9.

A discussion of this problem would be incomplete, were we not to designate the fundamental conflict which exists between the Occident and Russia as contradictory conceptions of the individual and, equally, of the community.

We are at present living in an age of great conflict between two forms of civilization, between two political, social, cultural and religious ideals, — the conflict between Europe and Russia.

Leibnitz and Renan, Napoleon and Hugo, Engels and Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield) foresaw this conflict, and, stirred by feelings of revenge, Herzen and Leontjev, Bakunin and Gorky conjured it up as a vision. It is completely erroneous to imagine that this conflict can be settled, for if ever something in the world was a question of blood and iron, then it is this!

In his "Journal of an Author", Dostoevsky wrote as follows: "Why do practically nine-tenths of the Russians when travelling abroad always seek to establish contact with European radical leftist circles, who, as it were, disdain their own culture? Is this not an indication of the Russian soul, to whom European culture has always been something foreign? I personally am of this opinion. The Europeans, however, regard us, rather, as barbarians, who roam about Europe and are pleased to have found something which might still be destroyed, who carry out destruction for the sake of destroying and simply in order to enjoy seeing everything fall to pieces, — just as the wild hordes did in the past, as for instance the Huns, who flooded ancient Rome and demolished holy shrines without knowing what great cultural treasures they were destroying."

Russian Messianism

And the Russian political emigrant, Alexander Herzen, cursed the Western world with the words: "Long live chaos, vive la mort!"

We maintain that there is such a thing as a Russian Messianism, which unchangeably fights against the West and is a thing apart from Bolshevism or tsarism; and that the entire ideology of Russian Communism and of Russian tsarism — and, incidentally, also of the present solidarism which is crystallizing under "White Russian" anti-Communist watchwords amongst the emigrants — represents nothing but various forms of the same entity, of the same historic phenomenon of a general character, that is to say of Russian Messianism. Quite apart from the social, political regime which at present rules the Russian people, a deep mystical belief in the predestination, in the world mission of the Russian people, remains characteristic of the Russian intellectual class. Russian intellectuals could paint their people in rosy colours, like the "national" Narodniki did, or could compare it to a herd of cattle, as for instance Chekhov did in his "Muzhiken", or they could kiss the hem of its stinking "caftan", as Leo Tolstoy did, or, in fear of its "unfathomable" nature, could appeal to the bayonet of the Tsar, like the liberal, Struwe, did, — it all comes to the same thing. Whether angel or devil, Apollo or centaur, half man and half animal, the Russian people continued to be regarded by the Russian intellectual class as a "people chosen by God", and if it was an animal, then it was a sacred animal before which all other peoples should bow down in awe and reverence.

It was not Lenin, but the pope of the so-called Slavophiles, the tsarist Konstantin Leontjev (who, incidentally, was the first to coin the word "tsarism"), who in the last century wrote in his book, "The Orient, Russia and the Slav Element", as follows: "I believed and I still believe that Russia, which must take the lead in a new formation of the Eastern states, is to give the world a new culture, too, and is to replace the decadent civilization of Romanic-Germanic Europe by this new Slavic-Eastern civilization."

The above-mentioned Alexander Herzen — an opponent of Russian tsarism! — dreamt of the hoped-for decline of the West and waited for "new barbarians who will come to destroy it." In a similar way, the loyal tsarist Slavophil, Jurij Samarin, dreamt of the role which Russia was to play "in the whole world", whilst the anarchist, Bakunin, was firmly convinced that "the Russian people will introduce new fundamental ideas in history and will create a new civilization, new faith, new law and new life" . . . Maxim Gorky "spits in the face of America" and of "lovely France", in the name of Moscow's proletarian rabble. And, finally, Lenin usurps the rank of an apostle of the socialist Church, by whose edicts the thrones of the wronged socialist idols in the Occident shall be reduced to dust and ashes. Fundamentally, however, it all comes to what the Russian aristocrat, Chaadajev, wrote a century ago: "Our task consists in disseminating a saving principle of order in the world, which has become a victim of anarchy. Russia must not refuse to fulfil this mission, which has been entrusted to her both by the heavenly and also by the earthly ruler." And precisely the same idea was expressed by the police chief of Tsar Nicholas I, Count von Benckendorff, when he affirmed: "Russia's past was amazing, her present is more than illustrious, and her future will surpass all that human imagination can conceive" (with these words the Count hit the nail on the head as far as the Bolsheviks are concerned!).

Russia's Fight for Supremacy over the West

There were ideological representatives of Russian Messianism who stressed the "healthy forms" of the Muscovite state structure which must save Europe; others wanted to cure the world by means of the Muscovite "Obdatchima" (peasant community), or sought to define Russia's mission as identical with the liberation of the Slav peoples (the white internationalists) or with the liberation of the world proletariat (the red internationalists), or even as the theoretical ideal of a rebirth of human morals thanks to Russia. There were others who dreamt of Moscow as a third Rome ("the Tatar Rome" — to use the fitting expression coined by the French writer, Madame de Staël), and others who saw in Moscow the seat of the Third International. The Tsars Ivan III and Ivan IV the Terrible had already firmly believed that Moscow was the third Rome; Byzantium, the second Rome, was the heir of the first Rome, and the third Rome was to be the heir of the second Rome. This, incidentally, is a Russian belief which has nothing to do with either social or religious convictions.

It would be erroneous to try to understand Russia's foreign policy from the point of view of such conceptions as "revolution and reaction", "proletariat and bourgeoisie", etc.; the sole question at issue is the conflict between Russia and Europe. When the Bolsheviks play off the national, religious movements of the Orient against the West, they are appealing not to any class conflict, but to the national fight of the Orient against Europe; when they seek to curry favour with the King of Afghanistan, this is, of course, not an alliance with the "international revolution" against the "international reaction", nor an alliance with the "working masses", but an alliance between two states, namely a commonplace "bourgeois" policy, the policy of national interests and of the fight for Russia's supremacy over the West.

The aforesaid "pope of the Slavophiles", the loyal tsarist, Konstantin Leontjev, in his above-mentioned work based his political theory on the following points: "In this vital, cultural meaning which I regard as so important, all the southern and western Slavs are nothing but a necessary evil, since all these peoples as far as their intellectual classes are concerned represent nothing more than the most ordinary and most commonplace European bourgeoisie in the history of the world" (p. 108) . . . "It is high time to put a stop to the development of the petty bourgeois, liberal progress" (p. 384) . . . "If the world has to cast aside bourgeois civilization in the near future, the new

ideal of humanity will of necessity spring from Russia, from a people amongst whom bourgeois qualities are least developed" (p. 415) . . . Thus, the tsarist Leontjev and Lenin both express the same formulas.

Conflict of two Mentalities

And since France in the nineteenth century played the part of the chief herald of such "bourgeois culture", the above-mentioned tsarist Slavophil expressed the following opinion on this subject: "If it is necessary for the further independence of Eastern Russian thought from Romanic-Germanic thought and for the adoption of new cultural courses and state forms that the dignity of Romanic-Germanic civilization should be lowered in the eyes of the people of the East, if it is necessary that the judgment of values regarding that civilization should become violent prejudices against it as rapidly as possible, then it is to be desired that precisely that country, which has taken the initiative in the present progress, should compromise its genius as speedily and finally as possible." So much for France! And he wrote even more emphatically at the time of the Commune of Paris: "Would it be possible to imagine a victory and the rule of the Commune without vandalism, without the material destruction of buildings, cultural monuments, libraries, etc.? Surely not; and in view of the present means of destruction, it is much easier to reduce the greater part of Paris to dust and ashes than it was in ancient times to destroy other great centres of culture, as for instance Babylon, Nineveh or ancient Rome. And this should be the wish of everyone who aims to introduce new forms of civilization." — No, this is not a quotation taken from a leading article in the Moscow "Pravda"; these words were written by the apologist of tsarism, Leontjev; they expressed the profound opinion of a Muscovite patriot, who was fully conscious of the irreconcilable hostility of his country towards Europe. Naturally, his Pan-Slavism has as little to do with the actual national liberation of the Slav peoples as the Bolshevik appeal to liberate the proletariat has to do with an actual liberation of the proletariat. In both cases it is merely a matter of kindling a world conflagration which should destroy European culture.

The same opinion is also expressed by another ideologist of Muscovite Slavophilism, O. Miller, in his work, "The Slav Element and Europe" (1877): "If we were to support the national principle amongst the Slav peoples, we should have to stir up the whole of former Europe against us and precisely in Europe should have to seek an opposing counterweight to the latter, that is to say a factor in close cooperation with its new forces" (that is, with the same "new forces" on which Lenin, too, later set his hopes). And the author expresses his opinion even more clearly when he says: "It seems to me that it would be extremely important for Europe's attitude towards us if we were genuinely to renounce the policy which we pursued up to the Crimean War, if we were to abandon all traditions of legitimism and our fear of a revolution."

Tsarist Russia was thus already to rely on the "revolutionary" elements of Europe and, with their aid, was to pull down the entire structure of so-called "bourgeois" culture, that is of European culture as such.

One could quote other Muscovite Slavophiles without end in this connection; the ideas they express will always be found to tally with Lenin's ideas. A toying with the idea of the proletarian revolution, a crusade against the bourgeoisie, the stirring up of anti-Western feeling in Asia, tirades and attacks against the principle of legitimism, — these ideas and methods are used equally by the Muscovite Slavophiles and by Lenin and in both cases pursue the same aim, namely the destruction of "rotting Europe" ad majorem Moscoviae gloriam. And herein lies the common character of both forms of Muscovite imperialism — the tsarist and the Bolshevik form. As could already be seen from the political conflict of the year 1914, from the

social conflict of 1917, and also from the social and political conflict of the years 1941 to 1945, it is still a question of the conflict of two forms of culture, of two national ideals. The ideal cherished by Russia was always messianist, and every stage in her expansion — both prior to 1917 and under Bolshevik rule — was always regarded by Russia herself as a stage in her fight against Europe.

European Self-acting Society and Chief Traits of Russian Society

And what strikes one most when one compares these two worlds — the Russian world and the Greek-Romanic-Germanic world, to which the West Slavs, the South Slavs and, above all, the Ukrainians also belong?

The multifariousness, a comprehensive historic standard, the mobility of the masses, the free play of political and cultural forces, the significant role of personalities, the predominance of justice and of logical thought, — all these characteristics are to be found in the Occident.

One-sidedness, the suppression of personality, the colourlessness of historic events, the lack of differentiation of the masses, the exorbitantly important part played by the state, — all these characteristics are typical of Russia. If we read the history of Europe, we become acquainted with the history of its peoples. But all we perceive if we read the history of Russia are the obscure masses who blindly obey their leaders and who move in one direction today and in another direction tomorrow. The important part played by individuals and their free grouping, a feeling of personal dignity, of one's own rights and duties, active participation in social organization, — these are the chief traits of Western society. The suppression and passivity of the individual, the lack of a true conception of justice, the lack of an autonomous morale which is replaced by commands or sheer force, — these are the chief traits of Russian society. And, hence, there is "self-government" in the widest sense of the word in the West, and chaos or despotism in Russia. This primitiveness, this lack of order in the structure of the Russian national organism is evident in every sphere of Russian life, — both in the social and in the political and religious sphere, in the sphere of family life and in that of culture. The Russian "Obchtchina" (peasant community) does not recognize any of the individual rights which are independent of society and are based on the work and achievements of the individual. "Our intellectual classes do not recognize any conceptions of rights which might discipline them from within; what we need is discipline from without" — this was what Lenin said in 1903 when the Russian Social-Democratic Party split up into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks.

Russia remains fundamentally hostile to Europe and is bound to fight the latter. The Russian amorphous masses can only be guided by despotism; European self-acting society, on the other hand, only by its own action. For this reason, Russia cannot permit the spreading of European ideas within Russian society, since the latter would thus be disintegrated. In addition, Russia is obliged to fight European ideas, since the latter oppose every form of totalitarianism, including Russian totalitarianism, which seeks to rule all continents in order to destroy precisely that spiritual affinity which in the West joins individuals in groups and classes. Russia is not fighting against the bourgeoisie as such, but against personal and human rights and against the recognition of the idea of justice, which, according to both Leontjev and Lenin, is identical with "bourgeois ideology". Russia is not fighting against the bourgeois morale, but against all ideas which are over and above the level of a ruthless totalitarianism. Russia is fighting against voluntary cooperation, against an organized community which is based on the principles of a highly developed individualism. It is not our concern to solve the question as to whether Russia will ever succeed in adopting European principles as her own, or whether Chaadajev was right when he affirmed in his "Letters on the Philosophy of History": "We have something in our blood which rejects all genuine progress". One thing, however, is certain, and that is that all the attempts made by Russia in the course of her history to imitate the West, have merely resulted in a caricature: instead of an enlightened absolutism — a "despotism tem-

The Hungarian Police in Exile

An Extract from its Official Bulletin

The memorial service, held on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the founding of the Royal Hungarian Police, to commemorate our heroes who have laid down their lives for the protection of our nation since the first World War and their sacrifices inspire us to continue our work. This consists in the activity of the National Security and Self-Defence Service, founded in the West, of the members of the Royal Hungarian Police who have remained loyal to their oath. This organization works without any remuneration and without any claim to recognition, solely for the purpose of protecting the Hungarian emigrants, and aims to expose the Hungarian emigrants who pose as anti-Bolsheviks and collaborate with the Bolsheviks in the West. It keeps a careful check on all emigrants.

The attitude of the Hungarian National Security and Self-Defence Service is uncompromisingly anti-Bolshevist, and it upholds the principle that a willingness to make compromises and to further coexistence is bound to lead to the downfall of all culture and democracy. Only by the consolidation and union of the anti-Bolshevist forces will it be possible to destroy the Iron Curtain and restore Hungary.

We should like to draw the attention of the anti-Bolshevist Hungarian emigrants to the fact that none of the authorized representatives of the "Hungarian People's Republic" who are active in the West is a Hungarian.

Those who have adopted fine-sounding Hungarian names are not Hungarians, just as the Red Hungarian accomplices who have adopted German names have not become Germans. They can easily be recognized; they are the same persons who during the war supported the Communist underground movement, cooperated with the Soviets and after the war collaborated with the Bolsheviks. The Hungarian emigrants have only one way of protecting themselves against such persons, and that is to have nothing whatever to do with them and to enter into no conversation with them, even though they may spread the rumour that they are "the only authorized Hungarian organization or representatives". They must be avoided completely, even though they may seek to exploit the distress of the anti-Bolshevist emigrants by posing as "welfare organizations", etc.

We should like to mention the fact that our Self-Defence Service is not the only organization of its kind, but that other nations also have similar organizations. These organizations carry on their activity untiringly. One of their main tasks is to prevent lists of names and files of anti-Bolshevist emigrants from falling into the hands of Bolshevik spies and agents. The Bolsheviks' aim in trying to get hold of such documents is solely to check up on and liquidate all anti-Bolshevist emigrants who might be a danger to them.

In order to avoid all misunderstanding, we should like to point out that our organization is not only based on our anti-Bolshevist attitude and our traditional defence of the West, but also has a legal basis. We have always been the soldiers of constitutional right and law. In our opinion the Hungarian "People's Republic" created by the Soviet terrorists has neither a legal basis nor is it a continuity of legal rights. For this reason, the present Hungary as a state cannot be designated as

perated by assassination" (Rohrbach); instead of parliamentarism — something akin to the Persian Majlis or the Turkish sham parliament under the last sultans; and, of course, instead of socialism — a Red barrack-like regime. Russia is not a state which belongs to the cultural family of Western states; it is not a power whose internal, vital elements from time immemorial included the great moral forces that constituted the legacy of the West. On the contrary, it is a power which is possessed by the totalitarian spirit of destruction of all freedom-loving forms of life, the crushing of the subjugated, the annihilation of higher cultural values!

"Hungary", but only as the "Hungarian People's Republic".

Legally, no one has forced us to retire or has dismissed us from office. We are at present prevented from carrying on with our duty in Hungary and for this reason we are for the time being fulfilling it in the service of our nation and our native country and in the defence of the West. In view of this legal position, it is logical that neither the Communist functionaries who have "emigrated" to the West from the "Hungarian People's Republic" nor the organizations formed by them and their hirelings are recognized by us as competent and authorized Hungarian representatives, not even when they pose as anti-Bolsheviks.

We are not going to let ourselves be impressed by the trick known as "coexistence". To collaborate with the enemies and criminals who sin against the Hungarian people and the West, would be to commit a crime against the Hungarian people and the West.

To keep Moscow from Dardanelles

From a letter by the Chairman of the Scottish League for European Freedom, Mr. John F. Stewart, to Australian Senator Gorton.

... For Communism as propagated now is only the old Russian Imperialism under a new name which has since the time of Prince Andrew Boholubsky and Ivan the Terrible been directed to the conquest of the world. Free all the non-Russian peoples now under the Russian yoke and confine the Russians (their proper name is Muscovites) within their own territories of Russia or Muscovy and what we know as Communism would perish. There is no other way; as long as Moscow has control of the vast natural resources of the subjugated countries so long will she menace the free world.

It is particularly vital to the British Commonwealth and Australia in particular that both Ukraine and Georgia should be free and independent, as, in that case, Russia would have no Black Sea coast and the Black Sea would be under the control of three friendly nations — Turkey, Georgia and Ukraine. It has been the British policy for much over a hundred years to keep Moscow from getting control of the Dardanelles and so of the Eastern Mediterranean and the ability to cut the British lifeline to Australasia and the Far East. Russia has all along aimed at this and possession of Ukraine and Georgia gives her a nearby base from which she can make a descent any time on the Dardanelles. She has no right to either Ukraine or Georgia; both are Western peoples while the Muscovites are wholly Oriental and are a mixture of Muscovite, Mongol and Tatar blood. Our weak policy after the war has brought this savage Power into the heart of Christian, civilized Europe. Further, the control of Ukraine especially gives Moscow a tremendous advantage in her struggle for the conquest of Europe and Asia (and Australia). Ukraine has incalculable natural resources — minerals of all kinds, oil and others and the richest wheat-growing soil in the world; indeed, Ukraine is by far the richest country in Europe, and, for its size, in the world. Without Ukraine Russia would be powerless; she has a population of 45 million hardy virile, civilised, cultured people, bitterly anti-Communist. Indeed, in the Soviet Union and under Soviet control 150 to 200 million people, and in all the non-Russian States there are strong Underground Resistance Movements with whose assistance the wicked Soviet Union could be made to disintegrate from within without another world war...

Bolshevization and Russification are Siamese Twins. If anyone sets out hand in hand with the Russian imperialists to fight Bolshevism, he is sure to lose.

Niko Nakashidze

The Formation of an Anti-Communist World-Front

When the partition of the world was effected and two fronts were formed — of the free world on the one hand, and of the Russian Communist world, on the other hand, — the West erroneously presumed that it would suffice in this conflict to set political ideas against social ideas. The national factor, the striving of the subjugated peoples to attain freedom and independence, was not taken into account at all and liberation nationalism was rejected as something reprehensible. And the so-called psychological war was accordingly orientated in this direction. Good care was taken not to express any opinion which might be interpreted as being hostile to the existence of the Russian imperium, since it was assumed that in this way there would be no danger of provoking the Russians. The West was and still is prepared to bargain for coexistence at the expense of the subjugated peoples. But it was not long before this attitude proved to be erroneous. The national revolutions behind the Iron Curtain have clearly shown what it is that the peoples behind the Iron Curtain long for. One is gradually beginning to realize that it is not Communism alone which represents a menace to the world, but also the Russian colonial imperium and its expansion.

From the very outset the A.B.N., as the union of the national revolutionary organizations of the peoples subjugated by Russia and living within the latter's sphere of influence and as the authorized representative of these peoples in the free world, tried to enlighten the West and to prove to it that there can be no peace for the world unless the subjugated peoples are liberated and the Russian imperium disintegrated, that these peoples are the natural allies of the West and that their national rights should be recognized from the start and that they should be supported in their fight for freedom and independence.

From the very outset the A.B.N. was regarded with hostility and was attacked, since there are subversive forces at work in the West, — forces which seek to disintegrate the civilized world. But the A.B.N. undauntedly pursued its course and refused to make any compromises; it refused to yield in its demands that our peoples have a right to an independent state life of their own. The A.B.N. claims for our peoples the principle expressed in the Charter of the United Nations, — equal rights for large and small peoples alike.

The A.B.N. courageously warded off all attacks and, even though it was not supported by a soul, succeeded in asserting itself and continuing to exist, thanks to its own strength.

And that is not all. The ideas of the A.B.N. are rapidly gaining ground and gradually everyone is beginning to realize that truth and right are on the side of the A.B.N. This, indeed, constitutes the strength of the A.B.N.

The A.B.N. has succeeded in winning over the national revolutionary organizations of the Asian peoples as its allies. It has concluded an agreement with the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League of China (APACLROC), and in this way has established contact with other Asian nations.

The A.B.N. has thus shown the world that the national problems of our peoples, who have been passed over by the West, are current and burning problems of world politics.

Russian emigrant organizations, supported and furthered by certain circles in the West, are trying, by every possible means of provocation and with the aid of the funds at their disposal, to frustrate our work and our activity.

It is both well known and obvious that all Russians, whether they are on this side of or beyond the Iron Curtain, unanimously agree that the Russian colonial imperium must be preserved. The well-known Russian democratic politician, P. Miljukov, and the former commander-in-chief of the White Russian anti-Communist armies, General Denikin, were the very men who, during World War II, exhorted all Russians to fight on Stalin's side for Russia. In this respect all the Russian

emigrant organizations are the strongest support and authorized representatives of the Muscovite despots. Unitedly and with joint forces they are conducting the fight for the preservation of the Russian imperium. Khrushchev's threats to the Western states and those of the N.T.S. politician, Stolypin, come to exactly the same thing.*) What could be more touching than the similarity of the typically Russian arrogance of these two men towards the West! The Muscovite rulers relentlessly fight against the "provincial chauvinism" of our peoples, and the Russian politicians in exile in the West fight against the "separatism" of the representatives of the subjugated peoples.

But neither the one nor the other is capable of halting the revolt of the nations. National revolutions are imminent, the collapse of the Russian imperium is inevitable and no one will be able to hold up this process.

As the authorized representative and spokesman of the subjugated peoples, the A.B.N., in its firm belief in a victory, continues its policy. The front of its allies is beginning to extend further and further, and the world union to fight for the freedom of mankind and the independence of the nations is being set up on the basis of the A.B.N.'s principles.

The A.B.N. has concluded an agreement, for the

*) Cf. the article by Rostyslav Jendyk in this issue of "A.B.N. Correspondence".

purpose of conducting a joint fight, with the Inter-American Confederation for the Defence of the Continent, — the union of the anti-Communist organizations of all the countries of Central and South America. This agreement stipulates the unconditional recognition of the rights of our peoples on the basis of the complete restoration of their independent states. On the occasion of the signing of this agreement, this organization was represented by two prominent politicians, — the President of the organization, Admiral Carlos Penna Botto (Brazil) and the Secretary-General, Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens (Mexico), who is also the President of the Anti-Communist Front of Mexico.

We have thus won over the anti-Communist organizations of Latin America as allies for our peoples. And no one will deny the significance of this fact. A common front of the peoples of Asia, Latin America and of the peoples represented by the A.B.N. has thus been set up. The genuine and authorized representatives of the peoples of Asia and Latin America have recognized the rights of our peoples to independence and have declared themselves willing to join forces with us in the common fight. A huge breach has been made in the policy of the West. And coming events will soon force official circles to recognize our demands, to abandon the policy of coexistence and to take an active part in helping to liberate the peoples subjugated by Russia and disintegrate the Russian colonial imperium.

For Sacred Rights

On October 5, 1957, American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations submitted the following memorandum to His Excellency Dag Hammarskjöld.

Dear Sir:

We, the delegates of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Inc., — of the Byelorussian, Bulgarian, Cossackian, Croatian, Hungarian, Latvian, Slovenian, Ukrainian Divisions, and guests convened for deliberations of our forthcoming, Spring 1958, Congress, would like to convey to you personally and to the honorable delegates of the current U.N. General Assembly our position in regard to Hungary as well as other nations enslaved by Russian Bolshevism.

We regret the fact that the western world has not taken courage for an appropriate step to protect the sacred rights of the heroic Hungarian people in last year's popular uprising against the puppet Hungarian Government and against the Russian invaders. The heroic and admirable struggle of the Hungarian people for liberty and independence last autumn proved that Russian despotic imperialism has been the same in various areas at different times. The report of the special U.N. Mission on the Hungarian situation during the uprising which is now under deliberation at the U.N. General Assembly truly pictures the brutal traditional Russian "moving force" — now wearing the mask of world communism — for conquest of foreign freedom-loving countries.

We should like to remind you and the honorable delegates of the current U.N. General Assembly that in 1918-1921, the re-established free Ukrainian Republic, Georgian, Byelorussian, Turkestanian, Armenian, and other countries just liberated from the colonial rule of the former Russian empire, were recon-

quered by the brutal armed forces of the Russian-Communist invaders in the same way as was Hungary last year. We are in possession of evidence that the struggle for freedom and independence of the nations subjugated by the Russians inside and outside the Soviet Union has not ceased. We should like to request Your Excellency and the honorable delegates of the U.N. General Assembly to have the East-European peoples engaged in the desperate fight for their and our liberty placed under your earnest consideration in your current U.N. General Assembly deliberations.

We believe that by a proper approach to the problems and by taking advantage of the ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS slogans, "Freedom for Individuals — Freedom for Nations" based on ethnic and self-determination principles, the despotic Russian empire could be destroyed even without atomic bomb and missiles. And only after re-establishment of free independent sovereign states in their ethnic territories upon the ruins of the Soviet Union, could real and permanent peace — for which the U.N. was organized — be achieved.

Presidium of the Conference:

Prof. Ostrowsky of Byelorussian Division,
Chairman
Dr. Kojcheff of Bulgarian Division,
Vice-Chairman
Mr. Bilinsky of Ukrainian Division,
Vice-Chairman
Mr. Spontak of Ukrainian Division,
Secretary.

Submitted by:

Michael Spontak, Secretary of Presidium of the Conference of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Inc.
M.S.

Rostyslav Jendyk

New Conspiracy Against Freedom

The Russian Solidarist - (N.T.S.) Conference in Frankfort

We should, at the outset, like to point out that the representatives of the subjugated peoples in the U.S.S.R. are misunderstood here in the West as regards their aims and, above all, their fight for freedom. In our opinion there are two reasons for this: firstly, the West makes no distinction between two conceptions, one of which is national in character, the other, however, state and political; the first refers to the people, the second to the empire. And the second reason is closely connected with the first: the question at issue in the opinion of the West is the fight against Communism, in the opinion of the representatives of the subjugated peoples, however, it is liberation from the national and social yoke. They are not content merely with the fight against Communism as such, since they affirm that its annihilation would actually not bring about any change in the general status of their peoples, but, if anything, would make it even worse. And these misgivings have been corroborated by the N.T.S. Conference recently held in Frankfort. And, what is more, this Conference showed the West how fatal for itself its failure to distinguish between the two conceptions is.

This Conference, which was held from September 13th to 15th, was attended by 176 prominent representatives of the free world — politicians, parliamentary delegates, men of learning and journalists, etc., who had come to Frankfort from the five continents. In the course of numerous detailed lectures, the N.T.S. speakers gave the members of the Conference an idea of how this Russian-Muscovite party visualizes the future of the Russian imperium after the overthrow of the present Bolshevik regime. Actually, there was nothing new in these ideas for the representatives of the subjugated peoples of the U.S.S.R., since they have long since been acquainted with all these plans, but there was a great deal that was new to the representatives of the free world, since they have a very superficial knowledge of conditions as they really are in the East.

At the Conference two fundamental ideas, round which all other ideas and conceptions centre, were stressed, — one people and Russia. These two ideas were considered as units and thus resembled the Bolshevik conception of the "Soviet people" and the "socialist fatherland". The Bolshevik conception to some extent has a certain logical sham purport, but the ideas described by the N.T.S. speakers lack all meaning. How can one people consist of several peoples? It is obvious that two entirely different conceptions have been combined, — the national and political. The other explanation for this is to be found in a letter by a certain L. Markov to the organizers of the Conference, in which he talks about "minorities" and means the non-Russian peoples. That is to say, in other words, that the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Georgian and other peoples in their thousand-year old native countries are regarded as minorities and thus have no right to sovereignty.

Naturally, federalism and the right of self-determination were also mentioned at the Conference, but when we add these words to the rest of the ideas expressed, the result is the same, namely that they have no value and are thus meaningless. A. W. Svetlanin talked about the "free expression of will of the peoples in the meaning that it determines the general parliament". We can well imagine what meaning the Russian parliament would "give to the free expression of will". This speaker has given us sufficient commentaries in this respect on this subject. In this connection he talks about "the only revolutionary power in the whole of the territory of Russia" and, further, about "the necessity of iron power for the defence of freedom and the democratic order of society". Disregarding the contradiction of the federation and the "minorities", let us consider the meaning of the term "iron power". Why is this iron power necessary? The same Svetlanin gives sufficient explanations for this, — "it demands the restoration of state life in post-revolutionary Russia

under the circumstances which make anarchist revolts possible." Of course, no government can and may tolerate anarchism and its revolts in the state, but what does Svetlanin mean by these? They are "anarchist, extremist, chauvinistic elements which accompany Communism". Here for the first time mention is made of the fact that such elements — who else but the Muscovites — accompany Communism. But the speaker was not thinking of the Muscovites, since in that case he himself would be a chauvinist. He was referring only to the non-Russian peoples, whom the Bolsheviks have granted a very meagre cultural autonomy, in order to be able to deceive them at all and in order to retain the crumbling tsarist imperium. For forty years the Bolsheviks have been fighting against these peoples' "bourgeois nationalism", and Svetlanin suggests that this fight should be ended under a different motto, namely the destruction of the extremist, anarchist, chauvinistic elements. Thus, the real meaning of his ideas is ruthless terrorism against all peoples and after that the free expression of will. Lenin, too, behaved exactly the same during the revolution of the years 1917 to 1920, when he set up tempting watchwords which concealed quite a different purport. One must be acquainted with the Russian-Muscovite mentality and history in order to realize and know that such conceptions as freedom, justice, right of self-determination, sovereignty, etc., are interpreted in quite a different way than is customary in the West.

That we are not exaggerating in this respect is obvious from the fact that the N.T.S. speakers themselves distinguish between two kinds of determination right of the peoples — the one already mentioned and the other for the territories of Ukraine and Byelorussia which until 1939 belonged to the Polish state; in addition, the Baltic states, Bessarabia and South Sakhalin should be detached from Russia. All this is a fine gesture — "in so far as there were no legal foundations of the Russian empire". It can well be assumed that this fine gesture is made in order to be able to retain the rest of the imperium more easily and so as not make the situation in general more complicated and thus arouse the indignation of the West, which still clearly remembers how these annexations were effected. But the N.T.S. imperialists have overlooked the vast territories in Asia which between the two world wars "voluntarily united" with the U.S.S.R.

The most interesting points mentioned during the Conference were, in our opinion, those which directly referred to the West. E. R. Romanov, for instance, affirmed quite openly that the free peoples are giving the N.T.S. "great moral, material and technical help". And what is the West getting in return from the N.T.S.? The same Romanov referred to the Soviet oppressors in Hungary as "our soldiers", and Svetlanin affirmed that "in the present relation of forces in Russia there are no longer two separate camps of Reds and Whites who fought against each other in the years 1917 to 1922!" Thus, the West is opposed by a monolith, a part of which, namely the part in exile, is financed by the West — against itself. And this monolith will continue to exist against the will of the West and under all circumstances, that is to say under changed circumstances, too. Indeed, Svetlanin is already threatening the West, without being empowered to do so, and is already declaring war on it: "The revolutionary government will exhort the foreign states not to intervene in the course of the liberation revolution in Russia." And, further, "The army is necessary in order to prevent the West from intervening in the Russian revolution." Are such words any different from those uttered by Khrushchev during the Hungarian revolution? Are such methods any different? Surely one is bound to come to the conclusion that the N.T.S. interprets the fundamental conceptions of the social order — freedom, democracy, the right of self-determination, etc. — in the same way as do the present rulers of the Soviet Union, and

that the successors of the Bolsheviks in future will conduct precisely the same war as the Bolsheviks of today are doing. Thus, the menace to the world continues as before.

The attitude of the non-Russian emigrants and their peoples in their native countries has for years been obvious: they are all fighting against every form of Muscovite subjugation and for their complete freedom. It is time the West realized that it must think in terms of clearly defined conceptions and also realized what the attitude of its Russian allies is in this respect. It is imperative that the West should revise its opinion, for everything — the entire future — depends on this.

Lenin on Ukraine

The organ of the Georgian Communist Party, "Kommunisti", (No. 149, 1957) has published an article on Lenin's views regarding national problems and foreign policy. In this article Lenin's attitude to Ukraine is quoted: — "In his article 'Ukraine' which Lenin wrote on June 28 (15), 1917, he outlined a definite programme for the solution of the national question, in particular of Ukraine: — 'No democrat, let alone a socialist, can deny the legality of Ukraine's aims. No democrat can deny the right of Ukraine to severance from Russia; it is precisely the unconditional recognition of this right which creates the possibility to propagate the voluntary union of these two peoples in one state. And this in reality! It is only the complete recognition of this right which affords the only possibility of definitely breaking off relations with the past of accursed tsarism, which by every means available has helped to alienate these two peoples who are so closely connected as regards their language, territory, character and history. If the Russian revolutionary democracy really intends to be revolutionary, then it must turn away from the past and must establish a relation of brotherly trust between the Russian workers and peasants and the Ukrainian workers and peasants.

But this is impossible without recognition of Ukraine's rights, including the right of severance".

It is certainly very significant that the Georgian Party organ quotes Lenin's views in this respect. Could it be that the Georgian Communists wanted to rub this fact in for the benefit of Khrushchev, the orthodox Leninist? But there would be no point in doing so, for it was Lenin who occupied and subjugated Ukraine with his Red Army.

And, in the second place, it is out of the question that the champions of Leninism, Khrushchev and Co., will recognize this right of Ukraine and of the other subjugated peoples, for they are Russian tyrants and the guardians of the Russian imperium!

Communists Remain Communists

"Chicago Daily Tribune" of Sept. 20, 1957, in the article "End of the Line With Tito" writes as follows:

"Washington's pet Communist, Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia, has been playing the soviet game so fast and furiously in the last few days that it will be entirely inexplicable if our government finds itself able to adhere to the official myth that there is a possibility of weaning him away from his Moscow masters . . ."

It is childish to think that Communists are anything but Communists and that they are not hand in glove with Moscow to accomplish the undoing of the United States and the West. Yet this hallucination persists in Washington and millions follow millions into the hands of men who are inveterate enemies of this country."

Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky

The National Question in Communist Theory and Practice

The national question and the right of self-determination belong to those problems with which a dishonest and false game has frequently been played. The wide gulf which exists in this respect between Communist theory and practice cannot be bridged. And, incidentally, the Communists make no secret of the fact that they regard the national question not as an aim in itself, but merely as a means to a world revolution. Since, according to their point of view, everything that serves Communist aims is morally permissible, they regard this abuse of an idea as a matter of course. The gulf between Communist theory and practice is greatest in the countries behind the Iron Curtain, for there it is not theory, but the interests of Russian imperialism which are decisive.

Though there are many people in the West who are disappointed that this is so, it is hardly possible to give Moscow the blame for this, but only themselves since they refuse to comprehend the principles which are decisive for the Kremlin's actions.

The Right of Self-Determination

The right of self-determination has been dealt with most thoroughly by the Communists in their ideologies. They have, furthermore, conducted numerous discussions on this subject and have published many articles and treatises in this respect. Although opportunist considerations have undoubtedly played an important part in this connection, one must nevertheless admit that there is probably no other political trend which has devoted as much attention to the national question as Communism has done. The motives which prompted the Communists in this respect, however, were certainly not based on their determination to support the independence aims of the peoples, but on their intention to exploit the latter for their own plans.

Stalin formulated the right to self-determination as follows: "Only the nation itself has the right to determine its own fate; no one has the right to interfere forcibly in the life of a nation, to destroy its schools and other institutions, to abolish its customs and traditions, to fetter its language, to limit its rights." "The nation can arrange its life as it likes. It has the right to arrange its life according to the principles of autonomy. It has the right to enter into federative relations with other nations. It has the right to sever all its connections with other nations. The nation is sovereign, and all nations enjoy equal rights."

Lenin stresses that "The 'self-determination of the nations' in the Marxist programme, from the historical and economic point of view, can have no other meaning than political self-determination, state independence and the formation of a national state."

At its 5th Congress the Communist International drew up the following clauses in its programme:

"1) The right of self-determination of the nations also includes the right of complete severance of the state. This principle is binding both as a demand on the bourgeois state, where it serves as a means of combatting imperialism, and also for the regime of the proletarian dictatorship, where it serves as a means of overcoming the national distrust which has been bred by the bourgeois regime in the course of hundreds of years.

2) The liberation of the colonies and support of all colonial movements against imperialism. In so far as there is already a proletarian state which includes former colonies, this state will also be conceded the right of severance."

The Communist programme is thus clearly and precisely formulated. In practice, how-

ever, the Communists have encumbered the realization of this programme with so many conditions that actually they deny the right of self-determination.

The Communist Interest in the National Question

The Communist interest in the national question is based on purely opportunist reasons.

The Communists are of the opinion that their system should not be limited to one country, but should include all the peoples of the earth. Accordingly, all peoples, sooner or later, are to become Communist. The Communists have always been concerned about ensuring that their system had a chance to expand. For this reason it was imperative that they should adopt a definite attitude to the national question and should solve the problem of the coexistence of the different peoples side by side and with one another. It is only in this way that the Communists could achieve their purpose, namely that the members of the various peoples should do their share towards helping to bring about the realization of the Communist system. It is necessary for the Communists to solve the national problem, in order to create the pre-conditions for the unity of the proletariat. "The union of all workers, irrespective of nationality, is necessary to ensure the victory of the proletariat" — so Stalin stresses. But this would only be possible if the psychological and political obstacles which exist between the various ruling and subjugated peoples were eliminated.

Stalin makes no secret of the fact that he is definitely opposed to national feelings. "In order to destroy nationalism — he affirms — one must above all tackle and solve the national question . . . In this way and only in this way can one rob the bourgeoisie of their last remaining spiritual weapon." "Nationalism is the last position out of which the bourgeoisie must be routed in order to defeat them for all time."

The main problem of the Communist leaders is always the question as to how power is to be seized in the state. Actually, the means which the Communists have at their disposal in this respect are as a rule very limited, since, contrary to their assertions, they can only rely on an insignificant minority of professional revolutionaries. For this reason they always endeavour, wherever possible, to aggravate every indication of discontent and to exploit it for their own aims. The Communist leaders have long since realized what an important part the national idea can play in overthrowing the existing regime. It has become one of the commandments of Communist tactics to link up the social revolution with national aims and in this way to realize the Communist dictatorship, unnoticed by the majority of the population.

Lenin and Stalin on numerous occasions referred to these problems. In its directives the Executive Committee of the Cominform constantly stresses the importance "of winning over the revolutionary liberation movements of the colonial peoples and of all the peoples of the East as allies of the revolutionary proletariat of the capitalistic countries." The 5th Congress of the Comintern resolved "to do its utmost to support the national revolutionary movement which is directed against imperialism, to become the vanguard of this movement and to arouse and promote the social movement within the national movement." "Thus, both from the point of view of the decay of capitalistic relations and from the point of view of socialist expansion, the colonial and national question plays an extremely important part."

As far as the Communists are concerned, the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a matter of primary importance and all else is merely to serve the purpose of achieving this aim. It is thus comprehensible that the realization of the right of self-determination will and can only be tolerated to the same extent to which it is likely to serve the introduction and preservation of the Communist dictatorship.

Lenin stresses in particular: "In the question of the self-determination of the nations, as in every other question, what interests us more than anything else is the self-determination of the proletariat within the nations." In recognizing the equality of rights and the equal right to a national state, Lenin estimates and sets the union of the proletarians of all nations above all else, and, in doing so, assesses every national demand and every national severance from the point of view of the class conflict of the workers.

The Realization of the Right of Self-determination in the U.S.S.R.

In the days of the tsarist regime in Russia, Lenin on numerous occasions advocated the independence of the non-Russian countries. In Lenin's opinion "complete equality of rights and the right of self-determination for all the nations subjugated by Great Russia is essential." Stalin, too, affirms that "the solution of the national question . . . must be radical and final, and must therefore include: 1) the right of severance for nations inhabiting certain territories of Russia, who cannot and do not want to remain a part of the whole." In this way the Communists wanted to win over the non-Russian nationalists as allies against the tsarist regime.

When the Communists usurped power in Russia, however, they practised exactly the opposite of what they had formerly preached. Stalin was extremely consternated at the fact that "the right of self-determination of the nations was interpreted as the right of the national bourgeoisie of the border territories to take matters in their own hands and to use the February Revolution for the purpose of forming their 'own' national state." "These 'national governments', incidentally, did not want to have anything to do with a socialist revolution. Since they were by nature bourgeois, they were by no means willing to destroy the old bourgeois order." "They wanted to found separate bourgeois states in the border territories, in order to preserve the power and the privileges of the national bourgeoisie."

And it was this fact which provided Moscow with a reason for branding the independence declarations of these peoples as a counter-revolution, for occupying their territories with troops and for forcibly incorporating them in the framework of the Soviet Union. There can be no doubt as to Stalin's opinion in this respect when he says: "Since they desired to check the wave of the socialist movement which was advancing from Russia, the bourgeois national 'governments', which had been set up in the border territories at that time, declared war on the Soviet power." "The fight of the 'governments' of the border territories was and continues to be the fight of the bourgeois counter-revolution against socialism." "Many people make out that the fight of the 'governments' of the border territories is a fight for national liberation against the 'rigid centralism' of Soviet power. But this is by no means the case. No state power in the world has permitted so extensive a de-centralization, no government in the world has conceded so great a national freedom to the peoples as the Soviet power has done in Russia."

Continued from page 9

Communist reasoning in this case is simple: the border territories of Russia can be independent, but only if this is in keeping with the interests of the proletariat. But since the authorized interpreters of the interests of the proletariat are the leaders of the uniform Communist Party in Moscow, there can be no doubt as to the decisions reached in this respect. Self-determination is reduced to autonomy.

And Stalin does not leave us in any doubt as to what form this autonomy will assume. "To grant an autonomy — he affirms — in the framework of which the entire power would belong to the national bourgeoisie, who are demanding non-intervention on the part of the Soviets, and to surrender the Tatar, Bashkir, Georgian, Kirgiz, Armenian and other workers to the mercy of the Tatar, Georgian, Armenian and other national bourgeoisie, — no, the Soviet power can never agree to do this."

"Autonomy is a form. The entire problem depends on the kind of class contents with which this form is filled. The Soviet power is by no means against autonomy, — it is in favour of autonomy, but an autonomy in which the entire power is in the hands of the workers and peasants, in which the bourgeois of every nationality is excluded not only from the power but also from participating in the elections for government organs." "An autonomy of this kind will be an autonomy based on Soviet principles." In the course of the years we have had a chance to observe the application of the principles proclaimed by Lenin and Stalin.

According to the Constitution, the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics is a federal state (Article 13) which today consists of 16 constituent republics. Theoretically, all these constituent republics enjoy equal rights and are sovereign states. According to Article 17, every constituent republic has the right to sever its connection with the U.S.S.R. Two of the constituent republics, Ukraine and Byelorussia, have even become members of the United Nations. Since 1954 the constituent republics are even allowed to set up Ministries for Foreign Affairs and Defence.

From the theoretical point of view the constituent republics have more rights than any member-state in any other federation in the world.

According to the Constitution, there are within the framework of these constituent republics a further 16 Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics, and national rights have been guaranteed to a further 8 peoples in the autonomous territories.

In theory all this sounds very nice, but in practice things are actually quite different.

It is a well-known fact that the entire political and economic sectors and, indeed, every sphere of life in the Soviet Union is ruled and controlled by the supreme leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In theory this is the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but in practice it is the Praesidium of the Central Committee.

The constitutional organs, as for instance the Supreme Soviet and the Ministerial Council of the constituent republics, together with all their competent authorities, are merely as it were the scenery in a big theatre, which in no way influences life as a whole. And a performance only takes place when the Kremlin despots are of the opinion that the population can be impressed in this way, since decisions are reached not by the constitutional organs, but by the Praesidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

For twenty-five years this dictatorship of the Communist Party was based on a narrower personal aspect, which was carried into effect by one single person, — Stalin. Taking into consideration the importance of the Party bureaucracy, which is represented by the First Secretary of the Central Committee — at present, by Comrade Khrushchev, its influence on the composition of the Praesidium

Students in Red China against Communist Regime

The China Youth Corps has published an account of a students' revolt against the Communist regime which occurred on June 12th and 13th, this year. This astounding and heroic act of anti-Communist revolution broke out in the Wuchang area, the historic city where the 1911 revolution took place and succeeded in overthrowing the Manchu dynasty. Over a thousand young persons took part in the revolt which lasted three days. It was then put down by Communist armed force. Despite this fact, however, its effect has been far-reaching, and it has stirred up a response from the youth in every part of the Chinese mainland. The Communists, after some consternation, described the revolt as "A Minor Hungarian Affair". The leaders of the revolt, Wang Chien-kuo, Chung Yu-wen and Yang Hwan-yao, were shot to death on September 6th by the Communists. Other revolutionists, such as Yang Soong-toa, Hu Bing, Yu Sing-ping and Yu Sheh-chung, were thrown into jail and sentenced to 5 to 15 years' imprisonment.

The revolutionary fire started in Hanyang. A huge anti-Communist demonstration marched through the streets bearing anti-Communist slogans, such as "Russians, clear out!" and "Go home, Kuomintang!"

The demonstration first of all made for the Communist Party Hunyang District Headquarters and the seat of the Hunyang District People's Assembly.

The revolutionary students also went into action in other ways, too. They stormed the post office and the electric communications administration. They destroyed the main operating machinery, and

cut the lines that connected the city system with those of neighbouring districts. They also began to occupy the radio station and destroy the electricity generating plant.

In the evening the students stormed the Military Service Bureau and took the director prisoner. As the revolt grew in proportions, the Communists resorted to their usual weapon — armed massacre. On June 14, the third day of the revolt, when the students were preparing to launch a larger attack, the Communists rounded up soldiers, armed police and professional fighters from neighbouring areas and concentrated these units at Hanyang for the purpose of starting a massacre against the students who had no weapons. In the course of the fighting that ensued scores of students were killed, whilst Wang Chien-kuo together with hundreds of students were arrested, after having been threatened by the Communists with razor blades and bayonets. Those who were lucky enough to escape, made for the mountainous regions and joined the guerilla troops there. This heroic revolution was thus for the time being nipped in the bud.

To all outward appearance this courageous anti-Communist movement on the part of the students has been suppressed by razor blades and bayonets, but, actually, it has had a far-reaching and profound influence on all the youth of the Chinese mainland, inasmuch as they now stand united and are setting up a mightier force in order to deal the Communists a fatal blow when the opportunity presents itself. This revolution on the mainland proves that the people of the Chinese mainland now put their trust in the democratic rule of the National Government, that the potential of revolution against the Communists has been steadily increasing and that Communist lies and theoretical besiegement can no longer dissolve the anti-Communist movement of the so-called "rightists". Consequently, the Communists as a last resort are obliged to turn to despotic massacre in order to save their tottering regime. To the Communists this revolution is their last struggle, and to the Chinese people as a whole, a clarion call summoning all compatriots to join the revolution.

In the process of the National Revolution of 1911 it was Wuchang that brought about the climax of the revolution, the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty and the founding of the Chinese Republic. Today, another Wuchang revolt has occurred, which has as its aim the overthrow of the Communist totalitarian regime and the restoration of the Republic. And it is fitting that Wuchang should be the scene of this revolution, since it is from here that the revolution will inevitably spread to every corner of the Republic.

Spirit of Fighting and Sacrifice

From the Speech by President Syngman Rhee on the Ninth Anniversary of the Korean Republic

"The spirit of fighting and of sacrifice has not been destroyed in Korea. Its citizens, who for forty years have endured foreign rule, know the value of liberty so well that the flame of this spirit cannot flicker. And this is the reason why young and old, men and women alike, who in solidarity revolted against Communist aggression on June 25, 1950, have preserved this same spirit."

In conclusion, President Syngman Rhee said, "We have nothing to fear for we are a force of justice working for the liberation of our own people. I am convinced that we shall be able to attain our aim and overcome all the obstacles which confront us, if we undauntedly assert our spirit of self-sacrifice for the cause of justice and peace."

and the other organs of the Communist Party cannot be underestimated. Thus, it is an absolute dictatorship rather than the dictatorship of a collective organism.

What is the present composition of this omnipotent Praesidium? It is an organ consisting of 11 persons, of whom the majority are Russians. Although the dictatorship is carried into effect by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and by its organs, this fact is not mentioned in the Constitution and its activity and competence are not definitely stipulated. Despite this fact, however, the decisions of its organs are binding for all constitutional organs and all functionaries of the Soviet Union. The Praesidium of the Central Committee is the organ which realizes the dictatorship of the Communists in the name of the proletariat of the Soviet Union.

This is entirely in keeping with the Leninist conception of the function of the state. "The proletariat needs a state power, a centralized organization of power, an organization of supreme authority, not only in order to crush the opposition of the sweaters, but also to guide the huge masses of the population, . . . in order to 'set the socialist economic system going'." In Lenin's opinion the state is necessary as an instrument to bring about the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Since the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is organized according to a rigid centralizing system, and the strictest discipline possible is maintained in this respect, all the rights conceded to the constituent republics, to the autonomous republics and autonomous territories in the Constitution and, accordingly, to various peoples, have in practice no guarantee. Nowadays in the U.S.S.R. only the decisions reached by the Praesidium of the Central Committee can be put into practice. And since this body realizes the dictatorship, it goes without saying that no one can venture to oppose its decisions. Since these central Party organs consist, with but a few exceptions, of Russians and of persons who loyally serve Russian imperialism, it is perfectly obvious that Russia's interests are of decisive importance to them.

Since all means of production, with but a few exceptions, are under state control, the Praesidium of the Central Committee can in every way decide on political as well as on economic, financial and social questions. In this way the direct control of all persons and peoples by the central power of Moscow is ensured and guaranteed to a far greater extent than is conceivable in the centralized states of the free world.

Thus, fine theories in practice become the grimmest reality that one can imagine.

(To be continued)

The Ideological Political Resistance of the Ukrainian Underground

Bolshevism, being a synthesis of Russian imperialism and Communism, aims at conquering the whole world and subjecting it to the orders of the Russian Bolshevik centre in Moscow. For this purpose Bolshevism proceeds on the road of ruthless force and terror, of genocide and the extermination of disobedient groups and entire nationalities, of the ideological, political and ethical confusion and disintegration of the subjugated nations.

For this reason any organized revolutionary resistance movement, among them the Ukrainian one, must attach great importance to the ideological fight against Bolshevism and its demoralizing, disintegrating influence. On the grounds of authentic publications, which were printed in Ukraine after 1950 and distributed over the whole of the U.S.S.R., it is my purpose to describe the system of ideas of national and social freedom as proclaimed by the Ukrainian national revolutionary movement of freedom. It is precisely these ideas that give the Ukrainian people their power of resistance, enabling it to stay the physical, material and, above all, the ideological political aggression of Bolshevism, which is no less dangerous, and to repulse it. If not sublimated by the spiritual power of great ideals or national and social freedom, the Ukrainian people, in this unequal struggle against an enemy armed from top to toe, would never have been able to keep alive.

The U.S.S.R. must be split up in national states

Bolshevism has moved Internationalism, a camouflaged type of Russian imperialism, to the fore. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Ukrainian Supreme Council of Liberation, i. e. the three movements of organized Ukrainian resistance, oppose it, proclaiming the idea of national freedom which is well established historically and most progressive in our times — the idea of forming national states within the ethnical boundaries of every nation.

"We fight for the all-embracing Ukrainian State and for every nation enjoying a free way of life within its boundaries of an independent state." ("What is the UPA fighting for?", a publication printed in our native country in 1950: "Resolutions of the Third Great Extraordinary Assembly of the OUN".)

"In order to get rid of Muscovite imperialism for ever, the U.S.S.R., comprising at present numerous nationalities, must be split up in a number of national states, so as to render any revival of Muscovite imperialism impossible. The concept of an independent Ukraine is to be a basic factor in the deliberate destruction of the Bolshevik prison of nations, representing in our days a snake pit of the most ignominious forms of reaction and of the most dangerous aggression in the world. This concept, too, is to be a basic factor in the reorganization of Eastern Europe and of a very large part of Asia. The establishment by the Ukrainian people of an independent Ukrainian state will be a great step toward establishing a true equilibrium in the world and guaranteeing stable peace among the nations." (P. Poltava: "The concept of an independent Ukraine and the basic trend of ideological, political development in the modern world", 1950; this is a publication of the technical department "For the freedom of the Ukraine".)

"In order to protect the Ukrainian people for ever from sufferings and murders induced by the riches of Ukrainian soil one thing is needed — a Ukrainian state, the all-embracing Ukrainian Independent State." (Vsevolod Ramzenko: "Why do we stand for the all-embracing Ukrainian Independent State", printing office of the OUN, called also "Printery Colonel Sydir Shelest", printed in February 1951; second edition — Kyiv-Lviv, printed there in June 1951.)

These two treatises (one runs to 70, the other to 40 pages) expound the national idea, i. e. "the national independence of a people within its own independent political framework" as being just and progressive. (Poltava, loc. cit. p. 13.)

The national idea and international cooperation

The Bolshevik campaign of lies denouncing the Ukrainian movement for national freedom as outmoded and reactionary is countered by the Ukrainian revolutionary movement of freedom, propounding in its official declarations — especially in the "Declaration of the chairmen of the OUN at the end of World War II" — its own concept of the national idea and its importance:

"The nation, national independence are nowadays, as much as earlier on, undeniably the greatest human values. Mankind recognizes them without question and is prepared to die for them." (Poltava, loc. cit. p. 36.)

"The viewpoint of the most reactionary imperialism is held by the Russian Bolsheviks. Immediately after their accession to power they began suppressing the movements for national freedom organized by the peoples that had been enslaved by Tsarist Russia. After the Bolsheviks had smashed the resistance of those peoples and destroyed their national states, they started the re-establishment of the tsarist empire openly by setting up what has been called the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. All non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. have to suffer cruel suppression, politically and culturally, and an unprecedented exploitation economically. The Bolsheviks' disregard of the principle of self-determination of the peoples and their appalling methods used in suppressing and exploiting non-Russian peoples has produced continuous resistance on the part of the peoples enslaved by them. As regards the Ukrainian people, this resistance has taken the form of an insurgent and underground movement. The idea of destroying the Bolshevik prison of nations by means of revolution, the idea of establishing a new order in the U.S.S.R. which is in accordance with the principle of self-determination of all peoples gain more and more ground and wider recognition. At present the Bolsheviks are unable to put an end to the struggle for national freedom carried on by the Ukrainian people and a number of other peoples. When all the peoples now suppressed by the U.S.S.R. join us in this struggle — and there will certainly be a time when this comes true, since the policy pursued by the Bolsheviks is bound to lead to such a development — the Bolshevik prison of nations will experience its destruction." (loc. cit. p. 35.)

"The national idea has taken a dominant position among all the factors influencing the course of events in world history. It is the strongest force in history, and all forces opposing it have to surrender whenever a clash occurs. It is precisely this idea that determines the basic trend of historical development." (loc. cit., p. 34.)

As early as 1918 the national idea, due to its steadily growing force, was acknowledged as a fundamental principle of the political world organization of those days. This idea has brought about profound changes in the political structure of the entire world, and of Europe in particular: These principles, imperative as they appear to be, most clearly exhibit the basic trend prevailing in our world today: the tendency for free national states of all peoples to be formed. All social problems are solved in a system of individual national states: "Social changes aim at destroying class antagonism for the sake of the consolidation of a national community." (loc. cit., p. 50.)

The Bolshevik allegation denouncing the national ends of the Ukrainian struggle for freedom as being "narrow", "exclusive", "reactionary", "chauvinistic", etc. in character are denied by the OUN, and opposed by the following positive program:

"The idea of international cooperation is, objectively speaking, a progressive idea." (loc. cit., p. 63.) "All peoples in the world sincerely strive after cooperation, but such cooperation shall actually follow the aims laid down in the Charter of the United Nations. If, however, matters are different, if some members of the UN largely ignore these aims, the peoples concerned will find themselves compelled under such circumstances to look upon

the UN as an instrument of imperialistic policy in the hands of certain members of the UN. The idea of international cooperation certainly cannot be fully carried into effect unless the principle of self-determination of the peoples has been fully realized. There can be no question of mutual confidence among the nations so long as there are dominating and dominated peoples. Without such confidence, however, there will be no true international cooperation... So long as the U.S.S.R., which in a cruel way suppresses and exploits Ukraine, continues to be a member of the UN, and so long as this actual subjugation of Ukraine by the Muscovite Bolsheviks is tolerated, the Ukrainian people will have no confidence in the UN... Once the Ukrainian people has obtained its own national state, it will be in the van of those who fight for a large-scale cooperation among the nations of the world." (loc. cit., p. 64/65.)

"The only system acceptable for the peoples of this world is a system ensuring each nation full political independence as a state and nation within its own form of organization." (loc. cit., p. 58.)

"We bear warm feelings of amity towards all nations of the world. We want to live in an atmosphere of friendship and cooperation with all peoples in the world including the Russian people, once they have established their own national state within their ethnical boundaries. We are Ukrainian nationalists, but by no means chauvinists. We want to set up an independent Ukrainian state, but only within our ethnical boundaries, i. e. in those territories that are primarily populated by Ukrainians. We are no imperialists either: we do not want an inch of non-Ukrainian soil. We oppose any type of imperialism, any form of suppression of one people by another, we also oppose imperialistic wars and conquests, and we oppose great empires that embrace a large number of nationalities. What we stand for is the logical realization of the idea of free national states applied to all peoples of the world." (P. Poltava: "Who are the Bandera people, and what are they fighting for?", Kyiv-Lviv, 1950, published by the printing office of the OUN, called Yakiv Busel-Kyivsky Printery, on page 7.)

"The OUN fights imperialists and the formation of empires, since in an empire all other peoples are exposed to cultural and political suppression and economic exploitation by the ruling people... For this reason the OUN fights against the U.S.S.R. as well as Hitler's German "New Europe" movement. (Resolutions of the Third Extraordinary General Assembly of the OUN, Annexes to the Resolutions.)

The Kremlin aims at setting up a World Union of Socialist Soviet Republics for which the Bolsheviks adduce among other reasons the "intricacies of economic life". In a similar way, Stalin, in 1922, described "economic expedience" as compelling arguments for the "integration of the Soviet Republics" in a "Federal State".

This tendency is answered by the Ukrainian underground movement as follows:

"There are no objective obstacles against the idea of close economic cooperation in the system of free national states... As historical experience has hitherto shown, production has always reached its maximum development where a nation enjoys full political independence and has its own state administration. Only full political independence can guarantee a people a maximum of creative power, and the development of the mental vigour in a people is the first and most necessary condition for the development of productive forces in general. Only on the basis of perfect equality among nations, guaranteed by their complete political independence can economic co-operation attain really positive results, that is to say, bring about a higher living standard. On the other hand, it is a well-known fact that the Bolsheviks, as "socialists" as well as representatives of a great-Russian imperialism have always been for a centralized, great State and against the separation of the non-Russian peoples from Russia." (P. Poltava, "The Conception of an Independent Ukraine", p. 62.)

J. A. Gytis (Lithuania)

The Present Situation in Lithuania

Soviet Russia succeeded in incorporating Lithuania in its sphere of influence thanks to the policy of intrigue and espionage which was pursued there by its embassies. In October 1939, it set up a number of military bases in Lithuania and on June 15/16, 1940, occupied the entire country. All non-aggression pacts, all guarantees of independence, and all Stalin's and Molotov's assurances that they would not interfere in Lithuania's home policy, were simply violated. By force, the same party, police and military dictatorship as prevails in the Soviet Union was now introduced in Lithuania. The propaganda fairytale about Lithuania's "voluntary" incorporation in the Soviet Union is a common trick resorted to by the Soviets in order to dupe those who are not yet acquainted with the Bolshevik system. During the early and also the later years of the occupation all Communist controlled elections were carried out by NKVD terrorist methods. In 1944, Soviet Russia occupied Lithuania a second time, after the latter country had temporarily succeeded in escaping from the Communist yoke thanks to the help of the German troops. The tyranny of the Communist regime then grew more ruthless to an ever-increasing degree, for after Russia had won the war, it felt that it was the master of the situation in Lithuania.

It was not long before the Communists began to introduce the kolkhoz and sovchoz system in Lithuania, but in this respect they encountered various obstacles, since partisan groups for a long time continued to prevent the introduction of this system. In addition, the Lithuanian farmers, who were accustomed to running their farms independently, were unwilling to work in these Communist agricultural concerns. In 1949, the kolkhozes were therefore introduced by force, and there are now about 2,000 such collective farms in Lithuania today. The introduction of this system in 1949/50 led to a terrible famine. Though the economic situation has meanwhile improved somewhat, it is still much worse than it was in the year 1939. This can, for instance, be seen from the fact that a kolkhoz worker receives one kilogram of grain and one rouble per day, which is sheer starvation. It is therefore not surprising that sickness and disease prevail in the kolkhozes, and it is almost impossible to combat them as medical supplies are not available. No wonder that anyone who has a chance flees from the kolkhozes into the towns.

Lithuania was never an industrial country, but the Russians have recently industrialized it. So far,

350 new industrial concerns have been erected, as for instance cement works, factories for the production of turbines, electric appliances, bicycles, leather goods and linen goods, etc. Although 200,000 to 250,000 workers are employed in manufacturing these goods, the latter are scarce on the market as the Bolsheviks export them to Russia.

The standard of living of the working classes and, in fact, in general is very low in Lithuania, much lower than in Poland or in the Balkan countries. Incredible though it may seem, it is nevertheless true that the Russians import sunflower seeds and maize into Lithuania and export Lithuanian wheat, rye and timber to the U.S.S.R. Difficult economic living conditions have naturally caused the black market to flourish, but prices on the black market are in no relation to the low wages earned by the Lithuanians. A suit of poor quality on the black market costs 1,000 roubles, whilst one of better quality costs as much as 2,700 roubles. A kolkhoz worker would thus have to work for nothing for three years in order to be able to afford the cheapest kind of suit. Only the privileged Communist class is in a position to lead a life of comfort; the average worker has to fight against starvation all the time.

The Inevitable Russification

In reality Lithuania has not been occupied by the Communists, who in the Soviet Union only constitute 4 per cent of the population and in Lithuania only 2 per cent, including those who have been imported from Russia, but by the Russians, through the Moscow government. Russian is used as the official language. The Russification process is even in evidence in the kindergartens, where the only language used is Russian. In other schools Lithuanian is still tolerated, but the pupils are obliged to learn Russian if they intend entering the civil service later on; this is hardly surprising since 50 per cent of the leading posts in the Lithuanian Communist Party are held by Russians.

At present there are about 2,500 primary schools, 1,000 schools with seven-year courses, 380 secondary schools, and 12 colleges in Lithuania. Compared with statistics during the period of Lithuania's independence, the number of pupils has not increased. On the other hand, however, the standard of education has dropped very considerably, since the Bolsheviks are only interested in training semi-educated workers and experts, but not intellectuals, whom they hate.

Indomitable Resistance

The Lithuanian people put up an intensive resistance against the first and second occupation of their country. The first thing the partisan groups did in 1940/41, when the war between Germany and Russia broke out, was to occupy all the strategic positions. In the course of these combats about 20,000 partisans were killed. In 1944, an organized partisan army caused the Bolsheviks a lot of trouble as it continued to upset the plans of the Communists in Lithuania for a considerable time. This activity on the part of the partisans continued until 1949. It was only with the help of the NKVD and the Red Army that the Bolsheviks, by resorting to the most brutal methods, were able to curb partisan activity and check the active resistance of the people. But passive resistance still continues unabated even today. This indomitable resistance has claimed many victims. The number of partisans who have been killed in the unequal fight in the course of the years by now amounts to 40,000. In the course of the Bolshevik genocide many innocent persons have been murdered, many children have been starved to death, and aged and sick persons have been killed. The number of persons who have been deported from Lithuania to the wilds of Russia already amounts to 200,000. But even the Lithuanian deportees have remained loyal to their fellow-countrymen and have learnt to fight not only for their physical existence, but also for their personal and national freedom.

Although Lithuania is occupied de facto by Russia, this occupation is not recognized de jure by the Western major powers. This has been stated officially on various occasions by the United

States. Lithuania still has an embassy in the U.S.A. When the Lithuanian ambassador to the United States, P. Zadeikis, died recently, he was succeeded by Kajeckas as chargé d'affaires. England and France have not expressed any official attitude in this respect, but unofficially Lithuanian diplomats also work in these countries. The Vatican does not officially recognize the annexation of Lithuania; Girdvainis is the Lithuanian ambassador there. All Lithuania's diplomatic activity is co-ordinated by the former Foreign Minister of Lithuania, Stasys Lozoraitis, whom the Lithuanian President, A. Smetona, appointed as doyen of the Lithuanian diplomatic service. In addition, there are Lithuanian embassies in South America, Brazil and Uruguay, and consulates in Java and Canada and several other countries.

Tense Situation on Soviet and Czecho-Slovakian Frontier

On November 30, 1956, an agreement was signed in Moscow by the so-called "Special Commission" of the Czecho-Slovakian and Soviet frontier. Three important reasons have led to the setting up of this "Special Commission". Firstly, events in Hungary which caused many Hungarians to flee across the frontier into Czecho-Slovakia or Carpatho-Ukraine, in order to seek shelter with their friends there, seeing they had no chance of escaping to the West. Secondly, the situation in Poland, the kindly feeling of the Polish people towards the Hungarians, and the necessity of setting up a zone between these two peoples, so that there will be no chance of the Hungarian situation being repeated in Poland. Thirdly, the deserters of the Soviet Army from Hungary during the revolt there and the deserters of the units in Carpatho-Ukraine, who fled shortly before they were to be used in Hungary.

In addition to these three reasons, the following point must also be mentioned: Many of the Hungarians living in Berehovo, Mukacevo and other places in the southern region of Carpatho-Ukraine are fleeing into Czecho-Slovakia in order to escape persecution by the Soviet authorities, as they have refused to act as interpreters, engineers and soldiers in the fight against their fellow-countrymen in Hungary.

The agreement signed by the "Special Frontier Commission" is as follows: in the first place, it is actually a one-sided agreement, inasmuch as Soviet guards are to patrol the Czecho-Slovakian side of the frontier, together with Czecho-Slovakian soldiers. So far, the agreement has not been put into practice on the Soviet side of the frontier. The general plan of this new situation is as follows: the joint command of the Czecho-Slovakian and Soviet frontier guard, division I, is stationed in Berezny. Additional sub-commands are to be set up in Bystry, Zahorb, Stuczka, Uljecz, Ruska Volova, and Ubla. Command II is stationed in Zarici, with sub-commands in Dubrinice and Mirza. Command III is stationed in Pavlovec, with sub-commands in Koromla, Petrovec, Kamenica, Jenkovce, and Zahor; Command IV in Kapusany, with sub-commands in Bajany, Palov and Galocz, and Command V in Kralovsky Chlumec, with sub-commands in Slemence, Olany, Leles, and Botany. In addition, the Czecho-Slovakian and Polish frontier in the region of the Tatra Mountains has also been closed and is now guarded by mixed units of the Soviet and Czecho-Slovakian frontier guard. Such is the situation on the Czecho-Slovakian and Hungarian frontier, too. Commands of the joint frontier guard have been set up in the following places: Biskupice, Samorin, Dumajska Streda, Meder, Komarno, Parkan, Sahy, Celary, Radovec, Linhartovec, Plesivec, Ida, Velaty and Streda. In addition, special Soviet military police units have now been stationed along the Czecho-Slovakian and Soviet frontier, on the Czecho-Slovakian side. These units, which are being used to carry out counter-attacks against Ukrainian partisan groups, are the same units which were recently used against Hungarian insurgents in the districts north and northeast of Budapest.

Continued from page 11

"The almost one hundred years that socialism has existed have shown that it has not succeeded in exterminating the national idea or even in shaking it. In the impact with socialism it has proved victorious." (Ibid., p. 27.)

"The opposition between a few dominating nations and a number of subjugated ones tends towards an emancipation of the subjected peoples from alien domination" (p. 40).

"Every time a people has begun a fight for its freedom against the yoke of an alien, it has waged the war for the purpose of forming its own national state, and the fight has always ended finally in victory for the subjugated people who then set up the national state it had fought for" (p. 42).

"The opposition between competing imperialist states accelerates the complete victory of the national idea" (p. 44), by each of them seeking to win over the peoples under the yoke of the enemy . . . The lessening of the antagonisms within a nation strengthens the validity of the national idea" (p. 39).

"The national idea — the prevailing ideal of the present historical period — has become decisive for the very reason that it meets the deepest natural urge in all nations" (the author says, on p. 51); the Bolsheviks are not able to crush it because "the broad masses have become an important factor in the historical course of events" (page 68), resulting in "the growth of national consciousness, the spread of the national idea, . . . which is the most important natural law in the present historical process, which even the Marxists cannot deny" (page 53). S. S. (To be continued)

White Russian Imperial Dreams and the Policy of the West

The policy which is at present pursued by the Western world as regards the peoples subjugated by Moscow leaves much to be desired. The main reason why so little importance is attached to the idea of a dissolution of the Soviet Russian imperium, seems to be that the Western major powers, after having lost most of their possessions outside Europe under pressure of Soviet Russia's political manoeuvres, are now endeavouring to secure new colonial prospects in the East in the event of a victory over Soviet Russia, since in that case the situation of coercion, which Moscow has created by using the Asian and African peoples, would no longer exist; and, in any case, once it has achieved a victory over Soviet Russia, the West would no longer need any of these peoples as allies against Moscow. Western capital hopes that it will have no more rivals after its victory over Soviet Russia and that it will be able to do exactly as it pleases.

Otherwise it would be hard to imagine that the actual reason why the West does not support the subjugated peoples in their fight for independence lies in its fear of offending the Russians . . . Instead of allowing a murderer to assassinate scores of nations, it would most certainly be easier to disseminate the idea of anti-Bolshevist resistance among the Russians, too, by insisting on absolute justice towards all peoples, that is to say, on sovereignty for all — for the Muscovites (Russians) as well as for the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, and Turkestanians, etc. — within their own ethnographical areas. Why and on the strength of what higher principle should the Russians renounce Berlin and Budapest, but continue to remain in Kyiv or Tashkent? To renounce both Budapest and Tashkent, however, would be in keeping with the principle of absolute justice, a principle which is, indeed, worth living for and dying for.

Although not only the "American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism" and the NTS ("People's Workers' Union"), but also all Russian anti-Communist emigrant circles are very much in favour of the idea that Ukraine and other countries subjugated by Moscow should continue to belong to the Russian imperium, they have so far never asked themselves what chances the White Russians have of ever possessing an independent Russian state, even if it is only confined to its own ethnographical boundaries; they overlook the fact that the country of the White Russians will be conquered, too, and that no leniency is shown to the conquered. They would do better to bear in mind the fate of Hitler's Germany! Incidentally, after the victory of the West over Soviet Russia there will be no rival major power with atomic bombs; it is therefore hardly likely that any power will need vanquished Russia — as compared to Western Germany of the post-war years — as a possible ally.

And what will happen if the Russians — in complete agreement with the theories of the above-mentioned "American Committee" on the "no precedent principle" — decide by means of a "free plebiscite" to become an American or a British protectorate? Since the Muscovite masses have been used to slavery since time immemorial, it is all the same to them whether they submit to the rule of a Tatar, such as Tsar Boris Godunov, of a German, for all the Tsars from Peter III to Alexander III were actually Germans, of a Georgian, such as Stalin, of a Russian, such as Khrushchev, or to the rule of a dignitary of the C.I.C.. Russian emigrant circles are faced by the task of persuading the West

to recognize an *ethnic* Russian state; they must not, however, request the West to help to preserve a "united and indivisible" Russian imperium, which would very soon become another peoples' prison and a grave danger for the West. The White Russians overlook the fact that there is a vast difference between surviving a world war *together* with the Entente or together with the Western Allies, or being conquered by the Western Allies. In the latter case the only choice is the fate of Hitler's Germany.

The insolent White Muscovite "Ivans" are hoping to be able to deceive the West once more. They would do better to ensure that their *ethnic* territory does not become a *colony* of the West. And it certainly strikes one as highly amusing that the West should set up a "democratic" imperium again for them, seeing that the Western major powers have been deprived of most of their own colonial empires, mainly as a result of Russian intrigues. As far as the West is concerned, such a step would be equal to nurturing a serpent in one's bosom, which would eventually turn on one.

All White Russians, Kerenski adherents, and "solidarists", etc., should therefore ask themselves what guarantee there is at all that a

national and independent Russian state (within its own ethnographical area) would be able to exist! The principle of "no precedent decision", which they defend so obstinately, means that no decision will be reached in advance as to whether Muscovy is to become a colony, a protectorate, a dominion, or a "Moscow Reichskommissariat", and as to what parts of the ethnic Russian territory Finland or the Baltic States may lay claim to. The "democrats" will do well to let Ukraine and all the non-Russian countries subjugated by Moscow alone; for *we* shall find our own ways and means and shall succeed in setting up our own independent states in our ethnic territories, by matching our own strength against that of any Moscow, whether red or white, — and, if needs be, against that of the Western major powers, though it must be admitted that our peoples are kindly disposed towards the latter and have no intention of going to war against them. The Russian people, however, will conduct a war against the West — just as Hitler's Germany did; consequently, it will be forced to suffer the same fate as Germany did when it was partitioned after World War II, whereas *our* peoples are prepared to fight *on the side of the West*.

The Western major powers, however, should relinquish their colonial desires as regards our countries, if they do not want to lose a war against Soviet Russia in the same way as they lost the peace from the political point of view in World War II. Z. K.

"Intervention in Hungary was Planned"

The following article, entitled "Intervention in Hungary Was Planned", was published in the journal "Military and Political Forum", of September 9, 1957 (page 22):

"During events in Hungary last October, the Russian emigrant organization, N.T.S., which has its headquarters in the Federal Republic of Germany, played an extremely nasty and unscrupulous trick.

The N.T.S. — its members describe themselves as "Russian Solidarists" — as the English news agency "World Survey" reports, is financed by the "Central Intelligence Agency of the U.S.A. (through the "European Aid Programme"), by the Ford Endowment Fund and the State Department (through the society, "American Friends of Russian Freedom"). Since 1951 the N.T.S. has been operating a movable radio station, placed at its disposal by the American authorities, in the Federal Republic of Germany. This radio station transmits programmes in German and Russian.

As the editor of the well-known American illustrated weekly, "Saturday Evening Post", Demaree Bess, reports in the edition of March 16, 1957, the N.T.S. radio station transmitted a "message" in Hungarian during the night from October 30 to 31st, 1956, when the Russians were beginning to withdraw their tanks from Budapest. This "message", so the N.T.S. radio station alleged at the time, had been drawn up by a "Union of Former Hungarian Soldiers Abroad". In the message the "High Command of the Insurgents" was requested to send a "liaison staff" to the "Western frontier" in order to establish "contact with armed emigrants" there.

This deceptive message, so Mr. Bess comments resignedly, "seems to have given Moscow proof" that an armed intervention was being planned. —y.—

Against Admission of Communist China to the United Nations

Dr. Hu Shih, Representative of China, recognized as the greatest living Chinese philosopher, delivering a statement before the United Nations on Sept. 26, 1957, stirred the nations of the world by his report on the chain of events which were started in Hungary and led to revolutionary movements in Communist China. The Committee of one Million published and distributed the statement throughout the world on the eve of the first anniversary of the Hungarian revolution to emphasize

the universality of the fight against Communism.

The excerpts of Dr. Hu Shih's report were published by the Committee of one Million in the international edition of the *New York Times* on Oct. 20th.

The Committee of one Million is dedicated to blocking any attempts to strengthen the Communist regime which keeps the Chinese people enslaved, either through their admission to the U.N. or through other diplomatic or economic measures.

The full name of the Committee is: the Committee of one Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations, and its address: 8 West 40th. Street, New York 18.

Thus Spoke Comrade Khrushchev

"The unsurpassable coryphaeus of knowledge, the great creator of Communism, our greatly beloved teacher, our supreme leader, our best friend and Party comrade, Josef Vissarionovich Stalin, has taught us to be worthy of Lenin. Comrade Stalin, you have inspired our fatherland. Your mighty work represents an immeasurable treasure for mankind. All decent-thinking people on this earth, all future generations will glorify your name. You are the great leader to victory."

Khrushchev in a message to the Communist Party of Ukraine in 1949, on the occasion of the 70th birthday of Stalin.

"Comrades, the personality cult assumed such monstrous forms, above all because Stalin himself supported the glorification of his own person with every thinkable means. This is confirmed by countless facts. One of the most striking examples of Stalin's self-glorification and of his utter lack of the least modesty is the publication of his "Short Biography", which appeared in 1948. This book is the expression of unrestrained flattery, an example of how one raises a human being to the level of an idol, of how one transforms him into an "infallible" sage, — into the 'greatest leader', into the 'most illustrious strategist of all times and all peoples'. Eventually, it was impossible to find any other words with which to laud Stalin to the skies."

Khrushchev in his secret speech at the 20th Party Congress, February, 1956.

"I not only do not separate Stalinism and Stalin from Communism, but I am also of the opinion that Stalin as a Communist, who fought for the interests of the classes, of certain classes, of the working class, is to us the ideal example of a Communist."

Khrushchev at the Chinese Embassy in Moscow, on January 18, 1957.

The Repercussions of the October Revolution

In one of its editions for 1957, the paper "NEMZETÖR", which is published in Munich and is the organ of the Hungarian revolutionary writers and poets, published a report by a Hungarian student who was in Moscow during the Hungarian liberation revolution. The following is an extract of this report. — The Editor.

The Komsomol in Moscow runs a school for the functionaries of the Communist youth of the Soviet Union and the satellite states. Three hundred to four hundred young persons are trained every year at this school, which is situated in Vesnjaki near Moscow. The district secretaries and members of the central committees are chosen from the ranks of these trainees. In my capacity as head of the DISZ (Demokratikus Ifjusagi Szovetseg = Union of Democratic Youth) I myself took part in these training courses, together with sixteen other Hungarians, and for this reason I can give an eyewitness report.

Neither between October 23rd and November 4th nor after this date was the Soviet public informed about the truth of events in Hungary. Apart from a lot of empty talk, nothing at all was said about the main aims of the Hungarian revolution, namely the endeavours of the Hungarian people to attain their freedom and their desire that the Soviet troops should be withdrawn from Hungary.

All the news items published in this respect were very brief. But, in any case, they indicated that the Soviets would never resign themselves to events in Hungary. Prior to November 4th, Mikoyan and Suslov travelled to Hungary in order to discuss and prepare plans for an armed intervention with their hirelings. Simultaneously, the foreign ministers of the satellite states held a conference in Moscow, at which the details of this intervention and the reaction to be expected on the part of public opinion were discussed.

Already on November 3rd I learned that some plan or other was to be carried out next day. On November 3rd, thirty students of the three-year training course at the Party college and some members of the military training school, namely Gyula Uszta, Pal Ilku, Istvan Kadas and Lajos Szugs, were taken to Hungary in two planes. It later transpired that the reason for this measure was that these persons were to assume the most important key positions as soon as the Russian attack was launched. Uszta and Ilku, for instance, were promptly appointed to posts in the Council of the XIVth district of Budapest. From the outset these persons collaborated with the Russian army.

On the day of the Russian intervention in Hungary, propaganda meetings were held throughout the entire Soviet Union, which, by means of the

usual lies about aggressive intervention on the part of the West, made out that the Soviets were the "liberators of Hungary from Fascism" and aimed to mislead both the Party members and the public in general.

The popularity of Hungary in Moscow is a well-known fact, and after the events of October 23rd this popularity grew still more. I had an opportunity to talk to about thirty to thirty-five persons of various nationalities and classes. The general opinion — expressed in the underground railway and in the trolley-buses — was that the Hungarians want to live and work in a manner which is in keeping with their national character.

A number of my acquaintances were Georgians and Azerbaijanians who were very pleased about the Hungarian fight for freedom, since the national urge to independence is strongly developed in their countries, too. The Georgian students are constantly holding meetings in order to discuss all kinds of questions. They study the living conditions of the workers in the Western countries and are extremely interested in the question of why the standard of living is so low in the Soviet Union. They are doing their utmost to try and find some way of improving the present conditions. And they, too, are inspired by the thought that Georgia should likewise resort to that paragraph in the Soviet Constitution which states that any member state can leave this Union if it considers this step right. It is their ardent desire that Georgia should be free and they are convinced that the time will come when their country will attain the freedom to which it is rightfully entitled. They also regard it as an insult to their honour that the leading positions in the Georgian Communist Party and in the Georgian government are held solely by Russians, and not by any Georgians.

Every possible measure was adopted in Moscow in order to put a prompt stop to any possible demonstrations in sympathy with the Hungarians. The Party and the Party leaders warned the students that they would be dealt with most severely if they ventured to assemble in the streets. We later learnt, however, that despite these measures groups of students held demonstrations in Moscow, Kyiv and various other university towns, and that these demonstrations could only be put down by resorting to most brutal measures.

Commenting on this report, the Editor of the "NEMZETÖR" writes: "... Those who experienced recent events in Hungary themselves know only too well what the prospects are which can be read between the lines of this report of the situation by a Hungarian student. The symptoms are obvious... Russia is once again undergoing a crisis and the West is once again looking on with an indifference which is incomprehensible."

Union and of their "international spirit", the Party organ "Communist", No. 115, of May 17, 1957, affirms that in Georgia Russians, Ukrainians, Estonians, Armenians, Byelorussians, Osetians, Tadzhiks and members of various other nationalities, all work side by side with the Georgians in the factories, in an atmosphere of brotherliness.



LIFE IN OCCUPIED LATVIA

The following extracts are taken from the statements given by four Latvian fishermen from Liepaja who escaped to Sweden after locking their captain in the fore-castle. In August the Swedish authorities granted them asylum as political refugees. Their names: Stefans Skude, Fricis Stirmanis, Teofils Hartmanis and Ilmars Arajums.

Improvements promised by Comrade Khrushchev are not felt. People still get up before 6 o'clock to join a queue for a loaf of black bread. White bread is obtainable only in towns. Sugar is very scarce and is limited to 1 lb per purchase.

Some Latvians have been allowed to return home from Siberia, where they had been imprisoned in forced labour camps since 1941 and 1949 mass deportations. These unfortunate people find that they cannot get a job because they do not have a work permit and are no longer registered in their home towns. Many of them have had to return to Siberia, where they are registered.

Change of job in the workers' paradise. The nightmare of change of jobs even for the so-called "free citizens" is described by S. SKUDE. He relates that in order to obtain employment in Liepaja he had to obtain seven certificates: — 1. Certificate from the local executive committee stating that there are no principal objections. 2. Certificate from the present place of employment permitting his discharge. 3. Certificate from the local militia stating that he has not been punished and is not suspected of an offence. 4. Certificate from the caretaker confirming that there are no complaints or claims against tenant Skude. 5. Certificate containing permission by the local police to leave the district. 6. Certificate from the new place of employment that it is willing to take him on. 7. Finally a certificate from the city accommodation bureau stating that citizen Skude has been allocated a bed at a certain address.

Russification. Only Russians are now permitted to register in Latvian towns. Registration is denied to Latvians.

Passport regime in the rural areas. Collective farmers are required to deposit their passports with the kolhoze administration. Without documents outside the kolhoze territory they are liable to fine and/or imprisonment.

Only methods have changed... ILMARS ARAJUMS expresses the following opinion: "There have been no real changes in the Soviet system since Stalin's death. Those are fools who think that communists have become better and everything has improved. Khrushchev's speeches are only propaganda. In reality nothing has changed apart from the methods of oppression. If in the past mass arrests were made, now people disappear singly. Deportations at the point of bayonets with sentences of 25 years of forced labour without trial have been superseded by forced "voluntary" signing on for work in the Eastern areas. It is difficult to evade the "invitation" to volunteer, as refusal means becoming an enemy of the people with dire consequences. The system of slavery is the same, only methods have changed."



COMMUNIST INFILTRATION

According to a report broadcast by Vilna Radio Station on August 18, this year, there is in Lithuania a dense network of 3,142 "village clubs" and "reading clubs" and 5,600 village collectives with 90,000 members (amateur actors, choristers, sportsmen, etc.)

The "village clubs" originated out of the "Raudonieji kampeliai" ("Red Corners"), which were set up all over the country during the first Soviet occupation of Lithuania in 1940/41. When the country was occupied a second time by the

From Behind the Iron Curtain



COMPULSORY "ENTHUSIASM" ABOUT DEPORTATIONS

The deportation of young persons of both sexes to Siberia and Central Asia continues. The paper, "Sarja Wostoka", No. 150, of June 27, 1957, reported that there are 6,000 Georgian youthful "volunteers" engaged in opening up hitherto uncultivated districts in the region of Kustanajiskaja (Kazakhstan).

The Party organ, "Communist", on July 10th, 20th and 23rd, 1957, published pictures of youthful "volunteers" on the point of leaving for far-off countries, and stated that "enthusiastic crowds were continuing to report, unceasingly".

And the "Communist", No. 212, of September 7, 1957, gives a detailed report of how "industriously and enthusiastically" they work there.

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES TO MOSCOW'S ADVANTAGE

In accordance with the decree of the Supreme Council of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic, of March 22, 1957, certain paragraphs of the Constitution have been changed, that is amended. Accordingly, only seven of the twenty-five ministries are now republican, namely the Ministry of Local Industry, of National Education, of Justice, of Communal Economy, of the Automobile Industry, of Social Welfare and of Water-supply. The remaining eighteen ministries are Union republican, that is to say administrative departments of Moscow. In connection with these changes, numerous persons in the government have been transferred to different posts or have been dismissed from office.

A BABEL OF PEOPLES

In keeping with Moscow's brutal policy the country is overrun by foreigners, so that the national population in all countries shall be decimated and its national will undermined. As proof of the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet

Soviets in 1944, this network of propagandist infiltration was reorganized. The population, however, continued to show little interest in these institutions. In order to counteract the general aversion to them, they were, however, no longer designated by the name "Red Corners". They were now renamed "Cultural Clubs" in the towns, and "Village Clubs" or "Reading Clubs" in the rural areas. But even under this name they failed to become popular with the population. The Soviets have now apparently realized how futile these institutions are and have issued orders that all these village clubs are to be disbanded. They are to be replaced throughout Lithuania by 278 district "Cultural Clubs".

The main aim of this measure continues to be the instillation of Communist ideas into the minds of the people. According to the same source (Vilna Radio Station in its report of August 18, 1957), each of these village clubs in 1956 on an average arranged 18 lectures, which dealt not only with questions pertaining to "socialist competition" and similar matters, but also with political and atheistic subjects. Thus, altogether 56,556 propagandist lectures were held in the course of the year, which comes to about 155 of such propaganda meetings on every day of the year. In connection with these lectures and also separately, 12,000 concerts and plays, etc., were given throughout the country in 1956. These functions were attended by about 1 million persons.

The fact that the 3,142 village clubs are to be disbanded and replaced by a smaller number of "cultural clubs" shows that the Communist leaders themselves are extremely dissatisfied with the ideological results of the propaganda network so far. The resistance of the rural population of Lithuania and, indeed, of the Lithuanian people as a whole to Communist influence continues unbroken.

During the past years there has been a change in Communist atheistic propaganda in Lithuania. Instead of simply ridiculing religion and the Church, more emphasis is now placed on "scientific proof". In addition to the activity of the Communist youth organization in this respect, the "Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Information" also arranges atheistic lectures and courses. Impartial observers, however, are of the opinion that the Lithuanian people as a whole are fairly immune to this type of influence.



FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN ACTION

Large groups of anti-Communist freedom fighters are at present in action in the forest regions of Central and East Slovakia. The Communist functionaries in the small towns and villages of East Slovakia are in fear of their lives, and the sentries posted for their safety feel that they are powerless to deal with the activity of the freedom fighters. Consequently, the Communists were obliged to convene a conference in Kosice, for the purpose of discussing the measures to be adopted in the event of raids on the part of the freedom fighters. Since the Communist authorities do not want to openly admit the existence of anti-Communist freedom fighters, they affirmed that the purpose of this conference was to discuss "protective measures for lumbermen against forest robbers".

The fact that, during Khrushchev's visit to Slovakia, the railway route Cierna — Kosice — Cadca was so heavily guarded by military units that soldiers were posted every 20 meters, is proof of conditions at present in Slovakia. Railway bridges and tunnels are constantly guarded by military sentries, but even so the freedom fighters frequently sabotage railway routes.

Since the Hungarian revolution the number of freedom fighters in the forests of Central and East Slovakia has increased very considerably. Many Slovaks deserted from the Czech army during the Hungarian revolution in the hope of being able to get through to Hungary. Before they could get there, however, the revolution was crushed by the Red Army, and so they remained in the Slovak forests. Deserters from the Red Army have also joined their ranks in order to fight side by side with them against the common enemy. The freedom fighters are for the most part equipped with Soviet weapons.

Declaration Against Russian Imperialists

The Union of Ukrainian Journalists considers it to be its duty to state its attitude with regard to the 9th Political Conference of the "Posev", which was held in the summer of 1957 in Frankfort on Main, and with regard to the Russian organization "Narodno-Trudovoj Sojuz" (N.T.S.), which arranged the Conference.

The Union of Ukrainian Journalists is a union of the co-workers of all the Ukrainian emigrant newspapers published in Europe, who belong to various political parties, and as such it therefore expresses the general political opinion of the Ukrainians living in the free world.

The Ukrainian journalists have been acquainted with the N.T.S. since it was first founded in 1950, namely as a union of exiled Russian youth, and have had plenty of opportunity to observe its activity both in Yugoslavia and in other countries; they are likewise well informed as to the numerous scandals which have occurred in the course of the years in connection with the Nolde case in 1952, the Ksjunin case in 1957, the Georgijevsky case in 1945, the Tchirkovitch case in 1952, and the Müller-Chorunzhy case in 1955. Several of the adventurers involved in these cases went over to the Bolsheviks, other were called to account before a court because of their pro-Bolshevist activity. A great deal was written about these cases at the time in the American and West German press ("Nabat", "Sozialistisches Westnik", "Oswobozhdenije", etc.).

Above all, the Ukrainian journalists observe with interest the "evolution" of the political opinions of the N.T.S., starting with monarchism and ranging, via fascism, to a pseudo-democracy. A critical survey of these opinions published in 1951 by the U.S. State Department under the title, "N.T.S., the Russian Solidarist Movement", prompts one to adopt a certain amount of reserve towards this organization. Those paragraphs in the programme of the N.T.S. which deal with the national problem in the territory of the U.S.S.R. — a problem which, incidentally, was ignored completely at the above-mentioned Conference — deserve special attention. In its fundamental programme the N.T.S. takes as its starting-point the idea of the former Russian imperium and adopts the conception of the U.S.S.R. with its fictitious federalism.

Actually, the N.T.S. negates, both in theory and in practice, the right of the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. (who constitute the majority of the population of the Soviet Union) to detach themselves from Moscow,

A RISE IN PRICES

During the past months and weeks there has been a constant rise in prices for consumption goods of every kind all over Slovakia. Not only the price of foodstuffs, but also the prices of textiles and shoes are particularly high. A pair of nylon stockings, for instance, costs 56 kronen, a man's shirt 60 to 90 kronen, and a pair of shoes at least 300 kronen, whilst a meal costs about 30 kronen. The average worker's wage per month amounts to about 1,000 kronen.

ATTACK ON EMIGRANTS

In its edition of August 2nd, this year, the main organ of the Communist Party in Slovakia, the Bratislava "Pravda", once again attacked the Slovak emigrants, above all the President of the Executive Council of the Slovak Liberation Committee, Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky, who is also the President of the Peoples' Council of the A.B.N.

and denies them the right to re-establish their independent states. Such an attitude in this age of the liberation of former colonial peoples, is, indeed, a veritable anachronism and a mockery of sound common sense. Experience has already taught us that the N.T.S. radically refuses to join with the responsible representatives of the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R., who are fighting for their independence, and take part in the common fight against Bolshevism.

And in adhering to this attitude the N.T.S. constantly endeavours to mislead the international forces as regards the problem of national relations in the U.S.S.R., and resorts to hoaxes and machinations. It is not the first time that it has, for instance, produced a pseudo-Ukrainian group under the name of "Ukrainian Freedom Movement" in the international forum, as was the case in Frankfort, too. All these persons whom the "Posev" mentions by name as being members of this group, are entirely unknown in Ukrainian emigrant circles; but the firm, under whose name they appear, has been known since 1951, when in the course of preparations for an "anti-Bolshevist" conference in Wiesbaden in Western Germany — which conference, incidentally, was a failure — with the aid of a foreign journalist, six fictitious "Ukrainian" parties came into being overnight, as it were, and united to form a so-called "Ukrainian Freedom Movement" which, in short, merely consisted of a dozen persons. In consequence of a protest on the part of the non-Russian participants, the delegates of this "Freedom Movement" were not allowed to attend the said conference, and the entire Ukrainian emigrant circles objected most sharply to this unscrupulous trick. But the N.T.S. still continues today to make use of the same type of adventurers, one of whom, Wassylaki, has already managed to go over to the Bolsheviks.

By this attitude and by such methods as these the N.T.S. falsifies and complicates the problem of national relations in the present U.S.S.R., and, as a result of its aims and endeavours, is making the entire anti-Bolshevist fight more difficult; and, at the same time, its representatives at the 9th Conference in Frankfort do their utmost to urge the Western major powers to adopt the general course of the N.T.S. in their foreign policy and to declare this fact before the whole world.

In view of all this, the Union of Ukrainian Journalists considers it expedient to warn the international forces and public opinion all over the world against the N.T.S., its false attitude and its doubtful methods. The Union of Ukrainian Journalists confirms the fact that the Ukrainian political emigrants and the citizens of Ukrainian origin in various countries (who in the free world number more than two million) maintain an unreservedly negative attitude towards the N.T.S. The N.T.S. is not and cannot be a fitting partner for the competent Ukrainian politicians; and this fact is, incidentally, also confirmed by the declaration made at the conference of the Ukrainian political groups in October, 1957. Even if the N.T.S. could be used as a means of more specialized anti-Bolshevist activity, it would only be able to play the part of the wooden horse of Troy in politics in general.

We are firmly convinced that every anti-Bolshevist campaign which is to be successful must tally with the aims of the subjugated

BOOK-REVIEWS

Die kulturellen Grundlagen der Einheit Europas (The Cultural Foundations of the Unity of Europe). Published by the Istituto Internazionale Studi Superiori "Antonio Rosmini", a compiled volume of the First International Academic Congress, September 10 to 20th, 1956, Bolzano, XII, 290 pp.

This first large publication by the "International Institute", founded in Bolzano in 1954 and named in honour of the famous Catholic philosopher, A. Rosmini (died in 1855), represents a serious and conscientious attempt on the part of prominent Catholic sociologists, jurists, historians and philosophers to use their scientific knowledge to elucidate the current political problem of the "spiritual unity" of Europe. As the President of the Institute, Prof. Adolfo Muñoz-Alonso (of Valencia) states in his preface, published in Spanish and French, "The theme of this first meeting was in keeping with the constant reflection of the professors present on this occasion and of men of learning and of action, — 'We are suffering on Europe's account; we need a Europe which is conceived as a way of living, a way of existing, as a system of ideas and values, as a living and active presence of Catholic Christianity, as a protection for human personality, and as a principle of the elucidation of natural characteristics. The law of nature shall constitute a basis for every kind of social and political manifestation.' This our first meeting has aroused the desire to establish the unity of Europe, as based on cultural foundations, which, though they drive the development of history in various directions, nevertheless retain Christianity as the true and decisive factor."

Accordingly, the following four main themes were dealt with in the course of the above-mentioned Congress: Christianity as the cultural foundation of Europe, Humanism, the so-called Enlightenment, also called "illumination", and the foundations of the law of nature.

It is, of course, not possible for us to discuss in detail the contents of the numerous lectures held and the papers read, and to give merely a list of them would not be of much interest to the reader. We should thus like to confine ourselves to criticizing the work as such; and in this connection we should like to stress that, whereas the scientific level remains extremely high throughout and the arguments put forward can, in some cases, even be described as brilliant**, the actual results, in their connection with political reality, appear to be less satisfactory. The conclusions reached are usually somewhat feeble and too generalized, or they are so one-sided that they did not meet with the general approval of the members of the Congress, but led to a somewhat heated discussion, which then eventually petered out. There can, however, be no doubt about the fact that the members of the Congress were inspired by the sincere wish to use their knowledge for the purpose of consolidating and founding a "European" — that is, in the first place, an anti-Communist — political attitude, as is particularly strikingly proved by the ideas voiced by the Luxemburg Minister of Education, Prof. Pierre Frieden:

"Nothing is more actual and more necessary in this stage of our history than European solidarity, the solidarity of the free peoples that (in a very vague manner) have been organized in the Atlantic Pact (N.A.T.O.). This solidarity, a precondition for our future, our security, our progress, our salvation, is at present threatened more than ever, both from without, namely by a very skilful policy of separation and deceptive promises as regards coexistence, and, unfortunately, also from within, namely by all the factors that separate and oppose each other: by ideas and interests, traditions, customs and prospects for the future, ambitions, calculating plans, by all those factors which can slow down or even paralyse an economic and military concentration or a simple coordination. N.A.T.O., this expanded Europe, Europe as an extension, is undergoing a dangerous crisis; the European movements, which all manifest entirely different trends, do not

*) All other editorial comments are in French, but the lectures are published in the language in which they were held; the majority are in Italian, French and German; a few are in Spanish, but only one or two are in English.

**) In this connection we should in particular like to mention the article by Prof. Joseph Moreau (of Bordeaux), entitled "The Idea of Natural Law".

non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R.; and for this very reason it must not be based on such organizations as the N.T.S. nor must it share the theories propagated by the N.T.S. of Russian imperialism. This Ukrainian standpoint is shared by all the responsible forces of all the non-Russian peoples behind the Iron Curtain. And the Russian people, who have already got used to the existence of fourteen non-Russian republics within the U.S.S.R., will not support the N.T.S. against peoples who have fought with their weapons in their hands for their national and state independence and will continue to fight for it.

For the Union of Ukrainian Journalists:

Dmytro Andrijewskyj — President

Slawa Stetzko — Vice-President

Mychajlo Borys — Secretary

Pavlo Kotowytsch — Committee member

A. Romaschko — Committee member.

Munich, October 1957.

appear to be progressing, and spiritual affinity is gradually getting less... Where must one therefore look for the foundations of Europe? We maintain — in the first place, in the ways of thinking, in a spiritual community, in a common sensibility, in a striving towards the same aim... This Congress is endeavouring to find the spiritual foundations of the future Europe. There is no task which could be more urgent: to comprehend Europe in its axiomatic characteristics and in its creed."

But the starting point of the entire research work in this respect was perhaps not exactly a fortunate choice: Europe as a "living and active presence of Catholic Christianity" can hardly be conceived as a cultural unity, since, on the one hand, Protestant Europe — that is to say the whole of North Europe and North America — is thus excluded, and, on the other hand, the Catholic Church is by no means limited to Europe and, indeed, on principle, objects to such a limitation. And, naturally, still more examples of exclusivism result from this first and somewhat presumptuous exclusivism: for instance, European spirituality is defined as a synthesis of the Romanic and Germanic elements (here, too, the Slavs are already excluded) which has been brought about by Christianity; it is affirmed — or, at least, hinted — that Europe as a "third bloc" should help to preserve the balance between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.; and, finally, one well-known member of the Congress (in fact, a Catholic priest!) actually goes so far as to express the absurd and perverse opinion that North America is as little European as Russia is and because of its materialism is particularly dangerous to "European spirituality".

More sensible and pleasing opinions are, of course, also expressed; Prof. N. St. Stevas (of Oxford), for instance, very emphatically defends his theory that there can be no spiritually united Europe without Britain and her continuation — North America; and Prof. Jean Wahl (of the Sorbonne, Paris) very rightly warns against the danger of an idea-less and mechanical union, since no good can come of it: "Simply because we are united does not mean that we shall be more powerful than formerly. One can also fall united, just as the blind in the famous picture by Bosch lead each other towards the abyss."

And that is precisely the point, — a European feeling of solidarity in the face of the Russian Communist menace must not degenerate into presumptuous exclusivism, but, on the contrary, must ensure freedom to all individuals and independence to all nations. Whether the International Institute, "Antonio Rosmini", will decide to adopt this principle as its guiding watchword, remains to be seen.

V. D.

Wilhelm Starlinger: Stalin und seine Erben ("Stalin and His Heirs"). Marienburg-Verlag, Würzburg, 1957. pp. 344.

This important work by a writer recently deceased is undoubtedly one of the most informative and noteworthy works on Soviet Russia which have been published since Stalin's death. The author himself spent nine years in Soviet concentration camps after the war and, thanks to his comparatively privileged position as a camp doctor, was able to get acquainted with numerous well-informed representatives of the Soviet Russian upper class, who for the time being had fallen into disfavour and were "repressed" accordingly and whose political opinions the author not only makes use of, but also discusses from the point of view of criticism. Similarly, the author also makes use in an exemplary manner of the information contained in the Soviet press during the years 1953 to 1956, and carefully selects all such material which attests to the Bolshevik "methods of manipulation"; and the chapter devoted to Soviet economic policy and demography** certainly justifies the wish of the author that "this work may be a guide to the reader, with the help of which he may be able to judge and classify the political events of the coming years."

As far as the actual political contents of the book are concerned, the author shows that he is completely uninfluenced by the usual opportunist and Russophil illusions of Western "anti-Communism". He is definitely of the opinion that Soviet Bolshevism and Russian "Red" imperialism are in practice identical: "Those who have read my little book will understand why I regard the danger of political Bolshevism and its state founded on power as greater than the danger of its ideology which has long since been reshaped, but consider the menace represented by the disintegrating Russian world empire to be as serious as ever..." (p. 36). — "Why is our 'Union' of many peoples today the same Muscovite autocratic state, in many respects, in fact, more Muscovite than it was under Peter and Catherine?" (p. 40). The author trusts neither the political opinion of the "genuinely Russian" — that is to say of the Muscovite — person ("Russia cannot be administered, Russia can only be ruled", p. 77), nor his notorious "religiosity" ("The present state Church is in no way connected with a religious revival; it is a manipulated instrument solely in the hands of the (Bolshevik) Party Church, — the old Church, however, is dead and there are no true roots which stretch from it to the new apparatus", p. 100).

The national problem in the Soviet Union is likewise formulated perfectly clearly and in part rightly analysed by the author: "I have been criticized for refusing to believe that there is such a thing as a genuinely Soviet person. All I can say to this is, show him to me. Perhaps he is only produced and exhibited for the benefit of persons who visit the Soviet Union. In the course of nine years I, at any rate, have only seen Russians and Ukrainians, Baltic nationals and Grusinians (Georgians), Turks and Kirghiz, Tatars and Armenians, even though I searched everywhere for a Soviet person. I know what he is supposed to be like according to the creative ideas of the Party state which conceived him and would like to make him real. But he is an abstract creation and not alive" (p. 17).

The author most lucidly defines the present connection of the innate Russian Messianism with the Communist state and social order, as well as with the Party apparatus: "This national religious Messianism has long since

*) Partly revised by Prof. Dr. G. Ipsen (Dortmund) on the basis of more recent publications, after the death of the author.

**) That is to say Soviet; this is the opinion of a "Russian friend" of the author which is quoted here.

made its peace with Bolshevism, for it knows that it still needs the latter's apparatus, that it cannot dispense with its formulas if it is to rule this apparatus and that it is already taking over this apparatus from within and will in future imbue it to an ever-increasing extent with its Russian soul..." (p. 98). — "But this apparatus does not only exist for its own sake, as sometimes seems to be the case, nor does it only fulfil the function of a technical executor of the struggling powers (and as such, indispensable to the latter), but it is still, and will be for a long time, indispensable as the slide-rail both for internal political integration and external expansion. For this technical Bolshevism covers all that is necessary to the growing Russian imperium, but must remain concealed as long as this imperium is not able to exist by reason of its own strength. Greater Russia***) must Russify and does so with success (?), but this success can be achieved more easily and more perfectly if the Russifier carries out his Russification as a supra-national Bolshevik. And every political and military success on the part of the present Soviet Union is advantageous to Russia, though, of course, it is more prudent to affirm that it is advantageous to the 'fatherland of all workers all over the world', since it is only in this way that these workers outside Russia can be induced to set up and support Fifth Columns in their own countries" (p. 94-95).

It has not escaped the notice of the author that, during the Jeshov massacre in 1937 and 1938, "the purges in the Party apparatus in the Union Republics were more drastic (than in the R.S.F.S.R. — in Russia proper), but most drastic in Ukraine and in Georgia" (p. 49); indeed, he even ventures to express the assumption — incidentally, a very intelligent assumption — that Khrushchev is no doubt reproached less by the Russian people for his active share in this massacre than are Molotov, Malenkov, Beria and various other persons, since Khrushchev did not shed Russian blood, but "only" Ukrainian blood. As regards the present status of the "sovereign" Ukrainian Soviet Republic, the author expresses the following opinion: "Khrushchev consolidates his sovereign power not only in the central organs (of the Party), which already serve him like slaves, but also 'in the provinces'... Thus, for instance, he did not return to Moscow until his sovereign power in Kiev seemed to be firmly established (and for this reason the overthrow of his provincial governor Melnikov by Beria must have seemed so sinister to him!). In the meantime, however, this sovereign power has become more firmly established than ever, and men with Ukrainian names are now employed as satraps, — Melnisov's successor, the 'Ukrainian' Kyrychenko, and another loyal servant, Kaldchenko..." (p. 312).

The author's attitude to the fight for freedom of the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union is, however, very peculiar and, in fact, surprising. It is true that he does not deny the existence or the justifiable grounds of this national fight for freedom, but he regards it as completely hopeless, since allegedly "there can be no doubt about the increasing Russification of the Soviet Union" (p. 81). But then, who doubted an "increasing Germanization" of Poznan or West Prussia in the last century, or an "increasing Britonization" of Ireland? — History cannot be calculated in advance. And the theoretical arguments which the author puts forward in favour of the "slow, but undoubtedly instinctively sure and guided fusion of the medley of many peoples in the population of Greater Russia", as he affirms, are by no means plausible. It is, for instance, entirely erroneous to affirm that the Russian element "never lets itself be assimilated, but incorporates all foreign peoples living in dispersion" (p. 18); the Russians, too, let themselves be assimilated under certain living conditions (as for example in Yakut), and peoples such as the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians and other Caucasian nations, as well as the Turkestanians and Kozaks, are only to a very small extent living "in dispersion"! As the author himself fittingly says, — "what is decisive, too, is how a people sees itself" (p. 39); and the fact that the non-Russian peoples of the Muscovite imperium, in spite of all Russification measures, from decade to decade are realizing and feeling their own foreignness to all that is Russian, more and more, points to the ultimate collapse of this imperium in the near future.

***) That is to say the ethnically determined Russian or Muscovite element.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE
Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

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

Munich, Zeppelinstr. 67

Editorial Staff: Board of Editors

Editor responsible: Slawa Stetzko.

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

It is not our practice to pay for contributions. Reproduction permitted but only with indication of source (A.B.N.-Corr.).

Annual subscription DM 4.— in Germany, 2 Dollars in U.S.A., 12 shillings in Great Britain and Australia, and the equivalent of 2 Dollars in all other countries.

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

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

Schriftleitung: Redaktionskollegium

Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Slawa Stetzko.

*
We request all our subscribers and readers to kindly remit payments from America to Mr. Jaroslaw Shevchuk, 1509 Kenilworth Ave., Cleveland 13, Ohio, U.S.A.